Whakapiri tātou, hei manaaki tāngata, hei manaaki whenua

Effective governance for urban sustainability

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A thesis submitted to Auckland University of Technology in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Attestation of authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Signed: ..........................

Dated: ..........................
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Ethical approval

Approval to undertake this research was granted by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee.

Ethics Application Number: 06/192

Dated: 4 December 2006
Abstract

This thesis examines the role of local government elected members to progress urban sustainability, and the views of Māori leaders’ on governance and sustainability. It is set within a wider context of local government reform and changing expectations of governance and captures a point in time in the evolution of Pākehā and Māori governance structures in Aotearoa New Zealand. The thesis contributes to the paucity of scholarship in these fields.

Local government has evolved from the early provincial legislatures, to acknowledge Te Tiriti o Waitangi and recognise the importance of sustainable development. The Local Government Act 2002 fundamentally changed the role and purpose of New Zealand local government. At the heart of both Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the LGA was the aspiration for community and Māori participation in local governance and progress towards sustainable development.

The ‘three-house concept’ described in the Raukawa Trustees partnership-two cultures development model (Winiata 2005) and the Community Sector Taskforce (2006) model is reflected in the structure of this thesis. It provides for a Pākehā House, a Tikanga Māori House and a Treaty House – a conceptual space where Māori and Pākehā values and practices can come together in mutual respect.

The Pākehā House of the thesis establishes a broader role for New Zealand elected members to promote urban sustainability by focusing on cross-sector collaboration and multi-level governance. While multi-level governing was found to be widespread across urban territorial authorities, an elected member focus on collaboration was notably absent.

Aotearoa New Zealand’s urban local authorities had begun mainstreaming sustainable development practices. Environmental management and restoration activity was widespread. Initiatives progressing social and cultural well-being were gaining prominence.

The Tikanga Māori House recognises that the LGA 2002 had failed to bring about transformation of Māori participation in local government. Where the
Māori voice struggled to be heard, the Act’s discretionary provisions had tended to preserve the status quo.

Two paths to the future are offered: firstly, constitutional change - a new system of local government that recognises the validity of tino rangatiratanga as an equal authority, which could be modeled on the working examples of Treaty-based governance presented in this thesis.

Secondly, improvements to the current system of local government are recommended. They are:

Hui and whanaungatanga, as a path to consensus decision-making.

Iwi authorities be recognised as local authorities, to provide opportunities for urban Māori to participate in local government.

The status of iwi management plans be lifted, and they be mandatory in the way that a district plan is mandatory.

The mana whenua relationship be strengthened to increase the capacity of mana whenua to consult with tauiwi in their rohe, and exercise kaitiakitanga and manaakitanga.

These improvements need to be based on an effective parallel model of Māori representation, or Māori wards and seats.

The Treaty House presents a case for strengthening a partnerships approach to governance. The effective inclusion of both Pākehā and Māori communities alike is identified as a prerequisite for further progress towards urban sustainability in Aotearoa New Zealand.
Glossary of Māori words


ahi kā occupation rights to land, 'to keep the home fires burning'
ahu whenua care for land
ako Māori learning
ariki Chief of chiefs, nobility
aroha love
atua gods or spiritual powers
auahi kaore no smoking
awhi to guide or protect
hapū sub-tribe, pregnant
Haumietiketike guardian spirit of wild food
hauora healthy
He Wakaputunga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni Declaration of Independence
hei tiki ornament, neck pendent, primal human
hikoi Step out [a long walk or march]
hui gathering, meeting
ira tangata humankind
iwi tribe
kahui ariki The group of hapū belonging to the kingitanga clan
kai food
kaitiaki guardianship of the sky, sea and earth
kaitiakitanga the practice of kaitiaki
kaiwhakahaere administrator, manager
kanohi ki te kanohi face-to-face
karakia prayer
karanga call, shout
kaumatua elder
kaupapa philosophy
kaupapa Māori the Māori philosophy
kawa protocol, ceremony
kererū wood pidgeon
Kete wānanga baskets of learning
kingitanga kingship
koha gift
kohanga reo Māori preschool, language nest
kohonganui Ngati Whatua Council of Elders
kōrerō  Narrative, to speak
kotahitanga  unity
ku (ahu)  the female element
kuaka  Godwit, a migratory bird
kukupa  wood pidgeon
kumara  sweet potato
kura  school, education
"Ma te huruhuru kariri te manu"  "a bird will only fly if it has feathers"
"Ma te werawera o to rae"  "by the sweat from your forehead (by hard work)"
mahinga kai moana  seafood gathering place
mai ra na  forever
mākutu  witch doctor
mana  dignity, integrity, charisma, formal jurisdiction
mana motuhake  autonomy, independence
mana tangata  people of the land, local people
mana tupuna  ancestral connection to land
mana whenua  trusteeship of land
manaaki tau toku awhi  to take care of someone
manaakitanga  hospitality
manuhiri  visitor
Māori  ordinary, native people
Māoritanga  Māori culture and perspective on the world
maramara  wood chips, splinter (kindling)
matatau  understand, fully aware
mātauranga Māori  Māori knowledge
mātawaka  founding canoe
mate  sickness, death
maunga  mountain
maunga a Rongo  the process of dispute resolution, ‘maunga a Rongo’ ensured lasting peace
mauri  the life principle and is applied equally to animate and inanimate beings and objects.
mahi  greeting, role play
mihi whakatau  greeting, role play
moana  lake, sea
mokopuna  grandchild, young generation
Murihiku  “tail end of the land” [name for the southern part of the South Island]
pā  stockaded village
Pai Marire/Paimarire  religion of Tua Ua Haumēne, peaceful, virtue
papatipu  hapū, extended family unit, two or more whānau
Papatuanuku  Earth mother
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Māori</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>piki ake i nga raruraru o te kainga</td>
<td>Socio-economic mediation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pikopiko</td>
<td>fern fronds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pona</td>
<td>tie a knot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pounamu</td>
<td>greenstone, bottle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pōwhiri</td>
<td>welcome, opening ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pukeko</td>
<td>swamp hen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāhui</td>
<td>prohibition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rangahau</td>
<td>research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rangatira</td>
<td>chief, noble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rangatiratanga</td>
<td>sovereignty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranginui</td>
<td>Sky father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rongomatane</td>
<td>God of peace and agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>runaka</td>
<td>South Island Māori dialect for rūnanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rūnanga</td>
<td>assembly or council, to debate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takiwa</td>
<td>area, zone (tribal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tane</td>
<td>husband, male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tane Mahuta</td>
<td>guardian spirit of the forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangaroa</td>
<td>guardian of the sea, waning moon, Neptune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangata whenua</td>
<td>people of the land, local people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangihanga</td>
<td>mourning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapu</td>
<td>sacred, forbidden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tauiwai</td>
<td>alien, heathen, foreigner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tauiwī Māori</td>
<td>Māori who are not mana whenua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tauiwī New Zealanders</td>
<td>Non-Māori New Zealanders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taurahere</td>
<td>Māori from outside of their district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te</td>
<td>(definite article) the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te ao Māori</td>
<td>the Māori world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Puni Kōkiri</td>
<td>the Ministry of Māori Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te reo me ōna tikanga</td>
<td>Māori language and culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te reo rangatira</td>
<td>Māori language, chiefly language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te tauihu</td>
<td>bow or figurehead (of a canoe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te taumata</td>
<td>pinnacle, orator's bench</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te taurapa</td>
<td>sternpost of a canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Tiriti o Waitangi</td>
<td>The Treaty of Waitangi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Wai Pounamu, Te Waipounamu</td>
<td>South Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tika</td>
<td>accuracy, reliability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tinana</td>
<td>body, oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tino rangatiratanga</td>
<td>chiefly authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tohunga</td>
<td>priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tupuna/tipuna</td>
<td>ancestor, grandparent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turangawaewae</td>
<td>home, 'place to stand'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ukaipo our mother, breast which is suckled at night
utu reciprocity, revenge, cost
wahine tangata whenua Women of the land
waiata song
wairua attitude, spirit or soul
wairuatanga spirituality
wānanga higher learning, seminar, series of discussions
wero challenge
whai kōrero make a speech, oration (on the marae)
whaka (prefix) cause to do, in the direction of, towards
whakapapa genealogy
Whakapiri tātou, hei manaaki tāngata, hei manaaki whenua Join together, to care for the people, to care for the land
whakawhānaungatanga to make the relationship
whānau extended family, give birth
whānaungatanga relative
whangai care for, adopt child
whare wānanga university or school of higher learning
whenua tapu sacred land
whenua tupuna ancestral land

Abbreviations

AUTEC Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee
BOP Bay of Plenty
CBD Central Business District
CCO Council-controlled (or owned) organisation (LGA 2002)
CEO Chief executive officer
CMS Church Missionary Society
CO Community outcomes
CORSO a Pacific-based NGO active in Aotearoa New Zealand
CPTED Crime prevention through environmental design
CTU New Zealand Combined Trades Union
CULCI Complementary effects of Urban Leadership and Community Involvement
DETR The former UK government Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions
DISCUS Developing Institutional and Social Capacity for Urban Sustainability
DPB Domestic Purposes Benefit [a government social welfare benefit]
GATT General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [replaced by World Trade Organisation in 1994]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ICLEI</td>
<td>International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGA</td>
<td>Local Government Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGNZ</td>
<td>Local Government New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LTCCP</td>
<td>Long-term Council Community Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMP</td>
<td>Mixed Member Proportional Representation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MWWL</td>
<td>Maori Women's Welfare League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non Government Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>NPM</td>
<td>New Public Management</td>
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<td>PLUS</td>
<td>Participation, Leadership and Urban Sustainability</td>
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<td>PSA</td>
<td>Public Services Association</td>
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PART 1

INTRODUCTION
Chapter 1
Research overview

On 24 December 2002, the New Zealand parliament enacted a new Local Government Act (LGA 2002). It was the intention of the Clark Labour Government to modernise local government in New Zealand. With a focus on the principle of sustainable development, the LGA 2002 ushered in fundamental changes to the role and purpose of local government.

The new Act was in many ways a logical and rational progression from the amendments to the LGA 1974 enacted by the Labour Government in 1989 which were notable for drastically reducing the number of local authorities, from over 700 territorial and single-purpose local authorities, to 72 city and district councils, and 13 regional local authorities. These amendments were predicated on central government reforms that sought ‘clear linear accountability, transparency in policy formulation and greater operational efficiency’ (Newberry & Pallot, 2005, p. 177). Further, the new legislation provided for enhanced financial management and reporting.

The LGA 2002 was an enabling statute with aspirations for community and increased Māori participation in local governance, general empowerment of local authorities and progress towards sustainable development. It required local government to promote local decision-making, for the present and the future, involve communities, and provide appropriately for Māori to participate in decision-making. Local authorities were endowed with a power of general competence to undertake any activity supported by its communities, in order to achieve this broad and intergenerational purpose.

Notwithstanding the wide consultation undertaken by Local Government New Zealand (LGNZ), elected members in many parts of the country were reticent about such broad change. Newnham and Winston (1997, p. 105) described how a community’s strong sense of tradition and limited desire for change, was reflected at the local institution:
Local government … has been noted for its resilience to innovation and its ability to maintain the status quo (Newnham & Winston, 1997, p. 105).

The changes sought by the LGA 2002 were aligned with the international modernisation agenda that was responding to macro-environmental forces, such as globalisation, Europeanisation, urbanisation, and the increasing importance of sustainable development. While some local governments had remained relatively immune to the international trend towards reform (Berg & Rao, 2005, p. 10) the New Zealand government clearly intended to embrace the modernisation agenda.

The passage of the Act signalled changes in the role of local government elected representatives. Governance, that is the relationship between civil society and the state (Kooiman, 2003, p. 3; Martin, 1997, p. 1; Rhodes, 2007, p. 4), set in a predominantly representative model of democracy, was to become more participative in nature. This was to require a different style of leadership that would encompass more than the traditional concerns of local government, colloquially referred to ‘roads, rates and rubbish’. Territorial and regional authorities were directed to take an interest in the social, economic, environmental and cultural well-being of their communities.

**Research scope**

The new context for local government in New Zealand provided the focus for this thesis, which was concerned with progress towards urban sustainability, emerging trends in governance, and the role of local elected members. A distinctive aspect of the New Zealand environment was the role of Te Tiriti o Waitangi1 as New Zealand’s founding document and its relevance to urban sustainability. An additional focus was to explore the potential for Māori views on governance and sustainability to contribute to good governance for urban sustainability.

The intention was to address the research question:

What is the appropriate role for local government elected members to progress urban sustainability?

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1 Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the Māori name for the Treaty, is used throughout this thesis to refer to the Māori version of Aotearoa New Zealand’s founding document. The differences between the English and Māori versions of the Treaty are discussed in chapter 9.
Three secondary questions guided the inquiry:

What progress has been made towards urban sustainability in the New Zealand local government sector?

What are the roles of local government representatives in other liberal, western, democratic nations, and how do the roles of elected representatives in New Zealand’s urban local authorities compare?

How could Te Tiriti o Waitangi more fully influence governance for urban sustainability?

A focus on urban sustainability

The term ‘urban sustainability’ is used in this thesis to describe the concept of sustainable development in urban environments such as cities. It is consistent with the concept of sustainable development in that it incorporates the three pillars of social, environmental and economic well-being. The UN Habitat Programme for Sustainable Cities (Landman, 2000, p. 2) defined a sustainable city as one where ‘achievements in social, economic and physical development are made to last’. It strives for: Economic efficiency in the use of resources (including goods and services provided by the natural environment), social equity (with special emphasis on the needs of low income groups) and avoiding limiting future development options.

Hall and Pfeiffer propose the following aspects of sustainability. These are:

A Sustainable Urban Economy: Work and wealth
A sustainable urban society: Social coherence and social solidarity
Sustainable urban shelter: Decent affordable housing for all
A sustainable urban environment: Stable ecosystems
Sustainable urban access: Resource-conserving mobility
Sustainable urban life: Building the liveable city
Sustainable urban democracy: Empowering the citizenry (Hall & Pfeiffer, 2000, p. 16).

Jackson (2009) has highlighted the dilemma inherent in the pursuit of economic growth as a strategy for sustainability. He argued that this was at odds with scientific knowledge of the world’s finite resource base and fragile ecology. He
advocated a search for alternative visions, where human’s could flourish and reduce their material impact on the environment - visions that did not rely on economic growth and consumption growth, but rather drew on the vital social and psychological dimensions of prosperity (Jackson, 2009, p. 30).

Campbell argued that the path towards a sustainable future is often vague and advocated a number of pathways to sustainability (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003, p. 446). Firstly he acknowledged the views of the incrementalists who assert that sustainability could not be achieved in a single step for it required too much social and ecological information and was too risk. He argued for an alternative holistic view of sustainable development and sustainable urban society, as a long-term goal. He rejected the premise that only a growth economy could achieve social redistribution (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003, p. 447).

Evans et Al (2005, p. 120) in their study Developing Institutional and Social Capacity for Urban Sustainability, evidenced the value of the incremental approach. They evidenced that a high level of environmental awareness served as a catalyst for a deeper understanding of sustainable development.

Campbell further offered procedural paths to sustainability (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003, pp. 448-450). He advocated negotiation and conflict resolution as tools to mobilise communities around social and environmental sustainability and redefining the language of the conflict to bridge the gaps between the languages of economics, environmentalism and social justice. Political pluralism was seen to provide a mechanism to facilitate wider participation in decision-making. Linking market mechanisms, economic and environmental priorities was advocated as a traditional way for society to balance its competing values.

This thesis explored how the acceptance of concepts of urban sustainability have influenced governance and the role of elected members in urban local authorities. The responses of successive New Zealand governments to key international milestones in sustainable development were examined. The milestones included: the Brundtland Report (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987); the 1992 Earth Summit, held in Rio de Janeiro and the adoption of Agenda 21 by participating countries (Robinson, 1993); and the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development, held in Johannesburg (United Nations, 2002).
Local government, governance and democracy in a neoliberal political environment

Western local government is based on the Westminster model of government, which is predicated on Parliamentary sovereignty. In this model, local elected members, like Members of Parliament, are elected to be representatives, and act in what they judge to be the public interest, rather than as advocates for the interests of their constituents. This system has been noted for its flexibility and capacity to respond to the needs of different administrations (Stanley, 2010).

Since the 1980s, western local government has undergone significant change. The traditional Westminster model of UK government in New Zealand was being challenged by the advent of new public management and neo-liberal economic reforms. Initiated by the Bolger National government in the 1970s and early 1980s (Cheyne, O'Brien, & Belgrave, 2008, p. 211), these reforms were advanced by the Fourth Labour government, which came into power in 1984 (Newberry & Pallot, 2005, p. 171). Newberry and Pallot highlighted that the reforms encompassed a range of private sector practices, collectively referred to as ‘managerialism’ or New Public Management (NPM), which included: corporate planning, increased budget flexibility, progressive dismantling of Treasury regulations and ad hoc attempts at non-financial performance management (Newberry & Pallot, 2005, p. 172). In practise, this placed emphasis on contractual relationships for the delivery of government services.

Chapman and Duncan (2007, pp. 3-4) argued that while implemented by the Fourth Labour Government between 1984 and 1990, NPM was a product of The Treasury (Ministry of Finance), heavily influenced by public choice theory. They emphasised that refinements occurred to the model under the National Government in the 1990s to reduce the high transaction costs, balance risks and allow central agencies to focus on ‘more government-wide tasks’ (Duncan & Chapman, 2009, pp. 3-5). The model continued to evolve under the Labour-led coalition between 1999 and 2008. Chapman and Duncan described a focus on outcomes, rather than only the production of outputs and a movement from pure agency theory to a co-ordinated systems approach, a less ‘slavish’ adherence to the policy-operations and purchaser-provider splits and reestablishing ‘a culture of ethical, consumer-focused, politically neutral,
effective and efficient equitable public service’ (Duncan & Chapman, 2009, pp. 5-6). Further, a reversal was observed in the trend towards privatisation of public assets following the Labour-Alliance government renationalisation of previously privatised state-owned assets.

Chapman and Duncan concluded that the widely renowned model of NPM implemented by the Fourth Labour Government was subsequently refined by the National and the Labour-Alliance coalition. The focus on economic rationalisation was seen to have ‘given way to a wider concern for public service ethics, collaboration and social outcomes’ (Duncan & Chapman, 2009, pp. 19-20).

The local government reforms of 1989 were based on the principles of NPM. Larner and Craig (2005, p. 407) described the state as withdrawing from many areas of economic production, while at the same time progressing welfare and social justice aspirations; the extension of marketisation and neo-conservative and/or authoritarian social policies and programmes; and the development of ‘a partnering ethos’.

Further reforms introduced via the 1996 amendments to the LGA 1974, sought to introduce greater efficiency and effectiveness in financial planning, and appropriate public participation in financial policies and funding decisions. These were followed by a further round of reforms initiated by the Labour-Alliance government elected in 1999, which focused on the democratisation agenda of local government promoted by the Blair government in the UK. This resulted in the LGA 2002, which introduced the concept of a partnership between local and central government (Newberry & Pallot, 2005, p. 179).

Larner and Craig (2005, pp. 407, 412) described the development of partnerships and policy networks as a direct response to the fragmentation of services that was associated with the marketisation and contractualisation of the state. It was argued that communities were strengthened through multi-level collaborative arrangements that would help New Zealanders respond positively to social and economic change, by sharing best practice and by better understanding of local needs (Loomis, 2002, p. 7).
Two new roles had emerged in government for ‘strategic brokers’ to foster networks, manage relationships and support local and sectoral activism (Larner & Craig, 2005, p. 415). The first, the ‘partnership manager,’ was most likely to be located within government agencies. The second, the ‘social entrepreneur’, was more likely to be based at the territorial authority or in the community. The latter was described as ‘growing social capital in the same way those in business would build their balance sheets’ (Larner & Craig, 2005, p. 417).

The Treaty of Waitangi debate of the principle of partnership was emerging in the late 1980s and Treaty principles were articulated by many groups and parts of government. This was recognised as the backdrop for the national debate of partnership and collaboration. Further, it was a contributing factor to the sense of urgency at the government level, to develop new relationships between government and communities) that included Māori (Larner & Craig, 2005, p. 408; Local Partnerships and Governance Research Group, 2005, p. 18)

Rhodes (1996, p. 658) recognised governance as the minimal state, as corporate governance, as ‘good governance’, as a socio-cybernetic system, and as self-organising networks. This was the introduction of governance outside of the central and government arenas. Rhodes described the concepts of policy networks, governance, the core executive, and hollowing out had emerged following the reforms of UK local government during the 1980s and 1990s (Rhodes, 2007, p. 12).

The conventional view of governance as ‘something done by governments’ was changing (McKinlay, 2000, p. 4). Governance was increasingly centred on the relationship between local government and society. This was significant for the traditional ‘top down’, process-driven model of local government based on representative democracy. Local government in the western world was shifting towards a more ‘bottom up’, collaborative and consensual style of governance (Evans et al., 2005) (for a more detailed discussion see chapter 3).

**The roles of elected members**

The shift in local democracy brought with it tensions, as elected members perceived their governance roles under threat. The more ‘bottom up’ community-centred form of government involved complex networks of agencies
in local governance (Weller, Bakvis, & Rhodes, 1997). For example, local elected members\(^2\) in the UK had to come to terms with the new structural arrangements, partnerships and executive and scrutiny roles that accompanied the shift (Goss, 2001, p. 249). The research explored the traditional role of elected members in New Zealand and proposed an appropriate role for them to progress urban sustainability.

**Te Tiriti o Waitangi**

As New Zealand’s founding document, Te Tiriti o Waitangi had implications for local governance. The LGA 2002 attempted to clarify local government responsibilities under the Treaty by the inclusion of a Treaty clause, and provisions for local authorities to build the capacity of Māori to participate in local governance. Māori worldviews were explored to understand how Māori views of governance and sustainability could contribute to progress for urban sustainability in New Zealand.

In 1840, at the time of signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi Māori governance was based on whakapapa – kinship links that extended to include the natural environment and the relationships between Māori people, their ancestors and future generations. As Māori groups have been reshaped by external forces new forms of governance have evolved (Carter, 2003).

Kaupapa Māori governance recognises that many Māori live in cities and are no longer connected with their whānau and home marae. Based on te ao Māori, kaupapa Māori governance respects Māori values and tikanga. Urban Māori authorities and Māori service provider agencies practise kaupapa governance.

As colonisation progressed, and as Waitangi Tribunal settlements have been reached, western-style governance has been imposed on Māori organisations. Te Momo (2001, p. 3) argued that the implications for urban Māori who cannot whakapapa back to their home marae are exclusion and loss of voice.

Joseph (2007, p. 682) argued that the challenge for contemporary Māori governance was appropriately integrating Māori governance values, laws and

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\(^2\) Local elected members are also referred to as elected representatives and councillors. For consistency the term elected member is used unless an alternative term is used more commonly in referring to different nation models.
institutions within the legal system, and mainstream governance. An alternative approach based on the experience of the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004 is documented by Bargh (2006). She argues that parliamentary supremacy and the system that arises from it fails to protect the rights of Māori and indeed other New Zealanders. Bargh concludes that constitutional change, grounded in the te ao Māori and Te Tiriti o Waitangi as a solution to this dilemma.

**Limitations on research scope**

In any study, there are considerations that cannot be accommodated within the projects scope. The theoretical perspective was one of local governance for urban sustainability. This limited the emphasis on the disciplines of politics and planning. Within governance four subject areas overlapped with, but sat outside the scope of this thesis. The first encompassed alternative institutional forms, the debate on directly elected mayors and funding of local government. The second was matters of elected members representation and remuneration, voter turnout and citizen participation, and the broader aspects of democracy beyond its direct relationship with local governance, including the nature of community participation and partnership. The third area that sat outside of scope was a detailed study of the position of Māori and other indigenous peoples, and Māori development. Last, the discussion on sustainability is limited to urban sustainability, and does not encompass reporting or measuring progress towards sustainability.

A number of opportunities for further research arose during the course of this thesis, some of which are related to the limitations on scope. These are highlighted in chapter 11.

**Thesis outline**

The presentation of this thesis reflects the ‘three-house concept’ described in the Raukawa Trustees partnership-two cultures development model (Winiata, 2005) and the Community Sector Taskforce (2006) model, both explained in chapter 9. Conceptually, the models provided for a Pākehā House, a Tikanga Māori House and a Treaty House.
Part 1 (chapters 1 and 2) introduces the research. It outlines the overall approach, the epistemology, theoretical perspectives, methodologies and methods.

Part 2 (chapters 3 – 7) outlines the Pākehā House – the embedded case study methodology undertaken to explore the elected members’ understanding of urban sustainability, and the progress made by their local authorities. Chapter 3 highlights the modernisation agenda in local governance and the emerging focus on sustainable development. Chapter 4 examines the role of New Zealand, Australian, British and European elected members. Chapter 5 provides an overview of the New Zealand local government sector and the LGA 2002. Relevant aspects of the Local Government Rates Inquiry (2007) and the Royal Commission on Auckland Governance (2007-2009) are included. Chapter 6 presents the case study documentary analysis findings, which demonstrated the progress of urban territorial authorities towards sustainability. Chapter 7 presents the findings of the case study elected member questionnaire, which built on the findings of the documentary analysis and demonstrated the progress of elected members’ towards governance for urban sustainability.

Part 3 (chapters 8 – 10) describes the Tikanga Māori House of this research – the work undertaken to explore how local governance could be more fully influenced by Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Chapter 8 provides an overview of scholarship and research on Māori worldviews, traditional and contemporary governance models, and mātauranga Māori. Chapter 9 provides a brief history of the early Māori and Pākehā settlement of New Zealand to set the context for the Wakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tiren i and Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 and tauiw i views of the Treaty are discussed. Theoretical and working models of Treaty-based governance and local authority Treaty-based partnership are outlined. Chapter 10 presents the findings of the kanohi ki te kanohi interviews undertaken to explore the views of Māori on governance and sustainability.

Part 4 (chapter 11) is the Treaty House – a place where conceptually the Māori and the Pākehā worldviews can co-exist in mutual respect. Chapter 11 draws together the conclusions of the research. It makes recommendations for an appropriate role for elected members, the provision of institutional and social
capital to progress urban sustainability, and the inclusion of te ao Māori worldview and tino rangatiratanga in local governance. Opportunities for future research are highlighted.

**About the researcher**

I was born in my mother’s home town in Wales and grew up near my father’s family in Auckland. My first school experiences were in East Tamaki, where the population was predominantly Māori and Pacific people, and then in One Tree Hill, a more conservative middle class European suburb.

Local government and politics were not discussed widely at home, nor was there any expectation that any of my family would influence how such decisions were made, other than by doing our jobs and exercising our right to vote. I went on to become a registered nurse, and gained experience in different hospital and practicing environments. I can remember as a young adult beginning to question how decisions were made, and who was involved in the decision-making process.

I later went to university and joined the territorial force army. It was not until 1996, in El Khiam, Southern Lebanon, serving as a New Zealand Army officer with the United Nations that my interest in governance was rekindled. Daily, I wove my way through the religious-based sectorial national governance systems of Lebanon and Israel. These attempted to provide Shi-ite and Sunni Muslims, and Christian with some form of democratic representation. Local governance was based on the village mosque or church, or so it seemed at the time.

By the time I returned to New Zealand in 1997, I was acutely aware that not everybody in New Zealand or other parts of the world had the freedom I had to choose their destiny. I was beginning to develop views about the value of democracy and participation, and in particular the value of good governance. I left the army in 2000 to work at the North Shore City Council in the water services division. Three years later, I took on the challenge of leading the identification of community outcomes for the Auckland Regional Council (ARC).
There, I worked with the elected members, stakeholders and staff to produce the ARC’s first Long-term Council Community Plan (LTCCP)\(^3\).

I observed firsthand the low level of awareness of sustainability, and even lower level of support for the LGA 2002 (hailed as broad and empowering), among many of the local elected members. The prevailing view was one of the Act as no more than legislative bureaucracy. Skepticism around the language of sustainable development was commonplace. Concerns were regularly raised in council over local authority roles in social and cultural well-being, and the perceived devolution of responsibilities from central government. This was local government’s infamous ‘resilience to change’ in action.

It was this experience that compelled me to understand local governance, and to question how New Zealand’s elected members could more effectively promote urban sustainability.

**Researcher experience of worldview**

My time in Lebanon had a profound effect on my worldview. The research involving Māori undertaken for this thesis had no less an effect on me. Many of the Māori participants entrusted me with special knowledge. They relayed, in a very personal way, deeply-felt emotion that stemmed from their whānau experience of the early days of colonisation in New Zealand, and had been passed on to them by their tupuna.

The devastating impact of European settlement and the domination of western society, culture and values over Māori society culture and values, was conveyed with emotion. Through this shared experience my Pākehā worldviews were challenged. Previous assumptions I held of Māori and Pākehā relations in New Zealand were shaken and I was able for the first time to comprehend the impact of colonisation on New Zealand Māori.

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\(^3\) The LGA 2002 s 279 (1) required local authorities to adopt an LTCCP either for the period beginning 1 July 2003 or 1 July 2004. Section 279 (2) permitted local authorities to use such information concerning community outcomes, i.e. the aspirations of their communities for the present and future, as they held or could obtain in the time available. In addition section 280 required an LTCCP for the period beginning 1 July 2006 that was in full compliance with the Acts consultation and decision-making criteria, outlined in sections 76-84 and 91 (see chapter 5).
This was the lived experience of phenomenology. It enabled me to develop a more comprehensive understanding of Māori worldviews than I would otherwise have achieved. Further, it served to prepare me to recognise the taonga that would be generated by this research, and to treat it with integrity and respect.

**Preparing to explore the Tikanga Māori House**

My background and experience of the world had not equipped me to operate in te ao Māori. I sought to overcome the potential for this to be a significant barrier to the ‘research involving Māori’ in a number ways. I took the advice and guidance of awhi, carried out desk research of Māori knowledge, and took classes in te reo me ona tikanga.

My first awhi was a kuia, respected and a leader among her people. Our kōrerō was about te ao Māori, how decisions were made in the Māori organisations and the principles that governed sustainability. She identified Māori who might be willing to share their knowledge with me. This list, together with her whakapapa connections was the stepping off point for my Māori data collection.

To address my early concerns about sharing my findings with Māori participants, I met with a Māori academic. I discussed the concept of a peer review of my Māori research and co-authoring a paper to share the findings with Māori. This led to further introductions and ongoing awhi for the duration of the research.
Chapter 2
Research Design

Part 1  Approach

The research set out to answer the questions articulated in chapter 1 and in figure 2.1, over the page. The following assumptions were made at the outset:

In a western liberal democracy, local elected members have the potential to influence their communities’ progress towards urban sustainability.

The local elected member role is changing in response to the emerging trends in local governance brought about by globalisation, urbanisation and the rising international acceptance of sustainable development.

Māori traditional worldviews of land, resource allocation and use, whānau and social structure have potential to contribute to progress towards urban sustainability in New Zealand.

The research was designed predominantly as a qualitative inquiry, supported by quantitative elements. It followed a constructionist view of human knowledge. The LGA 2002 was an important frame of reference. The qualitative nature of the research design recognises that the research question would not be answered by a scientific or empirical approach alone. The constructionist view states that:

Truth or meaning comes into existence in and out of our engagement with the real world … Meaning is not discovered, but constructed … different people may construct meaning in different ways, even in relation to the same phenomenon (Crotty, 1998, pp. 8-9).

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4 Social constructionism is a sociological and psychological theory of knowledge that considers how social phenomena develop in particular social contexts. Within constructionist thought, a social construction is a concept or practice which may appear to be natural and obvious to those who accept it, but in reality is an invention of a particular culture or society. Social constructs are generally understood to be the by-products (often unintended or unconscious) of countless human choices (Crotty 1998, pp. 52-57).
Figure 2.1 Relationship of research design, questions and theoretical framework (Adapted from Crotty, 1998, pp. 4-5).

**Research question**
What is the appropriate role for local government elected members to progress urban sustainability?

**Pākehā House**
What progress has been made towards urban sustainability in the New Zealand local government sector?
What are the roles of local government representatives in other liberal, western, democratic nations -
How do the roles of elected representatives in New Zealand’s urban local authorities compare?

**Tikanga Māori House**
How could Te Tiriti o Waitangi more fully influence governance for urban sustainability?

**Epistemology**
Qualitative & quantitative inquiry
Social constructionism

**Theoretical perspective**
Local governance for urban sustainability

**Methodologies**
Phenomenology
Research involving Māori
Supported by whakapapa & whakawhānaungatanga

**Methods**
Documentary analysis
Questionnaire
Statistical and thematic analysis

**Literature review**

**Interviews - Kanohi ki te kanohi**
Computer assisted thematic analysis

**Conclusions**
Constructionism has its roots in ancient Greek philosophy and ‘is the epistemology that qualitative researchers tend to invoke’ (Crotty, 1998, p. 9). It is based on the belief that:

appropriate methods of inquiry can bring us accurate and certain knowledge … all knowledge and meaningful reality are contingent on human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context (Crotty, 1998, p. 42).

In this way constructionism is applied to one’s understanding of reality as something that is constructed, not something that can be objectively perceived. Crotty (1998, p. 53) argued that social constructionism is dependent on culture. He saw it as a ‘set of control mechanisms’ for the governing of behaviour. In this sense it was all encompassing in that emotions too, were socially constructed. Culture, as a set of symbols, was described as including social, natural and physical realities (Crotty, 1998, p. 54).

In the Pākehā House, the roles of elected members to promote urban sustainability are contingent on their interaction with constituents, colleagues and the governance context within which they operate. The Tikanga Māori House focuses on Māori views of governance and sustainability. The views of individual Māori are contingent on their cultural belief systems and experiences in both the Pākehā and Māori worlds.

The qualitative epistemology is in direct contrast with the quantitative methodology, which emerged from the scientific approach to research in the natural sciences, such as physics and chemistry. King, Keohane and Verba (1994, p. 5) emphasise that most research does not fit clearly into one category or the other. A qualitative approach provided the flexibility for the researcher to explore elected members’ views of their role, sustainability in particular, and their local authority’s practices, without the expectation that one right view would predominate (Davidson & Tolich, 2003, pp. 26-28). A quantitative approach to analysis of some questionnaire data provided for comparison (King et al., 1994, p. 5).

5 Epistemology (from Greek - episteme, knowledge) or theory of knowledge is a branch of philosophy concerned with the nature and scope of knowledge (Steup & Zalta, 2009).
The method was adapted as the subjects’ needs changed. For example, a questionnaire was selected to investigate the elected members’ views due to the geographic spread of participants. The varied responses of elected members to the questionnaire and to the subject of urban sustainability, however, influenced the nature of the engagement with participants. Some simply completed the questionnaire and returned it. Others preferred to discuss the research by telephone or email before deciding whether or not to participate.

A pilot study was undertaken to ensure that theoretical (or conceptual) validity would be achieved and that the instruments chosen would deliver what was expected. The qualitative approach is generally less concerned with reliability, as responses can vary across a group of subjects. It does not attempt to generalise the whole population or select subjects based on representativeness. Subjects for this study were selected from ‘essential and typical units’ (Davidson & Tolich, 2003, p. 35) in order that generalisations could be drawn from typical cases.

**Phenomenology as the methodology**

Phenomenology focuses on the structure and essence of experience for a group of people (Patton, 1990, p. 69). The phenomenon may be an emotion, a relationship, an organisation or a culture. Phenomenology has also been described as the study of how people describe things and experience them through their senses. This experience must be interpreted for it to be understood (Husserl 1962 cited in Patton, 1990, p. 69). Patton highlights two implications of this perspective that are often confused in discussing qualitative research. The first is the subject. It is important to know what people experience and how they interpret the world. The second implication is the methodology. The only way to really know what another person experiences, is to experience it for ourselves. Phenomenology assumes an essence of shared experience.

The thesis employed multiple methodologies⁶. Phenomenology was the overarching methodology. This epistemology guided the exploration of the local

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⁶ A research methodology is a strategy, plan of action or design behind the choice and use of particular methods (Crotty 1998, p. 3).
elected members’ views and the views of Māori governors around governance and sustainability. In the Pākehā House this was supported by an embedded case study methodology (Yin, 2003, p. 44). In the Tikanga Māori House this was supported by ‘Research involving Māori’ (Cunningham, 1998, p. 398) and five supporting Māori research methodologies.

These methodologies are described in parts 2 and 3 of this chapter.

Methods

Mixed methods were used for both the Pākehā House and Tikanga Māori House. A literature review provided background for both parts of the research. Elected member views and their local authorities’ practices were explored through a documentary analysis and an elected member questionnaire.

The views of Māori governors were explored through a series of kanohi ki te kanohi interviews. A number of awhi contributed different areas of expertise.

Literature review

Literature, scholarship and research were sourced from digital, library-based and government sources, and mainstream media. The literature review focused on: governance and democracy, sustainable development, the roles of elected members, New Zealand local government, Māori worldviews, and Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Documentary analysis

Documentary (or content) analysis involves interpreting peoples attitudes, values and behaviour from the things they have written or said, for example books, music, and advertisements (Davidson & Tolich, 2003, p. 129). Denzin and Lincoln (Norman K. Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 379) refer to documentary analysis as a research strategy in case study research. In the Pākehā House, the LTCCP 2006-2016 was selected as the base document for the analysis of each local authority case study. Strategies, plans and policies referred to in these long-term plans and relevant council minutes provided supporting information.
Elected member questionnaire

Patton (1990, p. 69) stressed the importance of interviews and participation as potential data collection methods in a phenomenological approach. While use of a documentary analysis and postal questionnaire to collect a combination of qualitative and quantitative data to capture elected members’ views of their world was less consistent with the phenomenological approach, the essence of researcher ‘shared experienced’ was enhanced by the researchers professional experience in local government. The selection of a postal questionnaire was largely driven by the wide geographic spread of the case study local authorities. The questionnaire was supported by telephone and email contact with participants.

In the Pākehā House the phenomena are the statutory and policy frameworks for local government within which elected members perform their role. The essence of shared experience is how each elected member interprets the impact of urban sustainability on his or her role, and their local authority’s practice. In the social constructionist view, the elected members' reality was explored and analysed through the symbols of culture, as related to his or her representative role, and the culture of their local authority and communities.

Māori interviews

The interview method selected to research the Tikanga Maori House was consistent with a phenomenological approach. The research with Māori was what Bishop (1998) referred to as ‘research involving Māori’, albeit by a Pākehā researcher. It was based on phenomenology and implemented using mixed Māori methodologies and methods. The importance of Māori frameworks to consider Māori worldviews as they related to whakapapa and Māori knowledge is emphasised. Five Māori methodologies influenced the research design: kaupapa Māori research (Cunningham, 1998; Jackson, 1998), whakawhānaungatanga as a research process (Bishop, 1998), the whakapapa research model (Sadler, 2007), research at the interface (Durie, 2004), and the community sector taskforce (2006) model of governance. These are described in the Tikanga Maori House, part 3 of this chapter.

\[^7\] A research method is a technique or procedure used to gather and analyse data related to a research question or hypothesis.
In the Tikanga Māori House the phenomena are the specific ways in which Māori interact with and experience their Māori and Pākehā worlds, and how this shapes their views on governance and sustainability and interaction with local government. The constructionist view is evolved through the culture and symbols of te ao Māori, the Māori worldview.

These methods are described in parts 2 and 3 of this chapter.

**Ethical considerations**

To respect the rights and wishes of the participants, and to meet the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) requirements, the research design addressed the key principles of: informed and voluntary consent, respect for rights of privacy and confidentiality, minimisation of risk, truthfulness (including limitation of deception), social and cultural sensitivity (including commitment to the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi), research adequacy, avoidance of conflict of interest, and respect for property (including property and intellectual property rights of the university and of Māori) (AUT University, 2008).

**Informed consent**

Consent forms were prepared for the elected member questionnaire and the Māori interview participants. A confidentiality agreement was prepared for the interview transcribers. In the case of the questionnaire, all but two participants completed the consent form. Of the 15 Māori interviewed, 13 signed the consent form. One conveyed that their agreement was implied by meeting kanohi ki te kanohi. The remaining person retained control over their information and asked to be consulted later in the process.

All participants were offered privacy and confidentiality of participation to minimise their risk. A number of local elected members and Māori acknowledged that their views were widely known and on the public record. Amongst some Māori participants there was caution around the researcher’s

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8 Numerous attempts were made to obtain verbal or written consent from this participant, none of which were successful. As consent was not confirmed, all references to this interview were removed from the thesis and will not be referenced in subsequent publications. The interview, nevertheless, had a profound influence on the researcher's understanding of the impact of Te Tiriti o Waitangi on Māori, as a people.
capacity to accurately represent their views. To minimise the risk to these participants full control of the information rested with them. A commitment was made to refer back to them at later stages in the research. The findings were reported with care to avoid views being attributed to individual participants. The research process was open and transparent. The advice and expertise sought by the researcher was disclosed to participants early in the research process.

**Social and cultural sensitivity**

Social and cultural sensitivity was relevant to both the elected member questionnaire and the interviews with Māori, as both evoked emotive responses from participants. A key assumption of the research reflected the changing role of elected members brought about by the local government modernisation agenda, and the rising importance of sustainable development. Clearly, not all elected members were supportive of the reforms. The questionnaire bias in support of the agenda accounted for a number of elected members self-selecting out of the research.

**Te Tiriti o Waitangi**

Care was taken to embrace articles 2 and 3 of Te Tiriti o Waitangi through the research conduct. A number of authors have emphasised the need for Māori knowledge to remain the property of Māori participants (Barclay, 1990; Durie, 2004; Harmsworth, 2001; Jackson, 1998; Joseph, 2002; Metge, 2001; Rikys, 2004; Royal, 1998b). Māori control of their knowledge was provided for throughout the research process. Commitments were made for the research findings to be made widely available to all participants (and their nominees).

**Research adequacy**

Research adequacy\(^9\) was ensured by clear research questions, wide review of scholarship, and recent research of governance and Māori research methods. The principles of rigour and reliability were applied to the case study design. Expertise was sought from academics, practitioners, and awhi to ensure that all aspects of the field work were culturally appropriate, for example, a pilot

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\(^9\) The AUTEC (2009) online resource defines research adequacy as research that is designed to meet clear research goals. The research project should not be trivial but should potentially contribute to the advancement of knowledge to an extent that warrants any cost or risk to participants.
questionnaire was used to test the findings of the elected member questionnaire against the evaluation framework. The Māori interview guide and the list of participants was developed in close consultation with awhi.

Conflict of interest

No conflict of interest existed. The researcher was open about her professional role and local government experience.

Respect for property

At all times Māori retained ownership and control over the knowledge they imparted. This was consistent with the university's policy on intellectual property for indigenous research. Material provided by Māori and Pākehā participants was collated for consideration during analysis.

Applying for ethics approval

Following consultation with the AUT Māori issues advisor and other independent academics, an application for ethics approval was lodged with the AUT Ethics Committee in September 2006. Approval to undertake the research was granted in November 2006. The final ethics application is attached as appendix 1.

Conduct of the research

The research was undertaken between February 2005 and March 2009. Two areas of focus contributed to the Pākehā House. They were: understanding the international context for local governance for urban sustainability, and understanding local governance, urban sustainability and local governance in New Zealand (see part 2 of this chapter). A third area contributed to the Tikanga Māori House - an exploration of Māori worldviews on governance and urban sustainability in the context of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (see part 3 of this chapter).

The literature review, data collection, analysis and discussion of findings were progressed contemporaneously to allow for early findings to contribute to the research design and analysis of later sections. Prior (2008, p. 479) argued that documents in social research were relevant in two ways. Firstly for their content,
and secondly as ‘networks of action’ (Ibid., p. 479). The literature, strategic documents and transcripts of interviews contributed in both ways (Ibid., p. 485).

**Part 2 Exploring the Pākehā House**

**Understanding the Pākehā House**

Understanding the Pākehā House focused on local governance in an international and a New Zealand context, and the growing importance of sustainable development. The roles of New Zealand elected members, their understanding of urban sustainability and the progress made by their local authorities were explored.

Desk research highlighted that in many western liberal democracies, the local government sector had undergone radical change since the 1980s, as globalisation, urbanisation, Europeanisation and awareness of the need for sustainable development spread. The literature review focused on emerging trends in local governance, sustainable development progress and urban sustainability, the multiple roles of elected members, and social and institutional capacity for local governance.

Recent relevant research included the DISCUS (Developing Institutional and Social Capacity for Urban Sustainability) research (Evans, Joas, Sundback, & Theobald, 2005); *Comparing Local Governance: Trends and Developments* (Denters & Rose, 2005); and from New Zealand, The councillor role: Local government representation in a shifting political environment (Drage, 2008).

Working definitions were established for *urban sustainability* and *local governance*.

Clearly, the changes in New Zealand local governance were not isolated, but were consistent with emerging international public management trends. In 2005, few sources were identified for this research that directly addressed governance in a sustainability context. By 2006, as authorities completed their first LTCCPs, changes in policy and practice were becoming evident across the New Zealand local government sector.
The next section describes a number of key terms associated with the research question.

**Sustainable development**

Sustainable development is defined according to the Brundtland Report (1987), Our Common Future:

> Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs “(World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p. 8)

The New Zealand government has considered sustainable development in terms of systems rather than the individual components. The weak sustainability model recognises that the economy, society and environment are competing interests, but can be resolved if the economy is sound (Lowe, 1998 in Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, 2002, p. 34). The strong sustainability, or the ecological model of sustainability, requires that different kinds of capital be maintained intact separately. The economy is recognised as a subset of society. Human society and economic activity are recognised as constrained by the environment.

**Urban sustainability**

The term urban sustainability describes sustainable development in an urban context. It seeks to reduce the impact of our communities on the natural environment, safeguard social cohesion and social equity, strengthen community participation in local government, and promote economic well-being (UNCED, 1992; Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, 2002).

**Governance**

Rhodes (2007, p. 10) defined governance dependent on its context. It ranged from a hierarchical vertical and formalised mode of governing to co-governance, which describes a horizontal relationship based on collaboration and cooperation. Kooiman (2003, p. 3) noted that in earlier models, the state was the central governing actor, and that in newer ones, state-society relations were the focus. A more extensive definition of governance is provided in chapter 3.
For the purposes of this research we focus on the collaborative and cooperative model of state-society relations.

**Local governance**

It follows that local governance is the relationship between communities and local and national government. It encompasses local (subnational) institutions, processes and traditions for dealing with issues of public interest and the delivery of expected services (Goss, 2001; Lowndes, 2005; McKinlay, 2000, p. 4).

Evans et al. (2005, p. 11) referred to governance at the local level as the sphere of public debate, partnership, interaction, dialogue and conflict entered into by local citizens and organisations with local government. Governance is increasingly seen as collaborative, with consensual and democratic ways of working that are more ‘bottom up’ in nature compared with traditional processes of government, which have tended to be ‘top down’ and relatively unconcerned about involving communities in the policy process.

**The embedded case study methodology**

An embedded case study approach was used to examine the local governance environment and urban sustainability in New Zealand. Five urban territorial authority case studies focused on elected members’ awareness and experience of urban sustainability, and their roles for urban sustainability. Data collection comprised analysis of territorial authority strategic documents, and an elected member questionnaire. The findings were analysed using thematic and statistical analyses.

The following variables or units of analysis (Yin, 2003, p. 44) were explored:

- Elected members’ perceptions of their role to progress urban sustainability
- The way their role has changed in response to the LGA 2002
- The elected members’ views and understanding of urban sustainability
- The way they engaged in their council’s LTCCP
- The elected members’ perspectives of their local authority’s practices and processes for urban sustainability
Key factors and opportunities for urban sustainability
Obstacles that inhibited progress towards urban sustainability.
The inter-relationship between the variables and the research question
(seeking to understand the roles of local government elected
representatives in New Zealand), is described in figure 2.2.

Case study selection

The case study local authorities were selected for their predominantly urban population, their focus on urban sustainability, and a tendency towards innovation in local government policy and practice. A significant Māori population, Māori representation or governance structures, and an ethnically diverse population were further criteria. These criteria reflected some of the demographic changes that were occurring at the local level of New Zealand communities, and some of the compelling pressures faced by urban territorial authorities.

The case study territorial authorities were: Auckland City Council, Tauranga City Council, Rotorua District Council, Porirua City Council and Christchurch City Council. These are described in chapter 6.

Figure 2.2 Relationship between the elected member questionnaire and the variables.
Documentary analysis

The LTCCP was selected as the base document for analysis in each case study because of the statutory requirement for a local authority to have such a plan, and because the LTCCP addresses sustainable development principles. The LTCCP has a ten-year focus. The first mandatory LTCCPs prepared for the period 2006-16 were the subject of a review by the Office of the Auditor-General (2007)\(^\text{10}\). The Auditor-General acknowledged that while long-term planning was not new for local authorities, the preparation of an LTCCP was ‘a new and complex process’.

Due to an ‘unevenness’ across the content of the 2006-16 LTCCPs, as described by the Office of the Auditor-General (2007, p. 3), it was not always possible to reliably assess the authorities’ approaches to urban sustainability based on the LTCCP alone. They were, however, a useful directive to more detailed information, which was sourced from the council web sites, published strategies and plans, and reports.

The documents used in this part of the research were collected mostly during the period August 2006 to December 2007. The information sources reviewed for each case study included: LTCCP 2006-2016, council agendas and minutes, community development initiatives, regional planning documents and relevant central government policies and strategies.

The initial analysis sought to understand the local authority’s approach to identifying community outcomes, and how they developed their LTCCP. Irrespective of the Auditor-General’s comments, the case study LTCCPs provided an overview of how each local authority viewed its business, and some indication of the level to which urban sustainability principles were integrated in their practices. The LTCCPs also highlighted the councils’ key priorities, their issues and challenges and how they planned to address them, and their interaction and relationships with stakeholders and communities.

\(^{10}\) Four external expert reviews were undertaken on areas that were central to the preparation of an LTCCP: Sustainable development; performance information; asset management information; and financial management and strategies (Controller and Auditor-General, 2007). See chapter 5 for further discussion.
Elected member questionnaire development

The questionnaire addressed the two secondary questions:

What progress has been made towards urban sustainability in the New Zealand local government sector?

What are the roles of local government representatives in other liberal, western, democratic nations, and how do the roles of elected representatives in New Zealand’s urban local authorities compare?

The questionnaire was based on the variables described earlier in this chapter. A range of demographic data was collected with the intention of comparing participants and local authorities.\(^{11}\)

The questionnaire was divided into two sections based around the units of analysis. Section 1 focused on the elected members’ role and their interaction with the development of their Councils’ LTCCP. Section 2 explored elected members’ perceptions of their councils’ processes and practices, and how they contributed to urban sustainability.

Piloting the questionnaire

The pilot questionnaire focused on: the appropriateness of background information, comprehension of the instructions and questions, the order of questions, the willingness of participants to complete the questionnaire, the time required for elected members to complete the questionnaire, and the nature of the information gathered.

Four local elected members and two council officers participated in the pilot. Analysis of the completed questionnaires confirmed that the variables identified for investigation were addressed. Minor changes were made to the draft questionnaire in response to the participants’ feedback.\(^{12}\)

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\(^{11}\) Ultimately the uneven sample size across the case studies limited cross variable analysis to gender.

\(^{12}\) Multiple methods were offered for completing the questionnaire (post, facsimile, telephone and mini cassette recording). Consideration was given to formatting the questionnaire for completion by email. Due to time constraints and lack of technical support, this was not progressed.
Administering the Questionnaire

The elected member questionnaire was distributed in March 2007. An introductory email was sent to the chief executives of the case study local authorities to inform them about the study. A week later, an introduction and invitation to participate in the research was sent to 72 elected members. The questionnaire, information sheet and consent form were posted a week later. Follow up was by phone, email and fax, at fortnightly intervals over the next eight weeks. Elected members who had neither completed nor returned the questionnaire, nor declined to participate, were offered the opportunity to complete the questionnaire by telephone interview. Thirty elected members completed the questionnaire, twelve declined to participate and thirty did not respond. Data collection was completed within a ten-week period. The results of the questionnaire are presented in chapter 7.

Analysis of the questionnaire findings

Yin (2003, p.105) advocated establishing a chain of evidence within a case study methodology. This research established a chain of evidence between the documentary analysis, the findings of the elected member questionnaire, and the data gathered through the interviews with Māori.

The questionnaire data was analysed using traditional and computer assisted thematic and statistical analysis tools. Minitab, MS Excel and Inspiration SE\(^{13}\) were used to compare the range of variables across the sample.

The findings of the elected member questionnaire were cross referenced to the findings of the document analysis, and showed a high degree of consistency. The data was carefully considered and rival interpretations addressed. It was acknowledged at the research design stage that the value of comparing variables across the sample would be influenced by the response rate and resulting sample size\(^{14}\).

\(^{13}\) Minitab and Microsoft Excel are computer assisted quantitative data analysis applications. Inspiration SE is a computer assisted mind-mapping tool.

\(^{14}\) Ultimately, the limited sample size made it statistically non-viable to undertake comparison of specific groups within the sample e.g. Māori/NZ European/other elected member views, first term/multi term elected members, those supportive of urban sustainability versus non-supportive elected members. Comparison was made across gender (see chapter 9).
Framework for evaluating progress towards urban sustainability

The framework for evaluating the case study authorities’ progress towards urban sustainability, was designed to provide for a consistent approach to the data and to contribute to research rigor. The following key sources served as a summary of the multitude of published views on urban sustainability and provided the base criteria for the evaluation framework: (1) Governing Sustainable Cities, the findings of the DISCUS research (Evans et al., 2005); (2) the Local Government Act 2002 s.14, the principles related to local authorities; and (3) Agenda 21: The Earth’s Action Plan (Robinson, 1993). The framework was based on the following ten elements for initiating and managing good governance for sustainable development, identified by Evans, Joas et al:

- Local government as a learning organisation e.g. building up knowledge of urban sustainability and the four well-beings and focusing on life-long learning
- Links between in-house departments
- Alliances with external agencies
- Creative policy-making
- Facilitation and leadership
- Communication with civil society
- Environmental awareness as a catalyst
- Vision and strength
- Networking between local authorities
- Multi-level governing (Evans et al., 2005, pp. 118-121).

The LGA principles of openness, transparency, a regard for all views and diversity, opportunities for Māori, sound business practice and prudent stewardship of resources, informed the evaluation framework.

Careful consideration ensured they were applied consistently. It is worth noting that in New Zealand, the LGA and other statutes made many of the evaluation criteria mandatory, or at least provided significant impetus for local authorities to adopt new ways of working. The evaluation framework is summarised in table 2.1. The completed case study evaluation framework is attached as appendix 2.

The processes and practices of the case study local authorities were recorded in order to facilitate a comparison of the spirit in which the LGA requirements
had been met, and to highlight the degree of innovation and creativity recognised as hallmarks of urban sustainability. In particular, practices were highlighted that would have been less likely in western local governments prior to the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro and the wide acceptance of Agenda 21 that followed this period.

Table 2.1 The key criteria for good governance for urban sustainability, comprising the evaluation framework, by source.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Four broad categories (supported by LGA 2002 and Agenda 21)</th>
<th>Elements for initiating and managing good governance for sustainable development (drawn from the DISCUS findings)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Innovation and New Public Management</td>
<td>Local government as a learning organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Creative policy-making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Environmental awareness as a catalyst.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partnerships and collaboration (including Māori participation)</td>
<td>Links between departments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alliances with external agencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Networking between local authorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Multi-level governing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community engagement and participation (including Māori participation)</td>
<td>Communication with civil society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td>Facilitation and leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vision and strength.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Triangulation**

Triangulation is the use of multiple data sources, investigators, theoretical perspectives and study methods to investigate the same phenomena. It is applied to overcome the inherent weaknesses of single-method, single-observer, single-theory studies (N.K. Denzin, 1989b, p. 234). Yin argued that a major strength of the case study method is the opportunity to use many different sources of evidence (Yin, 2003, p. 97).

**Source triangulation**

Mabry (2008, p. 223) argued that checking the degree to which each source confirms or contrasts with other sources in a case study helps to ascertain the accuracy of data. The selection of a case study methodology drew on multiple sources. It included: participants from a range of geographic and cultural backgrounds, scholarship and research, and official documents. This approach contributed rigor as data was cross referenced between sources.
Data triangulation

Data triangulation is the selection of multiple data sources. It can relate to time, space and person. In turn, person analysis can be individual or collective. Denzin and Lincoln (1989, p. 237) differentiated data sources from methods of generating data.

Data triangulation was achieved by administering the questionnaire to all elected members across the five case study local authorities and applying collective analysis and by Māori interview participants from a range of geographic and cultural backgrounds.

Investigator triangulation

Investigator triangulation means that more than one researcher is used to overcome the potential for researcher bias (Ibid., p. 239). While the research was undertaken by a sole researcher, two supervisors tested the investigator interpretation and analysis. The potential for researcher bias was acknowledged. This weakness was addressed through a wide literature review, the use of a self-completion questionnaire, and a robust evaluation framework which was tested by a pilot study.

Methodological triangulation

This research focused on using multiple methodologies and mixed methods.

Denzin described this as being within-method or between-method (also called across-method) (N.K. Denzin, 1989b, p. 243). Within-method triangulation was the most frequently used to describe employing multiple strategies (or methodologies) to examine data. The research was designed with the objective of achieving a degree of rigor in this area. Methodological triangulation was achieved through the application of phenomenology, embedded case study and multiple Māori methodologies.

Between-method triangulation involved combining methods. For example, the embedded case study and the research involving Māori used document analysis, a questionnaire and interviews. This was supported by the researcher studying te reo me ona tikanga Māori. The elected member questionnaire utilised a combination of empirical and thematic analysis to achieve a degree of
between-method triangulation. Gillham (2000, pp. 13, 29) argued that triangulation enabled any discrepancy between what a person or organisation says or does, to be identified.

A triangulation approach was adopted, while being mindful of the critical views of its use in social research. Fielding and Fielding (in Alasuutari, Bickman, & Brannen, 2008, p.556) and Denzin (1989a, pp.245-246) asserted that all social action has unique meaning. The same action could therefore never be observed twice and further, no two investigators could ever observe the same thing. In this context, the use of multiple theories was viewed as unsound and single method studies considered defensible (Ibid., p. 246).

Fielding and Fielding (2008, p. 555) argued that for triangulation to enhance validity there must be realities that exist independently of the observer. Notwithstanding these views, multiple triangulation, in combination with a fully grounded interpretative research approach, was selected on the basis that it contributed rigor to the research design.

Yin’s tests of validity were observed during the case study methodology (2003, p. 34). Yin described construct validity\(^\text{15}\) as problematic in case study research (Ibid., p. 35), where the investigator fails to develop a sufficiently operational set of measures, and instead, makes subjective judgments. The evaluation framework for the case studies provided for a consistent and objective approach during data gathering and analysis.

External validity\(^\text{16}\) was ensured by constraining the domain for generalising findings to urban territorial authorities within the case study methodology. Data collection methods were based on the need for rigor and reliability. Triangulation was applied to the research design in selecting sources, theoretical perspectives and methods. Efforts were made to be transparent about personal biases.

\(^{15}\) Construct validity refers to the development of correct operational measures for the concepts being studied (Yin 2003, p. 34).

\(^{16}\) External validity requires establishing the domain to which the studies findings can be generalised (Yin 2003, p. 34).
Part 3 Exploring the Tikanga Māori House

The research exploring the Tikanga Māori House reviewed Māori literature and scholarship, and gathered a range of Māori views on governance and sustainability through kanohi ki te kanohi interviews with Māori. The need for this work was implicit in the LGA 2002 provisions for Māori contribution to decision-making as set out in s 81. Further, a key assumption of this research was the need for Māori traditional worldviews to contribute to urban sustainability in New Zealand.

Māori with different tribal connections participated: from Te Rarawa and Ngāpuhi in Northland, to Ngai Tahu in the South Island. The participants represented governance experience at the community level, local and central government, and Māori tribal and pan-tribal organisations.

The themes for the kōrero with participants focused on Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Māori governance practices, Māori knowledge and learning, and Māori views and practices for sustainability. Mixed methods influenced the conduct and design of the research.

Maori research methods

Research involving Māori

The kanohi ki te kanohi interviews conformed to what Cunningham (1998, p. 397) described as ‘research involving Māori’. Although the researcher was Pākehā, the research sought, as far as possible, to be grounded in the principles of kaupapa Māori research\(^\text{17}\) (Cunningham, 1998, pp. 397-402; Jackson, 1998, p. 74), and a range of Māori research methods. Cultural safety, mentorship by kaumatua, and cultural relevance and appropriateness were its guiding principles. Māori advice was sought to ensure that the research method was empowering to Māori participants and their whānau and hapū. Control remained with Māori throughout. The research sought the betterment of Māori and respected Māori access to the findings and control of the knowledge.

\(^\text{17}\) It was acknowledged that as a Pākehā, the researcher could not undertake kaupapa Māori research, in its purist sense.
Whakapapa (Royal, 1998b, p.6; Sadler, 2007, p. 36) and whakawhānaungatanga (Bishop, 1998, p. 134) were employed as supporting research paradigms. Durie’s (2004, p. 8) concept of ‘research at the interface’, in this case between science and indigenous knowledge, provided a way of conceptualising the challenges of cross-cultural research. The Community Sector Taskforce (2006, p. 5) model ‘A new way of working’ provided a mechanism for considering the Māori and Pākehā aspects of the research within their respective world views, and for bringing together the findings. These Māori research models are described on the following pages.

**Kaupapa Māori research**

According to Cunningham (1998, p. 402), kaupapa Māori research was the quest for contemporary mātauranga Māori. Its principles were consistent with the concepts of kaupapa Māori. It has been described as:

… research that is culturally safe … involves the mentorship of kaumatua … is culturally relevant and appropriate, while satisfying the rigour of research… is undertaken by a Māori researcher, not a researcher which (sic) happens to be Māori (Irwin 1994 cited in Cunningham, 1998, p. 402).

Paparangi Reid argued that:

the theoretical approaches of a variety of disciplines fall well short of being able to address Māori needs or give full recognition of Māori culture and value systems (1998 cited in Cunningham, 1998, p. 402).

Bishop stated a number of questions that needed to be considered for kaupapa Māori research to be empowering (Bishop 1994 cited in Cunningham, 1998, p. 402).
Cunningham (1998, p. 397) proposed a continuum of four research models for use in a science and technology context. This is described in figure 8.2.

In this model, the involvement of Māori ranged from no involvement, to involvement as subject, participant or researcher, to involvement in analysis. Similarly, control ranged from mainstream control to partnership, to Māori control.

According to Cunningham (Cunningham, 1998, pp. 397-399), research not involving Māori was that where neither Māori participation nor data was sought or considered relevant. The research was believed to have no impact on Māori, for example, quantum chemistry. Control and analysis of this type of research was mainstream and mainstream methods were used.

Research involving Māori was characterised by the involvement of Māori participants, Māori subjects or junior members of a research team. Māori data was sought. Māori researchers were trained in mainstream methods and
analysis, for example, determining ethnic differentials in disease rates. Control and analysis was mainstream, mainstream research methods were used. Māori participation was minor (Cunningham, 1998, p. 398).

In Māori-centred research, Māori were significant participants and typically senior members of research teams. Māori analysis was undertaken resulting in Māori knowledge, albeit measured against mainstream standards for research, for example, a social science study of Māori households. Control was mainstream, with mainstream and Māori methods used, along with Māori analysis (Cunningham, 1998, p. 399).

Cunningham described kaupapa Māori research as having Māori as significant participants - typically an all Māori research team. Māori analysis was undertaken and Māori knowledge was produced. Research met the expectations and quality standards of Māori. Examples included the traditional study of cosmology, or cultural determinants of health. Māori control would be exercised throughout. Māori participation would be major, and possibly exclusively Māori. Both mainstream and Māori methods would be used. Māori analysis would be applied and Māori knowledge would result (Cunningham, 1998, p. 399).

In summary, kaupapa Māori research was formative, had its own methodologies, and employed a range of traditional and contemporary methods. It was interpreted through a Māori worldview (Smith 1995 cited in Cunningham, 1998, p. 402; Jackson, 1998, p. 74).

**Māori analysis**

Cunningham (1998, p. 400) argued that Māori knowledge was the product of Māori analysis of Māori data. It ‘places Māori experience at the centre of the theoretical base’. A Māori worldview was accepted as the reality. Technological advances were used within a Māori philosophical framework to achieve the goal of Māori development. Māori analysis could produce different results to mainstream analysis and have different biases, based on the subjectivity of the research.

Mainstream analysis implied an objectivity, which in Māori terms could imply other biases, such as Māori as an Anglican or colonial concept, a ‘native’
population, a sense of ethnic, social and cultural homogeneity. A Māori analysis was an alternate view with the potential to yield results with subtle but important differences (Cunningham, 1998, p. 400).

**Te Tiriti o Waitangi analysis**

Cunningham (1998, p. 400) proposed Te Tiriti o Waitangi analysis as an alternative to a kaupapa Māori epistemology. This approach acknowledged the special relationship between the Crown and tangata whenua. It was a distinctly Māori position based on the view of mātauranga Māori as a taonga, one which had been undermined since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

**Whakawhānaungatanga as a research process**

Bishop (1998, p. 133) developed whakawhānaungatanga as a research process in reference to Te Tiriti o Waitangi research. Within a kaupapa Māori domain it addressed Māori concerns of power and control over research initiation, benefits, representation, legitimisation, and accountability. Bishop argued that historically these factors were dominated by the researcher’s agenda, concerns and interests. He sought a collaborative means of constructing research stories in a 'culturally conscious and connected manner'. This was a discrete context whereby claimants under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 could establish their history before the Tribunal.

Whakawhānaungatanga had three overlapping principles. The first placed importance on establishing and maintaining relationships as an extensive and ongoing part of the research. This required establishing a 'whānau of interest' through a process of discourse.

Secondly, there was a need for researchers to understand that they were 'somatically involved in the research process' - physically, ethically, morally and spiritually involved. Involvement was beyond concern with methodology.

Thirdly, relationships were established in a Māori context to address the power and control concerns. This meant taking a participant driven approach (Bishop, 1998, p. 133). It focused on connectedness, engagement and involvement. As a result the outcomes of the research had meaning in terms of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
Whakapapa research methodology

Sadler (2007, pp. 36-38) attributed hakapapa as a tool used by tohunga to open the mind to critically analyse new phenomena. He described it as an approach within the Māori paradigm of rangahau; a searching for whānaungatanga, relationships that connect animate or inanimate phenomena.

Sadler (2007, p. 37) described the central idea of whakapapa as a research methodology as two phenomena coming together to give birth to a third phenomenon. Sadler used the following example (figure 8.3) to demonstrate how early Māori could have used the whakapapa tool to understand their new environment. In this example the new phenomenon is snow.

Figure 8.3 Concept of two phenomena that give birth to a third phenomenon.


The methodology instructed the researcher to look behind a single phenomenon, for the two antecedent, parent phenomena. The tool could be reapplied in turn to find the antecedents of each parent and every time a single phenomenon was apprehended.

By understanding the relationship between the two parent phenomena, the child, the phenomenon itself could be understood. Future phenomena were dependent upon two or more things coming together to create new phenomenon.

Royal (1998b, p. 37) argued that whakapapa built up a picture of the phenomenal world. Whakapapa located phenomena within a paradigm of Māori knowledge, and provided for the evolution of mātauranga Māori.
Sadler used figure 8.4 is an example that expressed the reality that existed for his ancestors (Sadler, 2007, p. 40). He argued that the whakapapa research tool could explain contemporary phenomena in the modern Māori development context such as listlessness, unemployment, domestic violence and drug addiction.

Figure 8.4 Whakapapa research tool to explain the contemporary reality of the New Zealand legal system.


**Interface research framework**

Mason Durie (2004, p. 6) described a research model that acknowledged the differences between science and indigenous knowledge (see figure 8.5 over the page). He proposed that the two forms of knowledge each had value and could work together.

The debate around the interface research framework had three distinct platforms: opposition to the promotion of science as the only valid body of knowledge, the rejection of science in favour of indigenous knowledge, and the misinterpretation of knowledge by the use of system-bound criteria. According to Durie (2004, p. 6), science was intolerant of other systems that were not based on empirical evidence or results that could be duplicated. These systems were afforded a lesser status, and ran the risk of being rationalised according to scientific principles.

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18 This is a dialectal variation on whakapapa.
Indigenous people had frequently dismissed science as a legitimate knowledge base because it seemed incapable of explaining spiritual phenomena, or recognising the existence of nature as something more than a scientifically observable construct (Durie, 2004, p. 7).

Historically, scientific knowledge had been used to reduce the standing of indigenous people in the eyes of others (Durie, 2004; Jackson, 1998; Tuhiwai Smith, 1998). Researchers had taken indigenous knowledge and reconstructed the meaning, analysed it into smaller components that failed to recognise that multiple strands make up an integrated whole, and published it as their own.

There was a tendency for indigenous mistrust of science and scientific disbelief in indigenous knowledge. Durie (2004, p. 7) argued that the two systems could accommodate each other without distorting their fundamental values and principles. However, he warned against using the tools of one knowledge system to analyse the foundations of another.

Durie observed in practice that scientists and indigenous people lived with the contradictions of different bodies of knowledge. He gave the example of scientists subscribing to religious beliefs that were not explained by science; and of indigenous people who used scientific principles in everyday life, while holding fast to indigenous values. Many indigenous researchers had access to both knowledge systems and used the interface between science and indigenous knowledge as a source of inventiveness.

Durie argued that in the New Zealand context, 'research at the interface' should be differentiated from mātauranga Māori research, which was conducted
entirely within the context of Māori knowledge and Māori methodological approaches. It also needed to be differentiated from scientific knowledge, which used only approaches consistent with empirical scientific principles (Durie, 2004, p. 7).

Durie’s five-part framework for interface research in the Research, Science and Technology sector shown in figure 8.6 demonstrates the relationship between the underlying principles, research paradigms, effective policies and capabilities necessary to deliver ‘quadruple bottom line’ outcomes for Māori.

Figure 8.6 Research at the interface framework.

![Research at the interface framework](image)


**Community Sector Taskforce Model as a research model**

The Community Sector Taskforce model – A new way of working (Community Sector Taskforce, 2006), was a Māori governance model and is discussed in the next chapter. It was conceptualised within a contemporary framework for local government, based on Te Tiriti o Waitangi. It is presented here to demonstrate its usefulness as a research model. Conceptually it offers three spaces: a ‘Pākehā House’ as a place to consider western views of governance and sustainability, a ‘Tikanga Māori House’ as a place through which to conceptualise the Māori views, and a ‘Treaty House’, common to both cultures, where the Māori and the Pākehā knowledge can come together and generate something of value for both cultures.
Ngā Kaiawhi

Guidance was sought from three respected awhi. They shared their knowledge as Māori governors within Māori and non-Māori institutions, and as members of whānau, hapū and iwi. The meetings took place either at their home or neutral meeting place nearby. In the preparatory phases of my fieldwork they advised me on te ao Māori, tikanga and protocol and introduced participants. Awhi extended to advice on the presentation of the thesis. The counsel of these three awhi provided an important cultural point of reference for the Māori fieldwork.

Interviews with Māori

The kanohi ki te kanohi interviews were an important source of knowledge of te ao Māori, and Māori views of governance, sustainability and Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The value of this work was attributable to the mātauranga Māori applied to each step of the process.

Selecting participants

Māori participants were identified in consultation with the three awhi and the academic supervisors. In addition, my personal and work networks and, later, interview participants were the source of contacts. The Māori and professional background of each participant was researched and their contact details established. This process took many months.

Māori participants included academics, local and central government politicians, corporate governors, community workers, professionals representing Māori on government organisations, court mediators, chief executives, lawyers, strong advocates of Māori, Te Tiriti o Waitangi claimants and administrators. Table 2.2 over the page sets out the whakapapa and governance experience of Māori participants.
Table 2.2 The whakapapa and governance experience of Maori participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Whakapapa</th>
<th>Governance experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ngai Tahu, Ngati Kahungunu and Ngati Porou</td>
<td>Academic, local government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Te Rarawa, Te Aupouri</td>
<td>Māori governance, Pākehā governance, politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ngati Whatau Nga Rima O Kaipara</td>
<td>Māori governance, Pākehā governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ngati Kahungunu, Rongomaiwahine</td>
<td>Māori governance, Pākehā governance, academic, politics, law(^{19}) (practice and appointments), environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ngati Hine</td>
<td>Māori governance, Pākehā governance, environment, corporate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Te Arawa</td>
<td>Māori governance, Pākehā governance, local government, corporate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Te Arawa, Tainui, Tuhoe, Ngati Manawa, Ngati Awa</td>
<td>Māori governance, Pākehā governance, politics, environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ngati Porou, Ngati Kahungunu, Te Whanau-A-Apanui, Rangatane, Ngati Kauwhata</td>
<td>Māori governance, local government, corporate, politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ngati Porou, Ngati Kahungunu</td>
<td>Māori governance, Pākehā governance, local government, politics, law, environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ngati Pukenga, Te Arawa</td>
<td>Māori governance, Pākehā governance, local government, politics, law, environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Ngati Kahungunu, Ngai Te Kikiri o te Rangi, Ngati Pahauwera</td>
<td>Māori governance, Pākehā governance, academic, politics, law,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Ngati Kahungunu, Ngati Porou, Rongomaiwahine</td>
<td>Māori governance, academic, law, politics, environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Turanganui-a-Kiwa, Rongowhakaata</td>
<td>Māori governance, local government, corporate, academic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Ngati Whatua o Orakei</td>
<td>Māori governance, local government, corporate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The research documents

An interview guide, participant information sheet and consent form were prepared. The intention was for the kanohi ki te kanohi interviews to be participant-led. The guide was, however, useful for participants in considering their participation and included: te ao Māori and how being Māori influenced governance, the relevance of the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in day to day life, key aspects of Māori governance, what sustainability means to Māori, Māori

\(^{19}\) Law refers to both practice and appointments.
attitudes to knowledge and learning; and Māori practices to progress urban sustainability.

**Establishing contact through whakapapa-based recruitment**

The whakapapa concept was chosen to establish a tangible link between the Pākehā researcher and the Māori participants. This was achieved by identifying a connection through whānau, hapū or iwi between the participants and the researcher. For example, awhi referred me to their whanaunga.

Making contact and meeting with those who agreed to participate extended over twelve months. The difficulties in accessing participants were two-fold. Firstly, individuals were often widely involved in their whānau and wider Māori communities and responding to the researcher was not a high priority. Secondly, the geographic spread of participants made kanohi ki te kanohi introduction impractical.

The initial contact established a whakapapa or whānaungtaunga connection by telephone, letter or email. Numerous telephone conversations, additional information by email, and rescheduling of appointments was required for meetings to occur. For all but two participants, the research interview was the first kanohi ki te kanohi with the researcher.

The first interview took place in Christchurch in May 2007. Subsequent interviews were conducted in Auckland, Wellington, Rotorua, Ohope, and Gisborne between February and May 2008.

The interviews began with a discussion of the research and clarification of the research methods and what the data would be used for. The consent form was offered. A commitment was made by the researcher to respect the wishes of the participants in all respects, to maintain contact, and to share the findings of the research, at its conclusion. Interviews took 1-3 hours.

The themes for the kōrero outlined in the interview guide were suggested. The interviews were predominantly participant driven. The kōrero focused on different aspects of the kaupapa outlined. All interviews were digitally recorded.
Translation of key documents

Consideration was given to translating the research documents into te reo Māori. As the participants would all be fluent in English, Māori advisors considered translation was not necessary. The views of participants were sought. In each case, they were satisfied with the material in English as this was to be the language of the kōrero.

Koha

In tikanga Māori giving and receiving koha is widely practiced. It usually involves giving gifts of food or produce. Gifts of fruit were presented as koha for each of the interviews. The koha was viewed as a reciprocal gift for the valuable time and knowledge contributed to the research. Giving koha provided an opportunity for the researcher to demonstrate respect for tikanga Māori.

Analysing the interview findings

Digital recordings of the interviews were professionally transcribed, and reviewed and corrected for transcription error by the researcher. Transcripts were sent to participants to make any amendments or corrections they deemed appropriate. This provided the participants with control over their information. Approved transcripts were then prepared for use by NVivo7, a computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) application.

NVivo assisted with developing themes, coding, and sorting the information contained within the interview transcripts. Coding was a dynamic and bottom up process driven by content. Word frequency counts were used in the first instance, to suggest themes. Additional themes were developed spontaneously as coding progressed. At the conclusion of coding, NVivo facilitated the development of a hierarchy for the themes and generated reports for thematic analysis.

As the themes formed natural groupings, a framework was developed to describe the findings. It was based on: being Māori, two world views, Te Tiriti o Waitangi and he Wakaputunga o Te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni, sustainability, and governance. The findings are described in detail in chapter 10.
The preparation of the researcher to be equipped with the skills and worldviews to explore the Tikanga Māori house was an important aspect of the research methodology. This is outlined in chapter 1.

Conclusion

The research explored how New Zealand local elected members could progress urban sustainability. The early focus of the work was on the Pākehā House - the elected members understanding of urban sustainability, and the progress made by their local authorities. Later work was undertaken to explore the Tikanga Māori House - how governance could be more fully influenced by Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The analysis and findings were brought together in the Treaty house.

The research was a qualitative inquiry. It was set within a theoretical base of phenomenology and supported by social constructionism. An embedded case study methodology was used to explore the roles of elected members and the progress of their local authorities towards urban sustainability. Document analysis and a self-selection questionnaire were the methods selected.

The research involving Māori (Cunningham, 1998, p. 398) explored Māori views of governance and sustainability, and was undertaken by kanohi ki te kanohi interviews. Whakapapa (Royal, 1998b, p.6; Sadler, 2007, p. 36) and whakawhānaungatanga (Bishop, 1998) were used in establishing a link with Māori participants. Research at the interface (Durie, 2004) and the Community Sector Taskforce (2006) provided conceptual models to support the Māori research methods.

The next chapter explores the concepts of governance and sustainable development within the Pākehā House, the first of the two houses of knowledge that this thesis seeks to integrate.
PART 2

THE PĀKEHĀ HOUSE
Chapter 3
Governance in a sustainability context

Introduction

Chapter 2 outlined the overall approach that was taken to explore local governance for sustainability. This chapter is the first dedicated to the Pākehā House of this research. It discusses international and local influences on governance and their relevance to urban sustainability.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi, New Zealand's founding document was an important and widely recognised influence on governance in New Zealand. The events of colonisation and the subsequent dominance of European culture, led to the displacement of Māori governance by ‘democracy’ and a Westminster-style parliament. Many Māori have a distinct view of government and governance from the colonisation experience of their tupuna. Aspects of this view are presented here.

As communities have grown, the demands on the physical environment and the social and economic networks that support them have increased. Internationally, the importance of sustainable development - balancing the competing pressures on the social, economic and environmental aspects of urban society – has been widely acknowledged.

By 2000 a significant body of knowledge had developed that examined governance and sustainability independent of each other. As noted in chapter 1, work undertaken internationally since 2000 has begun to link the concepts. According to Jordan (2008, pp.17-18) ‘sustainable development and governance’ are two of the most contested terms’ in the social sciences. He argued that they were highly ambiguous and represented the simultaneous desire for economic prosperity and environmental protection.

This chapter defines the terms ‘sustainable development’ and ‘urban sustainability’ for the purposes of this research. Models of sustainable
Development and highlights of the ‘green revolution’ that have evolved since the 1970s are outlined. Examples of the diverse understandings and applications of governance and sustainable development and related terms are presented. Included are an indigenous viewpoint on governance, examples of New Zealand government response to the international sustainability movement and policy for sustainable development, along with recent research that relates to this field.

The approaches taken to governance are empirical and normative in order to understand the changing form and role of governance. The normative prescription could be described as achieving progress towards sustainable development and in particular urban sustainability (Jordan, 2008, pp. 22-23).

Context for governance for urban sustainability

The context for governance for urban sustainability in Aotearoa New Zealand is the prevailing Western liberal democracy. Democracy has been practised in New Zealand with varying degrees of equity since the first government was established in 1863. Elections were fundamental to New Zealand’s constitution and local and national government.

Veneklasen and Miller (2002, p. 21) described five forms of democracy: liberal democracy, popular democracy, representative (or indirect) democracy, participative (or direct) democracy, and social democracy. Representative and participative democracy are central to this discussion of the elected member role in western-style local democracy.

In a representative democracy legislation is enacted by representatives elected by the citizenry (Ibid., p. 22). The majority delegate power to a minority, who act in their interest. Elected representatives make decisions on behalf of citizens. This has been the predominant form of democracy practiced in New Zealand, Australia, and the United Kingdom. In participatory democracy citizens exercise power directly rather than delegating power to representatives.

Cheyne (1997, p. 23) refers to this as ‘actual involvement by individuals and groups in decisions that affect them’, for example, referendums, and petitions.
Heywood (1999, p. 233) argued that indirect democracy was based on the claim that politicians served as the peoples representatives. In the Burkean tradition, politicians should not be tied like delegates to the views of their constituents, but rather ‘exercise mature judgment and enlightened conscience’ (Burke 1774 cited in Heywood, 1999, p. 234).

**Implications of neoliberal political reforms**

The traditional Westminster model of UK government in New Zealand was being challenged by the advent of new public management and neo-liberal economic reforms. Initiated by the Bolger National government in the 1970s and early 1980s (Cheyne, O’Brien, & Belgrave, 2008, p. 211), these reforms were advanced by the Fourth Labour Government, which came into power in 1984 (Newberry & Pallot, 2005, p. 171). Newberry and Pallot (2005, p. 172) highlighted that the reforms encompassed a range of private sector practices, collectively referred to as ‘managerialism’ or New Public Management (NPM), which included: corporate planning, increased budget flexibility, progressive dismantling of Treasury regulations and ad hoc attempts at non-financial performance management. In practise, this placed emphasis on contractual relationships for the delivery of government services.

Larner and Craig (2005, p. 407) argued that neoliberal reform in New Zealand went through three distinct phases. The first, during the 1980s saw central government withdraw from many areas of economic production, while at the same time progressing welfare and social justice aspirations. They described the early 1990s as ‘more punitive’ and ‘an extension of marketisation and neo-conservative and/or authoritarian policies and programmes in the area of social policy’ (Larner & Craig, 2005, p. 407). The late 1990s was seen as a third phase and was typified by ‘a partnering ethos.’ The associated discourses of social inclusion and social investment were observed ‘to sit awkwardly alongside the more obvious neoliberal elements of the Labour governments philosophy e.g. economic globalisation, market activation and contractualism (Larner & Craig, 2005, p. 407).
Chapman and Duncan (2007, pp. 3-4) argued that while implemented by the Fourth Labour Government between 1984 and 1990, NPM was a product of The Treasury (Ministry of Finance), heavily influenced by public choice theory. They described the outstanding features of the New Zealand model of NPM as: the appointment of departmental chief executives on five-year fixed contracts with greater managerial authority and discretion, consistent application of accrual accounting policies, the disaggregation of multipurpose state bureaucracies into smaller single-purpose agencies, competitive contracting out and a rapid corporatisation, frequently followed by full privatisation, of state-owned assets (Duncan & Chapman, 2009, pp. 3-5).

Duncan and Chapman observed that refinements to the model were introduced under the National Government during the 1990s, with a view to reducing the high transaction costs of the accountability arrangements, balancing risk against the independence of state-owned agencies and allowing central agencies to focus on 'more government-wide tasks, given the unique perspective that they could bring to public policy making' (Duncan & Chapman, 2009, pp. 3-5).

The model continued to evolve under the Labour-led coalition between 1999 and 2008. Chapman and Duncan described how this resulted in a focus on outcomes, which was a distinct shift from the previous focus on the production of outputs. There was a movement from pure agency theory to a co-ordinated systems approach, and a less 'slavish' adherence to the policy-operations and purchaser-provider splits. Further they described 'a culture of ethical, consumer-focused, politically neutral, effective and efficient equitable public service' being reestablished through the public sector (Duncan & Chapman, 2009, pp. 5-6). Further, a reversal was observed in the trend towards privatisation of public assets following the Labour-Alliance government renationalisation of previously privatised state-owned assets.

Chapman and Duncan concluded that the widely renowned model of NPM implemented by the Fourth Labour Government, was subsequently refined by the National government and the Labour-Alliance coalition government, to the extent that the market-led mechanisms of the classic model were no longer considered useful (Duncan & Chapman, 2009, pp. 19-20). They observed that some of the original practices had been preserved, some refined and improved.
upon and others abandoned. The focus on economic rationalisation was seen to have ‘given way to a wider concern for public service ethics, collaboration and social outcomes’ (Duncan & Chapman, 2009, p. 20).

The local government reforms of 1989 were based on NPM principles. The council was ‘decoupled’ from the day-to-day management and a chief executive appointed on a performance-based contract. Local authorities were encouraged to transfer commercial activities to local authority trading enterprises (LATEs), although a strong reaction from the local government sector resulted in a shift in emphasis ‘from efficiency and rationality towards some of the more traditional values ascribed to local government’ (Newberry & Pallot, 2005, p. 178), the reforms had an immediate impact on how services such as water, wastewater, stormwater, refuse collection and disposal and forestry were undertaken.

Further reforms introduced via the 1996 amendments to the LGA 1974, sought to introduce greater efficiency and effectiveness in financial planning, and appropriate public participation in financial policies and funding decisions. The election of the Labour-Alliance government in 1999 initiated a further round of reform focused on the democratisation agenda of local government promoted by the Blair government in the UK. This resulted in the LGA 2002, which introduced the concept of a partnership between local and central government (Newberry & Pallot, 2005, p. 179).

Larner and Craig (2005, pp. 407, 412) described the development of partnerships and policy networks that occurred during the third phase of neoliberalism in New Zealand, and were formalised during the Fifth Labour government was as a direct response to the fragmentation of services that was associated with the marketisation and contractualisation of the earlier phases. They identified a proliferation of pilot partnership programmes focusing on linking central and local government, community and volunteer sector groups and iwi/Māori groups. In general terms, it was upheld that strengthening communities through multi-level collaborative arrangements would help New Zealanders respond positively to social and economic change and contribute to sharing of best practice knowledge and processes and better understanding of
local needs (Loomis, 2002, p. 7). This was resulting in the formalisation of partnerships (through formal agreements and memoranda of understanding).

New roles had emerged in government for ‘strategic brokers’ to foster networks, manage relationships and support local and sectoral activism (Larner & Craig, 2005, p. 415). Two distinctive roles had evolved; firstly, that of the ‘partnership manager’ who was most likely to be located within government agencies. The second was the ‘social entrepreneur’, more likely to be based at the territorial authority or in the community. The social entrepreneur was described as ‘growing social capital in the same way those in business would build their balance sheets’ (Larner & Craig, 2005, p. 417).

Newberry and Pallot highlighted the Treaty of Waitangi debate of the principle of partnership that was emerging in the late 1980s e.g. the articulation of Treaty principles by The Waitangi Tribunal, New Zealand Court of Appeal, New Zealand Māori Council and the Royal Commission on Social Policy (see chapter 9). This was recognised as the backdrop for the national debate of partnership and collaboration. Further, it was a contributing factor to the sense of urgency at the government level, to develop new relationships between government and communities) that included Māori (Craig, Courtney, & Waitakere Partnerships Research Team, 2004, p. 12; Larner & Craig, 2005, p. 408; Local Partnerships and Governance Research Group, 2005, p. 18).

**Defining governance**

Jordan (2008, p. 21) described governance simply as ‘the patterns that emerge from the governing activities of social, political and administrative actors’. This allowed for the involvement of non-state actors such as businesses and non-government organisations (NGOs) in steering and guiding society.

Rhodes (2007b, p. 7) argued that the meaning of the term ‘governance’ was dependent upon its context. He defined governance as ‘the totality of theoretical conceptions on governing interactions’ and distinguished three modes of governance: (1) self governance, which was the capacity to govern autonomously; (2) co-governance, which described a horizontal relationship based on collaboration and cooperation; and (3) hierarchical governance, which
was a vertical and formalised mode of governing, where the governing entities influence the behaviour of other actors.

In his earlier work Rhodes (1996, p. 658) recognised governance as: the minimal state, corporate governance, ‘good governance’, a socio-cybernetic system and as self organising networks.

Kooiman (2003, p. 3) noted that in earlier models, the state was the central governing actor, and that in newer ones, state-society relations were the focus. Consistent with this theme, the Governance Co-operative (Martin, 1997, p. 1) defined governance as the relationship between civil society and the state. Governance was progressively used to describe a community process, by which governments delivered expected services. This was in contrast with the early understanding of government, which perceived it as an organisation (Martin, 1997, p. 1). The term ‘governance’ described:

… the processes and traditions for dealing with issues of public interest. It is concerned with how decisions are taken and how citizens (or stakeholders) are accorded a voice in this process … (Martin, 1997, p. 1).

For the purposes of this research, governance refers to a collaborative and cooperative model of state-society relations that involves a multitude of government, NGO, community and private interests, sometimes termed policy networks.

**Differentiating ‘government’, ‘governing’ and ‘governance’**

The terms ‘government’, ‘governing’ and ‘governance’ are often confused. The term ‘government’ has traditionally referred to an institution with its inherent principles, rules and laws, which centre on institutions and actions of the state (Jordan, 2008, p. 21). There was, however, a growing understanding of the differences between government as a means, governance as a process, and the role of local authorities in enabling community governance by providing

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20 The socio-cybernetics approach highlighted the limits to governing by a singly actor, and claimed there was no single sovereign authority. It emphasises multiple ‘social-political-administrative’ actors, shared goals, blurred boundaries and new forms of action. It was argued that all the actors in a particular policy area needed each other (Rhodes 1996, p.657).

21 The Governance Co-operative is a grouping of major Canadian governmental and non-governmental agencies with an interest in development administration (Martin 1997, p. 1).
much of the infrastructure and resource that was required (Evans et al., 2005, p. 12; McKinlay, 2000, p. 9).

Hambleton (2008, p. 10) emphasised that government makes decisions within specific and legislative frameworks. Governance, on the other hand, involved government and the

looser processes of influencing and negotiating with a range of public and private sector agencies to achieve desired outcomes (Ibid., p. 10).

The term ‘governing’, according to Kooiman (2003, p. 4) is the ‘totality of interactions’ in which public and private actors participate in solving societal problems and creating opportunities. The institutions of government are the context for these interactions. Governing is those social activities which make a ‘purposeful effort to guide, steer, control or manage societies’ (Kooiman 1993 in Jordan, 2008, p.21).

The shift from ‘government’ to ‘governance’

Rhodes (2007b, p. 12) argued that the traditional Westminster model of UK government was being challenged by concepts of policy networks, governance, the core executive\(^{22}\), and hollowing out\(^{23}\) that occurred following the reforms of UK local government during the 1980s and 1990s. Governance was increasingly centred on the relationship between local government and society.

The need for collective action to deal with the community’s needs across social, economic, environmental and cultural well-being was becoming widely acknowledged and entrenched in legislation. This had implications for all levels of government, business and the not-for-profit sector. Evans et al. (2005, p. 12) described the difference between governance and government:

More collaborative, consensual and democratic ways of working were noted to emerge that were more ‘bottom up’ in nature, compared with traditional processes of government, which tend to be top down and relatively unconcerned about involving civil society actors in the policy process (Evans et al., 2005, p. 12).

\(^{22}\) This refers to the UK Prime Minister and Cabinet (Rhodes, 2007, p. 8).

\(^{23}\) This refers to the reduced ability of the core executive to act effectively, brought about by the growth in governance (Rhodes 2007, p. 10).
It was acknowledged that the dividing line between the processes of government, on one hand, and governance, on the other, was not always clear (Evans et al., 2005, p. 12).

Rhodes used the word governance to describe the changing boundaries between the public, private and voluntary sectors. He described the actors as interdependent, so decisions are the product of their game-like interactions, rooted in trust and regulated by the rules of the game, negotiated and agreed between the parties (Rhodes, 2007a, p. 1).

Denters and Rose (2005 pp. 255-256) argued that this shift from ‘government’ to ‘governance’ had clear implications for the nature of local democracy, particularly where the focus was on the role of a directly elected council. They concluded that recent changes had ‘hollowed out the traditional model of democracy’. Voter turnout in local elections had been declining, and in 2005 was well below 50 percent in America, the United Kingdom and Switzerland, with a clear downward trend in France, the Netherlands and Norway.

Further, citizens were seeking alternative opportunities to voice their opinions and demands outside of the electoral channel (Denters & Rose, 2005, p.257). This had reduced the influence of the elected council in policy and implementation. The need for transparency and democratic accountability was one of the compelling factors in recent initiatives to renew local government.

**Local governance**

Evans et al. (2005, p. 3) defined local governance as the sphere of public debate, partnership, interaction, dialogue and conflict entered into by local citizens and organisations, and by local government. Governing was a term to describe both this view and the processes that make local governments effective. Rather than implying a loss of functions, this foreshadowed new roles for local government and hence, elected members.

McKinlay (2000, p. 4) argued that the conventional view of governance as ‘something done by governments’ was changing. Increasingly, the community was being placed at the centre of the governance process with government, especially local government, acting in an enabling role. The breakdown of the
traditional roles between local and central government, and the impact of globalisation and corporatisation, meant that infrastructure provision was no longer automatically the role of local government. A clear distinction between the physical provision of services, and the question of setting standards, defining service quality and monitoring performance was becoming standard practice.

Van Zeijl-Rozema et al. (2007, pp. 2-7) described governance for sustainable development as ‘complex - multi-actor, multi-sector and multi-level problems. They argued that governance for sustainable development, that is steering societal change, was possible from both a top-down hierarchical relationship between government and societal actors, and a more bottom-up and horizontal relationship between actors, that typified governance.

The UK government in its March 1999 white paper Local Leadership, Local Choice (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 1999) proposed to modernise local government. Key to this process was presenting a range of new forms of local governance asking 'local people' how they wanted to be governed.

The Commission of European Communities’ white paper ‘European Governance’ (Commission of European Communities, 2001), assumed that at the local level governance was something undertaken by local government for its community. This required councils to develop strategies for promoting the economic, social and environmental well-being of their localities, set out strategic priorities and the contribution of each of the key actors.

The 2008 White Paper Communities in control - real people, real power shifted power, influence and responsibility away from existing centres of power and into the hands of communities and citizens (Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, 2008, p. 12).

The UK Government emphasised that representative democracy remained at the centre of local government and was strengthened, rather than undermined, by participative democracy (Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, 2008, p. 13).
Community governance

The term community governance has been used to reflect the community-centred focus of the shift from ‘government’ to ‘governance’. Community governance refers to something the community itself does, with local government undertaking an enabling role. The underlying principle of community governance was the premise that power needed to be exercised as close as possible to citizens and local communities (McKinlay, 2000, p. 2). Within conventional local government the term ‘community governance’ was seen as shorthand for the principle of subsidiarity, which is the principle that decisions should be made at the level at which they most impact. The notion of subsidiarity had long served as a guiding principle for handling public affairs (Denters & Rose, 2005, p. 121).

Waring (2001, p. 4) described community governance as a democratic process that was still evolving. She emphasised the rights of people to a controlling influence over public decisions and decision makers as a result of the contributions they made, particularly when they organised collectively to solve their problems or promote their interests, in a democratic form of governance. She argued that the cost effectiveness of governance was assured – where local governance was open and accountable, damaging policies could be identified, and public resources used efficiently and monitored effectively. Policies would be responsive to public need (Waring, 2001, p. 4). Waring noted the New Zealand Auditor General’s support for consultation as a cost effective form of governance:

The most tangible benefit of adequate and appropriate public consultation is that it will help produce better decisions … Projects that are understood and accepted by the community are less likely to face pressure for their revision or removal … Getting it right first time can save time and money (Waring, 2001, p. 4).

Good governance

Waring (2001, p. 5) argued that in a development context, the term governance was somehow inarguably ‘a good thing’. The challenges of good governance

24 Office of the Controller and Auditor-General, New Zealand Government
were emphasised by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). For UNDP, good governance was:

... participatory, transparent and accountable ... effective and equitable. And it promotes the rule of law. Good governance ensures that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision-making over the development of resources (United Nations Development Programme, 1997, p. 2).

In Waring’s experience good governance depended on close consultation and co-operation, and involved ‘neither the exporting of ideologies, nor the imposing of one culture’s values on another’. Waring argued that the disadvantaged and poorer members of communities were seldom heard during consultation on a draft plan (Waring, 2001, p. 5).

Good governance was widely acknowledged as a pre-requisite for progress towards sustainable development in an urban context (McKinlay, 2000, Waring 2001, Reid 2004, Evans et al 2005).

**Governance as understood by New Zealand Māori**

To conclude this section and to bring the governance debate back to the New Zealand context, it is relevant to acknowledge that governance and government have meant different things to indigenous people. The meanings have been shaped by experiences of colonisation, that is, the domination of indigenous culture by a western European worldview.

Governance in the Māori world was viewed as the receptacle for traditions and values, the institutional structure that collected or focused community power that was essential for successful social and economic growth. Governance was alternatively described as relationships of power and accountability (Penehira, Cram, & Pipi, 2003, p. 21).

Numerous authors (Dodson, 2003; Graham, Amos, & Plumptre, 2003; Penehira et al., 2003) described how in the Pākehā world, governance determined how power was distributed amongst business, civil society, government and the media. Activities that commonly came under the ‘governance microscope’
included decision-making and implementation processes, and protocols for conflict management and resolution.

The term ‘government’ was used to refer to the institution, that is, the structure that ‘operationalises governance principles’ (Penehira et al., 2003, p. 16). Nevertheless, governance and government were seen as interdependent of each other. Penehira et al. argued that good government was

the accurate articulation of the community’s voice (or a reflection of many voices) concerning power, relationships, responsibility and accountability (Penehira et al., 2003, p. 16)

Māori views on government and governance are discussed further in chapter 9.

**Europeanisation, globalisation, urbanisation**

Denters and Rose (2005, p. 2) highlighted globalisation, urbanisation and Europeanisation\(^{25}\) as macro trends within which local governments performed their function. This had implications for the role of local government.

Local governments across Western and Eastern Europe, America, Australia and New Zealand had adopted new policies seeking greater efficiency in areas such as environment management, labour markets, welfare services, education, care for the elderly, and economic development (Denters & Rose, 2005, pp. 4-6). In delivering across this wider spectrum, local governments have become increasingly fragmented and dependent on external actors. There has been a move towards New Public Management (NPM)\(^{26}\) and sustainable development as the focus of governance has moved to a more local level.

**International context for urban sustainability**

Many western democracies turned towards sustainable development\(^{27}\) during the 1970s (Brekke, 1997; Daly & Cobb, 1989; Elkington, 1999; Hawken, 1993;
Heinrich Boll Foundation, 2003; Meadows, Meadows, Randers, & Behrens, 1972). This section discusses key events which were important milestones in sustainable development thinking: the first United Nations (UN) Conference on the Human Environment in 1972, the establishment of the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1983, the Brundtland Report (1987), the Earth Summit and Agenda 21 (Rio de Janeiro, 1992), and the World Summit on Sustainable Development (Johannesburg, 2002). New Zealand government initiatives that impact on local governance for urban sustainability are overviewed.

The Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment described sustainability as

… not a goal, but rather a process of change which improves quality of life while protecting natural and human resources on which future generations will also rely (Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, 1998, p.2).

This view was based on the UN sponsored work on sustainable development, outlined in the following sections.

**Our Common Future (The Brundtland report)**

The first UN Conference on the Human Environment was held in 1972. It raised awareness of the state of the environment, and the idea of a relationship between development and environmental degradation.

In 1983, the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), known as the Brundtland Commission, was established by the UN General Assembly. Its purpose was to link environmental issues to the 1980 Brandt report on North-South relations (Meakin, 1992, p. 3). The Brundtland Report, *Our Common Future*, published in 1987, declared the need for the relationship

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28 Sustainability also describes the application of the concepts of sustainable development. Urban sustainability describes the application of sustainable development principles in an urban environment.

29 The report is named for the Commission chairperson, the former Norwegian Prime Minister, Gro Harlem Brundtland.

30 The Brandt Report was produced by the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, chaired by Willy Brandt (former Chancellor of West Germany) in 1980. It was a comprehensive and broad-based analysis of issues of international development, and received much publicity and wide ranging acceptance as the best way forward for governments to realistically reduce the growing economic disparity between the rich North and developing
between the environment and the economy to be recognised. The term *sustainable development* was used as a way to ensure that economic development would not endanger the ability of future generations to enjoy the fruits of the earth (Pearce cited in Meakin, 1992, p. 3).

The Commission highlighted the interdependence of development on social and political structures that would ensure 'a progressive transformation of economy and society' (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p. 43). It was acknowledged that physical sustainability required development policies that considered access to resources, and the distribution of costs and benefits. This was the beginning of recognition of the interrelationship between the natural environment, social justice, and the economy.

*Our Common Future* described sustainable development as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs “(World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p. 8).

Two key concepts were highlighted: the concept of ‘needs’, and prioritising the needs of the poor; and secondly, the idea of limitations imposed by technology and social organisation, on the environment’s ability to meet present and future needs (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, pp. 8-9).

**The 1992 Earth Summit**

In June 1992, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (the Earth Summit) was held in Rio de Janeiro to ‘plan the prevention of Earth’s environmental death’ (McChesney cited in Kildare, 2003, p. 7). The conference objective was to produce

… a blueprint for humanity to use to forge its way into the next century by proceeding gently upon the earth (Robinson, 1993 cited in Kildare, 2003, p.7).

It was argued that global implementation of sustainable development would make it possible to increase the basic standard of living of the world’s

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South. The Cold War and a resulting lack of political will to act on these issues prevented the proposals being adopted at the time.
population, without unnecessarily depleting finite natural resources and further degrading the environment.

The 178 nations that attended the earth summit in Rio de Janeiro sought to agree actions that would

reconcile economic activity with protection of the planet and ensure a sustainable future for all people (Meakin, 1992, p. 3).

The conference resulted in Agenda 21, a non-binding agreement comprising 27 principles for action to address social, economic and ecological problems facing the earth (N. A. Robinson, 1993). Agreement was based on reducing the environmental impact of industrialised nations, eliminating poverty world-wide, and stabilising the level of the human population (Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, 2002; N. A. Robinson, 1993).

Agenda 21 set the context for environmental efforts around the world by involving international agencies, governments, sector organisations, communities and individual businesses ‘in a global partnership for sustainable development’ (Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, 2002; World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987).

The Rio Declaration on Environment and Development: The Principles of Agenda 21 is attached at Appendix 3.

The 2002 World Summit on Sustainable development

Ten years later the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD), held in Johannesburg, reviewed the implementation of the key objectives set out under Agenda 21. Commitment to the broader aims of sustainable development, Agenda 21 and the Rio principles was strongly reaffirmed (Meakin, 1992, p. 6; UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2004).

Agenda 21 has been an important influence in promoting initiatives to progress local sustainability. A summary of the New Zealand government’s initial response to Agenda 21 follows.
New Zealand’s response to Agenda 21

New Zealand adopted Agenda 21 at the 1992 Earth Summit (Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, 2002, p. 26). This was following the passage of the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA). Knight (2000b, p. 213) noted that by the mid-1990s that sustainable development and Agenda 21 had largely disappeared from central and local government planning and policy documents31. Despite this, a 2000 LGNZ survey found 30 per cent of councils referred to Agenda 21 in their strategic documents. In 2000, Knight (2000b, p. 220) argued that promoting sustainable development required greater leadership by central government.


In 2002, when it was necessary to report on the country’s progress toward sustainable development, as part of the prime minister’s statement at Johannesburg, the government reported that significant progress had been made in some areas (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2002). The New Zealand country profile highlighted progress in the social and cultural, economic and environmental aspects of sustainability (Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2002). Special mention was made of social development, the economy, natural resources and water. It showed that New Zealand had begun the process of sustainable development by passing new legislation, and implementing new policies and regulations. There was also growing momentum for sustainability among the environmental NGO sector.

As outlined in the following sections, further actions and results were planned to consolidate this progress. Work was underway, belatedly, on the New Zealand Sustainable Development Programme of Action.

31 This was during the 1990-1999 terms of the National Government.
The Sustainable Development Programme of Action 2003

The Sustainable Development Programme of Action (Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2003) was the third in a series of New Zealand government documents released by the new Labour-led government to ‘focus and reorient government policy’ (Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2003, p. 10) on sustainable development. This was issued in place of the National Sustainable Development Strategy which was advocated by Agenda 21, and which many other countries had already developed. It set four strategies with priorities for action (Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2003, p. 12). The strategies and priorities of the programme, expressed as overarching goals, are summarised in the table 3.1.

Bosselman (2007, p. 4) advocated a National Sustainable Development Strategy. He highlighted that by 2006 most OECD countries had developed and implemented a National Sustainable Development Strategy, the approach agreed at the WSSD. New Zealand was one of a few exceptions (along with the United States).

In acknowledging the criticism, the New Zealand government highlighted that other countries had produced programmes of action that reflected their circumstances (Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2003, p. 6). The progress achieved in the management of fisheries, waste, energy and biodiversity was cited as the reason for deviation from the agreed approach (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, pp. 8-9). The decision has proven to be controversial, and concerns have been raised about the quality of reporting and public disclosure (Knight, 2000a, p. 221; McGuinness, 2005, p. 31).

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33 The first two documents were Growing an Innovative New Zealand (the growth and innovation strategy released in 2002) and Key Government Goals to Guide the Public Sector in Achieving Sustainable Development (Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2002).
Table 3.1 Sustainable Development for New Zealand: Programme of Action

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy</th>
<th>Overarching goal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quality and allocation of freshwater</td>
<td>Adequate clean freshwater available for all.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy</td>
<td>To ensure the delivery of energy services to all classes of consumer in an efficient, fair, reliable and sustainable manner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustainable cities</td>
<td>Sustainable cities – our cities are healthy, safe and attractive places where business, social and cultural life can flourish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investing in child and youth development</td>
<td>All children and young people have the opportunity to participate, to succeed and to make contributions that benefit themselves and others, now and in the future.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**From environmentalism to sustainable development**

Following publication of the Brundtland report, thinking around sustainable development continued to develop. The focus on the environment broadened to support those actions that most affect the quality of the environment and the cost of resolving environmental problems (World Bank Institute, 2002, p. 1). A systems approach was becoming evident.

Daly and Cobb (1989, p. 143) described the ‘pre-sustainability-aware market’ as seeing only efficiency, with no organs for hearing, feeling or seeing social justice. In their view, sustainability was justice extended to the future. They described the revolution required for this paradigm shift as admitting ‘the Trojan Horse of carrying capacity’\(^{34}\) into economic theory. They said once this concept was taken seriously the shift from *chrematistics*\(^ {35} \) to *oikonomia*\(^ {36} \) would have begun.

\(^{34}\) Carrying capacity is the largest number of a given species that a habitat can support indefinitely. When that maximum level is surpassed the resource base begins to decline, resulting over time in a decline in the population (Van Dieren, 1995, p. 48).

\(^{35}\) Chrematistics is a branch of political economy relating to the manipulation of property and wealth so as to maximise short-term monetary exchange value to the owner (Daly & Cobb, 1989, p. 138).

\(^{36}\) Oikonomia by contrast is the care and management of the household to increase value to all members of the household over the long run (Ibid., p. 138).
Hawken (1993, p. 139) described sustainability in terms of the carrying capacity of the ecosystem. This was demonstrated by input and output models of energy and resource consumption. Sustainability in his terms was

… the state where the demands placed upon the environment by people and commerce can be met without reducing the capacity of the environment to cater for future generations (Hawken, 1993).

Hawken’s golden rule for the restorative economy was ‘leave the world better than you found it’ (Hawken, 1993, p. 139). This meant that goods and services were to be delivered to the customer in a way that reduced consumption, energy use, distribution costs, economic concentration, soil erosion, atmospheric pollution and other forms of environmental damage.

Daly and Cobb, and Hawken built on the WCED concept by articulating the linkage between the well-being of people and the limits of the environment. They moved the focus from the short-term to a long-term view. This influence was clear as the focus moved towards action, and how sustainability could be achieved for the long-term.

Van Dieren (1995, p. 103) described the interactions between environmental and social well-being. He highlighted two main problem areas as drivers for sustainability: environmental degradation, and socio-economic problems including poverty, malnutrition and famine. In his view, sustainable development aimed to ‘square the circle’ by proposing a new model of development, which was simultaneously sustainable in environmental and economic terms. As with other authors, Van Dieren referred to the commonly accepted Brundtland Commission definition of sustainability.

As thinking developed further, messages of the interrelationship between the three bottom lines (environmental, social and economic) and the importance of achieving a balance by recognising environmental limits became more pronounced. Programmes putting this thinking into action began to occur within the private sector, for example, Interface Agencies Limited (2001) and the Royal Dutch Shell Group of Companies (2001).

Dobson (cited in Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, 2002, p. 31) argued that a shift in thinking had occurred, from ‘environmentalism’ to
‘sustainable development’. Environmentalism was defined as a ‘managerial approach’ to the environment within the context of present political and economic practices. On the other hand, sustainable development was a balanced approach across the three bottom lines. Davis (cited in Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, 2002, p. 31) described environmentalism as ‘a movement against’ (pollution, rainforest degradation), while sustainability was a ‘movement towards’ (actions, new behaviours).

This shift in thinking was reflected in the New Zealand government’s legislative programme. The National Government’s RMA 1991 could be considered legislation for environmentalism. The Labour Government’s LGA 2002 sought a balance across the four well-beings. It encompassed the requirement for new actions and behaviours that would mainstream sustainability, for example, community participation in decision-making and action.

The New Zealand Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment (2002, p. 31) emphasised the challenges around sustainability when he described it as ‘an intuitively attractive concept, which has no single agreed meaning’. He likened it to liberty or justice, the significance of which we more fully appreciate if it is under threat.

**Sustainability models**

The Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment (2002, p. 31) described numerous models that demonstrated the need to think in terms of systems, rather than the individual components, when seeking sustainable solutions. Two key models represent this systems approach to sustainability: weak sustainability, and strong sustainability.

**Weak sustainability**

Weak sustainability recognises that the economy, society and the environment are competing interests but that the conflict between them can be resolved if the economy is sound (Lowe, 1998 in Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, 2002, p. 34), as shown in figure 3.1 below. Weak sustainability is concerned with maintaining total capital intact without regard for the different kinds of capital. This implies that different types of capital are perfect
substitutes, at least within the boundaries of levels of economic activity and resource endowment (van Dieren, 1995, p. 103).

Figure 3.1 The Weak Sustainability Model.


Van Dieren argues that the main priority of this model is the health of the economy, and this requires only that the total capital stock\(^{37}\), comprising human-made\(^{38}\) and natural capital\(^{39}\), is maintained. The model assumes that degradation in either environmental, social or economic assets can be compensated for by improvement in another area. It fails to acknowledge the ecological constraints that society must operate within. This model implies that a technical fix is the answer (J. Robinson, 2004, p. 372)

**Strong sustainability**

The strong sustainability model\(^{40}\) (see figure 3.2 below) requires that the different kinds of capital be maintained intact separately. The economy is recognised as a subset of society, and many aspects of society are

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\(^{37}\) Total capital stock includes human-made capital and natural capital.

\(^{38}\) Human-made capital includes infrastructure, buildings, industry, utilities (presentation to Infrastructure Auckland, Statistics New Zealand by Zane Colville, February 26, 2003).

\(^{39}\) Natural capital is basically our natural environment and its stock of assets e.g. soil, atmosphere, forests, streams, wetlands (Van Dieren, 1995, p. 100).

\(^{40}\) Also called the ecological model of sustainability.
acknowledged to be outside of economic activity. Human society and economic activity are said to be constrained by the natural ecosystems of our environment (Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, 1998, p. 35).

Figure 3.2 The Strong Sustainability Model.

As the economy expands or contracts, societal values may change over time. To function sustainably, the capacity of the local or global environment cannot be exceeded in order to resource and absorb the effects of human activities. Strong sustainability requires the integration of ecological thinking into all social and economic planning (Lowe, 1998 cited in Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, 2002 p. 35). In contrast to the weak model, strong sustainability requires maintaining society, the economy and the environment in good condition independently, as well as the whole.

The strong sustainability model does not suggest that the economy is the centre as may be interpreted by a first glance at the model. Rather, it is a subset of society. Van Zeijl-Rozema et al. (2007, p. 4) noted that in practice there were many variations of the two extremes of the strong and weak sustainability models.
The four forms of capital

According to Van Dieren (1995, p. 100), the concept of capital is a way of articulating the different perspectives of sustainable development. It provides a mechanism for understanding why the current patterns of development cannot be projected into the future, and why addressing sustainable development needs to be a global priority.

Economic sustainability has been defined as maintenance of financial capital. It has been used by accountants since the Middle Ages to enable merchants to know how much of their trading cargo they could consume without depleting their capital.

Environmental sustainability has been defined in terms of natural capital. This refers to the natural environment, which is the stock of assets that are provided by the environment and result in a flow of useful goods or services. Environmental sustainability seeks to improve human welfare by protecting the sources of raw materials used for human needs. Water, soil, atmosphere, forests and wetlands have all been defined as environmental capital.

Social sustainability is concerned with social and human capital. Social capital is the ‘scaffolding’ of organisations that empower people to manage the natural resources (van Dieren, 1995, p. 100). Human capital includes people, their capacity, education, knowledge, social cohesion, and also cultural identity, love, honesty, laws and discipline. It is acknowledged that these last assets are the hardest to measure, but probably the most important for social sustainability. They are referred to as moral capital and need to be replenished by religion and/or community life.

The strong form of sustainability would preserve these distinctive capital stocks while encouraging ‘hybrid’ capital (van Dieren, 1995, p. 100), capital that is a combination of natural and human-made substitutes, such as pine forests to replenish native forests, and marine farming to replenish depleted fish stocks. The availability of the different forms of capital influences how people live in cities and, in turn, the decisions made by local and central governments to promote urban sustainability.
Social and institutional capacity for urban sustainability

Progress towards sustainable development, and in particular urban sustainability, requires the participation of individuals and households in protecting natural capital. This highlights the importance of other forms of capital, in particular social capital. In this section I refer to Putnam’s findings on the importance of social capital, and also the notion of institutional capital.

According to Vallance (2007, p. 228) the term ‘urban sustainability’ allowed the bio-physical environmental, economic and social ideals to be expressed without focusing on the detail. She argued that, in practise, ‘the social dimensions of urban sustainability were generally misunderstood’ or overlooked altogether, as a response to the difficulty of reconciling environmental well-being and economic growth. Goss (2001, p. 5) emphasised a growing need among communities for capacity to contribute to their own well-being, and for local government to learn to ‘manage across boundaries and work in the spaces between the bureaucratic, market and network cultures’.

Social capital

Putnam (2000, p. 19) argued that many community networks that contributed to the well-being of citizens in the past had diminished in influence. In their place, communities expect that local and national governments will fill the gap. Putnam found social networks to be important in people’s lives, for example, finding a job, companionship or understanding. Social capital affected the wider community, so that it was at the same time, both a ‘public good’ and a ‘private good’. The core idea of Putnam’s social capital was that social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them had value.

Sustainable development, with its cross-cutting objectives over several policy areas required common capacity-building efforts by civil society, local government and other public sector authorities (Evans et al., 2005, p. 20). Evans et al. identified the shift from government to governance with labels as negative as ‘the hollowing out of the state’, and as positive sounding as ‘empowerment of the people.’ The need to redirect political power was seen as

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41 Whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to properties of individuals, social capital refers to the connections among individuals.
at the heart of the problems of sustainability. Further, Evans et al. asserted that both local and global efforts needed to be implemented at the same time in order for meaningful results to be achieved.

**Social capital and reciprocity**

Inherent in social capital are the concepts of ‘reciprocity’, together with the positive and negative impacts of social capital described by Putnam (2000, p. 19). Networks of community engagement fostered norms of reciprocity, for example, I’ll do this for you now, with the expectation that perhaps you (or somebody else) will return the favour.

According to Putnam, reciprocity could be specific or generalised. A society that functioned on general reciprocity was more efficient than a distrustful society that required specific reciprocity. Social capital and the associated norms of reciprocity ranged from extended family, to classmates, and commuter companions to community organisations. Generalised reciprocity was considered a community asset. Trustworthiness was reported to be the key ingredient\(^{42}\) (Putnam, 2000, p. 136).

Putnam (2000, p. 22) acknowledged that while social capital could be extremely positive, it could also be directed toward malevolent and antisocial purposes, just like any other form of capital. The Ku Klux Klan in the United States and the Mongrel Mob in New Zealand are examples of gangs and associates that are perceived to have negative social capital.

Putnam’s critics (2000, p. 22) argued that his theories neglected the emergence of new forms of interpersonal relationships, including the internet, and focused on the traditional organisational structures predominant in the 1960s.

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\(^{42}\) The tendency for Americans to look out for their neighbours, rather than take advantage of them, was observed by Alexis de Tocqueville in the early nineteenth century and described as ‘self interest rightly understood’. This was reflecting the concept of ‘thick’ and ‘thin’ trust. The trust embedded in personal relations that are strong and frequent, and nested in wider networks is sometimes called ‘thick trust’. A ‘thinner’ trust is trust in the generalised other, like a new acquaintance from the coffee shop. Thin trust was considered more useful than thick trust because it extended the radius of trust beyond those people that were known personally (Putnam 2000, p. 135).
Decline in social capital

Putnam concluded that in the United States active involvement in political and civic participation, volunteerism and community groups fell by more than half during the latter third of the twentieth century (Putnam, 2000, p. 277). A decrease in voter participation and trust in government was evident over this period. People knew their neighbours less well and saw old friends less often. In general, the changes were attributed to a wide range of factors including changes in family structure, the loosening of family bonds, fewer marriages, more divorces and fewer children.

Putnam attributed civic disengagement to ‘big government’ and the welfare state - government policies that had destroyed social capital and replaced it with physical capital, for example, the slum clearance policies of the 1950s and 1960s (Putnam, 2000, p. 277). Social expenditures and tax policies may have created disincentives for civic-minded philanthropy. He attributed the decline of social capital to other pressures such as, time and money, suburbanisation, commuting and urban sprawl, the long-term effects of television and electronic entertainment.

The implications of social capital

Putnam (2000, pp. 277-278), in his work across the UK, Europe, Australia and New Zealand, argued that social capital made people ‘healthy, wealthy and wise’. It achieved this by providing mechanisms for resolving collective problems and creating active and trusting connections that encouraged greater tolerance, less cynicism and greater empathy to the misfortunes of others. His evidence supported the belief that social capital contributed to safe and productive neighborhoods, while its absence hampered improvements. There was no reason to suggest that the effects, both good and bad, of social capital were limited to poor or minority communities (Putnam, 2000, pp. 318-325).

Isolation has been identified as preceding some illnesses, and there was a strong positive correlation identified between a comprehensive index of public health and the social capital index. There was a correspondingly strong negative correlation between the social capital index and all-cause mortality rates. Social capital was noted to be disproportionately important in poor
communities, due to the lack of economic capital and the obstacles that stood in the way of acquiring human capital (Putnam, 2000, pp. 328-332).

Social capital in local government

The term social capital also described the long-term trends in the capacity of societies to function within the boundaries of the political system. Evans et al. (2005, p. 20) emphasised the value of government inputs and associated political factors in social capital.

Putnam (2006, p. 336) argued that social capital was an important element for democratic self-government, which required an actively engaged citizenry. Voluntary organisations were acknowledged as schools for democracy, for example, in learning civic skills, and as forums for deliberative democracy. Further, he found that there was a connection between declining social capital, and declining trust in government (Putnam, 2000, pp. 347-349).

Understanding and enhancing institutional capital

Evans et al. argued that social capital was influenced by institutional capital, that is, how governments operate. They defined institutional capital as including:

- basic monetary and human resources, existing and working structures and networks within (local) government ... organised interests and individuals outside of government. This kind of capital can be created, further developed or dismantled. It has a higher value and degree of efficiency than any single actor - organisation or individual - within it (Evans et al., 2005, p. 23).

Institutions were seen as a set of formal and informal rules that guided the behaviour of a set of individuals. These could be formal in the sense of a national government or informal as defined by the rest of society. Institutional capital in this sense, was defined as

- the internal patterns of behaviour and ways of working, as well as the collective values, knowledge and relationships that exist within any organised group in society (Evans et al., 2005, p. 21).

Institutional capital ‘enables individuals and groups to mobilise resources and perform meaningful action’ (Madanipour in Evans et al., 2005, p. 21). This new kind of institutional capital was perceived specifically within the sphere of sustainability policies. For local government and public agencies to respond to
the changing governance environment and to the needs and relationships of communities, institutional capital had to be acknowledged.

Institutional capacity building was one of the central notions of the sustainability agenda (N. A. Robinson, 1993; World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). Evans et al. (2005, p. 25) argued that organisations needed to develop the capacity to respond to modernisation, sustainable development, and socio-cultural conflicts.

The capacity of democratic institutions to adapt to physical and societal changes in the political environment required staff, competence, materials and the capacity for transparency and innovation over time (Evans et al., 2005, p. 25). Examples were evident across the environmental sector. Citizens, as well as politicians, needed to be trained and educated to adopt the changes in behaviour that sustainable development required. Legitimising new policies for sustainability was acknowledged to be a long-term learning process for local communities. Sustainable development capacity-building efforts, within the existing structures of local government, were defined as the measures that strengthen governmental structures to meet the demands of sustainable development, in co-operation with civil society.

**Dilemma of growth for urban sustainability**

The UK Sustainable Development Commission (Jackson, 2009) has argued that the pursuit of economic growth as a strategy for sustainability is at odds with scientific knowledge of the world’s finite resource base and fragile ecology. Instead, the search for alternative visions was advocated, where human’s could flourish and reduce their material impact on the environment - visions that do not rely on economic growth and consumption growth, but rather draw on the vital social and psychological dimensions of prosperity (Jackson, 2009, p. 30). In short, Jackson argued that prosperity includes the wisdom traditions, and

the ability to give and receive love, enjoy the respect of your peers, to contribute useful work, and to have a sense of belonging and trust in the community ... In short, an important component of prosperity is the ability to participate freely in the life of society (Jackson, 2009, p. 30)

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43 Also referred to as institutional/organisational learning (Evans, Joas et al., 2005)
Possibilities were described where humans could ‘flourish, achieve greater cohesion, find higher levels of well-being and still reduce their impact on the environment’ (Jackson, 2009, p. 36). While intriguing, this was not to be thought of as easy to achieve, nor to be given up lightly.

Balancing individual freedoms against social good, and making prudent choices at the individual and social level, and between the present and the future was described as the challenge in governance for sustainability (Jackson, 2009, pp. 95-96). This was alternatively described as a choice between selfishness and altruism. It was argued that social structure determined where this balance was struck in the institutions that characterise modern societies.

To resist growth and face economic and social collapse was described as the dilemma that faces society. On the other hand, to pursue this course was recognised as endangering the ecosystems that long-term survival depended upon. The dilemma of growth was stated in terms of the two following propositions:

- Growth is unsustainable – at least in its current form. Burgeoning resource consumption and rising environmental costs are compounding profound disparities in social well-being
- ‘De-growth’ is unstable – at least under present conditions. Declining consumer employment, falling competitiveness and a spiral of recession (Jackson, 2009, p. 46)

**Alternative pathways to sustainable development**

Campbell argued that the path towards a sustainable future is often vague and advocated a number of pathways to sustainability. Firstly he acknowledged the views of the incrementalists who assert that sustainability could not be achieved in a single step for it required too much social and ecological information and was too risky (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003, p. 446). He argued for an alternative holistic view of sustainable development and sustainable urban society, as a long-term goal. He rejected the premise that only a growth economy could achieve social redistribution (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003, p. 447). Campbell concluded that such complex restructuring and redistribution was required to achieve sustainability across all sectors and all places.
That the only feasible path … was likely to be a long incremental accumulation of local and industry specific examples (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003, p. 447)

Campbell offered procedural paths to sustainability. He advocated negotiation and conflict resolution as tools to mobilise communities around social and environmental sustainability. This provided an opportunity to establish common ground and bring together conflicting economic, social and environmental interests (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003, p. 448). To take this a step further, redefining the language of the conflict offered the opportunity to bridge the gaps between the languages of economics, environmentalism and social justice (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003, p. 449).

Political pluralism provided a mechanism to facilitate wider participation in decision-making. Here, referendums and polling based on a candidates environmental record and promised legislation, influence voting (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003, p. 450).

A further traditional strategy was to link market mechanisms, economic and environmental priorities (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003, p. 450). In this approach the market place becomes the arena where society balances its competing values.

**Urban sustainability in local government**

Research undertaken since 2000 in the field of local government has begun to link the two concepts of governance and urban sustainability. This chapter concludes with an overview of three examples that informed the research questions: the DISCUS Project (Evans et al., 2005); Comparative Local Governance (Denters & Rose, 2005); and the Participation, Leadership and Urban Sustainability research project (Cheyne, 2004). Two of these were chosen because they included NZ, while the other (the DISCUS project) was chosen for its direct relevance to the research topic of governance for urban sustainability.
The DISCUS Project

The DISCUS Project (Developing Institutional and Social Capacities for Urban Sustainability) was undertaken in Europe between 2001 to 2004 (Evans et al., 2005). The project explored ‘the factors and conditions that permit good governance for sustainable urban development’ (Evans et al., 2005, p. 7). Three secondary questions examined what constituted success in urban sustainable development policy and practice, what factors and conditions permitted or obstructed success, and what constituted ‘good governance’ for urban sustainable development.

Success in urban sustainability was defined in terms of a model of social and institutional capacity. The research focused on local authorities that had embraced good practice models such as Local Agenda 21, European Sustainable Cities and Towns Awards, and International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI).

The relationship between civil society and local government capacity in the sphere of urban sustainable development was explained by a model that proposed four scenarios for governance and their impact on sustainable development (Evans et al., 2005, p. 33), represented in figure 3.3 over the page.

In the first scenario, a high degree of institutional capital was observed as providing a solid base for sustainable development capacity. Evans et al. proposed that this could be enhanced by institutional capacity-building and learning. They argued that the higher the level of capacity for sustainable development and social capital, the greater the likelihood of sustainable development policy success. Evans et al. (2005, p. 33) described this as dynamic governing.

Conversely, the lower the level of social and institutional capacity, the greater the likelihood of sustainable development policy failure. Policy outcomes in this scenario were based on routine operations, or residual effects of governance from other societal levels. Evans et al. (2005, p. 33) called this passive government.
Figure 3.3 Scenarios for different models of governance and their impact on sustainable development policy outcome.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social capacity for SD</th>
<th>Higher</th>
<th>Lower</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>1 Dynamic governing</td>
<td>4 Voluntary governing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\rightarrow$ High SD policy success</td>
<td>$\rightarrow$ Low SD policy success</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>2 Active government</td>
<td>3 Passive government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\rightarrow$ Medium SD policy success</td>
<td>$\rightarrow$ SD policy failure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Active government was reported by Evans et al. (2005, p. 33) to result where local governments had clearly articulated goals for sustainability. Evans et al. further described the scenario where civil society was expected to act alone in order to reach sustainability as voluntary governing. They considered this approach problematic.

**DISCUS findings**

The project team concluded that the local governments in their study had made progress in policy achievement, institutional and social capacity, and the ways in which local government interacted with civil society (Evans et al., 2005, pp. 37-63). The research showed that in terms of the Aalborg Principles, local authorities were addressing a number of key sustainability issues. Emphasis on environmental initiatives was seen as a route to tackle social equity and economic development issues.

Examples of institutional capacity included: committed officers, political will, training for sustainable development, mainstreaming into work practices, national and international networks/activities for information sharing, and provincial support and networks (Evans et al., 2005, pp. 66-67). Tangible evidence was found of social capacity, and the role and influence of civil society.

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44 The Aalborg Charter was signed in Aalborg, Denmark in 2004, by around 2,300 local governments of the European Union that met to reaffirm and commit to the fundamental principles of sustainable development. It comprises ten commitments relating to governance, urban management, natural common goods, responsible consumption, planning and design, better mobility, sustainable local economy, social equity and justice, and sustainability beyond the European Union (European Union, 1994).
organisations among the media, business/industry, universities and NGOs (largely environmental).

The research concluded that many of the local authorities studied were coming to terms with developing and strengthening their institutional capacity through mainstreaming sustainability principles within policy and processes, and offering education for officers and politicians on sustainable development issues (Ibid., p. 83). Local Agenda 21, and the Aalborg Principles and Commitments were found to be important tools for educating staff and civil society, and for developing local strategies for sustainable development Evans et al., 2005, p. 83).

Partnerships were used to implement the bottom-up processes of local government. The influence of partnerships was dependent on the interests involved, the relative power and resources of groups and organisations, and the importance placed on developing partnerships for sustainability (Evans et al., 2005, p. 99).

Local government respondents considered their own organisational influence as central to decisions concerning sustainable development (Evans et al., 2005, p. 93). This view was not always supported by opinions held in civil society, and may have been affected by low levels of confidence or trust in local government, or its inability to support sustainable development.

The representatives of civil society most involved included universities, business organisations, and media. These organisations tended to place a higher value on partnerships than local government. Confidence in the capacity of local government to influence sustainable development politics was, as a rule, stronger inside local government (Evans et al., 2005, p. 99) than among partner organisations.

The research revealed causal links between good governance and sustainable development policy success. Higher levels of social and institutional capacity were found to increase the likelihood of sustainable development policy achievement. Lower levels of social and/or institutional capacity increased the likelihood of sustainable development policy failure (Evans et al., 2005, p. 102).
Governing structures were found to impact on sustainable development policy outcomes (Evans et al., 2005, p. 103). Effective dynamic governing was shown to be most likely when local government and civil society work closely in the process of governing. Success was shown to be directly related to inventiveness, leadership, knowledge and the skills of local government officers and politicians (Evans et al., 2005, p. 108).

Key themes that emerged from DISCUS

Key themes for initiating and managing the process of governing for sustainability emerged from the DISCUS research. They are summarised in table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Key themes and elements for governing for sustainability.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key themes</th>
<th>Necessary elements</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mainstreaming sustainable development</td>
<td>Local government as a learning organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Younger officials</td>
<td>Creative policy-making</td>
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<tr>
<td>Institutional capacity</td>
<td>Links between departments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stakeholder engagement</td>
<td>Alliances with external agencies</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>Facilitation and leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Think globally, act locally</td>
<td>Communication with civil society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long-term and incremental progress</td>
<td>Environmental awareness as a catalyst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capacity building</td>
<td>Vision and strength</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outward looking local governments</td>
<td>Networking between local authorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local governments interact with other levels of government</td>
<td>Multi-level governing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


There was evidence of a trend towards an open, collaborative, outward-looking and consensual style of governance that embraced innovative and creative policy in governance for urban sustainability. Leadership, vision and strength were highlighted as necessary elements.

Comparing Local Governance: Trends and developments

The 1990s public sector developments in the United Kingdom and the United States had stimulated debate about the future of local government. Denters and Rose (2005, p. xiii) set out in a systematic fashion to establish whether or not
local government, across a broad spectrum of political systems, had undergone a parallel process of fundamental transformation.

Their research strategy drew upon country experts\textsuperscript{45} to consider predetermined questions, and report on trends and developments within their country’s local government sector. Case studies represented the unitary and federal systems in southern and middle Europe, and Anglo-type local governments in the UK, the US, Australia and New Zealand.

The macro-environmental trends observed included urbanisation, globalisation and Europeanisation. Changes were evident in local communities, in what can be termed the micro-environment (or meso-environment) of local government.

**Findings**

Goldsmith (2005, p.228) acknowledged that the countries studied were unique, with differences in local politics and national government. They had responded to a common set of challenges, including stronger interdependence between authorities due to increasing urbanisation, and increased competition as a result of globalisation (or Europeanisation). The pressures to ‘work smarter’ and be more efficient and economic in the provision of public services were observed, alongside the need to respond to apparent democratic weaknesses evidenced by declining electoral turnout.

Citizens’ orientation to governments had changed. New participatory demands were sought (Goldsmith, 2005, p.228). Urbanisation and modernisation were expected to adversely impact on social capital by weakening social networks, and by decreasing interpersonal trust and participation in voluntary organisations.

The trends implied a dual challenge for local governments: first, to improve institutional capacity for effective and efficient governance, and second, to establish new channels of communication with local communities and new forms of local democracy (Denters & Rose, 2005, pp. 1-10).

\textsuperscript{45} The countries selected included: Australia, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden), Poland, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States of America (Denters and Rose 2005, p. viii).
**Federal systems**

Denters and Rose observed important distinctions between the northern (middle European and Anglo variant) and southern/Napoleonic systems of local government\(^{46}\) (Goldsmith, 2005, p. 230). Central governments were observed to be generally weak in the area of intergovernmental relationships. In European countries, federal governments had been withdrawing from local affairs. An intermediate tier of government with key responsibility for local government had resulted in more diverse local government systems (Goldsmith, 2005, p.231).

**Unitary systems**

Unitary systems were dominated by moves towards decentralisation, and the establishment of an intermediate tier of government (except for the Netherlands) (Goldsmith, 2005, p.234). The amalgamation of municipalities and the creation of new regions had been observed following the 1980s reforms in Denmark and France. In Britain, the importance of this intermediary level was demonstrated by the devolution of power to Scotland and Wales and Northern Ireland in the 1990s (Goldsmith, 2005, p.233).

Goldsmith found voluntary cooperation amongst the Dutch and Nordic municipalities to be a highly complex system of shared responsibilities (Goldsmith, 2005, p.234). Major reforms in the Nordic countries, including the free commune experiments of the late 1980s and early 1990s, were accompanied by a decline in administrative oversight by central government. While in theory, they enjoyed powers of general competence, considerable limitations were imposed on autonomy (Goldsmith, 2005, p.234).

The UK and New Zealand, both unitary states, were observed to be undergoing almost constant change from the mid 1980s. New Zealand was recognised as a pioneer in many reforms, in particular, local body amalgamation and the abolition of special purpose bodies (Goldsmith, 2005, pp. 237-238).

Globalisation played a role in governments’ decisions to adopt new policies in areas like labour markets, welfare services, education and care for elderly, and concern about promoting economic competitiveness (Goldsmith, 2005, p.243).

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\(^{46}\) This was irrespective of the macro environmental influences common to both groups.
The principle of subsidiarity was interpreted differently across nations and influenced vertical and horizontal intergovernmental partnerships.

Goldsmith (2005, pp. 242-244) concluded that the changes in the macro-context of local government in the countries studied had resulted in changing patterns of intergovernmental relations across most unitary local governments, most extensively in New Zealand and the UK. Practically everywhere, ‘a move from local government to local governance was clearly discernible.’ There was widespread willingness to grapple with the major challenges of service delivery. A tendency towards multi-level governance was evident. This involved complicated patterns of vertical and horizontal relationships. Factors contributing to change included the impact of the European Union, practices to spread new ideas, and increasing cross-border cooperation.

In seeking capacity for effective and decisive action, municipalities had pursued two main remedies: streamlining internal processes and strengthening the political executive by introducing a directly elected mayor and separating the executive and political functions (Goldsmith, 2005, pp. 249, 254).

The shift to governance had clear implications for the nature of local democracy, which had traditionally focused on the role of a directly elected municipal council (Denters & Rose, 2005, p. 256). Voter turnout at local elections was often low (below 50 per cent) and trending downward. This seemed less important as citizens sought alternative opportunities to voice opinions and demands, and new participatory channels.

The changes suggested that local democracy was in the midst of major transformation. New mechanisms of accountability were observed superimposed over traditional institutions of local democracy. New relations were reported between councils and their executives. New participatory channels were seen to be revolutionising the old-style relationship between local citizens and an elected council.

The reforms had hollowed out the traditional electoral chain model of local democracy (see figure 3.4). Councils no longer held the central position in local

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47 The traditional electoral chain model of local democracy is a simple and transparent model, where council occupies pivotal position in local democracy as the popular representatives
democracy. There was a tendency for citizens to seek alternative opportunities to voice their opinions and demands outside of the electoral channel (Denters & Rose, 2005, p. 256). A trend towards a strengthening of the executive, even the direct election of a chief executive was evident. This had further reduced the influence of the elected council in determining policy, and of exercising control of its implementation. Efforts to invoke the traditional division between the council’s role and that of the executive, were pronounced in New Zealand (Denters & Rose, 2005, p. 256).

Figure 3.4 The electoral chain of command model of local democracy

![Electoral Chain of Command Model](image)


The fragmentation of emerging systems that was evident put pressure on local authorities, and posed problems of transparency and accountability when a co-ordinated approach to cross-cutting issues was sought (Denters & Rose, 2005, p. 260). The conclusions of Denters and Rose had much in common with Evans et al. The shift from ‘local government’ to ‘local governance’ was emerging as an international phenomenon (Denters & Rose, 2005, p. 261). It was observed that the traditional British notion that ‘local government is what the council does’, had been replaced by public decision-making concerning local issues, This process increasingly involved multi-agency working, partnerships, and policy networks which cut across organisational boundaries – in essence, governance. Rather than a loss of functions, this implied new roles for local government.

**PLUS - Participation, Leadership and Urban Sustainability**

The Participation, Leadership and Urban Sustainability (PLUS) Project focused on the impacts of participation and local political leadership on urban sustainability. It examined the complementary effects of urban leadership and responsible for translating local needs and demands into authoritative decisions that in theory guide the actions and activities of municipal officers (Dearlove, 1973).
community involvement (CULCI) (Heinelt, Sweeting, & Getimis, 2006, p. 3). The research involved nine countries and 18 city authorities.\textsuperscript{48}

The case studies focused on local urban regeneration and regional development, tackling unemployment, economic diversification, strategic planning, combating racism, privatisation of public services at the local level, and quality of life research. The PLUS findings revolved around the interaction of context, institutional capacity, leadership and community involvement (Heinelt et al., 2006, p. 22).

The researchers studied urban leaders who occupied positions at the top of a city’s local government organisation. They had organisational resources, influence and political accountability (Heinelt et al., 2006, p. 1). The research proposed that achieving effective urban governance in a sustainability context was dependent on the ‘complementarity of urban leadership’ (Heinelt et al., 2006, p. 2).

The New Zealand findings

The New Zealand case studies focused on how Waitakere City Council and Christchurch City Council approached the preparation of their LTCCPs. There were similarities in the approach of the two authorities. Both had responded proactively to the new legislation. They had staff who were involved in government policy development, and mayors who were champions of the LTTCP and supportive of community involvement (Cheyne, 2004, p. 62).

There were similarities in the extent to which the two cities involved their communities, and in the leadership styles of the mayors. The two mayors, however, led very different communities in very different regional settings. Both mayors had a high profile within their region and nationally, were actively involved in policy development with government, and encouraged senior staff in this respect. Both were clearly committed to

\begin{quote}
\textit{a version of sustainable development that is seeking to integrate social, economic, environmental and cultural pillars of sustainability in an explicit and concrete way} (Cheyne, 2004, p. 62).
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{48} A total of 36 case studies were undertaken across England, Germany, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Sweden and New Zealand. The New Zealand case studies were undertaken in 2003 (Haus, Heinelt & Stewart, 2004).
The mayors had well established patterns of interaction with stakeholders and their communities, and were fostering close and productive relationships with the business sector. Both councils had effective relationships with environmental organisations. The success of the councils’ engagement with citizens was reflective of the mayors’ leadership styles\(^ {49} \) (Brugue & Valles, 2005, p. 223; Cheyne, 2004, p. 65).

Participation within Waitakere City was established with both geographic communities, and communities of interest. The mayor was acknowledged as having ‘outstanding communication skills and energy’ (Cheyne, 2004, p. 63). As a result, there was a high level of trust from citizens about the way the council listened and responded to input. It was widely acknowledged that Christchurch had further work to do in relation to geographic communities. Waitakere City, arguably, performed more effectively in engaging its citizens and groups in the preparation of the LTCCP (Cheyne, 2004, pp. 63-64).

In both cities the prospects of further achievements in urban sustainability were linked to the visionary and consensual-facilitator leadership styles of the mayors. This was in a context where there were no formal powers or resources attached to the position of mayor.

In addition to the political leadership, both of the local authorities had capable senior management who could promote the concept of urban sustainability, and who were committed to effective implementation of the political direction and collaboration with stakeholders.

The findings of the PLUS research were aligned with, and built on, the findings of Evans, Joas et al. (2005) and Denters and Rose (2005).

**Context**

It was found that for legitimate and effective governance external influences, especially national government, needed to leave room for local autonomy to be exercised. A cross-national exchange of ideas and good (and bad) practice provided stimulus to leaders, and could legitimise innovation and change (European Commission, 2004b, p. 32).

\(^ {49} \) This equated with elected member types identified by Bruges and Valles (2005) in their study of Catalan councillors in Spain, between 1986 and 1999.
Leadership

Leadership styles mattered in building CULCI. Consensus, facilitating and visionary styles of leadership offered positive input in two thirds of the initiatives. The most effective leadership style observed was a combination of ‘collective/council manager’ types with ‘consensus/facilitatory/visionary’ styles. Conversely, the ‘city boss/caretaker’ was much less likely to generate complementarity between leaders and the community (European Commission, 2004b, p. 32; Haus, Heinelt, & Stewart, 2004).

Community involvement

Community involvement mattered in terms of improving the quality of local decision-making, and in terms of the capacity of leaders to reflect and respond to locally generated demands (European Commission, 2004b, p. 31). Successful local governance relied on the collective engagement of a range of local interests, and relied on their involvement from an early stage in decision-making about policies and programmes. Effective community involvement brought legitimacy and authority to leadership decisions.

The complementarity of leadership and community involvement varied across policy sectors, and according to the specific circumstances of individual cities. In both competitiveness and social inclusion policy areas, more extended and broader partnerships appeared to be more successful in generating CULCI than single actor led involvement.

Institutional capacity

Successful institutional design – the creation of clear rules and protocols – could create conditions for successful community involvement (European Commission, 2004b, p. 31). Lasting community involvement depended on institutional structures, which were sustainable in the face of external political or economic change. The political and institutional learning gained through special initiatives needed to be incorporated into sustainable processes and procedures of government and community organisations.

Community involvement was often weak or absent where leadership effort was concentrated on generating resources, either externally or from private
investors. Creating and maintaining collaborative working required investment in time, energy and resources.

Conclusions

This chapter has examined some of the changes evident in the nature and practice of local government and local democracy. Macro-influences contributing to this change included Europeanisation, globalisation, urbanisation, and a growing acknowledgement of the need for sustainable development.

The emergent trend was a shift from the traditional ‘top down’, process driven approach to local ‘government’, to a more ‘bottom up’ community-centred, consensual and collaborative approach to local ‘governance’. Clear implications for the nature of local democracy have emerged as communities have sought alternative forms of participation in local governance (Denters & Rose, 2005; Evans et al., 2005). Local governance in a sustainability context increasingly involved multi-agency working, partnerships and policy networks which cut across boundaries.

This has challenged the traditional electoral chain model of local government, in that communities and other actors, were seeking greater input in policy decisions previously the prerogative of elected members. From a New Zealand perspective, efforts to invoke the traditional division between the elected member’s role and that of the executive had been pronounced, as elected members perceived a hollowing out of their role.

Governance and government meant something different to indigenous people. While in the Māori world governance was viewed as the receptacle for traditions and values, it was also perceived as relationships based on power and accountability. Government was seen as the institutional structure that collected or focused community power that was essential for successful social and economic growth (Penehira et al., 2003, p. 21).

The growing international prominence of sustainable development was an important influence on New Zealand government policy. The national legislative
programme implemented following the Earth Summit spanned environmental protection to broader sustainable development. The 1992 New Zealand country profile showed that New Zealand had begun the process of implementing sustainable development (Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2002).

Cross-national research on local government involvement in sustainability (Denters & Rose, 2005; European Commission, 2004b; Evans et al., 2005) supported the notion that good governance in a sustainability context was dependent on local government leadership, community involvement and institutional capacity. It was evident that citizens were seeking greater levels of participation in local government (Denters & Rose, 2005; Evans et al., 2005). Local governments needed to improve their capacity for effective and efficient governance, to meet new participatory demands, and to consider new channels of communications with the local community and new forms of local democracy.

Social and institutional capacity had clear implications for governance for urban sustainability. Creating and maintaining collaborative working was widely acknowledged to require investment of time, energy and resources (European Commission, 2004b, p. 161; Evans et al., 2005, p. 179).

Political and institutional learning needed to be mainstreamed in government and community organisations (European Commission, 2004b, p. 161; Evans et al., 2005, p. 179). The pressures to ‘work smarter’ and be more efficient and economic were noted across the studies (Denters & Rose, 2005, p. 234).

Chapter 4 that follows examines the roles of elected members in this changing governance environment, where the focus is increasingly turning towards governance for urban sustainability.
Chapter 4
The elected member role

Introduction

Chapter 3 discussed the modernisation agenda of local government that has brought about a change from traditional ‘top down’ government to a more ‘bottom up’ community-centred form of local governance that involved complex networks of agencies. Elected members\(^{50}\) were coming to terms with new structural arrangements, partnerships, executive and scrutiny roles that accompanied this shift (Evans et al., 2005; Newnham & Winston, 1997).

Drage (2004a, p. 2) argued that this change had a significant impact on local elected members. In New Zealand and other western democracies, the new, broader purpose assigned to local government - that of promoting the social (and cultural), environmental, and economic well-being of communities, and encouraging wider participation in local decision-making - had undermined the traditional electoral chain command model of democracy and was challenging elected members (Denters & Rose, 2005, p. 256).

Since the reforms of the 1980s and 1990s, research had focused on: the new and emerging patterns of political executives in European local government (Berg & Rao, 2005), the role of the elected member in representative democracy in New Zealand (Drage, 2004b), the relationship between senior politicians and senior administrators in European local government (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002), political leadership in British local government (Leach & Wilson, 2000), and the roles of elected members in Australian local government (Newnham & Winston, 1997).

Over the course of this thesis new research emerged that examined trends in governance for urban sustainability. The focus of this chapter is to explore the

\(^{50}\) Elected members are also referred to as elected representatives and councillors. For consistency the term elected member is used unless an alternative term is specific to a national model.
elected member role for urban sustainability. Research that informed the roles of elected members in Europe, Britain, Australia and New Zealand is discussed.

Understanding the elected member role

Mouritzen and Svara (2002, p. 6) described the nature of communities as reflected in how elected members perceived their role. For example, if a community had a strong sense of tradition and desired limited change, this was reflected at the local institution (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, p.105). Newnham and Winston described local government as

\[\text{... an institution and tier of government has been noted for its resilience to innovation and its ability to maintain the status quo (Newnham & Winston, 1997, p. 106).}\]

Some local governments had remained relatively immune to the modernisation agenda, for example, Switzerland, Sweden, America, France, Belgium. Others such as Britain, the Netherlands, Germany and Denmark had demonstrated an ability to introduce radical change (Berg & Rao, 2005, p. 10). How elected members understood and exercised their role influenced this trend.

The representative role

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) defined a role ‘as a characteristic or expected function’. Newnham and Winston expand on this definition of role

\[\text{... as a typified response to a typified expectation. Occupational roles carry with them patterns of behaviour that determine the emotions and attitudes that belong to these actions (Newnham & Winston, 1997, p. 106).}\]

According to democratic theory the role of the governing body was defined by the central issues about which elected members were expected to use their own judgment. Newnham and Winston (Ibid., p. 106) highlighted that in the Australian experience there was a need to define whether the elected official represented their own ward or the interests of the entire community. The elected member had to decide the nature of representation. For example, were they a spokesperson for their constituents or should he (or she) employ ‘... his
unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience’ (Edmund Burke cited in Newnham & Winston, 1997, p. 106).

The elected member role had been ill-defined and confused by the radical changes that had taken place since the 1980s. The need for clarification of the role was widely acknowledged (Berg & Rao, 2005; Drage, 2008; Mouritzen & Svara, 2002; Newnham & Winston, 1997). In 1995, the Victorian Board of Management (Australia) proposed that a definition of roles and functions be included in the review of its local government legislation (Newnham & Winston, 1997, p. 109). Drage (2004a) highlighted the need for clarification of the elected member representative role in New Zealand.

New Zealand

Drage (2004, p. 242) set out to explore how elected members in New Zealand perceived their role within a representative democracy by identifying four types: the representatives, the governors, the leaders, and the politicians. These types were not mutually exclusive.

The ‘representatives’, both new and incumbent, were firmly of the view that their role was to represent their constituents. They did this in a range of ways, including distributing brochures to encourage submissions on the annual plan, consultation with residents associations and other community contacts. Typically the representatives saw themselves as an interface between the council and the community.

The ‘governors’ identified governance and policy development as major parts of the role. This included monitoring and creating policy and was described as ‘forming and setting policy and priorities’. The role of the governor was likened to being on a board of directors, and the city as a business. A distinction was made by some elected members, between governance and management. This was referred to as a grey area and a challenge.

The ‘leaders’ viewed being a strong advocate for the city as a key role. Few elected members described their role in terms of its political dimensions and those who did had experience in the role. They saw their role as making political decisions and acknowledged the importance of the governance/management split (Drage, 2004, p. 187).
Drage highlighted that elected members also described themselves in terms of the delegate and trustee models of political representation, and as case worker and policy maker. Many elected members saw their role as a combination of two models. Drage observed that the elected members primarily viewed their role as a policy one, with a clear preference among the women interviewed for the advocate and caseworker aspects of the role (Drage, 2004, pp. 192-194).

**Australia**

Peters and Pierre (2001, p. 159) argued that the character of the bureaucracy in Australia had been transformed between the 1970s and 2001. The consistent pattern had been for the political executive to challenge the traditional system in the drive for a more responsive public service. Peters and Pierre noted that in the 1990s, the bureaucracy was becoming less influential and more subservient to the private sector.

At about this time, Bains (1979 cited in Newnham & Winston, 1997, p. 109) identified three dimensions of the role of local government elected members in Victoria, Australia: community representation and participation, the development of community resources and ensuring effectiveness in service delivery. Within these dimensions the primary responsibility of the elected members was defined as representative. Policy making was secondary and review of performance third.

The representative role was centred on the process of communication between the electors and local government. A policy role involved identifying community needs, setting objectives, establishing priorities between conflicting claims and allocating resources. All were dependent on receiving useful information and coordinated advice from staff. The review role required consideration of the organisational objectives, policies, plans and programmes approved by council.

Bains recognised that these roles would exist in an ideal world and were not clearly identified by practice. He sought to establish what would be the ideal relationship under the corporate approach to local government - that of management and administration undertaken by a manager or chief executive officer (CEO), with elected members undertaking representation, policy making
and performance review. At different times the elected members would act as representatives, delegates, communicators and mediators (1979 in Newnham & Winston, 1997, pp. 110-111). In their external role they would act as a link between the council and other bodies. Newnham and Winston observed that the overlap of roles in the formulation of policy was seen as a strength of the Bains model.

The United Kingdom

Leach and Wilson (2006) examined the role of local political leadership in Britain. They identified four key leadership tasks, which were also presented as officer roles: maintaining cohesiveness, developing strategic and policy direction, external relationships, and task accomplishment.

They found that the role of maintaining cohesiveness related to the inter-party differences that dominated UK local government and could threaten council cohesiveness. The relationships between elected members and officers were recognised for their potential to be a powerful force within the local authority (Leach & Wilson, 2000, p.167).

Differences in orientation between the chief executive and the elected leader were recognised as a threat to organisational cohesiveness. Concern was expressed by some chairs of being 'officered', that is, departmental heads influencing the decision-making of committee chairs. This led to a need for clear, consistent rules governing the responsibilities of elected members and officers (Leach & Wilson, 2000, p.167).

The role of developing strategic and policy direction was strongest during times of financial constraint. During these times, there was a requirement to introduce client-contractor or purchaser-provider models of service delivery to overcome the fragmentation of service roles. There was an expectation that authorities would act more entrepreneurially and work in partnership (or through contracts) with a wider range of external organisations (Leach & Wilson, 2000, p. 79).

Party politics played a significant role in UK local government. Manifestos and policy agendas had broadened in scope and were more explicit than in the mid-1980s. Strategy was described in terms of three elements: the core values, culture and mission statement of a local authority; the strategic vision which
sets out the agenda, problems, issues or objectives; and the strategic responses, or the reactive element of strategy (Leach & Wilson, 2000, p. 79).

Corporate strategy was recognised to work against party interests, particularly in the lead-up to an election when political statements of aspiration could be an advantage or a danger. Strategic policy would be supported until it started to threaten the allocation of expenditure in traditional areas. Entrepreneurial zeal was required of a leader committed to the development of a new strategic direction. This was identified as a key leadership task. Leach and Wilson (2000, p. 75-87) observed that this role of blending political and strategic direction was a key challenge.

The external relations task emphasised the range of organisations involved in delivering services, for example, public-private partnerships and non-elected local agencies. Local government reform in Britain had started in the 1970s. The external role was therefore well-understood. However, work alongside private sector organisations continued to challenge elected members (Leach & Wilson, 2000, p. 89).

Not all external networking was strictly leadership activity. Notwithstanding this, the status of the representative could send a signal of the level of the authority’s commitment, for example, when seeking co-operation for a joint venture (Leach & Wilson, 2000, p. 89).

External relations focused on media relations, the national world of local government, and networks with local economic and community interests. Media relationships were accepted as a burden of leadership, although attitudes varied across political parties. National organisations such as the Local Government Association were seen to have influence on the modernisation process and on personal careers – they linked political leaders to the national government, and future parliamentary electoral success (Leach & Wilson, 2000, p. 90-99).

The importance of networks of economic and community interest had been highlighted by the greater interaction between local authorities, local economic players and community interests. Urban regeneration partnerships were an example (Leach & Wilson, 2000, p. 90-99). Elected members were increasingly observed to be taking leading roles on tertiary education commissions, council-
controlled organisations and joint ventures. The role of representing the local authority had increased as the structure of local government became more fragmented (Leach & Wilson, 2000, p. 99).

Leach and Wilson (2000, pp. 104-107) argued that interagency work was a necessary condition of progress and required specific leadership skills in negotiation and networking. Interagency work took a disproportionate amount of time, with adverse consequences for the elected member representative role.

Task accomplishment continued to feature, despite the distinction between elected member and officer roles around strategy and implementation. Some elected members needed to take action to ensure that strategy progressed. At times this resulted in strategy deviating from its original course. Leach and Wilson (2000, pp. 110-111) highlighted that the degree to which this occurred was influenced by the political sensitivity of officers, and the level of trust between officers and elected members.

**Europe**

Mouritzen and Svara (2002, p. xv) explored the similarities and differences of local government across 14 western democracies\(^{51}\). Case studies included representative democracy, layman rule, political leadership and professionalism.

It was found that different forms of local government presented with different concerns, a range of problem solving abilities and varying distributions of power and influence among political and administrative leaders. The findings supported the view that local government occurred within a cultural and social context, and interacted with other political institutions (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, p. xv).

In layman rule, citizens elected to political office were primarily involved in decision-making. In the American tradition, there was a distinction between two contrasting sets of values for organising government (Kettl cited in Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, p. 51). The first is the Madisonian perspective, which placed

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\(^{51}\) The U.Di.T.E. Leadership Study was undertaken between 1997 and 1999 and surveyed local government CEOs from France, Italy, Portugal, Spain, US, Denmark, Great Britain, Sweden, Belgium, The Netherlands, Australia, Finland, Iceland, Norway (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002).
importance on a wide range of actors, values, competition, and political checks and balances. The second is the Hamiltonian perspective, which emphasised focused and centralised leadership and the contribution of the political leader. Making greater provision for layman rule incorporated the Madisonian values into government and was observed in Europe and the Nordic countries. According to Ladner (2005, p. 101) Switzerland was an example of power sharing between lay politicians, political executives and professional bureaucrats.

In Mouritzen and Svara’s survey, elected members’ roles were perceived by CEOs to contribute in two key areas: the ‘governmental roles’ of governor, stabiliser and administrator, and the ‘linkage roles’ of representing citizens, the electorate and groups in government processes (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, p. 176). Within the governmental roles, the governor decided major policy principles and had a vision of how the municipality would develop in the long term. The stabiliser would create stability for the organisation and formulate clear goals. The administrator would lay down rules and routines and make decisions concerning special cases.

Within the linkage roles, the ambassador would represent the municipality to the outside world, defend the authority’s decisions and policies externally and be a spokesperson for the media. The representative would be informed about citizens’ views, implement programmes on which they had been elected, and be a spokesperson for local groups and individuals, and their political party (Ibid., p. 176).

The ‘ideal politician’

The concept of the ‘ideal politician’ generally supported the view of Bains (1979 in Newnham & Winston, 1997, p. 109). The politicians were expected to define the authority’s mission and establish policy direction, be informed about citizens’ views and link them to local government, and not be administrators (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, p. 176).

The representative role was about being responsive, knowledgeable about citizens’ views, acting on promises and being a spokesperson for political parties, individuals and groups. The trustee role was described as basing
political decisions on independent judgment, balancing election promises with the good of the city. The delegate role was described as basing actions on election promises, what the party stands for and as spokesperson for groups and individuals (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, pp. 180-195).

A summary of the national models studied

Table 4.1 summarises these studies. It shows the predominance of the representative (both trustee and delegate) and governance (policymaking and decision-making) roles, across the cases examined.

Table 4.1 Elected member role perceptions for New Zealand, Australia, UK and Europe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New Zealand</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>Europe</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Council-manager</td>
<td>Council-manager</td>
<td>Committee-leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representation roles and tasks</td>
<td>Representative - trustee/delegate -caseworker/policymaker</td>
<td>Key task - Community representation and participation</td>
<td>Party political representation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governance and policy</td>
<td>Governor</td>
<td>Policymaker</td>
<td>Developing strategic policy direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management roles</td>
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<td>Key tasks - Development of community resources Effective service delivery</td>
<td>Task accomplishment</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leadership and external relationship roles</td>
<td>Leader - Politician</td>
<td>Maintaining cohesiveness External relationships</td>
<td>- ambassador</td>
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<tr>
<td>Review roles</td>
<td>Review of performance</td>
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The relationship between politicians and executives

Mouritzen and Svara (2002) and Bains (cited in Newnham & Winston, 1997) argued that the pure separation of governance and management, or administrative roles, did not exist in local government:

Long gone – if they ever existed - are the days of the pure split between councils making policy and managers never making policy, and councils never administering and managers only administering. In many
communities there’s a blend between policymaking and administration (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, p. 23).

The relationships, boundaries and hierarchy have been debated in many national contexts (Goss, 2001; Leach & Wilson, 2000; Mouritzen & Svara, 2002). Mouritzen and Svara (2002, pp. 31-32) defined four models of political administrative relations: the separate roles model, the autonomous administrator model, the responsive administrator, and the overlapping roles model.

The separate roles model

The separation of roles between the elected representatives and city administrators has been a recurring theme in the discussion of elected member roles. The separate roles model described different forms of dichotomy. The orthodox dichotomy was a strict separation of the political and administrative role that was not generally considered workable. A less rigid form, termed ‘reinterpreted dichotomy’ focused public attention on elected members, provided for a policy role for managers, and protected staff from political interference (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, pp. 31-32).

The autonomous administrator model

The autonomous administrator model emphasised distance between senior executives and politicians, but featured senior executives as self directing to the point that their subordination was questionable. Irrespective of the degree of political competence, there was little accountability. Local government administrators who considered themselves relatively free of political control, ‘defined policy in such an abstract way and administration in such an expansive way’ (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, pp. 31-32) that they made virtually all the decisions.

The responsive administrator model

The responsive administrator was supportive of politicians. Like the separate roles model, the subordination of administrators was clear. Politicians could operate within the administrative sphere and directly fulfill administrative roles, or administrators could anticipate political norms and preferences, and accede to them. The model was based on the presumption that politicians were seeking
‘responsive competence’ from administrators. Politicians tended to prefer administrators who shared their political aims and values (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, p. 36). The administrators were supportive and adjusted their behaviour and values to meet the expectations and preferences of elected officials.

**The overlapping roles model**

The overlapping roles model saw the roles of administrators and elected officials as overlapping each other. Each set of officials had distinct roles, and administrators respected political control, but there was extensive interaction, overlapping functions and reciprocal influence. This was demonstrated by generalised rather than strict rules. Self (cited in Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, p. 38) argued that UK central and local government failed to recognise a distinction between policy and administration. The existence of the overlapping roles model in Australia and the UK is highlighted by table 4.1.

Hambleton (2008, p. 25) argued that the understanding that the role of politicians was to decide policy and the role of officers was to implement it, was flawed. He referred to this separation of roles as a ‘longstanding myth’, and emphasised the constructive value of the tension that exists between political and managerial leaders, with respect to the interplay of roles.

**Influences on the elected member role**

The influences on the elected member role were diverse and included the form of national democracy, institutional form, local and national culture, the behaviour of individual officials and the nature of leadership.

**The form of national democracy practiced**

Case studies of predominantly representative democracies with differing levels of citizen participation were reviewed. Recent reforms of local government were found to have emphasised citizen involvement and evolved a more participatory model of representative democracy. Varying degrees of participatory democracy were practised, for example Switzerland, Denmark and Sweden (Ladner, 2005, p. 113).
The tension between representation and participation in governance

Hucker (1998, p. 16) described the tension between governance and participatory forms of engagement, such as consultation, in New Zealand local government. The politicians perceived that their ‘right to govern … their political mandate from their electorate’ was undermined by consultation, which was seen as ‘a barrier to effective and efficient’ governance. He highlighted that citizens and groups sought ‘to influence the balance of power’ and be heard outside of the three year electoral cycle.

Participatory democracy was described as seeing consultation as an end unto itself. Participation and citizen control were on the same continuum. Hucker argued that:

… the expectations [consultation] generates raise doubts about the authority and legitimacy of representative government … consultation is interpreted as involving the engineering of consent (Hucker, 1998, p. 19)

Hucker advocated representative democracy as the most practical form for the maintenance of a liberal democracy:

… modified by principles of personalism, subsidiarity and pluralism … [it] provides a better way of answering questions about governance and consultation or participation (Hucker, 1998, p. 19).

He argued that relieving the tension between representative democratic governance and participation could be achieved by narrowing the gap between representative and participative democracy. He suggested this could be achieved by encompassing some of the strengths of participatory democracy - opening up debate and engaging citizens and groups (Hucker, 1998, p. 18).

Institutional form, local and national culture, and individuals behaviour

Mouritzen and Svara (2002, p. 1) found that institutional form, local and national culture, the behaviour of individual officials and the nature and level of leadership, all impacted on the roles of elected members, and were linked. Their study examined the intensive interaction between political and administrative leaders that occurred at the ‘apex’ of the governmental process.

The form of institution was an important influence that operated in a much wider setting. Four forms of government were identified: strong mayor, committee
leader, collective (collective leadership of the executive committee of council) and council-manager.

Leaders varied in their behaviour, within and across institutions and countries, due to national culture. Institutions tended to reproduce national traits. The southern European countries chose a strong mayor form of governance, while a collective form was chosen in Denmark (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, p. 13).

The relationship between elected officials and top administrators occurred within an institutional context that shaped the attitudes and behaviour of both sets of individuals (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, pp. 45-47). There was a clear relationship between the form of government and policy leadership. The mayors were generally perceived by their top administrators as policy makers, not heavily engaged in the details of administration. They were observed to provide leadership in three areas: as policy leaders who shaped policy, as public leaders who determined the citizens preferred direction, and as party leaders who promoted party interests (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, p. 80).

**Leadership at the apex**

Self (in Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, p. 38) represented the political-executive relationship as an apex where two arches meet. The left arch represented the political process; the right arch, the administrative system. The junction was the critical point through which political will flowed into and energised the administrative system. Influences generated within the administrative process also flowed back into the higher levels of the political process.

Mouritzen and Svara (2002, p. 249) described the mayors as hands-on leader, visionary, checker or non-leader. CEOs were described as political agent, professional agent, interdependent or independent. A strong association was evident between the type of CEO and the type of mayoral leadership evident (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, p. 249).

Of the four models of partnerships at the apex, only the overlapping roles model was strongly supported. It was shown to link to the CEO partnership model of interdependency - CEOs with more or less the same influence as politicians (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, p. 224). The impact of the CEO on the democratic process was noted as a potential threat to democracy, while the impact of
politics on administration was noted as a potential threat to the professionalism of the executive.

Mouritzen and Svara concluded that relationships at the apex were embedded in a broader institutional and cultural context. The shape of the arch was observed to be sharper or flatter, depending on the number of officials representing governmental processes at the arch, and how easy it was for influences to flow between the political and administrative arch. The flow resulted in a fusion of political and administrative influences (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, p. 259).

**Sharing of political power**

Different countries displayed different ground rules with respect to how political power was obtained, maintained, exercised and shared (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, p. 259). Correspondingly, different solutions were found to balance layman rule, political leadership and professionalism. The different variants provided for strong political leadership, sharing of power, and the involvement of laypersons in the executive and legislative functions of government. Others had confined politicians to the legislative function and cast their lot with professional leaders.

Four forms of local government were identified. A strong-mayor form was predominant in France, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and US mayor-council cities. In the UK, Denmark, and Sweden a committee-leader form of government, with standing committees, an executive, and a mayor or majority leader, was predominant. In Belgium and Holland, a collective leadership with a cabinet leadership structure and executive committee was evident. A council-manager model with a governing board headed by a non-executive leader and an appointed CEO, was found in Australia, Finland, Ireland and Norway.\(^{52}\) (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, p. 260). The form of government tended to reflect the deeper structures of the citizenry, and cultural traits of a country.

Political advice was most commonly sought from CEOs in committee-leader cities. In collective, council-manager and committee-leader systems there was a

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\(^{52}\) This is the model that most closely represents the New Zealand system of local government.
greater perceived distinctness between politicians and administrators, which made it possible for the CEO to be more involved in political issues (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, p. 268).

**Complementarity**

The model of complementarity of politics and administration explained the interaction of elected officials and top administrators, and built on the overlapping roles model. It recognised the interdependency and reciprocal influence between elected officials and administrators (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, p. 269). Each maintained their separate roles. However, the functions they performed necessarily overlapped.

Complementarity presumed that administrators respected political supremacy and the need for elected representatives to be accountable to the public. In this context, administrators supported the democratic process, and sought to serve the public as well as the elected representative (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, p. 270). The level of administrator independence varied with the degree of elected official control.

Where the administrator’s independence was low, and degree of elected official control high, the result was political dominance. Where the administrator’s independence was high, and the degree of elected official control low, the result was bureaucratic autonomy. Where the administrator’s independence was low, and the degree of elected official control low, the result was a stalemate. The state of complementarity was observed when both the level of administrative independence and the degree of elected official control was balanced and positive.

**Reforming the elected member role**

According to Leach and Wilson (2006, p. 89), the need to enhance political leadership and the elected member role in the UK had been on local government policy leaders’ agendas since the mid-1980s. Traditional problems were common across different forms of local government. Newnham and Winston (1997, p. 110) noted a lack of clarity and blurring of boundaries
between the elected representative and the executive and conflicting priorities between officers and elected representatives. Part time elected members were challenged by the philosophical, administrative and technical demands of a representative role. The local social structure from which members were elected imposed limitations.

The complexities of the political administrative relationship, and the influence of local and national culture observed throughout the European, Australian and American case studies, imposed further challenges (Mourtizen & Svara, 2002). Disengagement of citizens was presented as an issue (DETR cited in Leach & Wilson, 2000, p. 107).

Berg and Rao (2005, p. 1) note that not all the local government institutions across the UK, Europe and America were undergoing transformation of their political structures. Some were adapting well-established systems and dealing with common issues.

It was generally held that changes in structures and processes could give leaders a more clear-cut role, with a specific focus on the strategic and visionary aspects. Political leadership was found to be fundamental to the transformation of local democracy (Berg & Rao, 2005, pp. 4-8). It infused political life with power and energy, and gave direction to the political administrative system. When political leadership was transformed by institutional change, other aspects of local democracy were likely to be altered. A conventional distinction was made between professional and layman elected politicians, and appointed professional staff. The emergence of strong local executives had blurred this distinction.

**Clarifying the boundaries**

The significant local government reform implemented by the UK, the Netherlands, Germany, Denmark and Australia, had sought to clarify the boundaries between the political and executive roles, strengthen the political leadership, and address elected member skill sets by providing a greater level of institutional support (Berg & Rao, 2005, p. 9). It is noted that some of the reforms were instigated by elected members. Others were the product of policy influence by the executive at either the local or national level of government.
Five case studies

The five case studies summarised here demonstrate different approaches to transforming the councillor role. They include: strengthening the leadership in UK local government, reforming the political executive in Dutch local government, direct election of the mayor in German local government, introducing the committee model in Denmark, and an attempt to introduce the “ideal politician” in the City of Odense (Berg & Rao, 2005, p. 10).

Strengthening the leadership in UK local government

The need for reform in the UK local government was first highlighted by the Maud Committee in the early 1960s (Rao, 2005, p. 42). Repeated proposals for change targeted inefficiency, a lack of accountability, the slow and cumbersome nature of the committee system, and an apparent inability to attract councillors of the right caliber. The renewed call for reform by the Blair Government in 1998 highlighted the Maud Committee findings and led to recognition of the need to streamline local government.

Three fundamental assumptions were articulated. They were: a requirement for more effective management of local authority business and speedier decision-making, overall, councillors needed to distribute their time more efficiently between their representative role and executive functions, and fundamental reform was required to modernise local democratic structures (Rao, 2005, p. 44).

Following the departure of the Thatcher Government in 1990, the Major Government advocated several options to strengthen local government. The aim was to enhance decision-making, avoid delays, and raise public interest in local government. The proposal included the creation of a cabinet system, with a separately elected executive – elected mayor or otherwise, and the establishment of a council-manager system. British councillors expressed widespread reservations.

The election of the Blair-led New Labour government in 1997, however, signalled a renewed commitment to reform. The 1998 White Paper, Modern Local Government: In touch with the people (Rao, 2005, p. 44) was released. It proposed options to strengthen the leadership role and formalise the leadership
position. The first was a directly-elected mayor, with a cabinet which was appointed by the mayor from among the councillors. The second option proposed a cabinet with a leader elected by the council, where the cabinet was to be made up of councillors appointed by the leader or elected by the council. The third option was a directly-elected mayor with a council-manager appointed by council, with delegated authority for both strategic policy and day-to-day decision making (Rao, 2005, p. 45). All options embodied a clear separation of councillor roles.

Restructuring the councillor role was central to the modernisation agenda. It was envisaged that a small executive would provide for community leadership, with the majority of councillors playing only a representative role. The role of the executive was to propose and implement policy within the agreed framework. The role of the non-executive (back-bench) councillors was to represent their constituents, share in the policy and budget decisions of the full council, suggest improvements and scrutinise decisions (Rao, 2005, p. 47).

The importance of the scrutiny role was emphasised by the application of the principle of proportionality, which reflected the political balance on the council. The separation of roles inherent in the proposals was not well received. Councillors needed to be seen by their constituents to be effective, in order to be returned at subsequent elections. Consequently, few councillors wished to surrender powers (Rao, 2005, p. 48).

The adoption of the leader-cabinet model represented the least change. There were many perceived advantages. Efficient, faster and more accountable decision-making through fewer committees and meetings was envisaged. The model provided for stronger, more focused leadership and a new role for backbenchers. Improved corporate action, attention to cross-cutting issues, and greater delegation to officers was intended. The model was seen to have the potential to improve public involvement in local government. The disadvantages foreseen were disengagement of the backbenchers, confusion over the scrutiny role, perceptions of the changes as bureaucratic and costly, and difficulty in persuading officers and members of the need for change (Rao, 2005, p. 51).

The councillors needed to devote time to the effective management of council and successful policy implementation. Backbenchers would take on scrutiny of
The leader-cabinet model implied greater delegation (Rao, 2005, p. 57).

The roles and tasks of political leadership varied based on different scenarios. Group cohesiveness remained a crucial element, coexisting with the demands of external relations, strategic direction and policy implementation implied by the community leadership role. It was envisaged that group cohesiveness would become a less significant element for getting policies through the assembly and that leadership energies would be freed up to concentrate on the other three roles (Rao, 2005, p. 57).

**Reforming the political executive in Dutch local government**

The traditional structure of Dutch local government was more prescribed than other forms. It comprised enfranchised citizens, council-members, aldermen, the mayor and local civil servants (Denters, Klok, & van der Kolk, 2005, p. 15).

Dutch local democracy was a party democracy. Council members were elected every four years. Party seats were allocated by proportional representation (Denters et al., 2005, p. 18). Prior to 2002, aldermen were elected from the council, and the mayor was appointed by central government, on the advice of the council. The tasks and powers of local government were determined by five arenas: the BMA (Board of Mayor and Alderman), the political-administrative arena, party group meetings, committee meetings and council.

The arenas were defined by rules, which defined the distribution of powers, the aggregation of members’ preferences, and access to information (Denters et al., 2005, pp. 16-17). The power to deal with daily routines, the preparation and execution of council decisions, and the organisation of the local administration was vested in the BMA, with primacy residing in the directly elected council. Aldermen had no individual responsibility. This was vested in the mayor.

The political administrative arena was responsible for the preparation and execution of policy and major implementation decisions. Policy proposals and the preparation of recommendations were the prerogative of designated committees. Policy decisions were decided by all council members, including the BMA and the mayor who were members of the council. At this level,
information rights were poorly developed and information was less freely available (Denters et al., 2005, p. 18).

By the 1990s, the scale of municipalities had increased and their responsibilities broadened to include infrastructure, hygiene, safety, population growth and social problems. The weaknesses in the traditional structure were evident. Changes in citizen political behaviour, and improved communications and education, had led to calls for institutional reform to strengthen both representative and direct democracy.

Political accountability had been eroded by the decreasing involvement of the part-time amateur councillor, dependency on the relationship between the BMA and the civil service, and the advance of semi-professionalism. Secularisation and the decline of the class system had loosened the bonds between councillors and the political executive (Denters et al., 2005, p. 22).

A Royal Commission on Local Government Reform was established, and its report released in September 1998. It proposed retaining all five arenas and strengthening them by the addition of the offices of Council Clerk and the Court of Audit, which were to provide independent support to the council and promote accountability (Denters et al., 2005, p. 23).

In 2002, new legislation introduced a directly-elected mayor, and focused the council on its legislative functions to guide and control the political executive. Individual councillors were authorised to amend policy proposals and introduce new policy. New information rules enhanced transparency (Denters et al., 2005, p. 26).

New rules proposed for the recruitment of politicians contributed to the professionalisation of office. Control and scrutiny were made explicit tasks of council, and a separation of powers was imposed. The representative function of council was strengthened by encouraging councillors to have direct contact with citizens and community organisations.

Improved coordination of local policy making was envisaged, along with the capacity for a more joined up approach to cross-cutting issues. The legislation also sought a stronger role for lay politicians. Overall, councillors’ workloads were expected to reduce.
Direct election of the Mayor – German local government

Since the 1990s, the local political and administrative leadership in Germany has undergone significant institutional change. Legislation required all Länder\textsuperscript{53} to amend their municipal laws to provide for the direct election of an executive mayor. This model, which was in force in two South German Länder, replaced various forms of local government throughout Germany, with the exception of the city states of Berlin, Hamburg and Bremen (Wollman, 2005, p. 30).

The elected council and directly-elected mayor form of decision-making continued to revolve around the elected council as the supreme local decision-making and policy making body (Wollman, 2005, p. 32). The mayor drew political legitimacy from being directly elected.

The position of mayor was one of multiple roles (Wollman, 2005, p. 34). As a politician and local political leader, the mayor faced a number of challenges: seeking election and reelection, keeping in contact with local residents and electors, and dealing with the local media, political parties and interest groups. As chairman of the local council the mayor managed council and committee work. As chief executive he was responsible for the local administration, and negotiated with investors and other levels of government.

In the South German model, the mayor had a remarkably strong position, with sole responsibility for conducting routine administrative matters\textsuperscript{54} (Wollman, 2005, p. 33). The directly elected mayor was seen as contributing to professionalisation of the role. Administration and law graduates, and independent and non-partisan individuals, increasingly took on the role (Wollman, 2005, p. 34).

The direct election of the mayor resulted in a change in the power relationship between local citizens, the local council and the mayor (Wollman, 2005, p.35). German local government, based on representative democracy, had put elected members centre stage in local decision-making, but limited the role of local citizens to electing the council. The direct election of the mayor became an

\textsuperscript{53} Länder is the German word referring to federal states.

\textsuperscript{54} It is worth noting that in the German state and local government tradition, local authorities carry out important local tasks delegated to them by the State; here the Mayors carry out this business in their own right without input from the councils (Wollman, 2005).
important element of direct democracy. Voter turnout in elections increased from around 50 - 60 percent up to 60 - 70 percent.

Councils were elected based on a proportional system. Councils ranged in size from 30 councillors in smaller towns to 70 in the larger cities. Traditionally, councillors were part time, non-salaried and voluntary, although they received some financial compensation. This has remained the case. The distinction between councillors, and full-time, salaried, administrative personnel under the direction of a chief executive, was accentuated by a directly-elected strong executive mayor. Councillors have remained comprehensively competent in the conduct of local matters, especially in response to the complaints and concerns of individual electors (Wollman, 2005, p. 38).

The committee model - Denmark

In 1998, the traditional magistrate (cabinet) local government in Copenhagen, Odense and Aalborg was reformed by the introduction of the committee-leader form present in all other Danish municipalities55 (Berg, 2005, p. 85). By 2005, the committee-leader form was implemented in all but one of Denmark’s 271 municipalities.

Danish local government had a 100-year history of involving laymen in local government (Berg, 2005, p. 86). Although the amalgamation of local government in the 1970s created a large professional administrative organisation, the tradition of engaging laymen in the day-to-day execution of policy continued. The Local Government Act vested decision-making authority in the council, but in practice it was more ambiguous, and decision-making was shared by the council, standing committees, finance committee and the mayor.

City councils were traditionally elected for a period of four years and consisted of 11-17 members. Councillors decided general principles and overall goals and were heavily involved in day-to-day administration (Berg, 2005, p. 95). The powers of the executive and the assembly broke the doctrine of separation of powers. The involvement of laymen politicians was favoured over the independence of the executive and legislative branches of local government.

55 This was at a time when many western countries were moving from committee-leader forms to more presidential styles of local democracy (Ibid.).
The influence of laymen politicians was a leading motive for the reform of the executive structure in Copenhagen, Odense and Aalborg (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, p.51). The reforms aimed to weaken the formal position and influence of political leaders, and increase the formal powers of the backbenchers (Berg, 2005, p. 87). For example, the deputy mayors kept their position and full-time salary, but their formal role was reduced to that of chairman.

The committee-leader model made information more widely available to backbench councillors, which increased their workloads (Ibid., p. 98). An acknowledged strength of the model was its facilitation of coalition building. Cooperating across party lines increased the influence of even small minorities.

The extent of change was greater in Copenhagen and Odense where none of the parties held absolute power (Berg, 2005, p. 98). In Aalborg the absolute single party majority minimised the influence of cross party support in appointment of the mayor or decision-making.

**The ‘ideal politician’ - Odense**

Prior to its 1998 reforms, the City of Odense in Denmark, attempted to introduce the ‘ideal politician’ with its separate roles model (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, p. 195). The 29 council members made the decision to move from a collective form of government to a model of decentralised authority with service delivery agents. In order to take a more strategic approach to financial management, they elected to focus exclusively on their roles as governors.

However, the politicians quickly became frustrated as they found themselves unable to respond effectively to citizens, organisations, unions, the local business community and the media. One CEO highlighted the significant expectations that political parties, local voters, private business, voluntary organisations, employees and labour unions had of councillors. These interests influenced councillors to intervene in special cases and were a significant part of a politicians' political identity.

This case highlighted the difficulties inherent in the separate roles model and raised issues for increasing layman involvement in local government. In response, a standing committee with executive authority over service
departments was established as part of the 1998 reforms, and a more flexible approach to the separation of roles was adopted.

**Summary of issues and solutions**

The five case studies demonstrated approaches to resolving issues associated with the elected member role. They are summarised in table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Elected member role issues and solutions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues</th>
<th>Case study solutions</th>
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<td>Lack of clarity between elected member and executive role i.e. blurring of overlapping roles</td>
<td>Institutional reform clarifying roles and responsibilities practical degree of separation and enhancing transparency and accountability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different priorities between officers and elected representatives</td>
<td>clarifying roles and responsibilities practical degree of separation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Challenge of amateur, part time elected members</td>
<td>strengthening the layman role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations of the local social structure from which members are elected</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dependency on the politico administrative relationship</td>
<td>redistribution of power enhancing transparency and accountability</td>
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<td>Influence of local and national culture</td>
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<td>Disengagement of citizens</td>
<td>the directly-elected mayor, enhancing transparency and accountability facilitating public participation</td>
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**Conclusion**

This chapter explored the roles of elected members in New Zealand, Australia, the UK and Europe. Their roles were found to be diverse but with areas of commonality. Council-manager, committee leader and strong mayor/collective institutional models were represented, with the UK and Europe as traditional western democracies, and Australia and New Zealand as 'new world' democracies.

Representative (both trustee and delegate) and governance (policymaking and decision-making) roles were predominant. Management roles such as task accomplishment and service delivery were present in the role perceptions of
Australian and British elected members. This highlighted the existence of the overlapping roles model in those countries (Berg & Rao, 2005; Drage, 2004a; Mouritzen & Svara, 2002; Newnham & Winston, 1997).

Only the New Zealand elected members conceived of their roles in terms of leadership and politics (Drage, 2004a, p. 192). Only British councillors perceived of external relations as a significant role (Leach & Wilson, 2000, p.89). Australian elected members were the only group to highlight performance review (Bains 1979 cited in Newnham & Winston, 1997, p. 109). These last two roles were perhaps less traditional, and signalled changes in the elected member role that were the result of the shift from the ‘top down’ government to a more ‘bottom up’ form of local governance.

Berg and Rao (2005, p.13) identified that institutional reform could clarify roles between politicians and the professional executive. It could result in faster, more efficient and accountable decision-making, fewer committees or shorter meetings, and a reduced workload for elected members. Better information flows enhanced transparency and fostered constructive relationships.

While the roles of politicians and executives could be defined and differentiated, in practice the boundaries were often blurred. Both groups had concurrent and overlapping responsibilities. While the council had a direct obligation to its citizens, the CEO had an obligation to serve the council and to public service. Greater clarity was observed to improve corporate action and to deal with cross-cutting issues.

Implementing new arrangements required a willingness by councillors for power and responsibility to be redistributed (Rao, 2005, p. 57). Councillors needed to devote more time to the effective management of council and successful policy implementation, with clear direction from the political leadership.

The experience of the ‘ideal politician’ experiment in Odense emphasised the difficulties of the separate roles model, and the potential issues for increasing layman involvement in local government. It was evident that involvement in task achievement was a significant part of a politicians’ political identity.

Strengthening the elected member role was seen to require coming to terms with the tension between representative democratic governance, and
participation (Hucker, 1998, p. 18). Opening up debate and engaging citizens and groups was seen as one way to achieve this.

The next chapter examines the structure of New Zealand local government, the influence of the LGA 2002 on how elected members govern for urban sustainability, the place of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and the provisions for Māori participation in local government.
Chapter 5
New Zealand local governance

Introduction

Chapter 3 examined the proposals for reform of local government. Chapter 4 provided an overview of the diversity, complexity and challenges of the elected member role across western liberal democracies. This chapter provides an overview of the structure of New Zealand local governance. It discusses key sections of the LGA 2002 that influence how elected members govern for urban sustainability, the extent of local government recognition of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the participation of Māori in local governance. The representation provisions of the Local Electoral Act 2001 are examined. Māori issues related to local government rates, and to the findings of the 2008 Royal Commission on Auckland Governance, are outlined as relevant to this discussion of governance for urban sustainability.

New Zealand local government has its beginnings in the provincial legislatures that were part of the New Zealand Constitution Act 1852 (Cheyne, 2006, p. 285). The local government system had evolved to comprise 85 local authorities. They were collectively a significant part of the national economy (Department of Internal Affairs, 2008, p. 6).

The LGA 2002 set the rules and processes, and provided for councils to determine their functions. It included principles to guide how elected members were to undertake their role. At the heart of this enabling statute was the aspiration for community participation in local governance, and progress towards sustainable development. The Act required local government to promote local decision-making, involve communities, and provide appropriately for Māori to participate in decision-making. To achieve this broad and intergenerational purpose, local authorities were endowed with a power to promote well-being.
Two significant inquiries into local government structure and process were initiated by the central government during the course of this research. The findings of these inquiries had the potential, if implemented, to bring fundamental change to local governance. They were the Local Government Rates Inquiry established in November 2006 and reported in August 2007, and The Royal Commission on Auckland Governance, which was announced in late 2007, and reported in March 2009. Of particular interest to this research are Māori views of local government rates, and the debate around governance models for a sustainable Auckland.

The structure of New Zealand local government

In the 1989, New Zealand local government underwent significant reform. A small number of multi-purpose local authorities were created from a much larger number of single purpose authorities. Quasi-governmental community boards were established (Bush, 2003, p. 161) as a means of addressing concerns about disenfranchisement as a result of the loss of smaller units of local government. The Electoral Act 2001 and the fundamental reforms of LGA 2002 completed the picture.

There were four categories of local body: territorial, regional, community and adhoc\textsuperscript{56}. The 73 territorial authorities comprised 16 city councils (population over 50,000) and 59 district councils. They were the frontline deliverers of local services (Department of Internal Affairs, 2008, p.6).

In addition, 12 regional councils\textsuperscript{57} fulfilled a regional planning and a regulatory role\textsuperscript{58}. Four councils were unitary authorities in that they also performed regional functions. There was no hierarchal relationship between the territorial and regional authorities (Bush, 2003; Department of Internal Affairs, 2008, p. 162).

\textsuperscript{56} These included licensing trusts and a handful of specialist boards, none of which were directly elected (Bush, 2003, p. 161.). The partly elected district health boards shared certain features with local government, but were not local bodies proper.

\textsuperscript{57} The average population of a regional council in 2003 was 286,000. The population of the Auckland region was 1.3 million (Bush, 2003).

\textsuperscript{58} Among the regulatory functions were responsibility for administering the RMA 1991 and the Land Transport Management Act 2003, and planning for growth.
Community boards could be established and funded by local authorities. In 2009, 143 community boards operated within urban and rural local authorities throughout New Zealand. Their functions and powers were delegated to them by their parent territorial authority (Local Government New Zealand, 2009).

Territorial authorities had some legislated functions not covered by the LGA 2002, such as responsibility for civil defense planning. Most functions, however, were optional and were encompassed by the broad power of general competence contained in the LGA 2002 s 12.

Local authorities raised funds through rates, development contributions, fees and charges, and investments. In 2007, these accounted for 87 per cent of total revenue (Department of Internal Affairs, 2008, p. 7).

Bush (2003, p. 161) described the local government system that evolved in 1989 as ‘rational and lean’. Each local authority was a separate legal entity. It could hold property, employ staff, and had contractual capacity. Partisan divisions in New Zealand local government had been rare.

A map showing TA and regional boundaries is attached as appendix 4.

**Local Government Act 2002**

The LGA 2002, together with the RMA 1991, the Local Electoral Act 2001, and the Local Authority (Rating) Act 2002, provided for administration and funding of the territorial authorities and regional councils.

When the Labour-Alliance Coalition Government passed the Local Government Act 2002, it provided:

> a strong mandate for local government to promote community well being, empower communities to participate in local government decision-making and encourage a whole-of-government collaboration in service delivery (Memon & Thomas, 2006, p. 135).
According to Memon and Thomas (2006, p. 135), the Act was conceived as a way for the government to introduce a 'Third Way-style' of engagement and participation between local and central government and civil society. Borrie et al. (2004, p. 1) argued that as a pivotal part of the local government reforms, the LGA 2002 sought to strengthen local democracy and promote the sustainable well-being of communities. Memon and Thomas argued that the LGA 2002 signified a shift in New Zealand from ‘government’ to ‘governance’.

The following overview of the LGA 2002 outlines the purpose, powers and principles of local government, and focuses on the key sections in Parts 2, 4 and 6 of the Act that relate specifically to governance for urban sustainability, local decision-making, planning for sustainable development, and provisions for Māori participation in local government.

The purpose, powers and principles of the LGA 2002

The purpose of local government

The purpose of local government as identified in the LGA 2002 was far broader than the public service, infrastructure driven local government of the pre-1989 reforms. Part 2, s 10 described the broad and intergenerational purpose of local government, namely to enable democratic local decision-making, and to promote the social, economic, environmental and cultural well-being of communities, in the present and for the future. Democratic local decision-making was a recurrent theme and emphasised community involvement in the decision-making process, and in particular, through consultation about community outcomes and the draft LTCCP.

The addition of cultural well-being was one way in which the New Zealand approach was unique. Hewison (2008, p.102) claimed that this was a relatively late addition during drafting of the Bill. Cultural well-being encompassed:

shared beliefs, values, customs, behaviours and identities reflected through language, stories, experiences, visual and performing arts, ceremonies and heritage (Local Government New Zealand, 2003, p. 15).

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59 The ‘Third way’ philosophies were introduced in the UK and Canada, and sought to align free-market economics with participatory governance and the creation of social capital (Memon and Thomas, 2006).
It reflected creative expression and the multicultural nature of New Zealand, the obligations inherent in Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and New Zealand’s heritage as a colonised nation with diverse communities.

According to Memon and Thomas (2006, p. 136), the purpose of the Act expressed aspirations of ‘participatory democracy to be fostered by local authorities’, and reinforced the role of local authorities to promote broader community well-being and sustainable development. Sustainable development was seen as both an approach to decision-making, and a desirable outcome (Local Government New Zealand, 2003, p. 15).

**A power of general competence**

Prior to the 1999 general election, both the Labour and Alliance parties promoted ‘a more broadly empowering legislative framework for local authorities’ along with greater accountability to communities (Hewison, 2008, p. 234). This was encompassed in s 12 as a broad power of general competence. It was balanced by specific decision-making and accountability requirements to ensure that territorial authorities focused on promoting the well-being of their communities.

The new power was in direct contrast with the ultra vires nature of the LGA 1974, which had been prescriptive. The power of general competence was applied equally to territorial authorities and regional councils. It provided a mandate for them to undertake any activity supported by their communities to achieve the purpose described in s 10 (Local Government New Zealand, 2003, p. 16).

Memon and Thomas (2006, p. 136) claimed that the LGA 2002 empowered communities by anticipating robust accountability by territorial authorities. As such, it could be viewed as a move to address the growing disquiet and disengagement in local governance. Participation in local consultation had been perceived by communities as only being offered after the local council had identified a preferred course of action. Māori were under-represented, both as voters and as elected representatives, even in areas where Māori were a significant proportion (or majority) of the population (Memon & Thomas, 2006, p. 136).
Principles

Sections 14, 15 and 39 together established expectations for the role of both the local authority and the elected member, by articulating principles and practice for urban sustainability. Section 14 of the Act, set out eight high-level principles that councils were to follow when exercising the power of general competence. Where the principles were in conflict, the Act required this to be resolved in accordance with the first principle, namely, the requirement to conduct business in an open and transparent manner.

The principles were explicit in requiring a sustainable development approach to local governance. Of key relevance to this thesis was the explicit reference to the inclusion of diverse communities, and the provision of opportunities for Māori to contribute to decision-making. The need to provide for environmental stewardship and the quality of the natural environment, and provide for the social, economic and cultural well-being of people and communities for the present and future was described. The principles also sought cross-council collaboration.

According to Memon and Thomas (2006, p. 137), the LGA was seen as an opportunity for local government to operate within a ‘whole of government’ framework. This facilitated the reconnection between central government agencies and communities.

Section 15 strengthened the requirement for regional collaboration between local authorities (outlined in s 14(e)) by requiring them to enter into an agreement following each triennial election. The agreement set out communication and coordination protocols that assisted local authorities to collaborate over new activities, and transfers of responsibilities within their region.

Section 39 clarified the roles of elected members. It provided a set of principles that sought to clarify governance roles. There was consistency between the s 39 principles, and the principles relating to local authorities in s 14. Section 39 sought effective, open and transparent processes, separation of the regulatory and non-regulatory roles, the requirement to be a good employer and clarity in
the relationship between elected members and management\textsuperscript{60} (Local Government New Zealand, 2003, p. 17).

**Comment on the purpose and role of the LGA 2002**

Hewison (2008, p. 104) compared the purpose and role of the LGA 2002, the Australian and United Kingdom legislation, and the *European Charter of Self Government*\textsuperscript{61}. In Australia, a list of functions differentiated the role of local government from territory or state government. Hewison (2008, p. 106) noted that this approach, had clarified the roles between territorial, regional and central government in Australia.

According to Hewison (2008, p. 107), the permissive New Zealand approach and phraseology was more akin to the LGA (England and Wales) 2000, than the Australian model. The model adopted provided local government with the power to do anything that was likely to promote or improve economic, environmental, social and cultural well-being, in the local government’s area.

The *European Charter of Self Government* went a step further than either the Australian or the England and Wales expression of the purpose of local government. It declared that local authorities were a foundation of democratic society and that local government was where the right of citizens to participate in public affairs could most directly be exercised (Council of Europe, 1985). Hewison argued that

\[\text{ safeguarding and reinforcement of local self-government by the State secures the principles of democracy and decentralisation of power (Hewison, 2008, p. 110).}\]

Governments could achieve this by providing for democratically-constituted local bodies, and endowing them with a wide degree of autonomy over their responsibilities. The European Charter provided for local authorities to define the forms of community participation and engagement they would use in

\textsuperscript{60} These were broad guiding principles, rather than prescribing a definitive role.

\textsuperscript{61} The Charter was drawn by the Council of Europe and committed its member states to applying basic rules guaranteeing the political, administrative and financial independence of local authorities. It provided for the principle of local self-government to be recognised in domestic legislation and, where practicable, in the constitution. Local authorities were to be elected in universal suffrage (Council of Europe, 1985).
decision-making, and emphasised the role of community leadership in public affairs (Council of Europe, 1985).

According to Hewison (2008, p. 114), the principles outlined in LGA § 14 emphasised community democracy and well-being. Borrie et al. (2004, p. 1) highlighted the requirements for local government decision-makers to take greater cognisance of the diverse views and aspirations of their local and regional communities ‘in the spirit of a more communicative and deliberative style of governance’. Section 14 also made reference to the requirement for councils to provide opportunities for Māori to participate in their processes.

The § 39 principles relating to elected members were expressed as statements of principle, rather than quantifiable requirements, as were the principles relating to local authorities in § 14. They were indicative of the spirit and intent of the legislation. As such, Hewison (2008, p. 113) argued that they be used to interpret other parts of the Act.

**Governing for sustainability**

Borrie et al. (2004, p. 1) argued that both the RMA and the LGA were established as devolved and co-operative mandates, and called for improved collaboration across central and local government, and the community and private sectors. This was a recurrent theme of governance for urban sustainability. According to Hewison (2008, p. 115) the purpose and principles outlined in § 10 and § 14 demonstrated aspects of both representative democracy (on behalf of communities) and participative democracy (by communities). Sections 10(b) and 14 (h) are specifically relevant to governing for sustainability.

The requirements relating to planning and decision-making, including the provisions for Māori to contribute to decision-making, were contained within Part 6 of the LGA. Included were two key planning tools that direct local authorities to take a broad and intergenerational approach: the identification of community outcomes, and the development of a 10-year plan - the long-term council community plan (LTCCP).
Decision-making and accountability

The LGA Part 5 (council-owned and controlled organisations) and Part 6 (planning, decision-making and accountability) incorporated accountability provisions to balance the power of general competence in s 12. Part 6 was of most relevance to the focus of this research, that is, the role of elected members in governance for urban sustainability.

The obligations of local authorities with respect to decision-making were set out in ss 76-81, s 91 relating to the identification of community outcomes, and s 93 and Schedule 10 relating to the development of the LTCCP. LGNZ (2003, p. 28) guidance to local authorities defined a planning process to deliver accountability for promoting community well-being and according to Hewison (2008, p. 237), a focus on good governance.

Figure 5.1 The LGA 2002 accountability process.

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Section 77 made it mandatory for local authorities to consider the costs and the benefits of all reasonable options for all LTCCP activities, when progressing community outcomes. The views of people likely to be affected were to be taken into account. Inconsistencies between council policies and plans were to be identified and explained. Opportunities were to be provided for Māori to participate in decision-making.
Sections 82 to 89 outlined the consultation provisions to be complied with. The Act provided for local authorities to use their discretion in how the consultation provisions were applied. The nature of consultation to be undertaken was further guided by a council’s own policy on ‘significance’ that was required under s 90 of the Act.

‘Significant’ activities were those defined by the local authorities as being ‘significant’, for example, the importance of a decision, issue or matter, and its likely consequences on the well-being of the district or region, any persons who were likely to be affected by or interested in the matter, and the effect of cost on the ability of the local authority to perform its role (Local Government New Zealand, 2003, p. 30). Significant decisions were therefore differentiated from regular decisions and were required to adhere to ss 77-82 (Hewison, 2008, p. 258).

**Community outcomes and the long-term council community plan**

Community outcomes as identified by communities provided the ‘cornerstone’ for the planning process. They were the medium to long-term goals that encompassed the present and future social, economic, environmental and cultural aspirations of communities, and their relative importance.

As described in s 91, community outcomes were to be identified through a community engagement process, at least once every six years. The Act required councils to decide for themselves how the process was to be used, and where practical, to obtain the agreement of key stakeholders to the process. Key stakeholders included central government agencies and departments, and community and private sector organisations that were instrumental to identifying outcomes and promoting community well-being.

According to Memon and Thomas (2006, p. 137), it was anticipated that councils would facilitate the process of identifying outcomes. Hewison (2008, p. 269) emphasised that while councils were not expected to adopt the outcomes, it was expected that their activities, as a whole, would contribute towards achieving them.

The focus on the community’s outcomes or aspirations ‘now and for the future’ was consistent with the emphasis on outcome-focused public management in
the 1990s. The argument for giving increased attention to outcomes is explained by Brumby and Robinson:

Outcomes are the intended effects of government programmes, whereas outputs – the goods or services delivered by government – are the means of achieving those outcomes ... Outcomes are therefore what really matters … (Brumby & Robinson, 2004).

According to Hewison (2008, p. 270), many local authorities began identifying community priorities to meet the 1996 amendment of the LGA 1974 Part VIIA, that required them to develop long-term financial strategies. As such, the community outcomes process was viewed by central government as an extension of existing good practice.

Sections 77 – 91 of the LGA were clearly seeking participation by communities and stakeholders. Progressing this in terms of the elected member role clearly required greater levels of participation and cross-organisational engagement.

**Long-Term Council Community Plan**

Memon and Thomas (2006, p. 137) outlined three principle purposes of the LTCCP: firstly, to provide a strategic vision for the council and community, and a means of deciding what the council proposed to do; secondly, to state the council’s policies; and thirdly, to provide for sound asset management and financial information. The community outcomes process and preparation of the LTCCP was clearly intended to change the way in which local authorities engaged with their communities. This included a greater expectation of:

the relationship between the council, the community and key influencers … central government agencies; business; voluntary/community sector organisations (McKinlay, 2000, p. 2).

The process provided local authorities with the opportunity to influence how other organisations interacted with their communities and delivered services (McKinlay, 2000, p. 4). The Act recognised that issues facing local authorities in a sustainable development context were complex, and that solutions required wide collaboration across central and local government, and the community and private sector organisations.
According to Cheyne (2008, p. 38) the intention was for the government agencies to work in partnership with local authorities and communities to achieve mutually agreed outcomes. The regional level was considered by the central government to be the appropriate focus for their participation. The focus on partnership implied collaboration between local and central government officers and representatives.

The development of the LTCCP provided the main opportunity for communities to ‘have a say’ in the activities of their local authority. The Act required that local authorities use the ‘special consultative procedure’, which provided for both a detailed statement of proposal and a summary document to be widely available for public inspection.

Schedule 10 of the LGA 2002 detailed the content of an LTCCP. It was to include the community outcomes, how they were identified, and how the local authority intended to monitor its community’s progress towards achieving the outcomes. Councils were required to explain what they would do and how they would work with other parties to further outcomes. Councils were required to describe their groups of activities, and show the relationship between activities, outputs and community outcomes.

Certain decisions were to be undertaken as part of the LTCCP process (or as an amendment to the LTCCP). This included decisions relating to service levels for significant activities, significant decisions relating to strategic assets, and decisions that influenced the ability of a local authority to deliver on activities in the LTCCP.

Accountability was through the requirement for councils to report, at least every three years, on progress towards achieving community outcomes, and via the ongoing requirement for annual plans and reports. Monitoring and reporting processes for community outcomes were left to the council’s discretion. It was anticipated that this would require the collaboration of key stakeholders (Cheyne, 2008, p. 38).
Provisions for Māori participation

Sections 4, 14, 77 and 81 of the LGA 2002 placed obligations on territorial authorities and regional councils with respect to the participation of Māori and recognition of the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Hewison (2008, p. 355) argued that the intention of s 4 was to clarify that it was the Crown that was the Treaty Partner. As such, the Act was to ensure that the Treaty was observed in local government. According to Rikys (2004, p. 263), Māori understood the provisions were intended to provide councils with the flexibility to work co-operatively and collaboratively with entities with common goals, including Māori, to meet the needs of their communities.


The provisions of the LGA 2002 that related to Māori and the Treaty focused on four key areas: recognition of the Crown’s obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi, participation of Māori in decision-making, consultation with Māori, and the postponement of rates on Māori freehold land. The relationship between the Treaty and local government, provided for in the LGA 2002, was considerably less than the inclusion of kaupapa Māori in local government that was sought by Māori on the Local Government Bill working party 62.

According to Rikys (2004, p. 23), efforts by Māori to influence the form of local government in time for the 1989 local government reforms were thwarted by the late formation of the Māori Local Government Consultative Group 63. This resulted in decisions about how the Treaty of Waitangi would be included in new legislation being taken prior to consultation with Māori. This was despite the Official Co-ordinating Committee paper of February 1988, which

emphasised the fundamental importance of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Rikys, 2004, p. 23).

Hewison (2008, p. 344) noted that consideration of the Treaty in the 1999 local government reforms that resulted in the 2002 Act, was again deferred until late in the process. This was despite submissions seeking the early involvement of Māori from four local authorities, at least two Māori organisations, two community organisations and a number of individuals.

According to Rikys (2004, p. 120), the compelling drivers for Māori participation in the Local Government Bill were the desire to overcome their ongoing alienation and marginalisation by local authorities, and achieve proper recognition of the Treaty. Rikys argued that the new LGA should sit within a Treaty framework, with Māori membership and participation in all local authority committees, and recognition of tino rangatiratanga. Māori also sought to address the vexed issue of rating of Māori land.

While Māori efforts were realised in the recognition of Te Tiriti, Rikys highlighted the disappointment of the Māori Local Government Consultative Group (Ibid., p. 120). Much had been left to the discretion of local authorities and in many cases the status quo had prevailed. Despite an increase in the awareness, activity, and resourcing of Māori capacity and participation in local government by some local councils (Backhurst et al., 2004, pp. 8-22), the level of Māori representation was generally low. Iwi and hapū perceived the understanding of Te Tiriti and kaitiakitanga to be generally low among council staff and politicians.

The ‘Treaty clause’, as s 4 was referred to, served to clarify that the Treaty obligations referred to under the LGA were the Crown’s obligations to Māori, which were passed on to local authorities. The Act’s requirements sought...
special attention to provide for Māori to contribute to local government decision-making (Local Government New Zealand, 2003, p. 39).

Section 14(d) of the principles of the Act related to local authorities, encouraged local authorities to provide opportunities for Māori to contribute to decision-making processes. This was emphasised still further in s 77(1)(c), which required local authorities to take account of Māori, their culture and traditions with respect to ancestral land, water, sites, wāhi tapu, valued flora and fauna and other taonga.

Local authorities were required to establish and maintain processes for Māori to contribute to local decision-making, and to consider ways to build this capacity. In general, these provisions did not accord Māori with benefits over other New Zealanders. They sought to redress the deficiencies of the past and to encourage and assist Māori participation in local affairs (Local Government New Zealand, 2003, p. 39). Rikys (2004, p. 266) argued that this clause was clearly related to Article 2 of the Treaty and was the only reference in the Act ‘requiring’ Māori issues to be taken into account.

Hewison (2008, p. 378) emphasised s 81(1)(a) which required local authorities to establish processes that facilitated an ‘ongoing rather than sporadic’ relationship with Māori. This requirement was linked to s 77(1)(c) relating to significant decisions, and s 82(2), requiring local authorities to have processes in place for consulting Māori.

‘Capacity’, for the purposes of the Act, was interpreted as the ability of a person or group to participate knowledgeably in the local government decision-making process (Local Government New Zealand, 2003, p. 39). Local authorities were required to make an assessment of the ability of Māori to participate given their resources, and to consider what steps they could reasonably take to build Māori capacity. In the guidance provided by central government and the local government sector, capacity building included training on local government systems and processes, providing technical expertise, and access to local authority resources.

The way in which local authorities engaged with Māori was anticipated to change significantly. The term Māori was chosen in the Act to recognise urban
and unaffiliated Māori, and to include mana whenua and tangata whenua (Memon & Thomas, 2006, p. 137). A more inclusive approach to Māori was required by elected members to enable these sections of the LGA to bring about change.

Section 108 recognised the challenges faced by many Māori communities in meeting the rates demands on Māori land, and required local authorities to adopt a policy on the remission and postponement of rates on Māori land. It did not, however, require remission or postponement of such rates (Local Government Rates Inquiry Panel, 2007, p. 14). Māori advocated that the provision of remission and postponement of rates on Māori land should be mandatory, with respect to whenua tupuna. They regarded these provisions as weak and unlikely to result in a fairer system of rating for Māori land.

**Challenges of the LGA**

This section presents the findings of reviews of the 2002 statutory framework for local government that have implications for the roles of elected members in governance, and the influence of Te Tiriti o Waitangi for urban sustainability. Six years after implementation of the LGA 2002 many requirements of the Act were still challenging local authorities, central government and key stakeholders in the public and private sectors.

Government reviews and reports following the 2007 local government election (Controller and Auditor-General, 2007; Local Government Commission, 2008), the Local Government Rates Inquiry (2007) and the Royal Commission on Auckland Governance (2007) all identified areas related to planning and decision-making, community outcomes, consultation, the LTCCP, and Māori participation in local government that required further attention in terms of the development and sharing of good practice.

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66 The issues included communal ownership of land, migration of Māori to the cities to work resulting in absentee land owners, and the inability to pay rates due to low productivity of land and uneconomic lot sizes (Local Government Rates Inquiry Panel, 2007).
Preparation of planning documents

The Local Government Commission (2008a, p. 6) noted that the preparation of planning documents was a cause for some concern. The LGNZ KnowHow guides (Local Government New Zealand, 2003) were developed to guide local authorities on how to interpret and implement the LGA 2002. Despite this, consultation provisions were often found to be poorly understood, and the extent to which community views may have been already known was not acknowledged.

The Auditor-General67 (Controller and Auditor-General, 2007, p. 4) noted two common problems in the preparation of the LTCCP. First, there was poor project management including management of the sequence for preparing and developing information. Second, there was poor identification of the issues that must be communicated in the LTCCP consultation document. It was noted that despite the challenges, many local authorities were seeing the value of dialogue with other agencies and the commitments given, over and above the resultant outcomes (Controller and Auditor-General, 2007, p. 11).

Enhancing elected members’ understanding

The Local Government Commission (2008a, p. 7) noted the need to enhance elected members’ understanding of the LGA 2002, and also noted that funding had been allocated by government and set aside by LGNZ for a professional development programme for local authority elected members68.

Time, resources and cost

According to the Auditor-General (Controller and Auditor-General, 2007, p. 115) the local government sector struggled to meet their time deadlines with respect to the community outcomes and LTCCP process, including consultation. The Local Government Commission (2008, p. 12) reported concerns relating to resources, in particular for smaller rural councils. Hewison (2008, p. 270) noted examples of a perceived focus on compliance rather than meaningful outcomes.

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67 Four external expert reviews were undertaken on areas that were central to the preparation of an LTCCP: sustainable development, performance information, asset management information, and financial management and strategies (Controller and Auditor-General, 2007).

68 Implementation and evaluation of this initiative was not expected in 2009, in time for inclusion in this thesis.
Understanding sustainable development

The Auditor-General (Controller and Auditor-General, 2007, p. 20) observed an uneven understanding of the scope of sustainable development, and highlighted the lack of clarity surrounding the relationship between well-beings, community outcomes and sustainable development. It was noted that all councils referred to the four well-beings to a greater or lesser extent, however, a number of areas required improvement. How sustainability was localised and defined at the council and community level was one such area.

There was a need for community outcomes to be expressed at a level of specificity that was meaningful. How future generations had been considered during decision-making was another area that needed further attention. Integrated thinking was sought across the well-beings and activities to satisfy principle 14(h), that of taking a sustainable development approach (Controller and Auditor-General, 2007, p. 20).

Sustainable development principles in performance management

The Controller and Auditor-General (2007, p. 20) noted that there was a need for sustainable development principles and community outcomes to be reflected in the framework for performance planning and management. Consideration of current and future well-being was not altogether evident in statutory content areas of the LTCCPs, such as the assumptions, intended benefits, associated risks, and the assessment of the negative effects of activities. Councils were not seen to be ‘walking the talk’, and needed to reflect how they were taking account of sustainable development through internal processes (Ibid., p. 20).

Requirement to build Māori capacity

The Local Government Commission (2008a, p. 17) found that misunderstandings were apparent with respect to the obligation of local authorities to build Māori capacity to participate in local government. It observed there was a large body of knowledge around local and central government engagement with Māori, but little information on Māori perspectives. The need for more research and guidance with respect to local government engagement with Māori was noted by Cheyne and Tawhai (2007, p. 9). The Local Government Commission recommended an independent review of the
effectiveness of local government engagement with Māori in order to track progress over time\textsuperscript{69} (Local Government Commission, 2008, p. 17).

The Commission advocated for a strategic and coordinated approach to recognise the holistic values of kaupapa Māori and Māori aspirations within a 'whole of government' approach. The Commission indicated there was a need for local authorities to develop their own capacity, and for advice and assistance to Māori (Local Government Commission, 2008, pp. 16-17).

According to Memon and Thomas (2006, p. 140) the lack of capacity within iwi and Māori organisations was compounded by the 'sometimes fraught relationships' some local authorities had with their Māori communities. Local authority access to Māori, Māori access to local authorities, and whānau, hapū and Māori representation were priority issues. Local authority knowledge of local Māori history was found to be lacking, and there was a lack of trust between the parties (Local Government New Zealand, 2003, pp. 2-4).

**Partnership with central government**

Hewison (2008, p. 306) observed that an objective of the review of the LGA 1974, appeared to have been a form of partnership between central and local government. He argued that central governments intention was to grant local authorities (especially regional councils) greater scope to work with central government to contribute to overall well being of the community (and the government’s own policy objectives), rather than to put in place a specific statutory based 'partnership relationship' (Hewison, 2008, p. 304).

Hewison (2008, p. 304) noted that reference to a ‘partnership relationship’ raised the expectations of the local government sector, for a more formal relationship based on statutory force. This was arguably an area that challenged local authorities during the first round of the community outcomes process, as regional offices of government were poorly resourced to participate in the new processes\textsuperscript{70}.

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\textsuperscript{69} Implementation of this initiative had not been signalled, at the time of writing in April 2009.

\textsuperscript{70} Based on personal conversations between the writer and local government officials, 24 August 2006.
In summary

Memon and Thomas (2006, pp. 139-141) argued that although the intention of the LGA 2002 was to promote good governance, the level of discretion available to local authorities had the potential to result in ‘business as usual’. Some councils had opted, through choice or capacity constraints, to do the bare minimum to comply with the Act. The need for a coherent national vision for sustainability\(^{71}\) that would guide local interpretations was seen as key to increasing local understanding and acceptance of the sustainable development concept.

The Local Electoral Act 2001

Drage (2002, p. 65) described the Local Electoral Act 2001 as integral to local democracy in New Zealand. It provided for elected representation and the role of community representatives in setting policy and decision-making. She argued that the economic and political changes that occurred in the late 1980s had resulted in decreasing confidence and trust in central and local government. These changes, together with local government reforms that were strengthening public participation, opened the way for debate on the roles of elected members as decision-makers.

The debate was taken up during a review of the Local Election and Polls Act 1976. The Local Electoral Act 2001 was enacted in time for the 2001 local government triennial election. It incorporated a triennial review process with a mandatory review of boundaries, wards and membership of local authorities (Drage, 2002, p. 65).

According to Hayward (2008, p. 1), councils were required to decide on two key issues as part of the triennial review. The first was whether to divide their local authority into wards, or to have an election for the district as a whole (referred to as ‘at large’). Secondly, they were required to select the First Past the Post (FPP) or the Single Transferable Vote (STV) system. A provision for local authorities to establish one or more Māori wards for electoral purposes (as

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\(^{71}\) The New Zealand Sustainable development Programme of Action is discussed in chapter 3.
contained within section 19Z of the LGA 1974), was also included in the 2001 Act\textsuperscript{72} (Hayward, 2002, p.219).

Transparency of the electoral process was supported by section 40 of the LGA, which required authorities to prepare a governance statement prior to each election. This was to include information on the electoral system, the representation arrangements, and whether or not Māori wards were provided for. According to Hayward (2008, p. 1) ten of New Zealand’s then 86 local authorities opted for the STV system for the 2004 local government election. Eight of these retained STV for the 2007 election. No local authorities opted for Māori wards in time for the 2004 or 2007 local elections.

**Local Government Rates Inquiry**

In November 2006, in response to pressure from the local government sector, ratepayers and political parties, the New Zealand Labour Government announced an independent inquiry into local government rates. A three-member inquiry panel was appointed to consider issues relating to current local government rating, and to other revenue raising mechanisms, and provide recommendations to the Government for enhancing rating and other funding mechanisms for local authorities (Department of Internal Affairs, 2007).

Of relevance to this research, was the requirement for the inquiry to examine the impact of rates on land covered by Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993 (Department of Internal Affairs, 2006, p. 1). The Panel recognised that Māori land was taonga tuku iho (of special significance to Māori), for the present and for future generations (Shand, Horsley, & Cheyne, 2007, p. 213).

At the outset of the inquiry issues surrounding Māori land were acknowledged as complex. Māori land referred to under Te Ture Whenua Act comprised an area of 1.5 million hectares, 80 per cent of which was unproductive in arable terms (Shand, Cheyne, & Horsley, 2007, p. 5). The land was made up of more than 26,000 titles, more than half of which were unsurveyed. The average land

\textsuperscript{72} This provision was based on the Bay of Plenty Regional Council (Māori Constituency Empowering) Act 2001, a local statute that provides for Māori wards in the Bay of Plenty region. (Local Government Online, 2006)
size was 59 hectares. Further, Māori land was held in multiple ownership. Up to 33 per cent of the owners recorded on the titles had predeceased and their interests had not been succeeded to. The average number of owners per block was 73. Up to 33 per cent were land-locked. Only 29 per cent of the titles were under a management plan.

The Panel noted the serious nature of problems that had arisen due to rating of Māori land. It acknowledged that a substantial amount of Māori land was productively used and well managed, and was providing owners with income and the ability to pay rates. However, issues relating to ‘unusable, landlocked, bush-covered, isolated’ and non-productive land were recognised (Dewes & Walzl, 2007; Shand, Cheyne et al., 2007, p. 5).

Dewes and Walzl (2004, p. 47) highlighted that in some cases land uses had changed the status of land. In other cases, Māori land with less than four owners had been changed to individual title under legislation, such as the Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1967. In many cases Māori were not notified of this change. The Panel (Shand, Horsley et al., 2007, pp. 212-213) found that barriers to the development of Māori land included constraints on borrowing, the ownership issues referred to above, and the burden of unpaid rates (which had the potential to trigger disharmony amongst multiple owners).

**The Panel's analysis of Te Ture Whenua Act 1993**

Te Ture Whenua Act 1993 provided for the governance and management of Māori freehold land by proscribing administrative structures that were available for whānau, hapū and iwi to adopt. The categories of land that fell within the scope of the Act included Māori freehold land and Māori land owned under general title, land held for marae, marae reserve and urupa.

A large body of information was provided by Māori in submissions to the inquiry. The strength of conviction and concern expressed in many of the submissions highlighted serious ongoing issues, a deep sense of grievance felt by many Māori with respect to rating, lack of service provision, and in some cases, confiscation of Māori land to settle unpaid rates. These submissions proved a rich source of contemporary Māori views about local governance.
The findings of the investigation of rates on land covered by Te Ture Whenua Act 1993 clarified a number of the issues raised by Māori\textsuperscript{73}. It was concluded that ‘a new and different approach to rating and valuation of Māori land is needed’ (Shand, Cheyne et al., 2007, p. 211).

The special historical and cultural relationship that Māori have with land, and their role as kaitiaki across generations, was recognised. A key issue raised by the Rates Inquiry hui was the need for Māori land to be considered within a Treaty of Waitangi context. An argument based on Article 2, entitling Māori to ‘full and exclusive undisturbed possession of their lands’, questioned whether Māori ever ceded the right to the Crown to levy rates (Shand, Cheyne et al., 2007, p. 211). The Panel recommended that the relationship to Te Tiriti o Waitangi be addressed by government as part of a work programme on rating and Māori land.

The system of valuation applied to Māori land was found to be ‘inappropriate and wrong’ (Shand, Cheyne, & Horsley, 2007, p. 212). The restrictions placed on the land by Te Ture Whenua Act meant that a relevant value of the land could not be established through the application of the willing-buyer willing-seller premise at the heart of the local government land valuation system.

The Local Government Rates Inquiry was significant in that it recognised the injustices imposed on Māori through the local government rating system. In March 2009, following the release of the Rates Inquiry findings in August 2007, a programme of work to address the issues raised by Māori was referred to a whole-of-government strategy, led by Te Puni Kokiri (Minister for Local Government, 2008).

**Royal Commission on Auckland Governance**

The Royal Commission on Auckland Governance was the second inquiry initiated during the course of this research that had the potential to significantly influence local governance. In November 2007 the Labour-led government appointed the Royal Commission on Auckland Governance to:

\textsuperscript{73} These were outlined in the Māori issues background paper prepared at the outset of the Rates Inquiry (Dewes and Watzl, 2007).
receive representations on, inquire into, investigate and report on the local government arrangements (including institutions, mechanisms and processes) that are required in the Auckland region over the foreseeable future in order to maximize, in a cost effective manner –

(a) the current and future well-being of the region and its communities; and (b) the region’s contribution to the wider national objectives and outcomes (Royal Commission on Auckland Governance, 2008b, p. 1).

The Commission was instructed to take into account the findings of the Local Government Rates Inquiry, and sought to be consistent with the principles of the LGA 2002. Consideration was to be given to boundary changes required for effective collaborative arrangements.

The Labour-led government acknowledged the need for the Auckland region to perform as the growth engine for the New Zealand economy, and a transport hub for New Zealand and the South Pacific; compete internationally as a desirable place to live and do business; and respond to the economic, environmental, social and cultural challenges facing the region (Royal Commission on Auckland Governance, 2007, p. 2).

Hambleton (2008, p. 6), in his brief prepared for the Royal Commission, emphasised the changing context for civic leadership, and the shift from the traditional view of government to governance (described in chapter 3). According to Hambleton (2008, p. 8) understanding civic leadership was important. He distinguished between three leadership roles: political, managerial and community leadership, of which he argued all three types had an important role to play in the future leadership. He noted the need for transparency, accountability, efficient resource use and responsiveness to political leadership, and recognised the appropriateness of the multiplicity of leadership roles, in a modern city with diverse communities of interest and place, such as Auckland (Hambleton, 2008, p. 16).

The November 2008 general election resulted in a National-Act Coalition government. The incoming National Government’s policy expressed a commitment to consult with Aucklanders once the findings of the commission were known, and

to implement changes that will best achieve the goals of good regional infrastructure, sound and consistent regulation, and economic growth
throughout the region, as well as making sure that each community in our biggest city feels appropriately represented (New Zealand Government, 2008).

The focus of the Royal Commission was of interest to this research, as the government's response was likely to bring about significant changes to the way elected members engage communities in the pursuit of urban sustainability. It could also have wider implications for local government elsewhere in New Zealand.

Background

In 1989, local government reforms merged 39 borough councils of Auckland into four cities and three districts: Auckland, Waitakere, North Shore and Manukau Cities; and Papakura, Rodney and Franklin Districts; and the Auckland Regional Council.

The Labour Government (2008, p. 342) had been vocal in its aspirations for Auckland to be a world class city, have a positive business environment with good infrastructure, and careful management of the environment. Nevertheless, the eight local authorities had a long history of parochialism and squabbling over regional issues. This, together with the widely held view that Auckland needed greater efficiency, economic competitiveness and enhanced equity and community, was a compelling driver for a more effective and collaborative governance model for the region.

Anticipation of change

There was consensus about the need for reform that would result in a more strategic approach to planning and decision-making, and some kind of supercity. A key issue for Māori was the complexity of dealing with a large number of units of local government whose boundaries did not coincide with iwi and hapū territories. Problems cited were multiple iwi and hapū interests across Auckland, overlapping with local authority boundaries, and ad hoc responses from local authorities to Māori concerns. Instituting Māori seats or wards to address the lack of Māori involvement in decision-making at regional and local government was seen as one solution to the problem. Power sharing by adequate representation was the focus of a number of submissions by Māori. Māori
expressed the desire for a Treaty partnership in local government (Tahana, 2008).

Local or neighbourhood governance was widely acknowledged as a significant challenge for the Royal Commission (Garnier, 2008; Hawkins, 2008; McKinlay, 2008).

The findings

The Royal Commission reported to the Governor General of New Zealand in late March 2009. It proposed that the Auckland Regional Council and all seven territorial authorities in Auckland be dissolved. In their place, it recommended a new single unitary authority called the Auckland Council (Salmon, Bazley, & Shand, 2009, p. 6). The Commission recommended 23 elected members – 10 to be elected at large, 10 to be elected in wards, two Māori seats plus a third Māori councillor to be nominated by a mana whenua forum. The Auckland Council was to have all the powers of the regional council and the territorial authorities. It would hold all assets and employ all staff. The intention was for

one long-term council community plan, one spatial plan, one district plan, one rating system, one rates bill, one voice for Auckland (Salmon, Bazley, & Shand, 2009, p. 6).

In addition to the elected governing body of the Auckland Council, six local councils and three community boards (City centre and Waterfront, Great Barrier Island and Waiheke Island) were proposed (Salmon, Bazley, & Shand, 2009, p. 7). It was foreseen that local councils would be delegated governance responsibilities in their local areas. The Commission considered that community boards would not generally be required. It was proposed that the boundaries of the Auckland region remain relatively unchanged.

The National Government’s response to the Royal Commission

In early April 2009 the National-led New Zealand government (2009, p. 6) announced its intention to establish one unitary council, with one mayor elected at large for the region. Twenty elected members were proposed - eight to be elected at large and 12 to be elected from wards. No Māori representation was proposed.
A second tier of governance was to comprise between 20-30 local boards across the region. The final number of boards and boundaries was to be determined by the Local Government Commission74. In April 2009, little detailed information was available. The proposed structure did, however, illustrate a direct relationship between community groups, residents and ratepayers, and business, and both the local boards and elected members. The government’s policy document clearly stated the intention, for the detailed work to be completed, and the new structure to be in place, by the October 2010 triennial election (Salmon, Bazley, & Shand, 2009, pp. 7-9).

Conclusion

Radical reform has been a hallmark of New Zealand local government since the 1990s. With the enactment of the LGA 2002 the focus shifted to promoting sustainable development. The Act’s broad powers of general competence, while balanced by prescriptive decision-making and accountability requirements, were in direct contrast with the ultra vires nature of the LGA 1974 (Memon & Thomas, 2006, p. 137).

The Act supported the paradigm shift from ‘top-down’, process-driven government to a ‘bottom-up’ more consensual and collaborative form of community governance (Memon & Thomas, 2006, p. 137). Inherent in this, was a shift from the representative style of democracy that prevailed pre-1980s to a more participatory style of democracy. The broad and intergenerational focus of the Act was consistent with governance models for urban sustainability introduced in the United Kingdom and Europe in the 1980s and 1990s (Berg & Rao, 2005; European Commission, 2004b).

Transparency and accountability were delivered by prescriptive strategic planning processes that were developed to change the way in which local authorities engaged with their communities. The Act recognised that issues facing local authorities in a sustainable development context were complex, and

74 The Local Government Commission was an independent statutory body, whose main role was to make decisions on the structure and representation requirements of local government in New Zealand (Local Government Commission, 2009).
that solutions required wide collaboration across central and local government, and the community and private sector.

The relationship between Te Tiriti o Waitangi and local government was clarified in the Act by the inclusion of a Treaty clause and provisions aimed at enhancing the contribution of Māori to decision-making in local government. The discretion afforded to local authorities around these provisions, however, was considered likely to preserve the status quo.

Opportunities for Māori to participate in local government were hindered by the need for more research and guidance with respect to local government engagement with Māori (Cheyne & Tawhai, 2007, p. 9). Recognition of the holistic values of kaupapa Māori and Māori aspirations within a 'whole of government' context were seen as a necessary step, along with an independent review of the effectiveness of local government engagement with Māori (Royal Commission on Auckland Governance, 2008a, p. 17). The failure to involve Māori early in the LGA 2002 review process, and later, to heed their feedback, was reminiscent of previous attempts by Māori to be recognised as the Treaty partner at the local government level.

The need to enhance elected members’ understanding of the LGA 2002 through funding for training had been acknowledged (Local Government Commission, 2008, p. 7).

The Local Electoral Act 2001 was an important attempt by government to strengthen local democracy. However, poor uptake of the discretionary provisions for Māori wards highlighted the need for government to reconsider means for Māori representation (Hayward, 2008, p. 1). Māori calls for recognition of Māori land as taonga tuku iho were heard by the Rates Inquiry panel who recommended that the serious nature of the problems associated with the rating of Māori land be addressed (Dewes & Walzl, 2007; Minister for Local Government, 2008; Shand, Cheyne et al., 2007).

The Royal Commission on Auckland Governance provided an important national opportunity to raise the understanding and profile of governance for sustainability. The Royal Commission provided an opportunity for iwi and urban Māori to raise their priority issues, and to seek a more equitable partnership
with local government that would be based on Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Tahana, 2008). As this thesis was nearing completion in May 2009, the government was signaling that its response would amount to fundamental reform for local government in the Auckland region. This was likely to result in significant changes to the way elected members engaged communities in the pursuit of urban sustainability. The potential for the Commission to impact on local government outside of the Auckland region was recognised.

Notwithstanding the potential for further reform, New Zealand’s urban local authorities were demonstrating new ways of governing under the LGA 2002. The findings of the documentary analysis of the five case study authorities are presented in the next chapter.
Chapter 6
Local governance for urban sustainability

Introduction

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 reviewed the background and literature for the Pākehā House of this research. This chapter presents the findings of the first part of the case study methodology outlined in chapter 2: the analysis of case study long term planning documents. The analysis sought to answer the research question:

What progress has been made towards urban sustainability in the New Zealand local government sector?

The LTCCPs were the primary source for the documentary analysis. They provided background on the councils’ locality, organisation and elected members’ priorities. Notwithstanding the reservations of the Auditor-General (Controller and Auditor-General, 2007, pp. 30-33), described in chapter 5, the LTCCPs provided a window through which to assess the progress of the authorities toward urban sustainability. Further, they referenced relevant council plans and documents.

The LTCCP as the primary reference

The LTCCP was selected as the base document for cross case study comparison because of its statutory and prescriptive nature, and its focus on the principles of sustainable development. While the level of detail in the LTCCPs varied, they provided an overview of how each local authority viewed its business, and some indication of the level to which urban sustainability principles were integrated within the authorities’ practices. Additional information was sourced from the internet, and strategies and publications referenced in the LTCCPs.75

75 Involvement in regional initiatives was cross referenced through access to the relevant regional council website.
The LTCCPs were designed by their authors to demonstrate compliance with the LGA 2002. Hence the supporting documents were important in assessing the degree of consistency that existed between the councils’ expressed intentions, and the initiatives they progressed.

**The evaluation framework**

The evaluation framework assessed each council against the following criteria: innovation and NPM (learning organisation, creative policy and environmental awareness), collaboration and cooperation (links between departments, external alliances, local authority networking), community engagement (communications and consultation), and leadership (facilitation, vision and strength). The characteristics that demonstrated a sustainable development approach were frequently common to more than one group of criteria. This reflected the multi-dimensional, multi-level, cross-cutting nature of the four well-beings. The completed evaluation framework is attached as appendix 2.

**The case studies**

The case study authorities were Auckland City Council, Tauranga City Council, Rotorua District Council, Porirua City Council and Christchurch City Council. They represented five urban local authorities in New Zealand that were noted for a focus on urban sustainability, a tendency towards innovation, a significant Māori population and Māori representation (in the case of Rotorua), and ethnically diverse communities (in particular Auckland and Porirua). Table 6.1 summarises the demography and documents examined for each of the case studies.

The findings of the documentary analysis revealed information about each council that related to key issues and challenges, progress towards urban sustainability, leadership qualities, innovative and creative policy initiatives, the nature of the city’s relationships, and the approach to community engagement. The findings of this analysis are summarised by council.
Table 6.1 Demography characteristics and documents examined for the five case study territorial authorities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territorial authority / contact</th>
<th>Territorial Authority characteristics</th>
<th>Documents reviewed</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auckland City  Population 404,658</td>
<td>Main urban area, approx 7.8% Māori, 13% Pacific, 24% Asian, focus on engagement and participation of diverse communities and urban sustainability, 1 Pacific councilor</td>
<td>LTCCP 2006-2016 Council agendas and minutes, community development initiatives, regional council planning documents, Long-term framework for Sustainable Development NZ Sustainable Development, Programme of Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tauranga City  Population 103,635</td>
<td>Main urban area, focus on Smartgrowth and public management, approx 17% identified as Māori, 2% Pacific, 3% Asian</td>
<td>LTCCP 2006-2016 Council agendas and minutes, Smart growth, environmental programmes Environment BOP regional strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rotorua District Council  Population 65,901</td>
<td>Main urban area, approx 36% identified as Māori, 5% Pacific, 4% Asian urban /rural mix, 3 Māori councillors</td>
<td>LTCCP 2006-2016 Council agendas and minutes, environmental initiatives. Environment Waikato and Environment BOP regional strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porirua City  Population 50,600</td>
<td>Main urban area, approx 21% Māori, 26% Pacific, 5% Asian, 2 Māori and 2 Pacific councillors</td>
<td>LTCCP 2006-2016 Council agendas and minutes, environmental initiatives, Greater Wellington regional strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christchurch City  Population 348,435</td>
<td>Main urban area, approx 8% identified as Māori, 3% Pacific, 8% Asian Participation in ‘Future Path Canterbury’ - regional collaboration for community outcomes</td>
<td>LTCCP 2006-2016 Council agendas and minutes, Environment Canterbury regional strategies</td>
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76 Population information is based on the 2006 Census (Statistics New Zealand, 2009). They can be viewed online at http://www.stats.govt.nz/NR/rdonlyres/C9A86DBD-5B34-402D-8947-7F705104026B/0/RegionalSummaryTablesTerritorialAuthority.xls

77 As defined by Statistics NZ Main urban areas are centred on a city or main urban centre. They have a minimum population of 30,000. Characteristics other than population that contribute to this definition include: strong economic ties, cultural and recreational interaction, serviced from the core for major business and professional activities, an integrated public transport network, significant workplace commuting to and from the central core, and planned development with the next twenty years (Statistics New Zealand, 2009).
Auckland City

Introduction

Auckland was the largest city in New Zealand. The 2006 census estimated the population to be 405,000. Of the city’s residents, 98 percent lived on the Auckland Isthmus. The remaining 2 percent were resident on the Hauraki Gulf islands. Population density for the isthmus was about 23 people per hectare. Of Gulf dwellers, 86 percent lived on Waiheke Island where the average population density was 0.2 people per hectare (Auckland City Council, 2006, p. 68).

The median age of residents in Auckland City was 32.7 years78, giving the city a relatively young profile. Almost ten percent of the population was over 65 years of age (compared with the national average of 12 per cent). Thirty nine percent of the population was born outside New Zealand and belonged to one of the 181 ethnic groups identified. Auckland was the most ethnically diverse city in New Zealand (Auckland City Council, 2006, p. 68).

Key issues and challenges

In its introduction the Auckland City 2006-201679 LTCCP outlined the factors expected to influence Auckland in the future as: population, the economy, fuel and energy, trade and tourism, health and the environment (Auckland City Council, 2006, pp. 21-23). Overall the trend presented was one of a growing city. Population growth was forecast at between 22,000 and 65,000 people by 2021, with an increasingly aging population. The proportion of Asian residents was forecast to grow from 23 percent to 38 percent over the same period. Auckland’s economic growth was forecast to be higher than the New Zealand average. Uncertain fuel and energy prices were highlighted, along with a trend for real increases in the price of electricity and gas. Forecasts suggested increases in visitors to Auckland in the next decade. An increase in imports entering through the Port of Auckland was forecast to be greater than the increase in exports expected over the previous decade.

78 Unless otherwise referenced all statistics are sourced from the 2006 Census.
79 This research focused on the 2006-2016 LTCCPs, which were updated in 2009.
Progress towards urban sustainability

The Auckland City LTCCP displayed a strong focus on a 30-year vision for the city that was based on sustainable development principles. There was a clear inter-relationship between the vision, the communities’ aspirations (community outcomes), wider research on successful cities, trends that might affect Auckland, and the council’s groups of activities and strategies contained within the ten-year plan.

The vision, to be the ‘First City of the Pacific’, is shown in figure 6.1 below. It was represented as a pyramid, starting with the ‘big city baseline’ representing the city’s bottom line (Auckland City Council, 2006, pp. 11-12). This comprised an Auckland with a well-managed natural and built environment, infrastructure, networks, community and social facilities, and an efficient transport system.

The second level of the pyramid described Auckland as ‘world class’ in terms of lifestyle, waterfront and central business district (CBD), pride, ambition and vibrant local centres. The top level of the pyramid represented Auckland’s leadership aspirations for world leadership in terms of its natural landscapes, and as a global city (Auckland City Council, 2006, p. 13). The council recognised that partnerships and collaboration were required to achieve the vision.

Figure 6.1 Auckland City Council’s vision – ‘Creating the first city of the Pacific’.

The city’s community outcomes were grouped by the four well-beings encompassed in the LGA concept of sustainable development, and a fifth perspective – leadership (Auckland City Council, 2006, p. 15). The leadership outcome encompassed the outcomes related to Aucklanders’ confidence about the city’s direction, its trust in the council and wider leadership, and willingness to participate and work together. Table 6.2 summarises the Auckland City community outcomes.

Table 6.2 Auckland City community outcomes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Community Outcome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td>Aucklanders have faith in the future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aucklanders trust in leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aucklanders participate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aucklanders work together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Auckland is safe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Auckland has successful neighbourhoods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aucklanders have affordable housing options</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aucklanders are healthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Auckland has strong communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aucklanders have opportunities to learn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Aucklanders have real transport choices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aucklanders have the right work skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Auckland is a great place for business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Auckland has a thriving CBD and dynamic local centres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental</td>
<td>Auckland is well cared for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Auckland is beautiful and clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Auckland has a distinctive identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Hauraki Gulf and islands have a unique identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>Auckland is interesting and enjoyable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aucklanders welcome diversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Auckland is creative and vibrant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Leadership**

Auckland’s LTCCP articulated a clear focus on the council’s leadership aspirations for the city, the region, the country and globally, and was the only case study local authority to do so. The council’s commitment to recognising

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80 For this reason it is commented on ahead of other evaluation criteria.
mana whenua, working collaboratively with tangata whenua and a wide range of public and private sector stakeholders was portrayed. This is discussed in the Community Engagement section that follows. ‘Amazing cultural landscapes’ and ‘Auckland as a global city’ were identified as areas for world leadership (Auckland City Council, 2006, p. 12).

**Innovation and Creative Policy**

The city’s activities were presented in four broad, cross-cutting groupings, which clearly referenced the influence that each had on the social, economic, environmental and cultural well-being of the city. The four groups of activities were: Arts, Community and Recreation; City Development; Civic leadership; and Transport. Each of these groups of activities integrated the community outcomes in order to contribute to the four well-beings and leadership. The ‘mayor’s task force’ on sustainable development, set up in 2006 to identify what sustainability meant to Auckland City, and how the city could better achieve sustainability goals and outcomes at the corporate and city wide levels, was highlighted.

**Relationships**

Auckland’s LTCCP presented evidence of extensive multi-level governance and a wide range of partnerships and alliances. It described the city as a ‘strong broker’ of partnerships and the Committee for Auckland was highlighted as an example (Auckland City Council, 2006, p. 18). The council recognised that achieving community outcomes required key partnerships, and it outlined existing relationships that would be important in contributing to community outcomes. The following figure highlights some of these relationships.

The council articulated the importance of their relationship with Māori, and the importance of Māori involvement in identifying community outcomes, and their role as kaitiaki in caring for their people and the environment (Auckland City Council, 2006, p. 16). The civic leadership group of activities (Auckland City

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81 These groups align with the revised organisational structure implemented by Auckland City in 2007.

82 Formed in January 2003, the Committee for Auckland was a not-for-profit private sector organisation that sought to leverage influence to enhance and develop Auckland as an exciting and dynamic place to live (Committee for Auckland, 2009).
Council, 2006, p. 87) highlighted the city’s intention to develop a Treaty-based policy framework, and to establish and maintain inter-agency relationships.

Figure 6.2 Auckland City Council stakeholders.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community outcome</th>
<th>Organisations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auckland is safe</td>
<td>New Zealand Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Child Youth and Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Heart of the City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aucklanders have real transport choices</td>
<td>Auckland Regional Transport Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transport Interest groups, eg Cycle Action Auckland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auckland is interesting and enjoyable</td>
<td>Sport Auckland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Creative New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aucklanders are healthy</td>
<td>Auckland District Health Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ministry of Social Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sport Auckland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auckland is beautiful and clean</td>
<td>Department of Conservation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Watercare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Auckland Volcanic Cores Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aucklanders have the right work skills</td>
<td>Ministry of Economic Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ministry of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employers and Manufacturers Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tertiary Institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ministry of Social Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Auckland Chamber of Commerce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Committee for Auckland</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


As figure 6.2 shows multi-level governance involved collaboration with other local authorities, central government departments and other agencies in order to contribute to the regional strategies for growth, transport, economic development, tourism, the development of Eden Park and CBD and town centre regeneration (Auckland City Council, 2006, pp. 29-37).

**Community Engagement**

As required by the LGA 2002, the LTCCP outlined the consultation process. It summarised the feedback, which reflected stakeholder and public input into the ten-year plan. The level of response, preferences of respondents and the decisions made by elected members were explained. Commitment to a list of

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83 Eden Park is the home of Auckland Rugby, and the designated venue for the Rugby World Cup finals in 2011.
the top 28 projects was included in the introduction to the plan as a summary of the council’s priorities. This open and transparent style of communication was consistent through the financial summary entitled ‘Impact on rates’ (Auckland City Council, 2006, p. 47).

**Tauranga City**

**Introduction**

Tauranga, on the east coast of the central North Island in the Bay of Plenty (BOP) region, was initially a service town. By 2006 it was one of the fastest growing cities in New Zealand. Between 1986 and 2006 the population doubled to 105,000 and in 2006 was forecast to increase to 144,000 by 2021 (Tauranga City Council, 2006, p. 5).

In 2006, 22 per cent of the population was over 60 years of age (compared to a national average of 15.4 per cent). Increasing numbers of people in the 30-45 age bracket with children, were moving to Tauranga for the lifestyle. Just over 16 per cent of the population identified as Māori (compared to the national average of 14.6 per cent).

The business and the economy were dominated by property and the business services sector. The Port of Tauranga was significant to the economy and provided an international and national sea link.

**Key issues and challenges**

The high rate of growth was Tauranga’s key issue. The LTCCP described the challenge as ‘providing for today’ while ‘managing for tomorrow’ (Tauranga City Council, 2006, p. 1). Population growth was acknowledged as having a significant impact on the community and infrastructure, for example, on housing, stormwater, waste services, transport, and the need for parks and open spaces.

The LTCCP focused on the basics, ‘ensuring that business as usual is balanced against the nice to haves’ (Tauranga City Council, 2006, p. 22). The capital expenditure apportioned in the LTCCP was around 60 per cent for growth, 13 per cent each for renewals and new projects that were part of the normal running of the city (such as parks, pedestrian underpasses and cycle lanes),
and 6 per cent for flood recovery, the stormwater system, and 8 per cent on new facilities, for example, the museum, a sport and exhibition centre and the waterfront development.

**Progress towards urban sustainability**

The Tauranga City *Ten Year Plan* mission statement (figure 6.) focused on working in partnership, on meaningful consultation, providing leadership, quality of life now and for the future, and providing affordable services, while balancing the social, economic and environmental aspects of sustainability[^84] (Tauranga City Council, 2006, p. 8). This was supported by the 'People First' customer service strategy, which aimed to empower staff to provide outstanding service.

The plan reflected a focus on urban sustainability through an innovative approach to policy, and a well integrated strategy and plan framework linked to community outcomes. This was supported by community engagement, public participation in decision making for the LTCCP and major projects, strong collaboration and commitment to transparency.

Figure 6.3 Tauranga City Council’s mission and customer service strategy.

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**TAURANGA CITY COUNCIL’S MISSION STATEMENT IS**

By working in partnership with the community and engaging in meaningful consultation, Council will …

- provide leadership
- enhance quality of life for current and future residents
- plan for and provide affordable quality services
- … while managing the balance between social, economic and environmental sustainability.

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[^84]: The cultural dimension was not specifically reflected in the vision.
The Tauranga City community outcomes focused on a vision for Tauranga in the future (see figure 6.4 over the page).

Figure 6.4 The Tauranga City community outcomes.


Tauranga City Council termed their three broad functional groups of LTCCP activities as: delivery, support, and democracy and civic (Ibid., p. 65). The delivery group of activities included all ‘on the ground’ service delivery functions (excluding democracy), for example, transport, libraries, open space, neighbourhood revitalisation and economic development. The support group of activities included the activities and operations of council that were rarely seen by the community, for example, communications, finance and legal, human resources, information management and strategic planning. The democracy and civic group of activities was described as having both a delivery and support function in the areas of democratic processes and elected member support.
Innovation and Creative Policy

The LTCCP presented the council as innovative and open to new approaches to its business. The city had explored a range of governance and structural tools and established council controlled organisations (CCOs) to achieve specific objectives. These included: Tauranga City Investments Ltd, Tauranga City Aquatics Ltd, Tauranga Art Gallery Trust, and the Western BOP Tourist Trust (Tauranga City Council, 2006, pp. 82-131).

With the museum closed, the city was acknowledged to be lacking a ‘cultural heart’. The council committed to the development of a new museum. This was to be achieved through a partnership with Creative Tauranga to jointly-fund support and capacity building for community arts and culture (Tauranga City Council, 2006, p. 89).

The role of the library in life-long learning and literacy was emphasised, along with the importance of preserving historical and cultural material, and aligning to the National Digital Strategy. Sponsorship, partnerships and other forms of alternative funding were sought to progress these areas (Tauranga City Council, 2006, pp. 103-104).

Tauranga was a partner in the Environment BOP-led ‘SmartGrowth’ strategy and was advocating for a sustainable city approach. This strategy linked to many of the council’s activities.

The environmental impact of activities was articulated through the infrastructure services and environmental policy sections of the ten year plan (Tauranga City Council, 2006, pp. 52, 172-200). Progress towards a more sustainable environment included sustainable approaches to stormwater quality, water treatment and reuse, effluent irrigation, composting sludge from the wastewater treatment process, and the restoration of wetlands.

Water demand management and water conservation education was provided for. A more sustainable approach was advocated for through improvements to the quality of the built environment, and measuring and reporting environmental change.
Relationships

Tauranga City’s activities described multi-level governance and external networking across a wide range of sectors. Collaboration and cooperation was fostered through partnerships with Environment BOP, the Western BOP District Council and central government organisations. Progress in the area of education was fostered through partnerships with the University of Waikato and Bay of Plenty Polytechnic. The city investment programme sought to develop relationships locally with individuals and support to the Acorn Foundation, which was fostering a culture of long-term giving within the community through an endowment fund (Tauranga City Council, 2006, p. 52).

The relationship between Tauranga City Council, the University of Waikato and BOP Polytechnic was formalised by a memorandum of understanding (Tauranga City Council, 2006, p. 52). A strategic relationship with Sport BOP included community share agreements, which provided for the contract management of major indoor sporting facilities (Tauranga City Council, 2006, p. 110).

The city was participating in a joint officers group to develop an integrated regional transport strategy. This focused on sustainable alternatives to private vehicles (Tauranga City Council, 2006, p. 67). The council was participating in other regional initiatives that focused on governance, emergency management, growth strategy implementation, economy development and road safety.

A formal tangata whenua council committee met four times a year. Its brief was to maintain an effective and meaningful partnership between the council and tangata whenua, while providing strategic leadership and advice to the parties (including the wider community) in respect of environmental, social, economic and cultural outcomes. Informal discussions on issues that impacted on tangata whenua were to be held quarterly, or as required (Tauranga City Council, 2006, pp. 51-52).

The LTCCP expressed a commitment to promote urban sustainability through ongoing collaboration with community organisations and the private sector (Tauranga City Council, 2006, p. 188). This incorporated aligning with
government strategies, for example, the National Digital Strategy and the New Zealand Waste Strategy.

Community Engagement

Tauranga presented as innovative in its approach to community engagement (Tauranga City Council, 2006, p. 29). The draft plan consultation included two regular council publications: the *Word on the Street*, which was delivered to all households and mailed to ratepayers; and ongoing articles in the fortnightly *Our City Views*, which provided the community with regular updates on proposals for inclusion in the draft plan during the pre-consultation period. Focus groups and ‘fireside chats’ provided an additional source of community feedback to the council’s decision-making process.

An open and transparent approach was evident in the presentation of changes to the draft LTCCP made as a result of the consultation (Tauranga City Council, 2006, pp. 30-31). This was reflected in the council’s commitment to report on community outcomes biannually (against a statutory requirement of at least every three years).

Leadership

The LTCCP demonstrated a commitment to leadership through collaboration and cooperation. The tangata whenua committee and the formal and informal arrangements with government and private sector organisations described, emphasised this approach (Tauranga City Council, 2006, p. 52). Examples included the council’s leadership of the Tauranga CBD and neighbourhood revitalisation project, and its commitment to SmartGrowth (the regional growth strategy) and SmartEconomy (the regional economic development strategy).

Rotorua District

Introduction

The Rotorua District was centred around a thriving urban area on the southern shore of Lake Rotorua. The district comprised a substantial rural area and numerous lakeside communities. The natural environment, dominated by 14
lakes and the active geothermal areas and open space, had been a catalyst for development (Rotorua City Council, 2006, p. 22).

Forecast population growth for the district was the lowest of the five case studies. In June 2006, the population was estimated at 70,400. It was forecast to increase 3.2 per cent to 72,700 by 2026, as a consequence of rural to urban drift. In 2005, almost 20 per cent of the population lived outside of urban Rotorua in the rural or lakeside communities (Rotorua City Council, 2006, pp. 22-24).

Rotorua was distinctive for its diverse ethnic character. Thirty-six per cent of the district’s population were Māori. The district was reportedly becoming more multicultural as the proportion of residents from the Pacific Islands, Asian countries and other parts of the world, increased. In 2006 the ethnic composition was: 61 per cent European, 5 per cent Pacific Island, and 4 per cent Asian.

More than half of Rotorua’s young people were of Māori descent. More than 8,000 (11.4 per cent) were affiliated to Te Arawa (mana whenua). Of the balance, approximately 26 per cent were taurahere (Rotorua City Council, 2006, p. 23).

The population was distinctly youthful by comparison with other parts of New Zealand (Rotorua City Council, 2006, p. 23). Thirty eight per cent were under 25 years.

Rotorua’s local government structure in 2006 stemmed from the Thermal Springs District Act 1881, which was adopted following the establishment of transport, forestry and farming in the district. An agreement between the Crown and Māori established a town board to administer the affairs of the new town. Over time a broad industry base developed that included tourism, agriculture, forestry, retail and manufacturing (Rotorua City Council, 2006, p. 23).

From the 1880s, Te Arawa sub-tribe Ngāti Whakaue gifted more than 120 parcels of land to the town for health and recreation purposes (Rotorua City Council, 2006, p. 22). This included the sites known as the Government Gardens, Kuirau Park, Pukeroa Hill and the Lakefront Reserve. These sites form part of the district’s 800 hectares of reserve land.
The Rotorua District Council constitution has no formal Māori representation. Three of the 14 councillors (during the 2004 and 2007 terms) identified as Māori - a representation ratio of 21 per cent of the council for 37.5 per cent of the population. Māori representation was enhanced by the Te Arawa Standing Committee and fifteen formal governance mechanisms that included trusts, consultation groups, committees and a memorandum of understanding (Rotorua City Council, 2006, p. 10) (see the section that follows on collaboration and cooperation).

**Key issues and challenges**

The key issues identified for Rotorua (Rotorua City Council, 2006, p. 7) were: community safety, poor lake water quality, sustainable management of growth, poor quality urban design, a growing need for recreational services, managing transport needs, funding systems, and maintaining and developing the significant relationship with Te Arawa.

**Progress towards urban sustainability**

Rotorua’s ten year plan highlighted 'Bright Future' Rotorua (the identification of community outcomes), and regional, national and international influences, as key inputs to the planning process. In its mihi the council committed to contributing to the outcomes

... by working together for the greater accomplishment of all, we will succeed and fulfill the hopes and aspirations of our people (Rotorua City Council, 2006, p. 3).

The Rotorua District identified eight community outcomes (see figure 6.5 over the page). These were, prioritised and linked to the four well-beings through well-being statements (Rotorua City Council, 2006, p. 17). The planning framework acknowledged the influence the community outcomes had on the council's existing plans and strategies, and the role of other organisations in contributing to achieving them.

The council’s collaborative approach to developing policy and getting things done, specifically its relationship with Te Arawa (Rotorua City Council, 2006, pp. 11-12) and the Rotorua Partners Programme (Rotorua City Council, 2006, p.
42), stood out as exceptional models of collaboration and cooperation (see the section that follows on relationships).

Figure 6.5 Rotorua District community outcomes.

![Diagram of community outcomes]


The four well-beings were represented as separate groups of community outcomes (Rotorua City Council, 2006, pp. 26-41). This brought coherence to the council’s policies, plans and strategies, but did not articulate the cross-cutting nature of activities across outcomes or more than one well-being. The groups of activities were traditionally presented as output areas. This demonstrated a limited integration of sustainability thinking.

**Innovation and Creative Policy**

The development of social, economic, environmental and cultural well-being statements was unique to Rotorua. The statements articulated the linkage between community outcomes and the four well-beings, which provided 'guidance to council policy, plans and strategies' so they could 'be translated into actions' (Rotorua City Council, 2006, pp. 26-39). Individually, the statements demonstrated a sound understanding of the different aspects of sustainability, but did not recognise the cross-cutting nature of activities.
The social well-being statement advocated for the promotion of knowledge and skills, social connectedness, health, civic and political rights, community safety, education, employment opportunities, and support for families. The economic well-being statement considered the appropriate use of the environment, the need for education and skilled workers, the importance of building strong well-connected networks and working together to achieve outcomes. The environmental well-being statement encompassed the sustainability of water and geothermal resources, waste management, biodiversity, urban design, rural land use and open spaces, sustainable infrastructure, transport, energy and the global environment. The cultural well-being statement was concerned with leisure, recreation, arts and cultural expression, cultural tourism and associations, access to information, and the value of ethnic diversity.

The LTCCP activities were organised in six groups: community leadership, social and cultural, environment, economy, infrastructure, and Castlecorp\(^{85}\). The community and social group demonstrated a sustainable development approach to the delivery of services, for example, the recognition of community policy as an activity, and pensioner housing as incorporating the concepts of social housing and social services. Lifelong learning, the aging population, and learning needs of the community were noted (Rotorua City Council, 2006, pp. 62-118).

The environmental group of activities included the council’s responsibility for animal control, building control and environmental planning (Rotorua City Council, 2006, pp. 124-145). Sustainable development was reflected by a current and future focus, and through heritage, kaitiakitanga, the focus on lake water quality, the recognition of geothermal energy as a resource to be protected, and the value of partnerships.

The infrastructure group focused on alignment with national strategies and legislation (Rotorua City Council, 2006, pp. 163-225), for example, by collaboration with Transit New Zealand\(^{86}\) and the intention to align with the national Cleaner Production Programme\(^{87}\). The council signalled its intention to

\(^{85}\) Castlecorp was the council-owned organisation that provided infrastructure services.

\(^{86}\) Transit New Zealand was the former national road building authority in New Zealand. In August 2008 it became part of the New Zealand Transport Agency (NZTA).

\(^{87}\) The Cleaner Production Programme was an action of the New Zealand Waste Reduction Strategy.
develop alternative waste disposal sites and methods ($45m over 50 yrs), and to assign biogas generation rights to a private company.

Four key areas of policy creativity and innovation were noted: developing Māori capacity, establishing partnerships, securing alternative funding streams, and improving the lakes’ water quality. The lakes’ water quality was described as a strategic issue, with the focus on research to minimise environmental degradation (Rotorua City Council, 2006, pp. 7, 34). The strategic direction expressed in the LTCCP emphasised engineering compliance and land drainage as opportunities to reduce the impacts of urbanisation (Rotorua City Council, 2006, p. 164).

The Rotorua Partners Programme established in 2005 for the development of the Energy Centre recreation and event complex, was an example of innovation. Similarly, a charitable trust was established as an alternative funding stream for the museum centennial development, expected to cost $18 million (Rotorua City Council, 2006, p. 165) (see the section that follows on relationships).

**Relationships**

Strong evidence of external networking was demonstrated by the extensive relationships with tangata whenua and the business sector. Relationships were fostered to progress projects for the good of the wider Rotorua community.

The maturity of the relationship with tangata whenua set Rotorua apart from the other case study authorities. The development of Māori capacity to participate in local governance was attributed to the long-standing partnership between Te Arawa and the council. Te Arawa Standing Committee was responsible for providing a Te Arawa perspective on all matters that relate to Māori. Other mechanisms included marae hui, the Ngāti Whakaue Gifted Lands Protocol, Te Pukenga Koeke o Te Arawa o Te Whare Taonga, Kauaue Cemetery Committee, the Pukaki Trust, the Waka Taua Trust, and iwi representatives on the Lakes Restoration and Rehabilitation Programme and the Energy Events Centre construction programme (Rotorua City Council, 2006, p. 165).

The Rotorua Partners Programme acknowledged contributions from the corporate sector and other organisations, as alternative funding sources
Three categories of partner were recognised: foundation, corporate and project partners. Foundation partners (a total of seven) included the Energy Trust, utilities companies and commercial radio. Corporate partners (a total of seven) included the daily newspaper, retail, consultancy and infrastructure companies. Project partners (a total of five), included professional services, a print company and a Māori community trust. The programme was an opportunity for council to foster better communication and working relationships with the partner organisations. Commitments of nearly $17 million had been confirmed for the first three years of the 2006-2016 ten-year plan.

Examples of the council’s partnership with central government agencies included the Rawhiti pensioner flats upgrade project in conjunction with Housing New Zealand, and regional collaboration for road safety. Private sector partnerships were underway for major developments on reserve land, for example, Kuirau Park, the Lakefront development, and the implementation of the Tokorangi Forest Management Plan (Rotorua City Council, 2006, p. 64). Other innovative partnerships included the council-owned and operated Aquatic Centre partnership with local school swimming pools. This alleviated capacity issues at the Aquatic Centre and reduced costs to schools (Rotorua City Council, 2006, p. 70).

Collaboration was further demonstrated through the economic development group of activities, for example, Destination Rotorua Economic Development, and tourism marketing (Rotorua City Council, 2006, pp. 147-151). Complementary activities were signalled, such as the skilled migrant tracking database, the Rotorua Employment Skills project (promoting the central North Island as a world class film/screen production location) and facilitating the development of Māori land. Joint venture funding and alignment with New Zealand offshore tourism activities, joint venture tourism, and marketing tourism to Australia were other collaborative initiatives.

Community Engagement

The council maximized the opportunities presented by its unusual situation of being under the jurisdiction of two regional councils - Environment Waikato and Environment BOP. In a comprehensive approach to identifying community
outcomes, the council participated in the Waikato Choosing Futures and the BOP community outcomes processes, and undertook their own process. The regional community outcomes were acknowledged as providing for regional collaboration on outcomes that were common across a number of councils in the regions (Rotorua City Council, 2006, pp. 17-18).

In 2006, a tangata whenua and Māori communications and consultation guide was developed to enable staff to engage more effectively with Māori, and strengthen kaupapa Māori activity and Māori participation in council decision-making processes and land use planning (Rotorua City Council, 2006, p. 56).

The policy and strategic direction group of activities articulated a commitment to consult on major decisions, and to inform and engage the community on plans and services, for example, consultation for the lakefront development (Rotorua City Council, 2006, p. 60), publishing news and reporting on community outcomes.

Leadership

The Rotorua LTCCP described democracy, kaupapa Māori, and policy and strategic direction as leadership activities that underpinned the democratic process, and provided direction and advocacy for the delivery of services (Rotorua City Council, 2006, pp. 50-53). The LTCCP described a commitment to open and participative democracy, and to reviewing Māori representation, facilitating Māori participation in decision-making, and community input to planning. Community boards were to be reviewed.

The council’s role in leadership was enhanced by a governance structure that fostered the capacity of local Māori to contribute to decision-making, and brought together diverse interests to achieve major projects. The council provided leadership in the ownership, development and management of the regional airport, and took a facilitatory role in the provision of event venues (Rotorua City Council, 2006, pp. 182-192).
Porirua City

Introduction

Porirua City, situated north of Wellington, the capital city of Aotearoa New Zealand, extended from the Wellington suburb of Tawa north to Pukerua Bay, and from the west coast to the Hutt Valley. Dominated by more than 70 km of coastline, it included the Porirua Harbour, the Onepoto Arm of the Pauatahanui Inlet, and rolling hills to the south and east.

In 2006, the population was estimated at 50,600 and expected to grow to 53,000 by 2021 (Porirua City Council, 2006, p. 23). Porirua was the smallest of the case studies by both population and area. It was also the youngest of the five local authorities, having celebrated its 40th anniversary in 2006. The city’s character was influenced by its youthful and diverse communities, and urban-rural split. Forty one per cent of the population was under 25 years of age and 21 per cent were Māori.

The council had no formal provision for Māori representation. Two councillors were Māori and two were of Pacific descent. Formal governance arrangements were in place with Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira (tangata whenua) through a 2004 Charter of Understanding. Other governance arrangements included the Pacific Islands Forum, the Porirua Youth Council and the Older Persons’ Advisory Group (Porirua City Council, 2006, p. 25-26).

Key issues and challenges

Critical issues highlighted for the first three years of the ten-year plan included: waste management, water supply, community planning, impacts of urbanisation and growth, and the Wellington Regional Strategy (growth) (Porirua City Council, 2006, p. 44).

The planned closure of the Spicer Landfill by 2014 highlighted the need to identify waste management solutions for the future. The restoration of the closed landfill was to be incorporated in the ten year plan (see the section that follows on innovation and creative policy).
Water demand (met by the Wellington Regional Council) was forecast to rise 56 per cent over the ten year term of the LTCCP. Emphasis was placed on strengthening asset management planning for water services, and the increasing cost of the water supply (Porirua City Council, 2006, p. 44).

The LTCCP committed to meeting the challenge of community (or village) planning and development, and to early reviews of the district plan in order to protect the special character of village communities (Porirua City Council, 2006, p. 45). This was related to the challenge to balance expenditure across commercial centres, the suburbs, city-wide services and local projects.

Managing the impacts of urbanisation on the receiving waters of the harbour and river catchments was recognised as a significant challenge. This required collaboration with Wellington City and the Greater Wellington Regional Council, (see the section that follows on innovation and creative policy). Collaboration with the Wellington Regional Strategy had signaled that the city’s involvement in regional initiatives would grow as growth impacted on the city (Porirua City Council, 2006, p. 45).

**Progress towards urban sustainability**

The Porirua vision (Porirua City Council, 2006, p. 29) articulated a sustainable development approach, focused on the needs of its communities. It was based on collaboration, strong community engagement, and the inclusion of Māori and Pacific people. An emphasis on environmental sustainability was evident, alongside a focus on social and cultural well-being and a strong economy. Environmental restoration initiatives and the village planning process established in the LTCCP 2004-2014\(^88\), were given significant profile in the plan.

The aim of the strategic planning process was described as:

> …to allow council to set priorities that reflect the needs of residents, to recognise the uniqueness of suburban villages and communities, and to ensure that changes to the district plan meet the needs of communities and the city as a whole (Porirua City Council, 2006, p. 37)

\(^{88}\) The 2004-14 LTCCP was a transitional stage in the implementation of the LGA 2002. Local authorities were not required to be fully compliant in terms of the identification of community outcomes, and the community participation and decision-making requirements of the new Act until 2006.
The LTCCP described seven community outcomes.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>People are healthy and live in good quality housing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>The diverse education and training goals of our communities are met.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Young people are innovative, optimistic and energetic participants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>The natural and physical environment is valued, clean, safe, attractive and sustainable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Businesses flourish and sustainable employment opportunities are created.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>A safe, integrated transport system for the movement of people and goods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>A welcoming and creative city that fosters a sense of safety, belonging and inclusion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Four areas of focus were: a developing economy; active, healthy and safe communities; healthy harbour, inlet and waterways; and a well-planned city (Porirua City Council, 2006, p. 43). The council communicated its strategic direction by linking the community outcomes to the strategic focus areas, and to the priorities and services in each area.

As a young city, Porirua had firmly based its approach on strong principles of collaboration and cooperation with communities and government agencies. Many of these were located in the capital of Wellington, 20 minutes away by road and rail. The council portrayed its strengths as being: community
development, environmental policy and regeneration, and building working relationships with Māori and a wide range of community groups and stakeholders. There was an explicit focus on the natural and built environment (Porirua City Council, 2006, p. 45).

**Innovation and Creative Policy**

An innovative approach to environmental policy and community development was evident through the Heritage Management Strategy, the Pauatahanui Action Plan, and involvement in the Wellington Regional Strategy (Porirua City Council, 2006, p. 99). Activities included a waste minimisation, waste transfer and disposal joint venture with Wellington City. Biosolids from the wastewater treatment plant were being processed for beneficial reuse. Kerb side recycling was extending into rural areas and the National Waste Management Strategy goal for zero waste was supported through public education and awareness campaigns (Porirua City Council, 2006, pp. 57, 122). New initiatives proposed were a business waste minimisation programme, and the diversion of green waste from the Spicer Landfill.

The city committed to harbour and catchment management planning to restore the Onepoto Arm of the harbour, and to the ongoing protection of the Pauatahanui Inlet. Stormwater improvement projects included the ongoing flood protection work at Karehana Bay (Porirua City Council, 2006, p. 58). A native revegetation programme was underway to replace areas of pine plantation that had outgrown their usefulness as a solution to slope instability, and to encourage the return of native birds.

There was a commitment to community involvement in planning the Western Transport Corridor, which would impact on small coastal communities. The continued development of walkways and cycle ways was supported (Porirua City Council, 2006, pp. 56, 113).

Library facilities were identified as key to the Digital Porirua Strategy (Porirua City Council, 2006, p. 61). This strategy aimed to increase learning, business productivity and social cohesion. Expansion of the city library’s knowledge

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89 Funding for this project was secured from the Government Community Partnership Fund (Porirua City Council, p. 61).
section, the development of recreational areas and community programmes were planned.

The LTCCP highlighted the review of the Youth Council, as part of a wider programme in conjunction with the Ministry of Social Development. This was seen as a way to clarify Porirua City’s future contribution to youth development (Porirua City Council, 2006, p. 61).

After exploring a range of options to meet recreation needs, a new sports and events centre was proposed. This was seen as contributing to community outcomes around health and housing, young people, and economic growth and employment. The LTCCP committed $6.25 million (the proceeds from the sale of the Aotea land block) to the estimated $17.5 million cost. While a provision was made to debt fund the balance, funding was to be sought from the Porirua Community Appeal Trust, which would raise funds from corporate sponsors and seek grants to fund the new facility (Porirua City Council, 2006, pp. 111-117).

Overall, the LTCCP groups of activities were relatively traditional groupings relating to the council’s outputs. The level to which a sustainable development approach would flow from the planning process through to implementation of day to day outputs was not evident. However, the strength of community participation and high level of collaboration served to demonstrate a holistic approach across the four well-beings. Commentary highlighted the cross-cutting nature of activities and well-beings.

**Relationships**

Porirua City demonstrated multi-level governance with the Greater Wellington Regional Council and government departments. A range of established governance forums were discussed that encouraged the participation of sectors of the community that were traditionally hard to reach. Examples presented included the Porirua City Youth Council, the Pacific Islands Forum, and the Older Persons’ Advisory Group (Porirua City Council, 2006, pp. 26-33). The City Action forum represented key stakeholders in the community outcomes process and included government and community organisations (see the section that follows on Community Engagement).
A two-year contract with the Ministry of Social Development to review the Youth Council and to develop a youth development strategy was described. The council’s commitment to interagency partnerships to progress environmental education for the protection of the harbour, beaches and inlets as significant ecological sites, was noted (Porirua City Council, 2006, p.115).

The council’s formal Charter of Understanding with Ngāti Toa (tangata whenua for Porirua) was signed in September 2004. This was supported by the Treaty Partnership Group. This group comprised councillors and members of the rūnanga, and had regular meetings with the chief executive and access to staff advice (Porirua City Council, 2006, pp. 25, 79). A working relationship with other marae such as Maraeroa was referenced.

Relationships with other community organisations were recognised, for example, with PACNET (Porirua Action Community Network) sports network, Healthlinks (the health information community service) and residents associations (Porirua City Council, 2006, p. 26).

**Community Engagement**

Well established networks encompassed local communities, businesses, tangata whenua and other key stakeholders, and provided a firm base for community engagement. The City Action Forum (168 members from a range of government agencies and groups) was formed to agree a process to identify community outcomes for the LTCCP 2006-2016[^90], to review the city’s progress and achievements, and to identify key actions and milestones for city partners.

The forum recommended seven revised community outcomes[^91] that reflected aspirations for health and good quality housing, diverse education and community training goals, the participation of young people, a valued and sustainable environment, business and sustainable employment opportunities, safe integrated transport; and a creative city that fostered belonging and inclusion (Porirua City Council, 2006, p. 27).

[^90]: Porirua City Council had first identified community outcomes in 2004.
[^91]: The original Porirua City community outcomes were contained in the LTCCP 2004-2014.
Amendments made to the draft LTCCP as a result of the public submissions process, and new information, were summarised in the LTCCP. This enhanced transparency of the democratic process (Porirua City Council, 2006, pp. 8-15).

A commitment to community consultation for regional and local strategies, including the community (or village) planning process, was evident (Porirua City Council, 2006, pp. 37-39). The planning and community consultation and the next steps in the process for the redevelopment of seaside villages were described. The LTCCP acknowledged a council and community need for policy and planning advice to progress sustainable development (Porirua City Council, 2006, p. 99).

**Leadership**

Leadership was evident through the development and implementation of policy and strategic planning, which provided the vision for the city (Porirua City Council, 2006, p. 82). The Porirua vision and strategy articulated strong linkages to the council’s four focus areas, as well as priorities for ongoing services and programmes (Porirua City Council, 2006, p. 5).

An encouraging level of public participation was noted. This was attributed to interest in the village developments, and sports and events centre proposals (Porirua City Council, 2006, p. 3). The strength of community was demonstrated by the council’s facilitatory role in convening the City Action Forum (Porirua City Council, 2006, pp. 29-32) and other networks.

**Christchurch City**

**Introduction**

Christchurch was the largest city in the South Island by population and geographic area. Located centrally on the east coast, it extended from the Waimakariri River in the North to Akaroa Heads in the south, and included Banks Peninsula. It was bounded by the Pacific Ocean to the east and included McLeans Island, Templeton, Islington, Halswell West and Kennedy’s Bush area.
Christchurch had a total area of 152,837 km$^2$, just under a third of which was urban\textsuperscript{92} (Christchurch City Council, 2006, p. 46).

The city was originally built on the Avon River and Avon-Heathcote Estuary. The volcanic peaks of the Port Hills and Banks Peninsula, and the coastline and dry plains to the north-west were dominant geographic features (Ibid., p. 46). Christchurch was described as ‘a garden city’, having over 3000 hectares of parkland (not including Banks Peninsula). The Avon-Heathcote and Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere) were natural features of national importance for wading and sea birds (Christchurch City Council, 2006, p. 48).

In 2006, Christchurch had a population of 348,435. Between 1991 and 2001 the city had grown 12 per cent and was forecast to increase a further 16 per cent by 2026, to 388,800 (Christchurch City Council, 2006, p. 41). The population was less ethnically diverse than the New Zealand population overall. Seventy five per cent of the population was European (compared with a national average of 68 per cent). Eight per cent were Māori (national average 14.6 per cent), 8 per cent were Asian (just less than the national average of 9 per cent), 3 percent were Pacific People (national average 7 per cent).

Christchurch had more elderly people, and fewer young people than the national average. By 2016, the elderly (65 years and over) were expected to out-number children under 15 years (Christchurch City Council, 2006, p. 44).

Christchurch had less poverty compared with the New Zealand average. Only 13 percent lived in areas of high deprivation, compared with the National average of 20 per cent. Ninety-seven per cent of the population was concentrated within the urban area (Christchurch City Council, 2006, p. 44).

Archeological evidence identified Māori moa-hunting tribes as the first inhabitants of the Christchurch area (Christchurch City Council, 2006, p. 41). During the 16\textsuperscript{th} century they were followed by the Waitaha Tribe who migrated from the east coast of the North Island. This migration was joined by the Ngāti Mamoe and Ngai Tahu people and continued until about 1830. The first Europeans landed in Christchurch in 1815. In the late 1840s Christchurch was

\textsuperscript{92} The proportion of urban area was calculated following the amalgamation of Christchurch City and Banks Peninsula District Councils, which occurred on 6 March 2006.
planned from England as a model Anglican Church settlement. The oldest city in New Zealand, Christchurch received its royal charter on 31 July 1856.

Canterbury’s economy, originally built on farming and primary production, had diversified across a range of new economy sectors that include tourism, computer software development, electronics and education (Christchurch City Council, 2006, p. 49).

**Key issues and challenges**

In the LTCCP the council highlighted its challenges as meeting the infrastructural challenges of a growing population, poor air quality and changing social needs within the city (Christchurch City Council, 2006, p. 59). With a growth rate of 12 percent, development and changing lifestyles had impacted on the city’s infrastructure and natural environment, in particular, the aging wastewater and stormwater networks. In winter, the metropolitan area was experiencing poor air quality as a result of smoke from domestic fires (Christchurch City Council, 2006, p. 48). An increase in the demand for housing, health and other services was anticipated as the population aged.

The LTCCP noted the need for the increasingly diverse groups to feel part of the city and participate. Social disadvantage among Māori and Pacific groups in particular, was recognised as a barrier to participation in the life of the city. Social exclusion, the capacity of voluntary groups, and decreasing civic engagement, were raised as concerns (Christchurch City Council, 2006, pp. 60-61).

**Progress towards urban sustainability**

Christchurch City had made a significant commitment towards becoming a sustainable city in 1999 when it adopted *The Natural Step* programme to improve the city’s operations and work towards being a sustainable organisation. The community vision was to better co-ordinate existing and new council initiatives, and to encourage leading businesses and organisations to join the council in becoming case studies for sustainable practices (Christchurch City Council, 2006).

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93 *The Natural Step (TNS) was an internationally recognised framework for implementing a sustainability approach across organisations (the Natural Step, 2008).*
The Christchurch City LTCCP 'vision for the future Christchurch' is shown in figure 6.7.

Figure 6.7 The Christchurch City Council vision.


The vision included an overarching set of themes which were about: a place where people enjoy living, inclusive communities, a thriving healthy environment, being the most attractive city in New Zealand and a global economic destination. The city’s nine community outcomes are summarised in table 6.4. (Christchurch City Council, 2006, pp. 59-60).

To define its role in achieving community outcomes, the council identified four strategic directions: strong communities, healthy environment, liveable city and prosperous economy (see table 6.4). These directions were to ensure that all the council's activities contributed to the achievement of community outcomes (Christchurch City Council, 2006, p. 59).

Table 6.4 The Christchurch City community outcomes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A safe city</th>
<th>A well-governed city</th>
<th>A city for recreation, fun and creativity</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A city of inclusive and diverse communities</td>
<td>A prosperous city</td>
<td>A city of lifelong learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A city of people who value and protect the natural environment</td>
<td>A healthy city</td>
<td>An attractive and well designed city</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The Council's activities were traditionally arranged in the LTCCP by output, in 12 groupings. While there appeared to be no cross-linking of activities and
outcomes to the four well-beings, an innovative and collaborative approach towards the delivery and monitoring of activities was evident (Ibid., pp. 92-169).

**Innovation and Creative Policy**

The LTCCP outlined the council’s intention to improve the urban environment and revitalise the central city, and ensure sustainable planning and management of the city’s natural and physical resources. Projects included urban renewal, the central city revitalisation through the improvement of public spaces and the promotion of markets, and protecting heritage through the provision of leadership, advocacy, resources, covenants and grants. Environmental sustainability and climate change were noted as key drivers for heritage protection (Christchurch City Council, 2006, pp. 59-67).

Economic strength was demonstrated through the council’s ownership and management of a number of trading companies, which were key components of the city’s infrastructure. These included the Port of Lyttelton, Christchurch International Airport, electricity delivery, public transport, and the Convention Centre, Jade Stadium, and the Westpac Centre. Together these provided about $30 million per year to the council in dividends (and between 1996 and 2006, more than $600 million in special dividends and capital returns).

Christchurch City Holdings Ltd, the council’s investment arm, was working with business and community leaders to plan for the long-term infrastructure needs of the region. The council was contributing to economic development through the council-owned Canterbury Development Corporation (Christchurch City Council, 2006, p. 37).

The LTCCP included programmes to encourage waste minimisation, reuse and recycling, kerbside recycling, green waste composting, recycling drop off, and business resource efficiency and behaviour change programmes (Christchurch City Council, 2006, p. 140). A strategy for the sustainable management of the city’s water supply was signalled in year 2 of the LTCCP, and was to include water conservation education for domestic and commercial users.
Relationships

Evidence of multi-level governing and external networking included the city’s relationships with central government, other local authorities in the region, business and Māori. The council had a strong focus on sustainable transport. It advocated ownership of public transport, and promoted a cycling and pedestrian strategy (Christchurch City Council, 2006, p. 152).

The council had contributed to the Regional Economic Development Strategy through mentoring, coaching, assistance and globalisation services.\textsuperscript{94} Opportunities were sought for youth employment, and to support entrepreneurship and training (Christchurch City Council, 2006, pp. 67, 118-119). Participation and contribution in joint venture promotional media, and trade shows with industry operators was noted.

The LTCCP described a strong working relationship with Māori (Christchurch City Council, 2006, pp. 19, 112). It committed the council to a review of Māori participation in decision-making, work with iwi management plans, and development of a memorandum of understanding. A variety of processes were described to meet different consultation needs, and to encourage more effective participation of Māori and other ethnic groups in decision-making.

Community Engagement

The LTCCP described a community outcomes identification process that included wide public consultation, and research and review of the council's existing information and strategies (Christchurch City Council, 2006, p. 53). The resulting nine community outcomes are outlined in the preceding section on progress towards sustainability.

The draft LTCCP consultation was reported to be broad and inclusive, and included city-wide meetings, regular group forums with regional or national bodies and other sectors including business, social services, recreation and the Ethnic Council. At the local level, community boards led meetings with their communities.

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\textsuperscript{94} Globalisation services are those activities that assist companies planning to export or import as part of their business.
The engagement was supported by communications in English and four other languages. Audio CDs were prepared for the visually impaired. An innovative approach utilised a public art exhibition to represent the council's responsibilities. Overall, 1900 submissions were received, and 400 were heard (Christchurch City Council, 2006, pp. 17-23). The key changes made to the draft LTCCP as a result of consultation were highlighted to enhance transparency of the process.

**Leadership**

The council vision and strategic approach expressed a strong leadership focus. Economic development and the performance of council-owned organisations were prioritised to ensure an additional source of funding, over and above property rates. The city was promoting participation in democratic processes as part of its *strong communities* strategic direction (Christchurch City Council, 2006, p. 59).

The strong focus on governance was noted in the description of the council's role in developing strategies and policies that set the direction for the future Christchurch. The LTCCP highlighted a leadership role in strengthening community organisations and increasing the self-reliance of communities, for example, by providing council-operated early learning facilities and premises that were community operated.95

**Discussion**

Progress towards urban sustainability was evident across all five local authorities, with varying levels of performance across the variables evaluated.96 The findings of the case study documentary analysis are discussed here and summarised in table 6.5 at the end of this section.

Mainstreaming sustainability in the planning process had begun across the five authorities. This appeared strongest in the LTCCPs of Auckland, Porirua and Tauranga, with sustainability thinking evident through their structure. Rotorua

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95 This role was to be reassessed during the first year of the LTCCP.
District Council’s strengths were observed to be in creative policy and collaborative relationships with Māori and business.

The Porirua LTCCP demonstrated integration across the social aspects of urban sustainability through the connection between village development, environmental restoration and social cohesion. The Christchurch City LTCCP appeared to have mainstreamed a sustainability framework and demonstrated a holistic approach, though this was not immediately evident due to the traditional presentation of the LTCCP activities.

Significant issues in common, as presented by the five territorial authorities were population growth, ethnicity and social issues. Auckland, Tauranga and Porirua were experiencing high population growth. The aging population was a concern in Auckland and Christchurch. Significant environmental issues were poor air quality in Christchurch, lake water quality in Rotorua, and water scarcity in Porirua.

**Creative policy and innovation**

Strategic integration across the four well-beings through a long-term vision appeared strongest in the LTCCPs of Auckland, Tauranga and Porirua. Rotorua and Christchurch were noted to have taken a more traditional approach towards the LTCCP, however they demonstrated strengths in the inclusion of Māori in local governance.

Vision and mission statements provided for an interesting comparison. Auckland City confirmed their ‘First City of the Pacific’ vision, which was presented as a pyramid representing the city’s goals. The Tauranga mission statement took a distinctly sustainable development approach referencing community engagement, leadership, the four well-beings and a future focus.

Rotorua District Council did not frame a vision, but in its mihi committed to contributing to community outcomes. These outcomes were clearly linked to well-being statements that articulated this purpose.

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96 There was a significant degree of consistency observed in the presentation of the LTCCPs. This was attributed to the support and guidance provided by the Office of the Auditor General (see chapter 5).
The Porirua vision had a strong people focus, and reflected a young city with a youthful population. The Christchurch vision reflected a garden city and an environmental focus.

Community outcomes were expressed in a variety of ways, with all of the case study councils expressing common themes that included healthy, safe and educated communities; economic prosperity with excellent services and facilities; dynamic and happening places with opportunities for fun and recreation; and a city or district that was easy to move around.

Auckland City incorporated ‘trust in leadership’, ‘faith in the future’, ‘participation’ and ‘working together’. Tauranga specified ‘a great place to grow up’. Rotorua described ‘a community that values its Māori heritage’. Porirua emphasised its village culture. Christchurch City described its education aspirations as ‘a city of lifelong learning’.

Relationships

Multi-level governing between local and central government was widely evidenced. Auckland and Porirua were noted to have progressed furthest in this area. In the case of Auckland, this was attributed to the compelling pressures on Auckland as the country’s largest urban centre, and the prevailing economic and social imperatives for the city to lift its performance.

Porirua City’s close proximity to the capital city of Wellington and government department head offices was likely to have been a significant catalyst for the close collaboration that developed. The Tauranga, Rotorua and Christchurch LTCCPs emphasised stakeholder and community collaboration with private sector and partnership funding models.

Environmental management and restoration were a focus for partnerships in Rotorua, Porirua and Christchurch. The growing awareness of environmental sustainability supported the findings of Evans et al. (2005, p. 22), that is, capacity building within the sphere of environmental policy-making at the local level, was a precursor to capacity building for broader urban sustainability. It was therefore not surprising that as a youthful city, Porirua showed strength in this area.
Community engagement

All five LTCCPs presented a high level of community engagement. Two local authorities stood out. The first was Rotorua, for its longstanding engagement with Māori, the social sector and business. The second was Tauranga, for the innovative approach of its fireside chats.

Leadership

Leadership styles and focus varied across the case studies. Vision and strategy was clearly demonstrated by the structure of the LTCCPs and innovative presentation by Auckland, Tauranga and Porirua.

Auckland City articulated aspirations for city to be a leader regionally and internationally. Tauranga, Rotorua and Porirua demonstrated strengths in leadership through partnership. Christchurch demonstrated through its adoption of the Natural step that it was ‘walking the talk’

Rotorua District Council demonstrated strong leadership through its long-standing partnership with Te Arawa. This was seen as an exemplary Treaty-based partnership between Māori and local government.

Table 6.5 (over the page) provides a summary of the documentary analysis findings for the five case studies.
Table 6.5 Summary of the case study documentary analysis findings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Auckland</th>
<th>Tauranga</th>
<th>Rotorua</th>
<th>Porirua</th>
<th>Christchurch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Issues and challenges</td>
<td>Growth Aging population High immigration</td>
<td>Growth Increase in families and children</td>
<td>Community safety Lake water quality Sustainable growth</td>
<td>Waste management Water supply Impacts of urbanisation Growth</td>
<td>Population growth and aging Poor air quality Increasing ethnic diversity Decrease in civic engagement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progress towards urban sustainabiliy</td>
<td>30-yr sustainable development vision Integrated four well-beings</td>
<td>Strong vision for sustainability, collaboration and participation</td>
<td>Well-being statements, links outcomes, well-beings and wider influences</td>
<td>Strong environmental focus People and place-based approach to development.</td>
<td>Adopted the Natural Step in 1999 Environmentally focused vision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creative policy and innovation</td>
<td>Integrated thinking across well-beings, activities and outcomes</td>
<td>New business and governance, approaches, digital strategy strong environmental awareness</td>
<td>Balance across four perspectives Collaborative Traditional delivery Innovative funding</td>
<td>Environmental and waste initiatives Emphasis on social and cultural well-being – village planning</td>
<td>Focus on environmental sustainability and climate change NPM models Focus on iwi management plans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationships</td>
<td>Extensive multi-level governing, representative boards</td>
<td>Multi-level governing with partnership and collaboration</td>
<td>Multi-level governing with business and Māori partnerships Formal MOU with Māori</td>
<td>Multi-level governing and external networking Formal MOU with Māori, Pacific, youth, older people</td>
<td>Multi-level governing and external networking Joint ventures MOU with Māori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community engagement</td>
<td>Cross sector partnership and collaboration with Māori and members of the public</td>
<td>Innovative approach, focus groups, stakeholders, communities and Māori</td>
<td>Cross sector partnership and collaboration; Māori, business, community</td>
<td>Cross sector partnership Strong community partnerships and public engagement</td>
<td>Cross sector partnership Wide public engagement with business, social services, ethnic groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td>Aspirations for city, region and country</td>
<td>Through partnership</td>
<td>Underpinned by focus on partnership and kaupapa Māori</td>
<td>Facilitation of community involvement and joint governance forums</td>
<td>Economic leadership with future focus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 7
Elected member progress towards urban sustainability

Introduction

Chapter 6 outlined the findings of the documentary analysis, which was the first part of the case study methodology to explore the Pākehā house. This chapter presents the findings of the second part, the elected member questionnaire, which focused on the following secondary research question:

What are the roles of local government representatives in other liberal, western, democratic nations, and how do the roles of elected representatives in New Zealand’s urban local authorities compare?

The questionnaire also contributed to understanding the progress made by New Zealand’s urban territorial authorities towards urban sustainability, (the focus of the previous chapter).

The questionnaire sample

The self selection questionnaire was distributed to 72 elected members across the five case studies. The total response rate (completed questionnaires and participants who declined) was 42 out of the sample of 72, or 68 per cent. Thirty questionnaires were completed: 25 in writing; one by audio tape and four by telephone interview. Twelve elected members replied in writing, by email or were contacted by telephone, and declined to participate in the research. Of the three elected members who were unavailable by email, only one responded and completed the questionnaire. There was no response from the remaining 30 elected members.

Of the twelve elected members who declined to participate, three objected to the focus on urban sustainability and viewed the work as ‘supporting the bureaucracy’, or ‘likely to lead to marginalisation of elected members by the
executive’. One elected member found the subject confusing. Two were ill and
the balance cited ‘a heavy workload’ and being ‘too busy’ as their reason for
non-participation.

The distribution of completed questionnaires was: six respondents from
Auckland City Council (20 per cent of participants), six from Tauranga City
Council (20 per cent); seven from Rotorua District Council (23 per cent), nine
from Porirua City Council (30 per cent), and two from Christchurch City Council
(7 per cent).

Note: To protect the anonymity of participants and strengthen the validity and
reliability of the results, analysis was confined to the total sample and by
gender, due to the sample size.

Sample demographics

Gender

The sample gender was evenly spread with 15 female and 15 male participants.
This compared with the gender ratio across all New Zealand elected members
of 24 per cent female: 62 per cent male97. Even accounting for the 14 per cent
of New Zealand elected members who did not declare their gender, figure 7.1
shows that the questionnaire results were, overall, skewed towards the views of
the female respondents.

Figure 7.1 Ratio of gender distribution across the questionnaire sample and all New
Zealand elected members.

97 All New Zealand comparative statistics are sourced from the Elected Member Survey
undertaken following the local government election in 2004 (Local Government New Zealand,
2004).
Age and ethnicity

Elected members were asked to indicate their age and ethnicity. As expected, the sample was heavily weighted towards New Zealand Europeans or Pākehā in the 60 plus age group.

The age of respondents ranged from 20-29 years (two respondents) to 70 plus years (one respondent). Of the sample, 23 per cent (seven elected members) were aged between 30 and 49 years at the time of the survey, 30 per cent (ten elected members) were aged between 50 and 59 years, and 40 per cent (12 elected members) were over 60 years. The following bar chart shows the age distribution of the sample.

Figure 7.2 Age distribution of the questionnaire sample

Eighty per cent of respondents (24 elected members) identified as New Zealand European or Pākehā. Seven per cent (2 elected members) identified as of Pacific origin. Four elected members (13 per cent) identified as Māori, with a further two elected members who identified primarily as of European ethnicity, but also claimed Māori ethnicity. This brought to six the total number of elected members identifying as Māori or part Māori (20 per cent), which was well above the national average of 4.3 per cent.

It was interesting to note the ethnicity of respondents, in particular the high response from Māori. This was consistent with the strong focus on sustainability evident in the results of the fieldwork undertaken as part three of this research approach, and reported in chapter 10.

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98 Comparison with all New Zealand elected members was not possible due the incompatibility of age categories.
Qualifications and source of income

Elected members in the sample held more qualifications than the total New Zealand elected member population (Local Government New Zealand, 2004). Ninety seven percent of the sample (29 elected members) held a post secondary school qualification. This compared with 19 per cent of all elected members. In the sample, 47 per cent (14 elected members) held a bachelor or higher degree (Local Government New Zealand, 2004).

Sixty seven per cent (20 elected members) of the sample declared their elected member salary as their prime source of income. This was consistent with the high number of elected members of retirement age. Twenty six per cent (8 elected members) identified themselves as in business or self-employed. The balance of seven per cent (two elected members) declared themselves retired.

In summary, the questionnaire sample was clearly skewed towards the views of female elected members, those over 60 years of age and Māori elected members. While respondents were predominantly of New Zealand European ethnicity, this was less so than amongst the total New Zealand elected member population.

Note: The respondents, perhaps not surprisingly, appeared to be predominantly elected members who were aware of the growing importance of sustainable development.
Figure 7.4 Prime sources of income of the sample and total New Zealand elected members.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>NZ total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elected member salary</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture/farming</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self employed</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaried</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Questionnaire results

Elected members views on sustainable development

What urban sustainability means?

Participants were asked what urban sustainability meant to them. The responses reflected varying levels of understanding of sustainable development, in terms of both the LGA 2002 and the Brundtland report definition (see chapter 3). Some participant responses showed awareness of the four well-beings (social, environmental, economic and cultural) and a focus on the well-being of future generations.

Conversely, some elected members were clearly working within a conservative paradigm that reflected the pre-sustainable development view of local government - an emphasis on traditional service delivery such as roads, rubbish and water services.

Respondents were asked to indicate whether urban sustainability featured highly in their consciousness. Eighty per cent responded positively and demonstrated an understanding of the broad intergenerational purpose of the LGA 2002. Just 20 per cent of elected members responded that sustainability did not feature highly in their consciousness.
Elected member views of urban sustainability formed five natural groupings: (1) a focus on planning, building and developing infrastructure (2) a responsibility to protect the environment (3) conserving resources (4) a long-term view of the future, and (5) ensuring quality of life.

Many elected members in the sample expressed their understanding in multiple concepts such as the four well-beings and a combination of the above factors. To these respondents sustainability meant many things. Other members demonstrated familiarity with the Brundtland report. A small group of elected members said they were confused by the term sustainable development.

The results indicated an encouraging level of understanding and awareness. Nevertheless, these results need to be interpreted with caution. It is likely, based on opinions expressed by elected members who declined to participate, that the uptake of sustainable development concepts was higher in the sample than across all elected members.

The groupings are ordered by the frequency with which the comments were expressed.

**Planning, building and developing infrastructure**

A focus on planning, building and developing infrastructure was expressed by 57 per cent of participants (17 elected members). The word ‘development’ featured highly and was linked to growth, protecting the environment and being ‘eco-friendly’. There was a focus on designing and building infrastructure for the present and the future, in an affordable way. For example:

- Urban sustainability is about the right to development and city living, to equitably meet environmental needs of present and future generations (Auckland City Council).

- To maintain necessary services and infrastructure while including progressive design features, for effective community and business use (Rotorua District Council).

- … ensure the level of development and infrastructure available will meet the city's needs, now and into the future (Porirua City Council).
Continuing to live in, develop and enjoy an urban environment, in as eco-friendly manner as practicable, and demonstrating our commitment to this by actions, not just words (Tauranga City Council).

**Responsibility to protect the environment and conserving resources**

A responsibility to protect the environment was expressed by 50 per cent of the participants (15 elected members). This was closely linked to a focus on conserving resources, expressed by 23 per cent of the participants (7 elected members), as such, the comments are presented together. There was evidence of an awareness of the impact of council policies and practices on the environment, environmental values and the need for responsible use of resources. Sustainability was referred to as both a process and an aspirational objective:

> Using policies and practices, which have the least impact on the physical environment and environmental systems; reducing the human footprint on the world such that the world continues to support the survival of future generations (Auckland City Council).

> Zero waste, clean fuel, minimising energy use, energy-efficient cars, more trains/buses, less motorways; clean rivers, water and seashore (Auckland City Council).

> An urban environment that can exist indefinitely - the impacts on the environment are mitigated so that there is no 'net deficit' on living quality and resources (Tauranga City Council).

**Long-term view of the future**

A strong focus on the future and the importance of a long-term view was expressed by almost half of the survey respondents (47 per cent, 14 elected members). This was linked to the needs of communities and future generations:

> City council policies … will ensure that the urban environment has the same quality when my granddaughter is a city elected member (Auckland City Council).

> Built up areas, such as towns and cities are designed and built not just to provide for the needs of this generation, but also for future generations (Christchurch City Council).

> Concentrated populations of people living in close proximity … into the future, without detrimental consequences (Rotorua District Council).
Ensuring quality of life

Forty three per cent of respondents (13 elected members) focused on the quality of life; ensuring the social and cultural well-being of their communities. This was closely linked to the four well-beings, and was a strong future focus among Māori and Pacific participants:

- Communities like our own that operate and govern in a sustainable way, based on community values and well-being, and looking after land use and infrastructure, into the future (Rotorua District Council).

- Designing our city for accessibility - roads and walking. A rural and urban environment with a focus on community safety and amenity (Porirua City Council).

- … planning and building, consolidating city assets, quality of life, and finding a balance between economic, social and environmental development (Porirua City Council).

Four well-beings and the Brundtland Report

Knowledge of sustainable development was reflected by quoting the Brundtland Report definition and referring to the four well-beings. One elected member meaningfully applied this definition to her city and expressed a clear understanding of how it related to the policies and practices that were being pursued:

- Development of Porirua City that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to have their needs met (Porirua City Council).

Another elected member attached their council's sustainability statement, which outlined the city's aspirations in terms of the four well-beings:

- Urban sustainability means that Tauranga is a city, which is:
  - Clean, green and caring of its natural resources
  - Safe and tolerant
  - Culturally innovative and exciting
  - Using its resources sustainably.

- It has a long-term economy, where diversity is celebrated, where community and social development is fostered and where we are able to hand these resources on to our future citizens for their use (Tauranga City Council).
Other elected members reflected a broad understanding of sustainability and its different perspectives:

Making sure social and environmental well-being, and the city infrastructure are well maintained, and that people are considered. Integrated planning supports this development (Porirua City Council).

Social well-being, economic well-being, cultural well-being, affordability (Rotorua District Council).

A collective response that provides for social and environmental needs, not just the quick response to the economic imperative - a different form of urban management to that which is practised currently (Porirua City Council).

‘A confusing term’

Three elected members provided a general response, were unaware of the term, or found it confusing and difficult to communicate to people:

An abstract noun that does more to confuse than to enlighten. If you want to involve people you must speak their language and not the language of policy analysts (Porirua City Council).

In one hundred years, if the human race is still here, there will still be an entity ensuring a continued supply of roads, rates and rubbish and water etc (Tauranga City Council).

A fair go for everyone and keeping the kiwi way of life (Tauranga City Council).

Evaluating understanding of urban sustainability

In summary, 20 per cent of the elected members surveyed demonstrated an understanding of sustainable development, and urban sustainability, that encompassed the broad inter-generational well-being of communities and the environment. There was wide acknowledgement of the need for councils to learn new ways, to take an innovative approach to policy and to consider the impacts of actions today on future generations.

The process of mainstreaming sustainable development was clearly well underway in the sample. Eighty per cent considered that urban sustainability ‘featured highly’ in their consciousness, and expressed different aspects of sustainability. Environmental sustainability featured especially highly with 50 per
cent of all comments relating to caring for the environment. However, only a small number of elected members demonstrated an understanding that encompassed the broader aspects of the social, environmental, economic and cultural well-being of communities, and a future focus.

How elected members promote urban sustainability

Respondents were asked how they promoted urban sustainability. Twenty five of the 30 respondents answered this question. The responses formed six natural groupings. They focused on either the elected member role, or their priorities for action. There was some commonality between these themes and those highlighted by elected members in the previous question. The themes in order of frequency (both roles and actions) were: (1) Governance (57 per cent, 17 elected members) (2) promoting the natural environment and conserving resources (47 per cent: 14 elected members) (3) practicing a sustainability philosophy (33 per cent; 10 elected members) (4) focus on social and cultural well-being (33 per cent; 10 elected members) (5) focus on community (27 per cent: 8 elected members), leadership, support and advocacy (20 per cent: 6 elected members), and (6) focus on collaboration (10 per cent; 3 elected members). Figure 7.5 below demonstrates the frequency of the six foci for respondents in promoting urban sustainability

Figure 7.5 Frequency (by percentage) of the six foci for promoting urban sustainability.
Governance

The greatest number of elected members perceived their role as one of governance. Fifty seven per cent (17 elected members) either used the word governance, or described their role in terms of setting policy direction and/or decision-making. A number of the respondents considered the need to take a wide, strategic view of the long-term future. There was a clear focus on the vision, and on the long-term needs of localities. Succession planning for local government, and the audit review function were raised.

… Working to achieve increased council commitment in corporate activities, decision-making processes and policy outcomes … role modeling [urban sustainability] (Auckland City Council).

… become more proactive in succession planning for the city’s leadership, offer opportunities for our young people to become more involved and knowledgeable about the city they live in and will one day inherit (Porirua City Council).

… maintaining a high level concept of the macro issues that affect our current way of life - key drivers of economies and Maslow’s Hierarchy of Human Needs, for example, in five years time how will the oil economy effect us, where will our water come from and how clean will it be … climate change and energy demands (Rotorua District Council).

I constantly remind members of our council that we should be keepers of the ‘long vision’ and not just making decisions for the ‘now’ (Christchurch City Council).

Promoting the natural environment and conserving resources

Forty seven per cent of the respondents (14 elected members) described protecting the natural environment and conserving resources as their way of promoting urban sustainability. Environmental protection, management and funding were key criteria for decisions relating to strategy and policy, resource consent applications and district plan changes.

… regard ‘eco-logy’ (wisdom about the home) as more important than ‘eco-nomous’ (care for the home); need to know ‘why’ before ‘how’. This relates to the four well-beings – I question with this in mind as often as necessary (Auckland City Council)

Ensuring projects and services are sustainable, promoting wise use of resources (Tauranga City Council).
… through resource consent hearings, not filling in wetlands, making sure that housing and commercial developments do not add to river and seawater pollution, through [district] plan change hearings, promoting sustainable urban intensification around rail corridors and promoting rail over road, voting money for zero waste and education in the community (Auckland City Council).

**Practising a sustainability philosophy**

Thirty three per cent of the respondents (10 elected members) described a sustainability philosophy as fundamental to how they promote urban sustainability.

By practising sustainable development in my own life … as part of my culture - by refraining from the temptation to participate in conferences requiring travel by jet plane, staying in bloated hotels and conference centres … (Tauranga City Council).

By ensuring that decisions we make as a council meet the present and future needs of the city (Porirua City Council).

As an environmentalist by philosophy and practice, consideration of environmental values in all the decisions I participate in (Auckland City Council).

**Focus on social and cultural well-being**

A focus on social and cultural well-being was a key driver for questioning policy and influenced decision-making for 33 per cent of respondents (10 elected members). A further eight elected members (27 per cent) emphasised the communities they represented. Social and cultural considerations were linked to economic development as a means of enhancing marginalised communities.

Questioning and influencing policy making to help our communities move forward - Rotorua-wide, rural and ethnic communities (Rotorua District Council).

… consistent communications with the public to raise awareness of sustainability (Porirua City Council).

Supporting the economic development of marginalised Māori and Pacific communities, tolerance for diversity and cultural difference (Auckland City Council).
Leadership, support and advocacy

A focus on leadership was how 20 per cent of respondents (6 elected members) promoted urban sustainability. Leadership was expressed in terms of advocacy and support for policy and action, and being available to provide information and ensure that views were represented to the council (delegate role). In some cases, the trustee role was emphasised.

Advocacy for transparent, efficient asset management … (Porirua City Council).

Responding quickly to social and environmental issues, reaching effective solutions (Tauranga City Council).

Leadership at the ward level - being available, answering questions, ensuring that the views of the poorer members of the community are brought to the table (Rotorua District Council).

Supporting initiatives from staff and the community if I believe they have merit, for example advocating for extra money to extend our cycle ways (Rotorua District Council).

I made strong proposals to the council … solutions for our urban and youth crime problems … I have pressed hard for the retention of our ground water supplies … and harassed the council endlessly for a better equipped library … (Rotorua District Council).

Collaboration

An awareness of collaboration was less evident in the ways elected members described their role to promote urban sustainability (10 per cent; 3 elected members). Among this small group, collaboration was seen as a way of achieving large infrastructure projects, meeting major environmental challenges and forming partnerships to involve the private sector and communities in decision-making and funding:

… Encouraging partnerships for sustainable housing … (Auckland City Council).

Advocacy, publicly and privately through networking … (Auckland City Council).
I was a prime mover in ‘SmartGrowth’, advocating for energy efficiency and zero waste, supporting care groups, supporting urban design … and integrated transport strategy … (Tauranga City Council).

**Sources of information on urban sustainability**

The most important sources of information on urban sustainability were the local council, other local authorities, and all forms of the media (27, 22 and 27 elected members respectively). Media included mainstream and Māori radio and television, and local, national and international newspapers, periodicals and magazines such as *the Listener, Metro, National Geographic* and *Spasifik*.

Respondents highlighted media headlines as a source that guided them to seek further references, and as a reflection of public opinion.

Culture and family, conferences and the internet (17, 15 and 13 elected members respectively) were seen as the next important sources of information. Four elected members who highlighted culture and family as important were of Pacific, Māori or mixed ethnicity.

A further four highlighted the opportunity to learn from the younger generation who were exposed to modern teachings, and general discussions with family. Two elected members drew on their family values of conserving resources and personal efforts to reduce their family's ecological footprint.

Conferences were sources of information on sustainability. Examples given included planning, alternative stormwater management, transport, local government (including regional meetings), 'world futures' and resource management training for commissioners.

Among a few participants, the internet was a source of original information and an avenue for accessing mainstream and specialist media. Resident groups, marae groups and colleagues were mentioned, as were libraries, industry sectors such as forestry and the environment, and universities (one to three elected members each).

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99 *Spasifik* is a magazine which focuses on Māori and Pacific art and culture.
How elected members perceive different aspects of their role

Elected members were asked to consider different aspects of their role and to rank these for importance on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 being least important and 5, the most important). The ranking was interpreted as follows: 4 to 5 - high importance; 3 - moderate importance; 1 to 2 - low importance.

Twenty-nine of the 30 respondents completed this question, although not all respondents ranked all variables. In general, the rankings were high to moderate, reflecting that elected members perceived many aspects of their role to be important. Table 7.1 shows how important the elected members viewed the aspects of their role that were presented.

Policy development and governance were the two most highly ranked roles, with 27 elected members ranking these as of high importance and no elected members ranking them of low importance. Representing community, providing leadership and task accomplishment followed, each ranked as of high importance by 25 of the respondents.

Reviewing performance, maintaining cohesiveness and enhancing external relationships each had 20 respondents ranking them as of high importance. The moderate and low rankings of importance were correspondingly higher for these aspects.

Political dimensions (lobbying and influence) were the lowest scoring aspects of the elected member role (high importance - 15 of the respondents, moderate importance - 12 respondents, low importance - two respondents). One elected member expressed the view that their local authority’s organisation posed many barriers to effective elected member performance. Legislative, organisational and political demands often dictated that time was spent on aspects of the role that were not considered priorities. Maintaining cohesiveness was described as important for the 'credibility of council'. Enhancing external relationships was considered 'the way of the future'.

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100 This response was not explored further in the questionnaire.
Table 7.1 Importance of different aspects of the elected member role.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elected member role</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Ranking of importance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representing your community</td>
<td>A link between electors and local government</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy development</td>
<td>Identifying the communities needs, selecting objectives</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governance</td>
<td>Prioritisation and political decision-making</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providing leadership</td>
<td>advocating for your city or district</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political dimensions</td>
<td>Political lobbying and influence</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reviewing performance</td>
<td>Monitoring the performance of Council on previous political and legislative commitments</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintaining cohesiveness</td>
<td>This recognises the importance of the relationship between elected members, and elected members and officers</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enhancing external relationships</td>
<td>This highlights the importance of partnerships and collaboration</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Task accomplishment</td>
<td>Getting involved and taking action to ensure strategy is progressed.</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary, all the aspects of the elected member role were considered important for elected members to be effective. Policy development and governance were the clear priorities for the majority of respondents.

**Local Government Act 2002 influence on the roles of elected members**

Elected members in their second or subsequent terms of office were asked about the effect of the LGA 2002 on their role. Of the thirty elected members surveyed, 27 answered the question. Of these, eight were first term elected members and 19 were serving their second or subsequent terms in office.

Eighteen of the 19 respondents targeted by this question perceived that the role of elected members had changed as a result of the LGA 2002. Comments noted the need to raise awareness of sustainability and the quadruple bottom line as a goal; long-term visioning, planning and reporting; and generally being more accountable to the community. The ‘burden and bureaucracy’ was referred to by a small number of the participants. Nine elected members (45 per cent of the respondents to this question) highlighted their perception that the LGA had raised awareness of sustainability and the quadruple bottom line as a goal. One elected member highlighted a compliance approach.
There is now an awareness of diversity, the need for community consultation and the quadruple bottom line. However, it is more a matter of following the 'tick boxes', rather than understanding and commitment (Auckland City Council).

… Sustainable development of our city is now a key priority (Porirua City Council).

Sustainability has become mainstream and widely accepted by both the public and local government … (Auckland City Council).

Prior to 2002, the role [of elected members] was implicit. The 2002 Act … with the four well-beings and the LTCCP now makes the need for sustainability explicit - 'in the present and for the future' (Tauranga City Council).

I did not know about the LGA when I was elected … I have now, through my own efforts, got into the Act (Porirua City Council).

**Long-term vision, planning and reporting**

The long-term vision, planning and reporting were top of mind for 40 percent of the respondents (11 elected members). They described greater emphasis on strategic thinking and prioritisation:

The LTCCP process has ensured that long-term planning is very much part of the debate (Porirua City Council).

The requirement … takes planning beyond the short term. It promotes strategic thinking that the community can access and reassess the priorities for the future (Rotorua District Council).

**Being accountable to community**

Thirty per cent of the respondents (6 elected members) highlighted that community outcomes required greater accountability of their role. Balancing the opportunities for greater consultation against community expectations, of what was achievable by the council within the available funding, was described as a new challenge.

More strategic … process gives better community outcome (Porirua City Council).

Greater accountability to the community … [need] to improve our systems, plan for growth and deliver a longer-term vision. Working
against this is the level of consultation required for so many decisions and the three-year electoral cycle … People not only want their say but also their way. This is choking democracy and the ability of elected members to make decisions on behalf of their constituents (Auckland City Council).

Burden and bureaucracy

Four elected members (20 per cent of the respondents to this question) expressed frustration with what they perceived as the ‘burden and bureaucracy’ imposed by the LGA 2002. Many elected members perceived that central government was devolving responsibilities to territorial local authorities without the commensurate resources to deliver on them.

… Central government is unloading lots of expensive and controversial responsibilities onto ratepayers - no taxation relief, or government funding for this, for example, [enforcing laws on] prostitution, gambling and dogs … (Tauranga City Council).

Workload has increased, more meetings to deal with legislative changes … The LTCCP was a huge task but we now have a more focused vision for the city … (Porirua City Council).

In summary the respondents perceived the LGA and other government legislation to have had a significant impact on their roles. The weight of comments expressed highlight positive changes. This was encouraging, notwithstanding the skewed nature of the sample.

Local authorities' approaches to developing their LTCCPs

In order to understand how the respondents viewed their councils' approach to developing the LTCCP, a list of 11 tasks was provided. Elected members were asked on a scale 1-5 (where 1 was not at all important/effective, and 5 was very important/effective), how important they thought each of the tasks were, and how effectively they thought their local council achieved them. Twenty-nine respondents completed this question.

The importance, effectiveness and difference scores for the range of tasks associated with developing the LTCCP are shown in the table 7.2. Where the

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101 The ranking was again interpreted as follows: 4 to 5, high importance/effectiveness; 3, moderate importance/effectiveness; 1 to 2, low importance/effectiveness.
difference score was positive, this indicated the respondents’ perception that their council was under-delivering on the task. Where the difference score was negative, the council was perceived to be over-delivering or investing too much resource in the task. Negative difference scores were observed in some individual respondents’ scores, however all the mean difference scores were positive.

Overall the frequency of the high-importance rating was high for all of the tasks presented, with between 22 and 28 of the total sample of 29 elected members scoring the mean importance moderate-high, at between 3.9 and 4.69 on the scale of 1 to 5. The range of difference in ranking across the tasks for importance and effectiveness tended to vary quite widely.

The highest high-frequency and mean for the importance scores were observed for developing a vision for the future and promoting efficient and effective use of resources at 28 (out of the total sample of 29) and 4.66 (of the maximum ranking of 5), and 28 and 4.69 respectively. These two tasks correspondingly scored a high-effectiveness frequency and mean score of 15 and 3.66, and 12 and 3.31.

The mean difference scores were 1.00 for developing a vision for the future, and 1.41 for promoting efficient use of resources. This indicated that overall the respondents perceived their councils' were under-performing in these areas with a greater degree of under-performance for developing a vision for the future.

Table 7.2 Importance, effectiveness and difference scores of respondents, for tasks associated with developing the LTCCP.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LTCCP related task</th>
<th>Frequency of ranking and average score (sample 29, scale 1-5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Important Moderate Low Mean Effective High Moderate Low Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Range Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developing a vision for the future</td>
<td>High Moderate Low Mean High Moderate Low Mean Difference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28 1 - 4.66 15 10 4 3.66 0to3 1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promoting efficient and effective use of resources</td>
<td>28 1 - 4.69 12 11 6 3.31 0to4 1.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engaging the general public</td>
<td>27 1 1 3.9 14 7 8 3.2 -2to4 1.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responding to feedback</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Including public feedback in decision-making</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supporting environmental management</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborating with key stakeholders</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communicating urban sustainability</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providing opportunities for Māori to contribute</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involving diverse groups</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborating with other councils*</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One respondent did not rank this variable for importance.

Next in frequency of high importance were *engaging the general public* and *responding to feedback*, both scoring 27, with mean importance scores of 3.9 and 4.41 respectively. The high-effectiveness frequency and mean scores for these two tasks were 14 and 3.2, and 15 and 3.48 respectively.

The mean difference scores were 1.31 and 0.93 respectively. This indicated that the respondents perceived a greater degree of under-performance by their councils for *engaging the general public*, than for *responding to feedback*.

*Including public feedback in decision-making* and *supporting environmental management* each scored a high-importance frequency of 26 and a mean score of 4.45. The effectiveness frequency and means were 13 and 3.17, and 14 and 3.24. One respondent gave *including public feedback in decision-making* a difference score of -1 indicating the view that their council was in fact over performing in this area. Overall, however, the mean difference scores for both tasks indicated that respondents' perceived their councils' levels of performance to be less than commensurate with the importance of the tasks.

*Collaborating with key stakeholders*, on the other hand, scored lower importance, effectiveness and difference scores. One respondent gave this task a difference score of -1 indicating their view that the council was over
performing in this area. Overall, however, the score suggested that the respondents found less discrepancy between the importance rating they gave to the task and the effectiveness of their council in delivering on the task.

*Communicating urban sustainability, providing opportunities for Māori to contribute* and *involving diverse groups* each received a high-importance frequency score of 24 with means of between 4.0 and 4.2. The high-effectiveness frequency and mean scores were 10, 16 and 14, and 3.14, 3.18 and 3.28 respectively. A difference score of 1.03 for *communicating urban sustainability* suggested that respondents again considered their councils to be under-performing in this area. The difference scores for *providing opportunities for Māori to contribute* and *involving diverse groups* of 0.72 were less notable.

*Providing opportunities for Māori to contribute* achieved the highest low-ranking frequency of 4 for importance. Correspondingly, it was middle of the low effectiveness rankings at 7, with 22 respondents suggesting that their local authority was moderately or highly effective in this task.

The lowest frequency of high-importance and mean for a task, of 22 and 3.9, was observed for *collaborating with other councils*. The frequency of high-effectiveness rating and mean was correspondingly low at 13 and 3.28 respectively, as was the mean difference of 0.62. One respondent gave this task a difference score of -2 indicating the view that their council was over-performing in this area. However, overall the mean scores indicated that the respondents considered this task of lesser importance and that their council effectiveness was commensurate with this score.

*Engaging the general community, communicating urban sustainability* and *collaborating with other councils* had difference scores ranging six points from -2 to 4. This range could be accounted for by differing views across the participants and differing performance levels across the case study local authorities. These tasks also demonstrated three of the four highest mean scores. In general, this indicated that respondents perceived councils' to be under-performing with respect to the perceived importance of tasks.
Local authority engagement with other sectors

This question explored the requirement in sections 91 and 93 of the LGA for councils to engage key stakeholders and communities. Elected members were asked to consider which three of the four well-being sectors their council best engaged with. Examples were sought. Respondents were also asked to indicate whether their council had engaged groups that had rarely or never been engaged before. Table 7.3 shows the frequency of selection of each of the four sectors.

Table 7.3 Frequency of selection of each of the four well-being sectors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Social</th>
<th>Environmental</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Cultural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Twenty-nine elected members responded to this question. A number of respondents made either more or fewer selections than were sought.

Ten out of the 29 respondents (34 per cent) indicated that their council had broadened participation in their LTCCP by engaging groups that had rarely or never been engaged before. The frequency for the four sectors varied by a margin of 20 per cent, ranging from 18 elected members for the environmental sector, 22 for the social sector, and 23 for the economic and cultural sectors. Table 7.4 (over the page) presents some of the organisations that were engaged.\(^\text{102}\)

Table 7.4 Organisations engagement across the four sectors, grouped by sector and by territorial local authority.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Organisations</th>
<th>Council</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Government departments</td>
<td>Auckland City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Volunteer organisations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Council for Social Services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Volunteer sector/NGOs</td>
<td>Christchurch City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tangata Whenuan Citizens Advice Bureau</td>
<td>Porirua City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arts Village</td>
<td>Rotorua District Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gambling, prostitution and liquor licensing groups</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grey Power</td>
<td>Tauranga City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental</td>
<td>The Royal Forest and Bird Society</td>
<td>Auckland City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Porirua Harbour-Pautahanui Inlet Management Group</td>
<td>Porirua City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Conservation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{102}\) Some respondents were specific about the name of the groups and others were more general. Some groups were mentioned more than once.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Organisations</th>
<th>Council</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Businesses</td>
<td>Auckland City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Property Council</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CTU</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employers and Manufacturers Association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourism</td>
<td>Christchurch City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Property developers</td>
<td>Porirua City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Business Porirua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manufacturers Association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chamber of Commerce</td>
<td>Rotorua District Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourism Advisory Board</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Retail groups</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chamber of Commerce</td>
<td>Tauranga City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Master Builders Association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>Art Station</td>
<td>Auckland City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pacific communities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sporting organisations</td>
<td>Porirua City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mana Community Arts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pacific island and Māori groups</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Treaty Partnership Group</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pataka - Porirua City Arts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Respondents understood the social sector to include the regional and local offices of central government departments and agencies (and their forums), the local governance structures within their own city or district, such as community boards, volunteer organisations and non-governmental organisations. Rotorua District Council respondents included their tangata whenua groups in this sector reflecting the significant role they play in the district's social sector. The Rotorua Arts Village was included in this sector, reflecting the overlapping boundaries between the social and cultural sectors.

The environmental sector, accordingly, included central government departments, such as the Department of Conservation; regional councils; and the city or district councils' own environmental management structures, such as the Porirua Harbour-Pautahanui Inlet Management Group.

The result for the environmental sector was marginally lower than the other sectors. One respondent from Christchurch City Council viewed their council's engagement with the environmental sector as very poor.

It was expected that councils' experience with the RMA 1991 would have strengthened relationships within the environmental sector. All of the case study
authorities were investing heavily in the environmental sector. The low result may indicate that the emphasis on new relationships had moved to the social and cultural sectors.

The economic sector included national level organisations such as the CTU, regional organisations such as regional councils, chambers of commerce and tourism organisations; and property developers and businesses at the local level.

In the cultural sector respondents referred to ethnicity based groups such as Māori and Pacific forums and Treaty groups; and sporting and arts groups. The overlap between the social and cultural sectors was evident.

**Elected member involvement in council initiatives**

Elected members were asked to list up to three of their council’s initiatives for urban sustainability, and to describe their role, if any, in progressing the initiatives. Respondents identified 59 different initiatives, many of which were listed by more than one respondent from the same council, were common across councils and/or contributed to more than one of the four well-beings, demonstrating their cross-cutting nature.

The initiatives are discussed in five groups: (1) water quality and environmental protection (2) sustainable infrastructure (3) transport (4) policy and governance, and (5) urban regeneration. Elected members described seven roles: (1) support and advocacy, (2) chair or leader, (3) council/committee/forum member, (4) consultation, (5) representation, (6) decision-making, and (7) challenging.

Table 7.5 shows the frequency of each group of initiatives. Table 7.6 shows the relation between the initiatives and role type. There was no consistent one-to-one relationship between initiatives and roles. Some respondents acknowledged one role for different initiatives, and other respondents fulfilled different roles for the same initiative.
Table 7.5 Frequency of each initiatives by category.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups of initiatives</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Policy and governance frameworks</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustainable infrastructure</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water quality and environment protection</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waste reduction &amp; management</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport initiatives</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban regeneration</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no. of initiatives</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.6 Relationship between the groups of initiatives and the roles fulfilled by elected members.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category/Role</th>
<th>Policy and governance</th>
<th>Sustainable infrastructure</th>
<th>Water quality and environment protection</th>
<th>Waste reduction &amp; management</th>
<th>Transport initiatives</th>
<th>Urban regeneration</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Support and advocacy</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chair/leader</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Challenge</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision-making</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Council policy and governance led the scores, as the most frequently highlighted initiative (23 elected members, 77 per cent of respondents). This group included the establishment of, and participation in governance structures, strategy development, and implementation. For example,

Mayoral Task Force on Sustainability Framework for Action; support and advocate; member (Auckland City Council).

Partnership with Beacon Pathway Ltd to work on Snug Homes and Ecwise programmes: support and advocate (Auckland City Council).

Establishing an economic development agency: member of committee (Porirua City Council).

Development of memorandums of understanding with iwi: support and advocate (Rotorua District Council).

Cycling strategy: support and advocate (Rotorua District Council).

Supported 'fireside chats' as a public engagement forum: support and advocate, consultation (Tauranga City Council).
Joint project with Environment Canterbury to drain land rezoned for residential development: support and advocate (Christchurch City Council).

Sustainable infrastructure was highlighted by 50 percent of the respondents (or 15 elected members). Initiatives included infrastructure to support economic development, cultural projects such as library and art centre developments, promoting sustainable building, and community safety initiatives.

Airport development: support and advocate (Rotorua District Council).

New library development: support and advocate (Tauranga City Council)

Lakeside re-lighting project: support and advocate (Porirua City Council).

Smart buildings - minimising electricity use: leader, support and advocate (Tauranga City Council).

Community safety initiatives such as security cameras and planting to enhance the design: support and advocate for resources (Rotorua District Council).

Water quality and environmental protection, and waste reduction and minimisation were highlighted by 30 per cent and 20 per cent of respondents respectively (nine and six elected members). Initiatives to improve wastewater infrastructure, foreshore restoration and beach water quality included.

Lakes action plans, including sewerage upgrade schemes with Environment Bay of Plenty: member of the working group (Rotorua District Council).

Restoration of Duck Creek: led a challenge, opposed investment (Porirua City Council).

Beach water quality testing for swimmer safety and to prioritise stormwater infrastructure improvements: support and advocate (Auckland City Council).

Waste reduction and minimisation initiatives included:

Adopting the Zero Waste programme: support and advocate, leader (Christchurch, Tauranga and Porirua City Councils).

Reduction of wheelie bin sizes: support and advocate (Auckland City Council).
Trash Palace Recycling Centre: support and advocate (Porirua City Council).

Urban regeneration and transport initiatives were the two lowest scoring groups of initiatives at 23 percent and 17 per cent of respondents respectively (7 and 5 elected members). They included:

- City centre revitalisation: committee member (Porirua City Council).
- Village development: leader (Porirua City Council).
- Urban design protocol and CPTED (crime prevention through environmental design): support and advocate (Porirua City Council).
- Engaging urban designer: support and advocate (Auckland City Council, Tauranga City Council).

The low profile of transport initiatives was somewhat surprising as transport is a high profile issue in Auckland, Wellington and Tauranga, and regularly features in the national media. Examples of transport initiatives included:

- The introduction of bus priority lanes: supporter and advocate, led introduction in own ward through consultation (Auckland City Council).
- CBD parking initiatives: no role (Rotorua District Council).
- Proposal to upgrade Transmission Gully: member of committee (Porirua City Council).

While only nine elected members described their specific role in one or more initiative as that of 'member', all respondents were members of their council and various committees and working groups. Support and advocacy was otherwise the role fulfilled most often by respondents (31 times).

Sixteen respondents described themselves as the chair, leader or instigator of initiatives to promote urban sustainability. Six respondents declared their involvement in public consultation, and a further six specified decision-making as a role. Five elected members took the role of opposing or challenging initiatives. Two described their role as representing their constituents. Two respondents acknowledged having taken no role in the initiatives they highlighted.
In summary, the elected members in the sample were generally active in promoting quadruple bottom line initiatives that contributed to progressing urban sustainability. Many were highly supportive, and advocated strongly within their council and across other sectors such as business and the community. Of note was the low number of respondents who related to their roles in consultation, as representatives, and as decision-makers. Consultation was recognised to be a relatively new task for New Zealand elected members.

Obstacles and opportunities for urban sustainability

The two questions that follow explored the respondents’ perceptions of the obstacles to, and opportunities for, progressing urban sustainability. Elected members were asked to consider a set of 11 statements for each question\textsuperscript{103}.

Obstacles to urban sustainability

Respondents were asked to identify up to three obstacles from the 11 statements that they believed significantly inhibited urban sustainability in their region. These statements are shown (in the order in which they were presented) in table 7.7 alongside the frequency with which they were selected.

Lack of knowledge of the concepts of urban sustainability by elected members and/or officers was the most selected obstacle inhibiting progress towards urban sustainability (47 per cent, 14 elected members). This response was consistent with the high frequency of responsibility to protect the environment reflected in elected members’ understandings of urban sustainability.

Low investment in environmental programmes including education and conservation and the lack of a long-term vision for urban sustainability followed, each selected by 11 elected members (37 per cent of respondents). Poorly developed environmental management systems was selected by 10 elected members (30 per cent of respondents).

\textsuperscript{103} The statements are adapted from the findings of Evans et al. (2005). The results of this question were cross-analysed against the respondents’ gender using a chi-squared test of association to determine whether there was any relation between gender and selection. The results of this test consistently supported the null hypothesis that there was no association. Due to the small sample size and low observed frequencies no other criteria were tested.
Table 7.7 Frequency of selection of obstacles to progress towards urban sustainability.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obstacles to progressing urban sustainability</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poor understanding of the impact of council delivered services on the four well-beings by elected members and/or officers</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of knowledge of the concepts of urban sustainability by elected members and/or officers</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional and lack-lustre approach to policy development</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poorly developed environmental management systems</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low investment in environmental programmes including education and conservation</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Few, if any, collaborative arrangements with other local authorities and/or key stakeholders</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poorly-resourced council events</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited engagement with constituents and organisations by elected members and/or officers</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Few opportunities for Māori to contribute to decision-making</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to implement urban sustainability practices in council business</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of a long-term vision for urban sustainability</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obstacles to progressing urban sustainability - added by respondents</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A lack of resources across council</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of commitment by individual elected members</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion of economic development and growth over everything else</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reliance on property ‘tax’ (rates) to fund social and cultural development for the whole city</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Poorly-resourced council events and few opportunities for Māori to contribute to decision-making were the two lowest scoring obstacles, with a frequency of just two elected members (7 per cent). The remaining statements scored between four and eight elected members (between 13 and 27 per cent of respondents).

Six elected members (20 per cent of the respondents) noted other obstacles they perceived as inhibiting progress towards urban sustainability. As shown at the bottom of table 7.7, these were: A lack of resources across council, lack of commitment by individual elected members, promotion of economic development and growth over everything else and a reliance on property tax to fund social and cultural development for the whole city.
Opportunities for urban sustainability

From the second set of statements respondents were asked to identify up to three key factors or opportunities that they believed were important to progressing urban sustainability in their region\textsuperscript{104}. The results are shown in table 7.8.

Table 7.8 Frequency of selection of opportunities for progress towards urban sustainability.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors and opportunities for progressing urban sustainability</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Growing awareness and knowledge of the concepts of urban sustainability by elected members and/or officers</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growing opportunities for Māori to contribute to decision-making</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investment in capacity building for Māori participation in local government decision-making</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creative and innovative approach to policy developments</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investment in soundly developed environmental management systems</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investment in environmental programmes including education and conservation</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of a long-term vision for urban sustainability</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A focus on collaboration with other local authorities and/or key stakeholders</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well-resourced and supported council events</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Established methods of engagement with constituents and organisations by elected members and/or officers</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implementation of urban sustainability practices in council business</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Growing awareness and knowledge of the concepts of urban sustainability by elected members and/or officers was the most frequently selected opportunity for progressing urban sustainability. This was followed by development of a long-term vision for urban sustainability and investment in soundly developed environmental management systems, with frequencies of 13 and 12 elected members (45 and 41 per cent of respondents) respectively.

A focus on collaboration with other local authorities and/or key stakeholders was fourth, selected by 11 elected members (38 per cent of respondents). A creative and innovative approach to policy developments and implementation of

\textsuperscript{104} Only 29 of the 30 respondents completed this question.
urban sustainability practices in council business were both scored by eight elected members (23 per cent of respondents).

*Investment in environmental programmes including education and conservation and investment in capacity building for Māori participation in local government decision-making* were each scored by five elected members (17 per cent). *Growing opportunities for Māori to contribute to decision-making and established methods of engagement with constituents and organisations by elected members and/or officers* were each scored by three elected members (10.3 per cent). The lowest scoring statement was *well resourced and supported council events* selected by just one elected member.

One elected member highlighted the additional key factor and opportunity of a *wider funding base, not just property rates.*

The relationship between the obstacles to, and key factors and opportunities for urban sustainability, was examined to ascertain the level of consistency across responses. The results are outlined in table 7.9 over the page.

The frequency of selection for some corresponding obstacles, and key factors and opportunities, were consistently scored, in particular: *knowledge and awareness of urban sustainability, opportunities for Māori, investment in environmental management systems, resourcing of events, engagement with constituents and organisations by elected members and/or officers, implementation of urban sustainability practices by Council* and the need for a *long-term vision.*

Of interest were the widely differing frequency scores awarded for *collaboration with other local authorities and/or key stakeholders* and *investment in environmental programmes including education and conservation.* Both were relatively new considerations for most of the case study councils.
Table 7.9 Frequency of selection for corresponding obstacles and opportunities.

Note: The shading highlights those corresponding criteria with frequency scores within three elected members (10 per cent of respondents). The unshaded criteria are those for which the responses were not interpreted to be significantly consistent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obstacles</th>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Opportunities</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of knowledge</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Growing awareness</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor understanding</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Capacity building for Māori</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Few opportunities for Māori</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Opportunities for Māori</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional approach</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Creative policy</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor EMS</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Investment in EMS</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low investment in environmental education</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Investment in environmental education</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low collaboration</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Collaboration</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poorly-resourced events</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Well-resourced events</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited engagement</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Established engagement</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to implement</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Implementation of US practices</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of vision</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Long-term vision</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Discussion

The 30 elected members were predominantly aware of the global shift towards sustainable development, and were embracing the paradigm shift from traditional local government towards community-centred governance. At least some of the elected members who declined to participate, did so out of concerns for the changes they were experiencing in their role. This was consistent with the observations made by Hucker (1998) that elected members perceived consultation to be undermining their ‘right to govern … their political mandate from their electorate’. The tension between governance and consultation was seen by some elected members to be a ‘barrier to effective and efficient’ governance.

Māori were highly represented in the sample. This level of interest was consistent with the strong focus on sustainability evident in the results of the
interviews with Māori, undertaken as part three of this thesis and reported in chapter 10.

While gender was evenly spread across the sample, it represented a bias towards female elected members. The sample was otherwise heavily weighted towards New Zealand Europeans in the 60 plus age group.

Twenty per cent of the sample demonstrated an understanding of urban sustainability that reflected the broad intergenerational well-being of their communities and the environment. There was wide acknowledgement of the need for councils to learn new ways, take an innovative approach to policy and consider the impacts of actions today on future generations.

The process of mainstreaming sustainable development was clearly well underway. However, only a handful of elected members demonstrated an understanding that encompassed both the broader aspects of the social, environmental, economic and cultural well-being of communities, and a future focus. Awareness of environmental sustainability was high. This was consistent with the findings of earlier research that indicated environmental awareness was a precursor for raised awareness and mainstreaming of sustainable development in local authorities (Evans et al., 2005, p. 113).

The greatest number of elected members perceived their role as one of governance, setting policy direction and decision-making. This was consistent with the findings of Drage (2004a, p. 207-208), who found that elected members in her sample saw governance as a major part of their role.

Representing community, providing leadership, and task accomplishment were next in importance. Few respondents related to roles in consultation. Political lobbying and influence was the least acknowledged elected member role. This reflected the non-party dominance in New Zealand local government. Multi-level governing stood out as one of the last criteria of urban sustainability to be adopted by elected members in the sample.

Elected members most frequently promoted urban sustainability by promoting the natural environment and conserving resources, and practicing a sustainability philosophy. This was also strongly reflected in their role perceptions. Social and cultural well-being and leadership were important tasks.
Collaboration was perceived as a mechanism for progressing urban sustainability by a few elected members.

The most important sources of information on urban sustainability for elected members were their own and other councils, and all forms of the media. The media was both a source of headlines that guided them to seek further information, and a reflection of public opinion. Culture and family were important sources for elected members of Pacific, Māori or mixed ethnicity.

The time required to meet legislative, organisational and political tasks posed a challenge for elected members. Respondents indicated frequently spending time on aspects of their role that were not of their priorities. Maintaining cohesiveness was important for the ‘credibility of council’, and enhancing external relationships was considered by a few to be ‘the way of the future’.

With a few exceptions, elected members perceived their council effectiveness of an LTCCP task to be commensurate with their view of its importance. Councils were perceived to be underperforming in the areas of developing a vision for the future, and promoting efficient and effective use of resources. Respondents also perceived their local authorities to be underperming most in the tasks that were newest, for example, collaborating with other councils (the least importance task), promoting efficient use of resources and engaging the general public.

Providing opportunities for Māori to contribute was ranked of low importance. The majority of respondents saw their local authority as moderately or highly effective in this task, an assessment not supported by research undertaken with Māori over the same period (Local Futures, 2005; Local Government Commission, 2008; Shand, Cheyne et al., 2007). Collaborating with other councils was also ranked of low importance. These tasks were those that were newest to local authorities, and emphasised by the LGA 2002 as pre-requisites for the LTCCP process.

Local authorities were perceived to have broadened participation in their LTCCP by engaging groups from the social, environmental, economic and cultural sectors that had not previously been engaged. ‘Entrepreneurial’ and ‘charismatic’ elected members were actively championing the cause of
sustainability within their own councils, across local authorities and the business and community sectors.

*Lack of knowledge of the concepts of urban sustainability by elected members and/or officers* was perceived to be inhibiting progress towards urban sustainability. *Poorly-resourced council events and few opportunities for Māori to contribute to decision-making* were the two obstacles least considered to be inhibiting progress. Additional obstacles were a *lack of resources across council, lack of commitment by individual elected members, promotion of economic development and growth over everything else, and a reliance on property tax to fund social and cultural development for the whole city.*

*Growing awareness and knowledge of the concepts of urban sustainability by elected members and/or officers* was, correspondingly, the most frequently selected key factor and opportunity for progressing urban sustainability. An additional key factor and opportunity - a *wider funding base, not just property rates* was identified. This was supported by the findings of the Local Government Rates Inquiry (Shand, Cheyne et al., 2007).

*Collaboration with other local authorities and/or key stakeholders and investment in environmental programmes including education and conservation* were relatively new considerations for most of the case study councils. As such, elected members were less familiar with them.

The consistently low scores for *opportunities for Māori* emphasised the low priority of Te Tiriti o Waitangi for non-Māori elected members. Of interest was the predominant view of elected members that their councils were moderately or highly effective in this task. This was counter to the findings of other research undertaken with Māori over the same period (Local Futures, 2005; Local Government Commission, 2008; Shand, Cheyne et al., 2007). Multi-level governing, identified by Evans Joas et al. (2005, p. 121) as a key element in governance for urban sustainability, was low on the priority of the elected members in the sample.

This concludes the embedded case study methodology undertaken to explore the Pākehā House - the elected members’ understanding of urban sustainability, and the progress made by their local authorities. Part three that
follows describes the literature review and research undertaken to explore the Tikanga Māori House, and how governance could be more fully influenced by Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
PART 3
THE TIKANGA MĀORI HOUSE
Chapter 8
New Zealand Māori

Introduction

The preceding chapters outlined the research undertaken to explore the Pākehā House of this research. This chapter is the first in part 3 - the Tikanga Māori House, which focuses on answering the secondary research question:

How could Te Tiriti o Waitangi more fully influence governance for urban sustainability?

It presents an overview of literature and scholarship undertaken to explore the Māori world. The accepted patterns of Māori migration and early life in New Zealand provide the background for a discussion of the foundations of te ao Māori, which is described through the genealogical recitals.

As European settlement expanded through the 19th and 20th centuries the differences between the Māori and European worldviews became apparent. The impact of colonisation on Māori and their development was profound. This experience has evolved into contemporary Māori aspirations of self determination. The history of difference, key milestones of Māori development and mātauranga Māori are discussed with respect to their influence on governance and sustainability in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand. This chapter closes with an overview of kaupapa Māori research models.

Māori settlement in Aotearoa New Zealand

The ‘Great New Zealand Myth’ (King, 1994, p. 40) attributed the discovery of New Zealand to a Polynesian voyager named Kupe around 950 AD, settlement of the Moriori between 950 and 1150 AD, and the arrival of the first Māori in 1150 AD. The arrival of a ‘Great Fleet’ of seven canoes from Polynesia in 1350 AD provided an explanation for settlement. However, twentieth century
Historians (Howe, 2003; King, 1994; Walker, 2004) concur that this version of events had no sound basis.

Polynesian voyaging likely took place from circa 800 AD (Walker, 2004, p. 24). It was probable that New Zealand was located during a voyage of discovery, and settled in the 13th century on subsequent deliberate voyages by many canoes. King (1994, pp. 50-54) attributed the transformation from an East Polynesian culture to the New Zealand culture, to the early settlers need to adapt their practices to meet the challenges of the new environment. This version of events was widely supported by the 1960s (Howe, 2003, pp. 171-176).

Historians identified three to six stages in this transformation (Ibid., p. 176). The three stages described by King (1994, p. 62) were the colonial, transitional and tribal eras. The earlier phase was also referred to as the moa hunter or archaic period (Buck, 1950; Walker, 2004). These three stages are worthy of our attention because they highlight the development of practices that contributed to Māori learning about environmental sustainability and social organisation, and are relevant to modern day practices for sustainability and governance.

**The colonial era**

The colonial era of settlement was said to have begun the moment East Polynesian migrants stepped ashore in Aotearoa New Zealand, and to have lasted between 100 and 150 years. According to archeology, moa were a major food source and their bones were used for implements in some parts of the country (King, 1994; Walker, 2004).

Other large birds, seals, dolphin and pilot whales were used as a food source and, like the moa, exploited to the point of extinction in little over a hundred years. The lifestyle was understood to be mobile, with a home base for crop cultivation, and stations for seasonal activities (King, 1994, p. 64).

**The transitional era**

In the 14th and 15th centuries Māori were required to adjust their culture in order to survive (King, 1994, p. 70; Walker, 2004, p. 32). This period was termed the transitional era. Māori were required to expand their remaining sources of food
production. Gardening became more important, along with foraging for and cultivation of wild plants, such as the karaka, cabbage tree and bracken fern. Birds that were difficult to catch and ignored during the colonial era, for example weka, pidgeon, kiwi and tui, would have become important food sources. It is probable that more sustainable practices in hunting and foraging developed in this period (King, 1994, p. 70).

The recognisable East Polynesian style of the earliest settlers was replaced by elements associated with ‘classic Māori culture’, for example, wood carving and personal ornamentation such as hei tiki. Groups became more settled in defined territories, and began to form larger associations based on kinship and areas of occupation. This was the beginning of the tribal era.

**The tribal era**

The concentration of activities on more restricted areas of occupation, and the more disciplined approach to the exploitation of the new food sources, was attributed to the demise of big game, the growth of population, and the demise of the large ocean going canoes (King, 1994; Walker, 2004). As the population grew, so did competition for resources. This gave rise to pa, and laid the foundation for the tribal organisation of the New Zealand Māori that evolved progressively through the 15th and 16th centuries (King, 1994, p. 72; Walker, 2004, p. 43).

King claimed that over successive generations the focus moved away from the ‘culture of origin’ to a ‘commitment to the adoptive homeland’ (King, 1994, p. 74). This brought with it experimentation of new technologies and practices suited to meeting the challenges of the New Zealand environment. These were new forms of clothing, housing, cultivation and storage of food and exploitation of mineral resources.

New forms of carving and ornamentation reflected the ‘shifting perceptions of cultural and spiritual realities’ (Buck, 1950, p. 291; King, 1994, p. 74). The colonial, transition and tribal eras described how the imported culture of the East Polynesians became the indigenous one - te ao Māori.

In pre-colonial times, Māori were not conscious of race or culture. Their sense of identity and worth were found within their whānau, hapū or iwi, which may
have stemmed from a founding ancestor or canoe (King, 1994, p. 85; Walker, 2004, p. 68).

In settled times, life was organised around food cultivation, foraging, tool making, and the maintenance of dwellings, canoes and pā sites. When items became scarce, a rāhui was placed on them by a tohunga until the resource had been replenished (King, 1994, p. 85; Walker, 2004, p. 68).

Commercial activity was a feature of the period between 1792 and 1840. Māori proved to be able entrepreneurs who could produce commodities, such as flax and timber, on a large scale. This ability demonstrated the cooperative nature of tribal organisation, and extended to quarrying, sealing and whaling (King, 1994, pp. 127-129; Walker, 2004, p. 99). It was soon to become apparent that this large scale exploitation of resources was unsustainable. Māori had depleted large game resources and destroyed forests in their early years of settlement. New Zealanders were to repeat this pattern of behaviour many times over before the lessons of sustainability were learned.

The early Māori were highly spiritual people. They recognised atua in nature, and viewed mind, body and spiritual realities as holistic and interconnected. Māori were, therefore, highly receptive to the notions of religion introduced by the early missionaries (Buck, 1950, p. 431; King, 1994, pp. 139-140). The creation stories\textsuperscript{105} outlined in the next section explain the origin of te ao Māori as a worldview.

The foundations of Māori custom and lore

The foundation principles and values of te ao Māori have their origins in three distinct stories of creation. The narratives began with Io (known as the void) and moved through Te Po (the period of darkness). They culminated in the creation of the world as seen by Māori (Buck, 1950, p. 433; Walker, 2004, p. 11).

The creation of the world comprised three narratives: the separation of Ranginui, sky father and Papatuanuku, earth mother; the adventures of the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[105] The Māori creation stories are also referred to as the genealogical recitals, the cosmology, or the cosmological narratives.
\end{itemize}
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demi-god Maui, who fished up land and brought many benefits into the world; and the life of Tawhaki, a model aristocratic and heroic figure (Walker, 2004, p. 11).

The stories of the separation of Ranginui and Papatuanuku described the origin of the world, and served to explain many aspects of the social order within Māori society, and the principles that are fundamental to tikanga Māori and kawa.

As the story goes, Ranginui and Papatuanuku were prised from each other by six of their offspring, in order to bring light into the world and provide for the well-being of their children (Durie, 1998, p. 22). The offspring represented the six deities, each of whom had been given authority by the parents over certain environmental elements.

The elements over which each deity was given authority, were considered by Māori to be their children: Tane-mahuta, the forests and birds, and knowledge; Tangaroa, the sea (fish); RongomaTane, cultivated food (kumara); Haumeatiketike, uncultivated food (fernroot); Tawhirimatea, winds and storms; Tumatauenga, humankind (and war). This legend explained the separation of the earth and the sky, and likened the environment to a human family. It provided the foundation of the intimate relationship between Māori and their environment, and recognised that all things, animate and inanimate, had a mauri, or life force.

Principles of te ao Māori

The foundation principles revealed by the cosmology included hui (gathering, discussion), mana (prestige and respect), tapu (sacred) and noa (every day, common place), utu (reciprocity, revenge), tuku iho (structural hierarchies), whakarite māranga (balance and well-being), wānanga (enlightenment), whakamātātau (experimentation), whakarite (accuracy) and whakapapa (genealogy). Table 8.1 associates these principles with the structural hierarchy of six departmental deities (the sequence of the creation story from which they originated), and their application in day to day activities, within te ao Māori.
Table 8.1 The cosmology and principles of te ao Māori.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sequence of the cosmological narrative</th>
<th>Principle</th>
<th>Application</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Separation of Ranginui and Papatuanuku</td>
<td>Hui</td>
<td>Consultation, discussion Communal effort Managing the decision-making process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War of the gods</td>
<td>Mana&lt;sup&gt;106&lt;/sup&gt; Tapu and noa Utu Tuku iho</td>
<td>Prestige, integrity, charisma Regulation and control Clean and unclean&lt;sup&gt;107&lt;/sup&gt; Retribution/reciprocity Establishing the relationship between human-kind and nature Obligation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Hurihanga a Mataaho</td>
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<td>Wānanga</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Search for the female element</td>
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<td>Quality control Formation of identity and social organisation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Hui**

The six siblings applied hui and kōrero in order to discuss ways to let light and space into their world. Hui was the general term given to any kind of meeting. In the past it referred to a ceremonial gathering on a marae, such as a tangihanga or mārenatanga. Recent hui have focused on the issues of economic and social development and involved governments and other parties, for example, the Hui Whakatauira and Hui Taumata<sup>108</sup> in 1984 (Durie, 1998, p. 7). Traditionally held on marae, in modern times hui were hosted at conference venues and other suitable locations.

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<sup>106</sup> Salmond, 1985.
<sup>108</sup> Hui Whakatauira (to Show by Example) and Hui Taumata (The Fulfillment of Vision) were Māori education and development conferences. These two examples are discussed in the section that follows, on Māori development.
Tomlins-Jahnke argued that elements of hui such as consultation, discussion, problem solving and experimentation, combined with group effort, were a fundamental expression of kinship within Māori communities, and were relevant for decision-making on matters of importance to the group (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005, p. 33). Hui involved the whole group, and strengthened kinship ties and alliances.

The second sequence of the narrative described the instigation of war by Tawhirimatea against his siblings, in retaliation for what he viewed as their act of transgression in separating the parents (Buck, 1950, p. 458). From this narrative came the principles of tapu and noa, utu and tuku iho (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005, p. 40). Inherent in these principles was the concept of mana.

**Mana**

Mana was described by Durie (1998, p. 2) as having both worldly and ethereal meanings. It was used in the Declaration of Independence signed in 1835, to describe aspects of Māori sovereignty. ‘All sovereign power and authority’ was declared to reside in the hereditary chiefs and heads of tribes in their collective capacity (Durie, 1998, p. 2).

Mana was inherited at birth. The more senior the line of descent, the greater the mana. Salmond (1985, p. 12) described how men would engage in a contest for mana that would result in its rise and fall, according to their performance in war, marriage, feasting, and on the marae.

**Tapu and Noa**

Tapu invariably accompanied mana. It was described as a spiritual force that emanated from the celestial realm of the gods. Tapu had three dimensions: sacredness, prohibition, and uncleanliness (Walker, 2004, p. 67). Objects that had no associated tapu were noa.

Tapu enhanced the dignity of a person. The more prestigious an event, person or object, the more it was surrounded by the supernatural protection of tapu. The protection of tapu could be applied to a person (Salmond, 1985, p. 13).
Definitions of noa ranged from free from tapu, normal, common or profane, to neutral or sterile (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005, pp. 37-38). The principles of tapu and noa were demonstrated by the actions of Tumatauenga, who waged war to avenge what was described as the cowardice of his siblings. He used his siblings offspring as food and for common implements (Buck, 1950, p. 441). These actions asserted the superiority of human-kind in the natural order, and negated the tapu of everyday items, rendering them noa.

Tapu was countered (or rendered noa) by the ‘pure rite’ designed to ‘cleanse from tapu’ and neutralise or propitiate the gods (Marsden 1975, as cited in Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005, pp. 40-42). Water and a ritual offering of food to the relevant deity were the elements used. The acknowledgement of a deity, and the sets of obligations that this incurred, related to the principle of tuku iho (Shirres 1997, as cited in Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005, p. 37-38). Politically, an offence against tapu would demand utu (Salmond, 1985, p. 13).

**Utu**

The instigation of war by Tawhirimatea against his siblings (Buck, 1950, p. 441) demonstrated the principle of utu. It was a dimension of social control that supplemented other mechanisms such as personal rank, beliefs and tapu (Buck, 1950, p. 441; Walker, 2004, p. 69).

Other less serious forms of utu included reciprocity, equivalence, and payment or compensation, for example, the practice of giving koha. This was a widely practiced custom that maintained social relations and kinship ties. It initiated an imbalance between the recipient and the giver that was restored by a return gift (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005, p. 34). The obligation was upon the whānau or hapū, as the individual was a unit within a tribal group.

Utu was a very human way of protecting mana. Every slight on a person’s mana would invite an equal return. It could apply to compensation from an injury or demeanors, such as adultery or theft. Salmond (1985, p. 13) described how utu was taken on the battle field, where it was often difficult to mete out precisely the right amount of punishment. The result was new utu accounts. Utu was also exercised by māketu.
Moon (2007, p.85) described numerous incidences of utu between tribes during the Māori occupation of Auckland as late as the 1820s. These occurred, for example, during the battles between Ngāti Whātau and Te Waiohua during Ngāti Whātau’s conquest of Auckland. These battles were raged in response to the death of a chief or respected warrior, or ransacking of a pa.

**Tuku iho**

The war of the gods established the structural hierarchies of the deities, and defined their roles over specific aspects of life (Buck, 1950, p. 441; Walker, 2004, p. 13). The siblings dispersed through the chaos to safer regions of both the terrestrial and marine environment. The narrative explains how the deities were classified according to rank and the specific activities assigned to them.

Tane was the most important of the deities. He was attributed with having let light into the world, and procured all knowledge necessary for human endeavour, procreated all flora and fauna, created the first woman and therefore the generation of human-kind.

Tumatauenga was the deity of humankind, and the god of war associated with the destruction of man. His status was elevated by frequent tribal wars and the prestige associated with successful warriors. Male children were said to be dedicated to Tumatauenga for the art of war, or Rongomatane for the art of peace (Buck, 1950, pp. 456-457).

Rongomatane assumed responsibility for hospitality and generosity, fundamental values to the concept of manaaki tangata (Buck, 1950, p. 457).

Tangaroa’s importance stemmed from

> his status as the origin and tutelary being of all fish in the oceans and waterways, and the origin of carving (Buck, 1950, p. 457).

It was to Tawhirimatea, the personified form of winds and weather, that appeals were made for favourable winds or to abate storms on sea voyages. Haumiatiketike was designated to represent a stable food source (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005, p. 39).
Whakarite maranga

The third sequence of the narrative was referred to as te hurihanga a Mataaho. It described a time of ‘continuous floods of rain, hail and heavy snow that marked the parents grief at their forced separation’ (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005, p. 40). Concerned at their own increasing discomfort and their parents’ grief, Mataaho acted on the brothers’ decision to turn the body of Papatuanuku face down.

This action was credited with restoring the balance of the elements in the natural world, thereby ensuring the well-being of the earth mother and her sons, and by implication the earth’s natural resources. It was said that Ruauamoko, the deity of earthquakes and volcanic phenomena, and the youngest of the brothers, stayed at his mother’s breast while she was turned over. As a result he did not emerge to see the light of day (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005, pp. 39-40).

The fourth sequence of the narrative described how Tane, the most important leader among the sons, was elected to retrieve three kete wananga. To do this Tane was required to ‘undertake a long and perilous journey through the spaces of the twelve heavens’ (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005, p. 42). As the story goes, the custodians of the wānanga granted him access but required him to undertake a ritual cleansing with water to remove the tapu. This demonstrated the sacred nature and high value placed on wānanga as a tool of enlightenment. The symbolic content of the baskets corresponded to different aspects of the Māori world (Buck, 1950, p. 449; Buck, 1977 cited in Davidson & Tolich, 1999 p. 42).

The first basket, kete uruuru matua dealt with the world of sensory perception, where everything natural originates. It was where cosmic processes originated and operated as a complex series of energy patterns in order to uphold, sustain and replenish the energies and life of the natural world (Davidson & Tolich, 1999, p. 42).

The second world, te aro-nui, was the natural world. Knowledge of when to plant crops, and where and when to fish, were passed on to successive generations.

The third world was te ao tua-atea. This was the realm of the supreme god Io; the infinite and eternal, existing outside of time and space.
To these three worlds was added a fourth, the world of symbols that were the creation of the human mind. Two symbols are especially important: myths and legends; and genealogy (Davidson & Tolich, 1999, p. 42). The myths that have formed the basis of this discussion of the deities and the foundational principles are an example of the first of these symbols. Genealogy or whakapapa is discussed later in this section.

**Wānanga**

From Tane’s journey to the twelve heavens stemmed a concept central to wananga, that mātauranga Māori was sacred, and was never intended for mass distribution. Knowledge was the preserve of a special class, the tohunga, and was perceived as being hierarchical.

There was knowledge that all people needed to live their daily lives. This was obtained through observation, practice, and the guidance of kuia and kaumatua. Accepted knowledge was recognised as whānau property, and was preserved and protected through rituals. The great body of personal and tribal information that a person needed to establish and retain their identity, and to help them survive physically, had to be committed to memory.

There was knowledge that pertained to whole iwi such as whakapapa, which was important in establishing relationships and asserting influence or credibility. At an individual level, specialised knowledge contributed to a person’s mana and was considered a taonga (Davidson & Tolich, 1999, p. 42).

The fifth sequence in the cosmological narratives was Tane’s search for the ahu, and the creation of ira tangata (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005, p. 41). This demonstrated the principle of whakamātautau.

**Whakamātautau**

Tane was unsuccessful in finding the female element through his experimentation with inanimate forms. However, through this experimentation he was credited with the development of native flora and fauna (Buck, 1950, p. 455).
**Whakariterite**

The importance of accuracy, was demonstrated through the sixth sequence of the narrative, with the need to bring together the appropriate ingredients for the creation of ira tangata. The resolve to mould a female form was a combined effort, with each sibling contributing knowledge and resources. Tane was delegated the task of breathing life into the inanimate form and creating the first human, a woman named Hineahuone\(^{109}\) (Buck, 1950, p. 453; Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005, p. 42).

The application of whakariterite in society was observed during the erection of a meeting house. While work was in progress only authorised persons were allowed access. The tapu nature of the work meant that certain ‘rules are enforced to ensure the proper performance of the work’ (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005, pp. 43-44).

**Whakapapa**

The narratives provided the fundamental link that allowed Māori to trace their genealogy back to the primal parents and the flora and fauna of the natural world. Whakapapa was fundamental to understanding Māori society, how Māori related to one another, and to the world around them. Māori identity was conceptualised through whakapapa, enabling a person to

\[\ldots\text{trace their relationship to other people (tāngata), to kin (whanaunga), to the land (whenua), to a place (turangawaewae), and to a customary whānau/hapū meeting place (marae)}\] (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005, p. 44).

Whakapapa provided the basis for kinship-based governance which was fundamental to te ao Māori.

The basic social unit in Māori society was the whānau (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005, p. 51). Whānau varied in size. Leadership was provided by kaumatua, who were described as the repositories of knowledge, family mentors, economic guides and primary caregivers of the young (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005, p. 52).

Whakapapa and the foundational principles do not provide the full explanation of te ao Māori. Māori culture and knowledge continued to evolve from the early

\(^{109}\) The name of the first woman is recorded with dialectal differences. Buck (1950, p. 453) refers to the first woman as Hinetitama.
adaptations made by the Polynesian ancestors to help them to survive the environmental challenges of the New Zealand landscape. The arrival of European voyagers in the eighteenth century, settlement and colonisation, continued to influence contemporary Māori worldviews. Since 1835 and 1840 respectively, the Declaration of Independence and Te Tiriti o Waitangi have provided the foundation for Māori and Pākehā relations. They are discussed in chapter 9 that follows. The foundational principles described through the cosmology, and the principles encompassed in Te Tiriti, together provide a framework for the discussion of Māori views on governance and sustainability that follows in chapter 10.

A history of difference

A worldview can be described as a framework of ideas and beliefs through which an individual interprets and interacts with the world. It tells a coherent and a consistent (to varying degrees) story about who we are (Cole, 2007, p. 2). Cole claimed that we all have at least one worldview, and sometimes parts of others, that we have never joined to form a coherent whole.

Royal (1998b, p. 3) argued that a worldview was expressed through the values people hold, and this in turn influenced what people did. Conversely, how people behaved reflected what they valued. The Reverend Māori Marsden was more specific to culture when he described a worldview:

Cultures pattern perceptions of reality into conceptualisations of what they perceive reality to be; of what is to be regarded as actual, probable, possible or impossible … (Māori Marsden cited in Royal, 1998b, p. 4).

The Māori concept of humans perceived as equal with all other components of the environment, yet with a special status (Sims and Thompson-Fawcett in Kawharu, 2002, p. 260), contrasted with the dominant Western philosophy brought to New Zealand by the early colonisers. The new arrivals assumed that all natural resources belonged to them. They viewed their role as one of ‘taming the wilderness and civilising the Māori’. The justification for achieving superiority and subjugation was survival (Sims and Thompson-Fawcett in Kawharu, 2002, p. 260). Sims and Thompson-Fawcett argued that the cultural landscape is a central component of Māoridom, linking people to their land and their ancestors.
These contrasting worldviews began to explain the complexity of the New Zealand cultural landscape and the mono-cultural dominance that arose through central and local government policy.

The competing worldviews in Aotearoa New Zealand were a western European or Pākehā worldview, and the Māori worldview (Royal, 1998b, p. 1). Much of what has held true around governance and sustainable use of the environment can be explained through the origin of the Māori view, which served as the philosophical foundation for Māori society (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005, p. 33; Walker, 2004, p. 12). The special relationship between Māori and their environment stemmed from the cosmology, and was reflected in their cultural symbols, traditional practices and beliefs (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005, p. 32). Kawharu described these connections

Nothing dies in the Māori world. Things merely move through different dimensions … Those we love become part of the beautiful land around us. This is our bond with the land. It is our ancestor and as such, part and parcel of what we are (Kawharu, 2002, p. 262).

The ‘cosmological picture’ of the world describing the separation of Ranginui and Papatuanuku was affirmed by multiple Māori sources (Buck, 1950; Royal, 1998a, 1998b; Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005; Walker, 2004). Royal (1998, p. 40) argued that though differences existed between hapū and iwi versions, the mythology and its essence in te ao Māori was a recurring theme within a pan-Māori worldview.

Māori development

Colonisation was a trigger for rapid change. Durie (2005, p. 3) argued that it brought benefits and catastrophic consequences. Durie attributed these changes to

short distance factors such as high mortality rates from infectious diseases, warfare and poor nutrition; medium distance factors such as a rapidly changing economy aggravated by an alarming rate of land alienation and the loss of customary law; and long distance factors such as political oppression and colonial assumptions of superiority (Mason Durie, 2005, p. 3).

110 The traditional Māori worldview, te ao Māori, is alternatively referred to as te ao mārama (Royal, 1998).
Durie (2005, p. 3) related the devastating outcome of this change, which was a decline in the Māori population from an estimated 150,000 in 1840, to 42,000 by 1896. By 1905 the decline had been arrested and the population had risen to 45,000.

Durie (1998, p. 4) argued that Māori development was entwined with the concept of Māori self determination\textsuperscript{111} and the protection of the environment for future generations,

\ldots it signifies a commitment to strengthening economic standing, social wellbeing and cultural identity, both individually and collectively (M Durie, 1998, p. 4).

According to Durie (1998, p. 4), the frame of self determination included concern with the dimensions of power and control at the individual and group level. This was specifically in terms of better self-management of resources, productivity of Māori land, Māori health and education, enhanced use of the Māori language, and decision-making that reflected Māori realities and aspirations.

Three post colonisation milestones of Māori development are highlighted in this section: the influence of Māori missionary schools, the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, and Māori development hui and taumata.

\textbf{Māori missionary schools}

According to Durie (2005, p. 3), the church-based Māori secondary boarding schools dedicated to Māori principles and Christian values established in the late 19\textsuperscript{th} century, were a significant influence on Māori development\textsuperscript{112}. While the intention was to civilise Māori through an education that encouraged European moral and commercial behaviour, Jones and Jenkins (2008, p. 1) argued that ‘without denying the cultural invasion’ the establishment of Māori schools would not have been possible had Māori not desired education. According to Jones and Jenkins (2008, p. 7) Māori were cautious of European teachings, as knowledge of the spirit world (not held by Pākehā) was important to them.

\textsuperscript{111} Māori self determination refers to the advancement of Māori people, as Māori (Durie, 1998).

\textsuperscript{112} The schools were spread throughout the North Island, located particularly around Auckland and the Hawkes Bay, and Manawatu regions (Durie, 2005).
According to Walker (2004, p. 146), the enactment of the Native Schools Act 1867 resulted in closure of many but not all of the mission schools. Over time, those that remained established boarding schools. This provided some Māori with an option to state schools, the goal of which was replacement of Māori language and culture by English and European culture.

Durie (2005, p.3) highlighted that some of the most charismatic and celebrated Māori leaders were educated at the missionary schools, including Sir Apirana Ngata, Te Rangi Hiroa\footnote{113 Also known as Sir Peter Buck.} and Dame Whina Cooper. Steeped in traditional culture, and educated in the Christian tradition, these leaders succeeded in both the Māori and the Pākehā worlds.

**The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975**

The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 was a significant milestone for Māori development. Addressing Treaty grievances with the Crown led to resurgence in the capacity of Māori to pursue their aspirations. This renewed energy was matched by the Crown’s commitment to the Waitangi Tribunal settlement process. In 2001, 25 percent of all children in New Zealand were Māori and this was projected to rise. This emphasised the importance of Māori success to New Zealand as a nation (Clark, 2005).

The Treaty is discussed in more detail in chapter 9 that follows.

**Māori development hui**

The themes of better self management, productivity of land, and Māori health and education articulated by Durie, were the focus of Māori pursuit of their aspirations through hui and taumata. Sponsored by Māori leaders, wānanga and mainstream universities, the fora have engaged Māori and Pākehā, government officials, ministers, prime ministers, and academics\footnote{114 Examples included the Hui Taumata in 1984 and 2005, sponsored by Māori leaders and academics; the Hui Whakapumau Māori Economic Development Conference in 1994, hosted by Massey University; the Hui Taumata Mātāuranga alliance between the Crown and Ngāti Tuwharetoa supported by Massey University, five hui held between 2001 and 2006; Te Oru Rangahau Māori Research and Development Conference held in 1998, supported by Massey University; and Ngai Tatou 2020 wānanga organised by the Foundation for Indigenous Research in Society and Technology.}.

113 Also known as Sir Peter Buck.
114 Examples included the Hui Taumata in 1984 and 2005, sponsored by Māori leaders and academics; the Hui Whakapumau Māori Economic Development Conference in 1994, hosted by Massey University; the Hui Taumata Mātāuranga alliance between the Crown and Ngāti Tuwharetoa supported by Massey University, five hui held between 2001 and 2006; Te Oru Rangahau Māori Research and Development Conference held in 1998, supported by Massey University; and Ngai Tatou 2020 wānanga organised by the Foundation for Indigenous Research in Society and Technology.
The common threads of concern were economic development ‘entwined with the manifestations of social and cultural deprivation’ (Hui Taumata 2005 Task Force, 2005, p. 2). There were many barriers facing Māori. Unemployment had worsened following the economic restructuring of the 1980s. There was a lack of coordination across government, in response to Māori needs. Large sectors of the Māori population were in poor health. These barriers were exacerbated by deficits in capital and training, lack of control of resources, and diminished language, cultural understanding and tribal affiliation, which had led to alienation from the bureaucracy.

The hui collectively called for more autonomy. The government’s response pledged a national body to coordinate knowledge and initiatives from the hui, job creation schemes and training that suited the Māori context, the appointment of more Māori governors, and the removal of legal barriers to the development of Māori land (Hui Taumata 2005 Task Force, 2005, p. 3). Te Puni Kokiri was established in 1992.

**Māori forms of governance**

A review of literature on Māori governance in Aotearoa New Zealand identified two distinct governance systems (Douglas & Robertson-Shaw, 1999; Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005, p. 51). The first was kaupapa Māori governance, a traditional whakapapa-based system centred on whānau, hapū and iwi - a bottom-up style of governance.

The second system resulted from the historical approaches taken by successive New Zealand governments. It was based on the western, top-down approach to governance and was imposed over the Māori system.

**Kaupapa Māori governance**

Kaupapa Māori governance was based on the traditional and contemporary principles of te ao Māori or kaupapa Māori. Māori worldviews, values, language and culture were firmly placed as the norm, in direct contrast to a century and a half of Māori ‘being relegated to the position of the indigenous other’ (Jackson, 1998; Penehira, Cram, & Pipi, 2003, p. 5). It recognised the negative influence of colonisation and the domination of Western European worldviews on the
well-being of Māori. Kaupapa Māori governance placed te reo me ōna tikanga first - it validated the right to be Māori.

Kaupapa Māori had roots in ‘old’ knowledge including Māori spiritualism and traditionalism (Sharples 1988 cited in Penehira et al., 2003, p. 5). It was developed through oral tradition and was the way that Māori knowledge and ideas were formulated, exclusively through te reo Māori (Tuakana Nepe 1991 cited in Penehira et al., 2003, p. 5). Interest in kaupapa Māori emerged through Māori education hui in the 1980s.

The central ideas were the Māori principles of tino rangatiratanga, taonga tuku iho, ako, kia piki ake i nga raruraru o te kainga, whānau and kaupapa (Penehira et al., 2003, pp. 7-9). Tino rangatiratanga, fundamental to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, was described in terms of mana motuhake, sovereignty and self determination. To Māori people this meant having meaningful control over one’s own life and cultural well-being.

These concepts were common to Māori models of governance (see chapter 9 that follows).

**Government imposed institutions**

Traditional Māori governance practices were interrupted by settler government imposed institutions within two decades of the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. With a focus on facilitating European settlement, land acquisition and the assimilation of Māori into European culture, not surprisingly these institutions were not wholeheartedly embraced by Māori. Examples were the Grey’s rūnanga system, Māori district councils, tribal committees and the New Zealand Māori Council.

Two exceptions to this model were the Māori War Effort and the Māori Women’s Welfare league, which were both modelled on kaupapa Māori and received universal support from Māori. The Māori War Effort recognised existing Māori leadership and mana. The Māori Women's Welfare League was focused on Māori well-being, and has acted as a pressure group to subsequent governments.

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115 Socio-economic mediation.
More recent Māori governance organisations included the pan-tribal agencies and tribal authorities\textsuperscript{116}. Also known as urban Māori authorities, they developed following the large-scale migration of Māori from their rural homes to work in the cities. This migration followed the end of World War 2, and the economic restructuring of the 1980s.

Urban migration severed the ties Māori had with their tribal organisations. As well as providing the necessary cultural connection, pan tribal agencies fostered the economic, social and community development of urban Māori, and forged links with local and central government. They have been active in education, commercial ventures, health, pre-employment and other social services (Meredith, 2008).

Organisations based on hapū or iwi structures have advocated for tribal self-management of resources and delivery of services. When the government introduced the devolution of services to tribal authorities in the late 1980s, the short-lived Rūnanga Iwi Act 1990 (introduced by the Labour Government), empowered tribal authorities to deliver government programmes (Meredith, 2008). The Rūnanga Iwi Act was widely rejected as not recognising tino rangatiratanga, as it was intended in Te Tiriti. Urban Māori leaders dismissed the ‘tribal’ approach as inadequate to serve the interests of urban Māori who had no real relationship with their tribe.

In 1991, the National Government dropped Labour’s policy of devolution of Māori services and repealed the Rūnanga Iwi Act. Urban Māori authorities continued to seek recognition as iwi or tribal authorities in their own right, and to contract to deliver government services (Cheyne, O’Brien, & Belgrave, 2008; Meredith, 2008). Māori argued that they were better equipped, with their local knowledge and proximity, to cater for Māori in the city.

Some characteristics of government imposed and Māori institutions are summarised in appendix 6.

\textsuperscript{116} Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust (West Auckland), founded in 1984, Manukau Urban Māori Authority (South Auckland), Te Rūnanga o Kirikiriroa Trust (Hamilton), Te Rūnanganui o te Ūpoko o Te Ika (Wellington), and Te Rūnanga o Ngā Maata Waka (Christchurch) are multi-tribal organisations (Meredith, 2008).
Māori social organisation

The earliest form of social organisation was based on the founding waka. This kinship-based system expanded whānau into larger groupings of hapū. Names were established that linked whānau and hapū to the canoe captains (Douglas & Robertson-Shaw, 1999, p. 3).

The concept of whānaungatanga was key to understanding this system of governance, and explained the contrasting views between Māori and the Crown (Modlik, 2004, p. 4). Douglas and Robertson-Shaw (1999, p. 11) argued that the exercise of tribal affiliations and kinship-based governance has been poorly understood among non-Māori New Zealanders who interpreted it as nepotism and therefore unlawful. The result has been to deny Māori recognition of a constitutional framework for indigenous governance.

The democratic process of one person one vote was clearly inconsistent with the Māori rangatira method of governance, and was interpreted as undermining iwi authority. Māori have understood western governance - constituencies, voting eligibility, policy direction, structural reviews, dispute resolution and accountability mechanisms – and sought to build on it with tikanga that was consistent with kinship-based governance.

Māori aspirations were for social and economic development on a par with their Treaty partner, and to increase their participation in local and central government. New models of government and governance based on kaupapa Māori world views and the Treaty were emerging. Treaty-based governance models and contemporary working examples are described in Chapter 9.

The challenges for Māori in governance roles

Contemporary Māori governance has been widely debated on marae and in the media as Māori sought to participate more fully in local and central government, and engage in the Waitangi Tribunal processes. According to Modlik (2004) tensions have arisen over accountability, cultural influence, the governance-management split and decision-making processes. The socio economic disadvantage of many Māori communities has contributed to the complexity of these issues and skilled Māori have been overburdened with governance responsibilities.
Story (2005, p. 8) claimed that as government investment in services to Māori increased, questions were raised about accountability mechanisms. Treaty settlements, such as the $170 million Tainui settlement in 2001, which vested significant assets in tribes, emphasised the need for accountability.

Further, the priorities of Māori directors who were often appointed to boards because of their tribal affiliations and with a primary responsibility to their iwi or hapū, did not always align with the expectations of fellow non-Māori directors. Their cultural considerations extended beyond tribal affiliations to include traditional leadership concepts, communal ownership and distribution of resources, and guardianship over ancestral lands, taonga and sacred places (Story, 2005, p. 8).

Traditional Māori leadership was based on both genealogy and the capacity to lead. Successful leadership enhanced mana, which in turn built the capacity to influence. Modlik (2004, p. 4) described ‘a virtuous cycle of increasing mana, capacity and capability’ which continued unless a leader behaved in a way that diminished mana, such as highlighting one’s own abilities in a board performance appraisal, which was viewed as mana diminishing. By contrast, humility and selflessness were mana-enhancing behaviours valued by Māori.

Decision-making was based on hui. Described by Modlik (2004) as ‘the long way is the short way’ this consensus style contrasted with the Westminster style – one person or representative, one vote. Unfavourable decisions made in the western way had the potential to be mana diminishing for a Māori director.

The distinction between governance and management upheld as good governance in western society, tended not to exist in traditional Māori leadership. Close kinship ties often resulted in a blurring of these roles (Modlik, 2004, p. 4).

The Western view has seldom taken account of Māori traditional values such as whakapapa, or the socio-economic disadvantage experienced by many Māori rural communities as a result of European settlement. Story (2005, p. 10) emphasised the need for principles of effective governance to be located within a Māori worldview. Determining appropriate tikanga was acknowledged by many organisations to add value. Te Puni Kokiri chief executive (cited in Story,
2005, p. 10) argued that governance bodies reflecting cultural practices were more successful than those experiencing cultural tensions. The good governance rules of honesty, integrity and accountability were seen as universal.

**Sustainable development and Māori**

Research has highlighted elements of sustainable development that were consistent with Māori traditional values. The foundational principles of te ao Māori described earlier in this chapter provided rules and protocols for establishing a balance between man and the environment. This provided for natural and cultural resources to be preserved while not excluding their use for economic advancement.

Royal (1998a, p. 48) argued that the relationships between Māori people and all aspects of their animate and inanimate world were implicit in te ao Māori117. Durie (1998 cited in Harmsworth, 2002, p. 2) described the aspirations of contemporary Māori as an holistic and strategic direction towards advancement, and a pathway to empowerment - Māori self determination. In a research context, Harmsworth argued that this corresponded to less dependency, and more active engagement and participation in planning, policy and research (Harmsworth, 2002, p. 2). A strong sense of cultural identity, and the retention and use of Māori knowledge and values, were central to this holistic view of development (Harmsworth, 2002, p. 3).

Lindsay (2004, p. 5) argued that community control of economic growth could be retained within the constraints of sustainability. Social benefits such as employment, education, housing and health could be provided for all members of the community.

Notwithstanding the synergies between te ao Māori and sustainable development, there was potential for unsustainable resource use, such as that which was not according to customary practice. This has resulted in tensions

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117 Te ao Māori was based on the physical presence of Ranginui and Papatuanuku as both a physical reality as earth and sky, and a space where Māori orientate themselves to the world (Royal, 1998).
where Māori economic development, such as forestry, has won out over conservation of the natural landscape (Archie, 1995, p. 54).

**Mātauranga Māori and indigenous research**

Mātauranga Māori was a knowledge tradition that had its genesis in ancient Polynesia. It was brought to New Zealand by the ancestors of present day Māori, and was adapted and refined to meet the needs of the people (Royal, 1998, p. 1; Sadler, 2007). Royal described a vibrant, living culture that flourished until the arrival of the first Europeans in the 18th century.

Mātauranga Māori continued to be influential until the nineteenth century, when it was superceded by western knowledge. Sadler described mātauranga Māori as ‘under siege through the 20th century’ by a range of factors including the diminishing pool of Māori speakers, and the loss of whare wānanga and other institutions devoted to its development and maintenance (Sadler, 2007, p. 1).

Alternative definitions of mātauranga Māori have been offered. Winiata defined mātauranga as

> the explanation of human behaviour that is based on traditional concepts handed down through the generations (Winiata cited in Royal, 1998, p. 2).

According to Royal, mātauranga Māori was

> created by Māori humans according to a set of key ideas and by the employment of certain methodologies to explain the Māori experience of the world (Royal, 1998, p. 2).

The concept of knowledge creation by humans was counter to the spiritual beliefs of many Māori, who would quote the lore of whare wānanga that described Tane’s journey through the twelve heavens to obtain the three kete wananga, as beyond question. Royal (1998, p. 41) argued that Winiata’s view did not downplay the importance of the spiritual realm. Instead, it placed the focus on the reality that human experience gives rise to knowledge.

Cunningham (1998, p. 397) claimed that mātauranga Māori was developed and existed within a Māori worldview. It connected humans with knowledge and
reality, and provided a paradigm for the creation of new mātauranga Māori - that which arises from the Māori cultural experience.

The colonisation of Māori knowledge

Jackson (1998, p. 72) described the dispossession of Māori knowledge that began with the missionaries in 1769 and continued through the 20th century, as the ‘colonisation of Māori knowledge’. Traditional knowledge was trivialised and the views of Māori set aside. Māori were dispossessed of their right to be Māori. According to Jackson, the western view postulated western European society as the norm

... they called themselves civilised. They labeled themselves as Christian ... technologically, intellectually, socially and culturally superior. And on that basis they created the ‘other’ who could be dispossessed, and that other was ‘us’ (Jackson, 1998, p. 73).

The myth of colonisation as taming the world and civilizing the natives was justified by the western European worldview. Jackson (Ibid., p. 74) described how, over time this was refined into a doctrine of aboriginal or native title, whereby the colonising state took over the lands and lives of natives, and exercised sovereignty over the people it dispossessed. He claimed that the colonisation of Canada, the United States and Australia, which were based on the belief that indigenous people ‘were primitive and inferior ... less than human ... not quite equal’ in the eyes of their western European colonisers, influenced the ‘notion of Te Tiriti’ (Jackson, 1998, p. 74).

According to Cunningham (1998, p. 396), the loss of traditional knowledge was exacerbated by such overt policies as the Tohunga Suppression Act 1906. This was the context for the emergence of kaupapa Māori research – ‘research on Māori, by Māori and for Māori’ (Smith 1995 cited in Cunningham, 1998, p. 402; Jackson, 1998, p. 74).

Forms of Māori knowledge

The extensive body of Māori knowledge sourced for this thesis included pre-colonisation history, the New Zealand Declaration of Independence and Te Tiriti o Waitangi, contemporary views on governance and government, the place of Māori in society, and Māori aspirations for development and the future.
The principle of wānanga and the establishment of traditional whare wānanga were a foundational principle of te ao Māori (Buck, 1950, p. 447; Royal, 1998b, p. 1; Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005, p. 41; Walker, 2004, p. 345). Contemporary Māori valued knowledge and learning, and reflected back in time to Tane's 'long and perilous journey through the spaces of the twelve heavens' to obtain the three baskets of knowledge.

**Māori research methods**

Mutu (1998, p. 51) described research as ‘the pursuit of knowledge, which was in turn, the key to the world and everything in it’. Shared knowledge was a tool for empowering people. On the other hand, research was a colonial tool which supported the decolonisation of knowledge (Jackson, 1998, p. 74; Tuhiwai Smith, 1998, p. 12).

Numerous authors described a history of abuse of power and control in indigenous research (Bishop, 1998; Mutu, 1998). Examples highlighted the clash between the indigenous and western belief systems. Notwithstanding this, Māori recognised that research which respected their identity, values and beliefs, could contribute to their development as a people.

Māori philosophers and academics have proposed models, frameworks and concepts for use in navigating this ground. The following Māori methodologies and methods have contributed to the research design for part 3 of this thesis, the Tikanga Māori House: kaupapa Māori research, whakawhānaungatanga as a research process, the whakapapa research model, research at the interface, and the community sector taskforce model of governance. They are described in chapter 2.

**Conclusion**

It was widely accepted that New Zealand was settled by multiple migrations from Polynesia from the 13th century (Howe, 2003; King, 1994; Walker, 2004). Over time, the East Polynesian culture was transformed into a New Zealand Māori culture and te ao Māori evolved.
The foundation principles of te ao Māori were conveyed through the cosmology and have continued to influence contemporary Māori. The concept of whakapapa was fundamental to understanding how Māori relate to one another, and to the world around them and the whānau or kinship-based social structure which stemmed from the founding waka (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005 p. 52).

From early contact, the Māori worldview clashed with the western European worldview. Domination of Māori ‘collective’ culture by the individualist culture of the Europeans resulted in rapid population decline, alienation of land, poor health and education, and loss of te reo me ōna tikanga Māori. Māori sought to address this imbalance by cooperating with successive governments and consistently asserting their right to tino rangatiratanga.

The church-based Māori secondary schools played a significant role in Māori development in the 20th century. From the 1970s Māori political and development activity was Treaty-based. This resurgence focused on kaupapa Māori, Māori self-determination, and the protection of land for future generations (M Durie, 2004; Jackson, 1998; Tuhiwai Smith, 1998).

Māori governance practices were based on both kaupapa Māori, and western models imposed on Māori by successive New Zealand governments (Douglas & Robertson-Shaw, 1999; Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005, p. 51). The latter were largely focused on facilitating European settlement, Pākehā land acquisition and the assimilation of Māori into a European culture, rather than the well-being of Māori.

Pan tribal agencies and urban Māori authorities emerged following the large scale migration of Māori from their whānau and marae to work in the cities. These organisations became increasingly important, and strove for recognition by the Crown. Māori were aspiring to social and economic development on a par with their Treaty partner, and sought to increase their participation in local and central government. New kaupapa Māori or Treaty-based models of governance were emerging.

The differences between Māori governance models and the dominant Western paradigm increasingly resulted in tensions around accountability, cultural influence, the governance-management split, and forms of decision-making.
Cultural considerations extended beyond tribal affiliations. The principles of te ao Māori challenged Māori who operated within the Pākehā governance system (Story, 2005; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008).

Sustainability was implicit in te ao Māori. It was demonstrated by elements of the Māori physical, spiritual, social and cultural belief system, including whakapapa and whānaungatanga. The holistic Māori view of the world sat comfortably alongside the western view of sustainable development with its intergenerational focus on the balance between social, environmental, economic and cultural well-beings.

Mātauranga Māori to a large part directed how Māori orientated to their world. It survived despite the ‘colonisation of Māori knowledge’ that began with the missionaries in 1769 and continued through the 20th century (Jackson, 1998, p. 72; Tuhiwai Smith, 1998). Māori were overcoming their position of disadvantage by their tenacity and persistence to sustain their people.

The next chapter provides background on Te Tiriti o Waitangi and models of Treaty-based governance.
Chapter 9
Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Introduction

The preceding chapter began to explore the Tikanga Māori House by describing the early settlement of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand, te ao Māori, mātauranga Māori and Māori research models. This chapter contributes to the same research question:

How could Te Tiriti o Waitangi more fully influence governance for urban sustainability?

It introduces Aotearoa New Zealand’s two founding documents - he Wakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni (a Declaration of Independence of New Zealand), and Te Tiriti o Waitangi - and explores how they could influence governance for urban sustainability. Breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Māori alienation from their land, the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 (and its amendments), the fiscal envelope policy, and the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004 are discussed.

The challenging relationship between Māori and central and local government, evolved out of the persistence of successive generations of Māori to uphold Te Tiriti, to have te ao Māori recognised, and tino rangatiratanga accommodated within national and local governance structures. Māori have proposed collaborative Treaty-based models of governance that provide for equitable power sharing at central and local government. These theoretical models are presented alongside working examples in contemporary New Zealand society, and examples of Te Tiriti in local government.

He Wakaputanga and Te Tiriti

He Wakaputanga and Te Tiriti have been paramount references for Māori of the way that colonisation in Aotearoa New Zealand was to have proceeded. To
understand the persistence with which Māori have pursued the intent of these documents, it is necessary to understand the context in which they were signed.

Orange (1987, p. 32) described how Māori contact with Europeans followed Captain James Cook's first voyage to New Zealand in 1769, and the later establishment of a penal colony in New South Wales. Sealers from Australia and whalers from Britain and America frequented the northern harbours of Aotearoa New Zealand 'to refresh and refit' (Orange, 1987, p. 6). By the mid 1820s, commercial activity included timber, flax, shore-whaling, ship-building, and general trading. Within a decade semi-permanent settlements had been established, and the settler population had grown to around 2000 people.

By the 1830s, Britain's colonial policy was firmly non-interventionalistic. It was dominated by national and imperialist pride, and based on a belief in 'the intrinsic superiority of the British people over other peoples', especially the native inhabitants of colonies (2002, p. 24; Walker, 2004, p. 85). Moon (2002, p. 27), in quoting from speeches in the (British) House of Commons, highlighted how 'an entire myth' about the greatness of the British empire had arisen. This was reinforced by philosophies that advocated for 'the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people' (Moon, 2002, p. 27).

Moon (2002, p. 27) noted that despite the humanitarian focus, British preconceptions of civilised states determined them to generally have denser populations, fixed boundaries and locations, and to be involved in more advanced forms of commerce and agricultural production and manufacturing, than uncivilised states. This was contrasted with a view of 'the savage', who was considered to have little or no law or administration of justice, no collective employment of society to afford individual protection, with everyone trusting his own strength or cunning, and being generally without resource. According to Moon (2002, p. 27) these views explain the events that came to pass following the signing of Te Tiriti.

From 1814, the Church Missionary Society (CMS), and individual settlers in New Zealand, were advocating to the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales and to the British government, for a Consul or magistrate to quell settler crimes such as 'drunkenness, adultery and murder', and bring order to the colony (Moon, 2002, pp. 48-49). Magistrates were appointed in 1814 and legislation
enacted giving New South Wales courts jurisdiction over British subjects in New Zealand (1823 and 1828), all with little effect.

It was not until 1832 that the Colonial Office issued instructions for James Busby, a clerk in the New South Wales government office\textsuperscript{118}, to be appointed His Majesty's Resident in New Zealand. Moon (2002, p. 57) described Busby's function as 'not to rule the indigenous peoples but to work with them on issues of common concern'. He was to 'investigate all complaints made to him' and 'prevent the arrival of men who have been guilty of crimes in their own country'.

Moon (2002, p. 62) described Busby's appointment as 'ill considered' and emphasised that at the time of this appointment there was no intent by the Colonial Office to extend Britain's intervention in New Zealand beyond the temporary appointment of a resident. It appeared however, that Busby had aspirations of nationhood for New Zealand (Moon, 2002, p. 62; Orange, 1987, p. 19).

**He Wakaputanga**

According to Moon (2002, p. 61), by the mid 1830s, a large number of locally built ships were trading in and around New Zealand. Without a common flag\textsuperscript{119} they were exposed to the risk of piracy and impounding at Australian ports. Busby’s recommendation that all New Zealand-built vessels be registered as such, and that a national flag be created representing a confederation of chiefs was supported by the New South Wales Governor. Moon (2002, p. 61) reported that a flag was dispatched by the Governor\textsuperscript{120}.

Moon (2002, p. 61) argued that by this time Busby's tenure as Resident was in question. He had neither gained the regard of Europeans nor established 'a close connection with the chiefs' as he had been instructed. An additional event at this time had an alarming influence on Busby. A Frenchman, Baron de Thierry, was declaring his intention to become sovereign chief and lord

\textsuperscript{118} Presentation by Paul Moon, 6 August 2008, Auckland City Council.

\textsuperscript{119} As New Zealand was technically an independent state, ships were not entitled to register as British or fly the British ensign (Orange, 1987, p. 19).

\textsuperscript{120} It should be noted at this point that the version of events described by Moon, 2002, pp. 61-63 varies from that of Orange 1987, pp. 19-22. According to Moon, only one flag was presented to the chiefs at the time of signing of the Declaration of Independence. According to Orange, three flags were dispatched by the New South Wales Governor. Discrepancies also exist over the number of chiefs present at the gathering.
governor of New Zealand. It appears that Busby drafted the Declaration of Independence, and gathered the chiefs at Waitangi for a signing ceremony within two days of receiving a letter from de Thierry announcing his intention to become 'sovereign chief and lord governor over New Zealand' (Moon, 2002, p. 64). Thirty-five chiefs signed a document declaring New Zealand to be a sovereign and independent state. Moon argues that it was Busby’s intention that the chiefs meet each year for the framing of laws. A copy of the declaration was sent to King George IV, with a letter thanking him for recognition of their flag, and requesting that he ‘be the parent of their infant state’ (Moon, 2002, p. 64). These chiefs and the Māori they represented, were thereafter referred to as the Confederation of United Tribes (Moon, 2002, p. 64; Orange, 1987, p. 21)121.

Busby’s hopes that his conference of chiefs might lead to a government of confederated chiefs came to nothing (Orange, 1987, p. 21). However, the declaration was acknowledged by the Colonial Office with an assurance that the King would protect the Māori people as long as it was ‘consistent with the due regard to the just rights of others and the interests of his Majesty’s subjects’ (Orange, 1987, p. 21). Orange noted that the reply was apparently given without much thought for the legal consequences.

According to Orange (1987, p. 24), disputes between settlers over land-ownership in the Bay of Islands had increased in frequency. Missionaries and settlers made renewed calls for more committed British intervention than was represented by Busby. In 1837, the HMS Rattlesnake was dispatched from Sydney to the Bay of Islands under the command of William Hobson. Hobson was tasked by the Colonial Office to investigate and write a report on New Zealand.

By 1837, the New Zealand Association122 had proposed systematic colonisation of New Zealand, and was questioning the right of the British government to form settlements in New Zealand, except by treaty with the native inhabitants. The Association’s proposal was opposed by the Colonial Office. According to Moon

121 Walker (2004, pp. 86-87) described how 13 chiefs petitioned the King of England, in 1831, to provide some form of control over British nationals, and protection from further foreign intervention in New Zealand. Walker attributes Busby to have carried the official reply, on his appointment, in 1832.
122 The New Zealand Association was an English private land acquisition company, later to be known as the New Zealand Company.
interest in New Zealand was growing, and there was a sense that support for a more active policy was on the rise.

**Te Tiriti**

In 1837 and 1838, the British government considered the New Zealand question. Moon (2002, p. 84) claimed that the House of Commons committee promoted intervention that protected the ‘aborigines’ where British settlements were the responsibility of the British government.

The Colonial Office documentation indicated that while ‘a cession of Māori sovereignty to the Crown’ was recommended,

> the practice and jurisdiction of British government in New Zealand would be limited to the rule over British settlers … (Moon, 2002, p. 102).

In 1839, Captain Hobson was instructed to

> … go to New Zealand, secure British sovereignty over the colony and thereafter assume the post of Lieutenant Governor (Moon, 2002, p. 102).

Moon (2002, p. 108) described the instructions as noting the presence of the New Zealand Company, the settler disorder justifying the appointment of a Consul and the intention to annex the country. The instructions from this point were ambiguous, though they asserted humanitarian concerns for Māori, their common law right to their land and sovereign status.

According to Moon (Moon, 2002, pp. 112-114) the British decision to intervene was justified by the likely expansion of European settlements. It was conceded that the Crown would not seize New Zealand ‘unless there was full, free and intelligent consent from the natives’ (Moon, 2002, p. 110). This intent was undermined by recommendations of ‘presents or other pecuniary arrangements’ and arguments to convince the chiefs to accept widespread British sovereignty over British subjects. It was suggested that a 'government preemption on land purchases apply' to protect Māori from the activities of private land trading organisations.

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123 This was a reference to the land acquisition practices of the New Zealand Company.
124 It should be noted that Orange and other historians’ interpretation of Normanby’s instructions differed from Moon's interpretation of British Colonial Office sources. The former were less conclusive of Britain's intention at the time, only to rule over British subjects.
The act of occupation was acknowledged as a valid means of acquiring sovereignty (Moon, 2002, p. 117). This understanding was important to the context in which Hobson proceeded with his instructions to seek a treaty for New Zealand. Records exist which note that New Zealand was 'acquired by settlement' in 1839.

By the time Hobson arrived in New Zealand, the conclusion of a treaty was considered urgent to curtail the activities of the New Zealand Company and claim New Zealand ahead of other foreign interests\(^{125}\). Hobson arrived in New Zealand on 29 January 1840. He met Busby, known to him from his 1837 visit to the colony and preparations began for a gathering of the Confederation of Chiefs to be held on 5 February, at Busby's Waitangi home (Orange, 1987, p. 35).

According to Orange (1987, p. 35) Hobson began drafting a treaty but became unwell and on 3 February his notes were delivered to Busby who completed the task. Busby's draft consisted of three articles. They differed from Hobson's notes in that they included

> a guarantee to the Māori people of the 'full, exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries and other properties' as long as they wished to retain them (Orange, 1987, p. 37).

On 4 February Hobson delivered the Treaty, in English, to the Wesleyan missionary Henry Williams. Both the CMS and the Wesleyans had received instructions from their British administrators to support a treaty. Henry and his son Edward made the translation. There were 'translation problems' and over time significant differences arose between the many English versions and the Māori version.

**Different versions of the Treaty**

Both Orange (1987, p. 41) and Moon (2002, pp. 141-143) suggested that the differences between the English and Māori versions of Te Tiriti were intended. In the English version, Article 1 provided for the chiefs and other signatories to cede all rights and powers of sovereignty to the Queen of England. Article 2 granted the chiefs, in return, full ownership of their land and other assets. An
exclusive right of preemption over land to be sold was granted to the Queen. Article 3 granted Māori the same rights and privileges of British subjects (Moon, 2008, p.6).

In the Māori version of Article 1, the chiefs ceded only government (kāwanatanga) over the land in mainly an administrative capacity, not ‘all rights and powers of sovereignty’. In Article 2, unqualified exercise of their chieftainship (tino rangatiratanga) was guaranteed. The chiefs were promised all their physical possessions and all things they held precious (Moon, 2008, p.6). This was more than was provided for in the English version. Further, the clause of preemption was not exclusively granted to the Queen. Article 3 gave Māori the same rights and duties of citizenship as the people of England. These differences, over time, were to be the source of much Māori angst.

A possible fourth article was an oral statement made on Hobson's behalf. It intended that the several faiths of England and Māori custom would be protected (Law Commission, 2001, p. 73; Moon, 2008, p. 6; Orange, 1987, p. 53)

The great contradiction between the two versions of the Treaty can be expressed in two sentences. In the English version, Article 1 gave all sovereign power to the Queen of England. In the Māori version, Article 2 confirmed all sovereignty with the chiefs.\textsuperscript{126}

According to Orange (1987, p. 43) the Confederation and independent chiefs gathered on the lawn of Busby's house in preparation for the signing of the Treaty on 5 February. It was recorded that Hobson and his party arrived and welcomed the assembled chiefs and others. The Treaty was explained. After five hours of vigorous debate Hobson adjourned the meeting until 7 February to allow the chiefs to consider the proposal (Orange, 1987, p. 47). The chiefs moved away to their camp south of the Waitangi River mouth.\textsuperscript{127}

By the next morning the chiefs had come to the decision that the Treaty business should be concluded so they could return home. Hobson was fetched

\textsuperscript{125} Orange and Moon both referenced French interest in New Zealand and considered this to be overstated by Busby.

\textsuperscript{126} Presentation by Paul Moon, 6 August 2008, Auckland City Council.

\textsuperscript{127} This was to become the site of the present day Te Tii Marae.
from the HMS Herald. The Lieutenant Governor shook hands with each signatory of the Treaty and repeated 'he iwi tahi tatou' - 'We are now one people' (Orange, 1987, p. 55). Some chiefs arrived late and signed without the benefit of explanation or debate.

Orange (1987, p. 86) described the missionaries as influential in encouraging Māori to sign. Concerns about pressure being applied to Māori to sell their lands had convinced them that Māori interests would be served by 'regularisation of English intrusion into the country'. The New Zealand Company's colonisation plans had heightened these anxieties. In the words of Orange, 'the language of persuasive diplomacy was critical to success'.

The Waitangi Treaty had obtained the signatures of 26 of the 46 chiefs of the Confederation. With signatories outstanding, Hobson set out for Waimate, Hokianga and then to Waitemata, Port Nicholson, and Otago and Stewart Island in the South (Orange, 1987, p. 71). He was later to give copies of the Treaty to missionaries in various parts of the country to seek the signatures of Māori in their areas. Many chiefs were not easily convinced (Orange, 1987, p. 75). According to Moon, explanations were given and assurances made that were inconsistent with the signing at Waitangi. Hobson, in his expediency to

gain more widespread endorsement for the Treaty, abandoned the prohibition of bribes and instructed missionaries collecting signatures to the Treaty to treat with the principal native chiefs in the southern part of the islands … (Moon, 2002, p. 134).

Moon (2002, p. 134) noted that proclamations of sovereignty were made by Hobson and one of his emissaries in the South Island, in May 1840.

Hobson had satisfied his Colonial Office masters by achieving a nominal session of sovereignty from Māori and therefore no longer perceived the Treaty as any significant part of his governmental armoury (Moon, 2002, p. 134).

According to Orange (1987, p. 87) in England and New Zealand, Te Tiriti o Waitangi was viewed as an acknowledgement of the rights held by an indigenous people, a declaration of good intent.

In late 1840, New Zealand was separated from the jurisdiction of New South Wales and became a fully-fledged member of the British colony. Hobson was
commissioned as Governor and instructed to establish executive and legislative councils. These came into operation in May 1941 (Orange, 1987, p. 87).

Orange (1987, p. 94) claimed that despite earlier assurances to Māori that 'British might would be used to protect not destroy or dispossess them' their competence to enter into contracts was questioned and the independent sovereign status of New Zealand was challenged. According to Moon (2002, p. 162) local circumstances and the incompetence and corruption of officials isolated from London resulted in shifts in policy that were not intended by the Colonial Office.

Hobson's desire to stamp British rule on every person in the colony abruptly overshadowed almost a decade of British policy, which expressly forbade such incursions (Moon, 2002, p. 162).

Moon (2002, p. 164) described the Colonial Office policy for British law to apply only to British subjects as having been developed in anticipation of tension between the colonial and indigenous legal systems. Hobson failed to appreciate that the Treaty and proclamation of British sovereignty did not immediately extinguish traditional customary laws (Moon, 2002, p. 164) and attempted to coerce Māori to follow British law. In 1840 Māori outnumbered the settlers by a ratio of 50 to one. Achieving this would have been difficult for any colonial administration.

According to Moon (2002, p. 164) he Wakaputanga was assumed by many New Zealanders to have been superceded by Te Tiriti. The view may have been the aspiration of the Hobson and the settler administration, but it was not shared by Māori. Owing to the many interpretations of Te Tiriti, Māori have turned to the Declaration of Independence to support their claims for tino rangatiratanga, protection of their lands, forests and fisheries and their rights to equal opportunities. The events leading to the signing of the Declaration and the Treaty provide the necessary context for the discussion that follows on the place of Māori in New Zealand governance.

**Crown breaches of Te Tiriti**

Moon (2002, p. 165) described the first Crown breach of Te Tiriti that centred on the murder of a settler family committed by a Māori Makutu. Knowing that the
perpetrator was guilty, Māori gave consent for a trial to take place (Moon, 2002, p. 168). Although Māori consent was technically required for the British justice system to be imposed on Māori, assimilation had begun.

According to Moon (2002, p. 116), almost from the time the Treaty was signed Crown breaches of Te Tiriti occurred. While the problems were attributed to ambiguity of the text, the contention over land led to the Legislative Council promoting settler land requirements. As Māori realised that selling land to Pākehā permanently alienated Māori land there was a growing reticence towards land sales. By the end of 1841, British authority had been asserted in various parts of the country. Hobson had altered 'the purpose of the Treaty to make it conform to his personal views on how New Zealand should be governed' (Moon, 2002, p. 183). According to Moon he acted as a colonial dictator calling on the Executive and Legislative Councils only when it suited him (Moon, 2002, p. 177).

**Legislation to alienate Māori land**

Moon (2008, pp. 7-8) described how progressive legislation imposed from 1854 utilised colonial pretexts to separate Māori from their land to meet settler needs. Māori land was categorised as 'wasteland' or 'not under active use', taken as a punitive measure where Māori were 'in rebellion' against the Crown imposed sovereignty, considered 'idle' or 'acquired' for the purpose of public works. More than 20 laws were enacted to alienate Māori from their land128.

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128 The Wastelands Act 1854 enabled the superintendent and council of any province to recommend the sale of lands within its boundaries. The Native Reserves Act 1856 provided for commissioners appointed by the government to control 'Māori reserve land' which was not under active use. The Native Land Act 1862 removed the Crown right of preemption established in Article 2 of the Treaty, and encouraged the Native Land Court to redefine land from communal to individual title and to facilitate sale. The New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 gave the government the right to confiscate Māori land where the occupants were considered to be in rebellion. The Native Land Act 1867 required that specific Māori owners had to be listed on the title and thus failed to recognise tribal land. The Peace Preservation Bill 1879 enabled one year's hard labour to be imposed on Māori who refused to leave their land after a government order. The Māori Prisoners' Act 1880 saw 200 Māori arrested in Taranaki for preventing the surveying of confiscated land. The Native Reserve Acts 1881 and 1887 permitted control of Māori land to be taken over by the public trustee, leased to farmers with administration costs paid by Māori and enabled large scale direct purchase of Māori land. The Native Land Purchase Act 1893 enabled the Crown to acquire any land it considered suitable for settlement. The Māori Land Settlement Act 1894 placed Māori land under the control of local councils with no Māori representation. In the same year the Advance to Settlers Act made low-interest loans available to settlers to buy Crown land. The Rating Act 1967 made Māori land subject to rates (Moon, 2008).
Other statutes breached Article 2 by denying Māori their way of life. The Tohunga Suppression Act 1908 imposed penalties on tohunga for their practices, including medicine, history and carving. The Native Health Act 1909 prevented Māori from using the whangai system to adopt children. The Town and Country Planning Act imposed restrictions on Māori building on their land (Moon, 2008, pp. 7-8). The Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1967 gave the Government power to purchase ‘uneconomic’ blocks of Māori land. As late as 1974 alienation of Māori land was continuing under these statutes (Moon, 2008, pp. 7-8; Walker, 2004, p. 219).

The 1975 Treaty of Waitangi Act imposed a western model for the settlement of Treaty grievances. The Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004 was a ‘heavy-handed response from the government, that was viewed by Māori as an act of confiscation\footnote{In 2004, the government responded to two events: opposition party attacks on what they claimed was special treatment of Māori; and a Court of Appeal ruling that Māori had the right to take claims to the foreshore and seabed to the Māori Land Court for determination (Cheyne, O’Brien et al, 2008*, p.156).} (Cheyne et al., 2008, p. 157). It vested ownership of the foreshore and seabed in the Crown and guaranteed public access. Māori vigorously opposed the legislation which extinguished their customary rights – a further breach of Te Tiriti (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2007).

The Māori response to breaches of Te Tiriti

Māori were far from passive as the Crown pursued policies in breach of the Treaty. The response by Māori has included acts of war, occupation, attempts at representation and persistent lobbying of the British monarchy and successive New Zealand governments (Moon, 2002; Orange, 1987; Royal Te Ahukaramū, 2008a). Steps taken by Māori to keep the Treaty prominent in the minds of New Zealand government officials are summarised in table 9.1.
Table 9.1 Significant steps taken by Māori to keep the Treaty prominent in the minds of New Zealand government officials.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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| 1853        | The King Movement  
- This was conceived as a complementary relationship to the Crown |
| 1860        | The first Kohimarama Conference, called by the government  
- Māori presented their grievances |
| 1879, 1880, 1889 | Māori convened Kohimarama Conferences  
- Treaty grievances debated |
| 1881        | Resistance to Parihaka being occupied by British Troops  
- This settlement had been established by Māori as a settlement of non-violent resistance to the Crown |
| 1882, 1884  | Ngāpuhi chiefs’ petitions to the Queen  
- Chiefs travelled to England and were denied audiences |
| 1867        | Māori Representation Act 1867  
- Māori lobbying resulted in the Act providing four parliamentary members |
| 1909        | The Young Māori Party formed  
- A group of young mission-school educated Māori began to influence and work for the advancement of their people. They subsequently held the four Māori seats in Parliament |
| 1914-1919   | Māori who suffered land confiscations refused to volunteer to serve in WW1 |
| 1920s       | The Ratana Party was formed  
- Committed to uniting Māori under one god |
| 1932        | First Ratana MP elected |
| 1932        | Te Tii Marae, Waitangi became the focus for Māori debate on the Treaty |
| 1939-1945   | Māori War Effort Organisation  
- Organised Māori contribution to WW2  
- Post war discrimination denied Māori the resettlement assistance available to Pākehā |
| 1960s       | Nga Tamatoa emerged  
- initiated the tradition of Waitangi Day protests  
- Māori leaders joined protests against the All Black tour of South Africa that excluded Māori |
| 1967-75     | Māori activism focused on the Treaty  
- A succession of Māori groups challenged the government including the New Zealand Māori Council and the Māori Women’s Welfare League |
| 1975        | Māori land rights movement  
- Hikoi led by Dame Whina Cooper arrived in Parliament |
| 1977        | Māori protestors occupied Takaparawha, Bastion Point |
| 1970s and 1980s | Māori protested over the impact of worsening economic conditions on their people |
| 1987        | The State-Owned Enterprises Act 1986 challenged  
- New Zealand Māori Council Court of Appeal case against the disposal of Māori land upheld[^130] |
| 1994        | Māori opposed the ‘fiscal envelope’ policy  
- occupation of Moutua Gardens (Whanganui), Takahue School (Northland) and other symbolic acts |
| 2004        | Māori opposed the Foreshore and Seabed Bill 2004  
- Hikoi marched on Parliament |
| 2005        | Māori Party formed for the 2005 general election |

[^130]: The New Zealand Māori Council vs. the Attorney General [1987] 1 NZLR.

-130
The status of the Treaty of Waitangi in law

Palmer and Palmer argued that the legitimacy of New Zealand’s system of governance


The Waitangi Tribunal, the Privy Council and the Law Commission agreed on the importance of the Treaty as a constitutional document\textsuperscript{131}.

A court today would be most reluctant to interpret a statute in a sense which was repugnant to the Treaty of Waitangi (Law Commission, 2001, p. 70).

The Treaty was recognised by successive governments as a moral obligation on the Crown and by the Courts as a relevant consideration in law. It was incorporated in domestic statutes from the mid-1970s\textsuperscript{132} (Law Commission, 2001, p. 70).

The Treaty has an important place in Government decision-making. The Cabinet Manual requires ministers to draw attention to any aspects of bills that 'have implications for, or may be affected by' the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (Palmer & Palmer, 2004, p. 346; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2001, p. 16).

Chief Judge Durie emphasised the significance of the Treaty to Māori.

We do not understand the Treaty … if we do not appreciate that Māori have promoted the Treaty for nearly 150 years … It has been the focal point of numerous tribal and pan tribal hui that began even before the 1860s … (cited in Te Puni Kōkiri, 2001, p. 71).

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\textsuperscript{131} This position was supported by the landmark Court of Appeal decisions in the New Zealand Māori Council vs. the Attorney General [1987] 1 NZLR (known as the Lands case).

Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 and the Waitangi Tribunal

Most public controversy around the Treaty has stemmed from claims of Crown breaches of the Treaty since 1840 (Palmer & Palmer, 2004, p. 336). The Labour Government made a commitment to resolve Treaty grievances by enacting the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975133. The Act acknowledged the differences between the English and Māori versions of the Treaty and established a tribunal to make recommendations on claims relating to the practical application of the principles of the Treaty …

The jurisdiction of the Act was confined to grievances from 1975 onward. The Tribunal had few matters to consider until 1985, when the Act was amended to permit claims retrospective to 6 February 1840. A deadline of 1 September 2008 was imposed for lodging historical claims (Law Commission, 2001, p. 75; Palmer & Palmer, 2004, p. 337).

The Tribunal's powers were limited to making findings of fact, recommending remedies to the Crown, and examining and reporting on legislation referred to it. The Tribunal could recommend claims to the Māori Land Court but could not recommend the return of private land (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2007; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2001).

The ‘fiscal envelope’ policy

According to Walker (2004, p. 301), in 1994 the National Government sought to clarify its guidelines for negotiating Treaty settlements and released its proposals134 for public consultation. A key aspect of the package was for government to set aside $1 billion for the settlement of historic claims. Māori unanimously opposed the policy. The resulting anger at the government’s disregard for the Māori view provided the impetus for three national hui135. Faced with intensive opposition the government did not formally adopt the $1 billion cap but has referred to it in subsequent settlements.

135 The three national hui were led by Sir Hepi Te Heu Heu, paramount chief of Ngāti Tuwharetoa, they became known as the Hirangi Hui (Palmer and Palmer, 2004).
Walker (2004, p. 302) highlighted other matters addressed by the Crown, which included procedures for negotiation, reserving the rights to sell land notwithstanding the possibility of claims, and the right to use and control natural resources, such as oil and coal, not used by Māori in 1840.

**Treaty principles**

According to Kingi (2005, p. 19) Treaty principles were introduced to overcome the textual differences and arrive at a common understanding of Te Tiriti. Notwithstanding this, for many Māori, the significance of the Treaty lies within the words.


The Treaty principles articulated by the Waitangi Tribunal and the New Zealand Court of Appeal emerged from Māori interpretations of Treaty texts and their historical and contemporary perspectives. They were described as partnership, protection and participation (sometimes referred to as the 3 Ps).

The Royal Commission on Social Policy (New Zealand Commission on Social Policy, 1988, p. 103) principles were: the fundamental of partnership, the fundamental of equality of peoples, and the fundamental guarantee. Similar to the ‘3Ps’ they are less rigid than other principles and can be applied to a range of situations. Their interpretation has been shaped by context, be it health, education, welfare, justice or environmental management (Kingi, 2005, p. 21).

The Justice Department (1990) principles were: the principle of government, the kāwanatanga principle; the principle of self management, the rangatiratanga principle; the principle of equality; the principle of reasonable co-operation; and the principle of redress.

A contrast to these varying modern day derivations of principles was the expression of the values of the Treaty of Waitangi conveyed by the tradition of Te Tai Tokerau in Northland:
We must teach our children the Treaty of Waitangi is a covenant. Its roots are manaakitanga, whānaungatanga, rangatiratanga, tohungatanga, ukaipo. But beyond all of these is the parent vine whose name is kotahitanga (Marsden cited in Royal Te Ahukaramū, 2008b).

**Treaty of Waitangi claims and settlements**

The Waitangi Tribunal has provided an opportunity for Pākehā and Māori leaders and elders, experts and historians to come together with judges, by district, to investigate and find the truth of the past. Representatives of Māori claimants and the Crown have been involved in the research and analysis of statements, and hearings to test the evidence and submissions of both parties.

The role of the Tribunal was to express its findings as to whether the Crown had breached the principles of the Treaty and prejudice had resulted for the claimants. If the claim was upheld, recommendations were made for redress. Settlement negotiations between tribes and the Crown were undertaken by the Office of Treaty Settlements or directly by the government.

Claims were considered in ways that acknowledged the devastating impact of land alienation and assimilation on the tribes. Delays in the process reflected both Māori reticence and Crown reluctance to negotiate on acceptable terms. The intent was that settlements be full and final (Kingi, 2005, p. 22).

Settlements have comprised: an apology, Crown land and or monetary compensation for lands that could not be returned, co-management of environmental resources, and recognition of places through name change. Land in private ownership was exempt. Kingi (2005, p. 29) argued that the Crown determination of monetary compensation was based on what was affordable and acceptable to the wider public, rather than what was fair or the value of land.

Māori were reticent about placing confidence in the government-imposed settlement process. In 1977, the Waitangi Tribunal heard its first two cases, neither of which were successfully concluded\(^{136}\).

\(^{136}\) The first, a claim to take shellfish, irrespective of the method (in this case using scuba diving equipment) was not well founded. The second, brought on behalf of the Waikato tribes opposed the siting of a proposed thermal power station at Waiau pā on the Manukau Harbour. The basis of the claim was that the taking of 560 hectares of mudflats for cooling would be to the detriment of the Māori food source. The Tribunal was convinced of this claim but relieved of making a
According to Walker (2004, pp. 248-249) the Motunui Outfall case brought by Te Atiawa of Taranaki in 1981 provided a more positive outcome for Māori. It was claimed that discharge of untreated sewage and industrial waste from the Synfuels plant through the Motunui outfall, would pollute traditional fisheries. The findings of the Tribunal were in favour of the claimants, however the decision was left in abeyance and use was made of an existing outfall at Waitara 16 kilometres away.

Two significant claims found in favour of the hapū and iwi claimants were the Manukau claim on behalf of Waikato-Tainui, settled in May 1995; and the Ngāi Tahu claim, settled in August 2008. The Waikato-Tainui settlement (New Zealand Government, 1995) comprised an apology, approximately 19,000 hectares of land, $170 million in compensation and co-management over the Waikato-Tainui environment and river. The Ngāi Tahu settlement (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2008) comprised an apology, the gifting of Aoraki/Mt Cook (with an agreement that Ngāi Tahu would gift it to the nation as an enduring symbol of co-management), and $170 million in compensation, with which Ngāi Tahu agreed to purchase assets from the Ngāi Tahu ‘land bank’ established by the Crown. This included high country stations and property in Christchurch and Queenstown.

**Pākehā views of Te Tiriti o Waitangi**

Tauiwi New Zealanders have expressed wide ranging views on Te Tiriti o Waitangi, from total disregard to respect for the Treaty as New Zealand’s founding document. The views presented in this section are largely supportive, and contribute to an understanding of how Te Tiriti could contribute to progress for urban sustainability. Support was expressed by the Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and combined churches, labour unions and workers organisations (such as the CTU), the New Zealand Public Service Association and the New Zealand Nurses Organisation, social services organisations (such as Women’s Refuge and CORSO), the private sector and individuals.

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recommendation as the proposal was withdrawn (Walker, 2004). Full details on settled claims are available from the Waitangi Tribunal settlement reports online http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/reports/

137 Waitangi Tribunal reference Wai 8
138 Waitangi Tribunal reference Wai 27
The Pākehā views presented here centre on recognition of the Treaty, the effects of colonisation, addressing Māori grievances, and constitutional reform and change.

**Recognition of the Treaty**

Pākehā who supported recognition of Te Tiriti also expressed respect for tino rangatiratanga and the values of manaakitanga, whānaungatanga and kaitiakitanga (Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia, 1992; Archie, 1995; Joint Methodist-Presbyterian Public Questions Committee, 1993; Kelsey, 2006; Sneddon, 2004). Conversely, Archie (1995, pp. 146, 167, 188) described the views of other New Zealanders who conceived of Te Tiriti as a fraud and a device for Māori to gain control of a share of the economy.

Expressions of support were often triggered by key events that evoked protest from Māori and raised the awareness of tauiwi to Māori circumstances. John Paterson, Anglican Bishop of Auckland, described how the arrest of Anglican priests for protesting the Government’s failure to honour the Treaty at Waitangi in 1984, encouraged the Anglican General Synod to set up a bi-cultural commission to explore the implications of the Treaty for the church (Archie, 1995, pp. 25-27). The outcome was the tikanga system (incorporated in the church’s 1992 constitution), which recognised the exercise of Māori tino rangatiratanga and provided for the minority voice of the Diocese of Polynesia to be expressed.

In 1989 the Methodist Church passed a resolution expressing ‘full and unqualified support for tino rangatiratanga’ provided for in Article 1 of Te Tiriti, and concern for the failure of successive governments to recognise it. In 1990, leaders of the Presbyterian and Methodist churches ‘accepted the challenge to work in ways which honoured the Treaty. This included recognition of Māori tino rangatiratanga’ (Joint Methodist-Presbyterian Public Questions Committee, 1993, pp. 1-2).

During debate on the Foreshore and Seabed Bill 2004, Sneddon (2004, p. 1) argued for the Crown to acknowledge that aboriginal title to the foreshore and seabed had not been extinguished, recognise rangatiratanga and confirm support for the mana whenua position as at 1840. He proposed that the Crown
invite tangata whenua with mana whenua to jointly exercise kaitiakitanga over the foreshore and seabed with the Crown.

Tensions between economic realities had seen Māori destroy the natural environment for economic gain (Archie, 1995, pp. 25-27). One example described the deforestation of large tracts of native forest in the central North Island, to establish a joint forestry venture with the Crown. Other New Zealanders recognised the sense of guardianship many Māori felt over land (Archie, 1995, pp. 69, 79, 118, 148, 152, 181).

The development of a Māori economy was recognised to be an expression of Māori sovereignty and democracy (Archie, 1995, pp. 17, 66, 75-76, 122, 180). Foreign ownership and investment in New Zealand and the Government’s commitment to international treaties such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)\textsuperscript{139} were seen to be potentially eroding opportunities for Māori exercise of sovereignty (Archie, 1995, pp. 19, 91; Joint Methodist-Presbyterian Public Questions Committee, 1994, p. 8).

On one hand, there was a view that indigenous sovereignty should be subordinated for the national good (Archie, 1995, p. 117). The counter view accepted that tino rangatiratanga meant independence (as in the Declaration of Independence) and that it was not a delegated and subordinated authority, as was kāwanatanga (Archie, 1995; Joint Methodist-Presbyterian Public Questions Committee, 1993). The positions between these two extremes reflected the desire to avoid separatism (Archie, 1995, pp. 36, 80) and the need to establish a system of effective participation, partnership and power sharing (Archie, 1995, pp. 71, 79, 106).

The legacy of colonisation

Discrimination against Māori on the basis of race, had resulted in poor educational attainment, high unemployment, and low standards of housing, health and participation in society (Archie, 1995, pp. 27, 35, 43, 134-135). Study of the land wars, the 1960 ‘All Whites’ All-Black tour of South Africa,

\textsuperscript{139} The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) covers international trade in goods. The GATT’s main objective was the reduction of barriers to international trade. This was achieved through the reduction of tariff barriers, quantitative restrictions and subsidies on trade through a series of agreements (World Trade Organisation, 2009).
The politicisation of the Treaty by the Lange-Labour Government, Pākehā education on the Treaty and rising social inequity between Māori and non-Māori had all heightened awareness of the injustices imposed on Māori (Archie, 1995, pp. 27, 35, 43, 64, 155). It was widely accepted that Māori land had been unjustly confiscated (Archie, 1995, p. 97).

The disadvantaged position of Māori was recognised as the result of forced assimilation practised by successive governments. Many aspects of Māori culture were seen to be worth preserving. However, some culture changes were seen to be needed and these were not limited to Māori. For example, recognition of gender equality and equal opportunity (Archie, 1995, p. 181).

Māori insistence on education within a Māori worldview was seen by some as ‘self-inflicted genocide’ and emphasised the need for them to ‘see their place in the world’ as opposed to their place in New Zealand (Archie, 1995, p. 148). Responsibility for this attitude was attributed to Māori parents who had themselves resisted assimilation and hence denied their children the opportunities offered by a Pākehā education (Archie, 1995, p. 165). Kelsey (2006, p. 1) argued that inequality and racism had been ‘disguised by the welfare state’. She saw the deeper understanding that many tauiwi had of their history, as a positive step.

Sneddon (2004, p. 4) described the difficulty that tauiwi had understanding their place in Aotearoa New Zealand. He quoted Māori Land Court Chief Judge Eddie Durie and described Pākehā as ‘tangata Tiriti, those who belong to the land by right of the Treaty’. Opposing views were expressed with respect to addressing Treaty grievances.

**Addressing Māori grievances**

Resolving Māori grievances was easy to oppose from a position of ignorance. The challenge was seen to be one of expanding Treaty education (Archie, 1995, p. 176). There was considerable support from non-Māori New Zealanders for Treaty grievances to be settled. To many this meant ‘erring on the side of generosity’ (Archie, 1995, p. 14) and positive discrimination for Māori to catch up, specifically in education (Archie, 1995, pp. 19, 35, 69). There was a sense
that ‘we didn’t start working together on the Treaty when we should have in the 1840s and 1850s but that it was not too late’ (Archie, 1995, p. 48).

Breaches of Article 2 of the Treaty were widely accepted (Archie, 1995, p. 69). Other issues highlighted for attention included: consideration of revenue and taxation, foreign policy implications and mandate for negotiating international trade agreements, the form of health and education services, defense, immigration and economic policy (Archie, 1995, p. 111).

For some, the motivation to resolve claims was pragmatic - an attempt to stop ‘pouring money into the Māori Affairs Portfolio, never to be seen again’. Others were motivated by ‘ordinary human considerations’ - the long-term scars of unemployment and the sense of alienation suffered by Māori (Archie, 1995, p. 135).

While there was much support for self-determination in the sense of control over personal destiny and self-management (Archie, 1995, pp. 121, 160), it was recognised that there was a reticence among those in power for Treaty settlements to grapple with the issue of sovereignty. This was one of the great frustrations for Māori and non-Māori.

**Constitutional reform**

Many New Zealanders recognised that resolving Treaty grievances required a ‘new way of thinking’ at central and local government. Progress was seen as minimalist approaches that ‘tinkered with the system’, such as bi-culturalism and partnership (Archie, 1995, p. 105).

Kelsey (2001) reminded us of successive governments’ focus on the principles of the Treaty established in 1987 as ‘a sympathetic judicial reinterpretation’ to present the Treaty, in a politically acceptable form. She argued that this avoided commitments to dialogue around constitutional and political arrangements.

Resolving Treaty grievances, at its least disruptive, was seen to require the inclusion of Treaty policy within organisations to promote understanding and sensitivity to Māori issues (Archie, 1995, p. 91). Māori participation and representation in decision-making at local and central government had not tackled the challenge of power sharing.
Māori exercise of tino rangatiratanga at the district or regional level was seen as parallel with local government. Kelsey argued that this avoided real sovereignty issues. Māori authority was described as equivalent to government power at the national level. It was argued that once this was acknowledged hapū authority could be exercised at the local level (Archie, 1995, p. 109).

Some New Zealanders questioned the role of the British Crown and the New Zealand legal system based on the Privy Council. There was support for the republican debate and calls for a new constitution. Many New Zealanders believed the constitution should be based on the Treaty of Waitangi, as the country’s founding document (Archie, 1995, p. 68).

By the 1990s more organisations were adopting new ways of working to promote Māori voice and power sharing. For example the CTU and the Women’s Refuge parallel governance structures (Archie, 1995, pp. 68, 49). CORSO\(^{140}\) had assisted Ngāti Te Ata to raise funds and regain control over land on the Awhitu Peninsula on the west coast, south of Auckland (Archie, 1995, p. 90).

Kelsey acknowledged that Treaty settlement processes had not provided for political redress. She argued that sensible decisions were possible through a process of constitutional dialogue with Māori, and would fundamentally change the balance of political and economic power. She argued that no mainstream political party would be willing to place these things on the table voluntarily (Archie, 1995, p. 109).

Non-Māori were increasingly aware that it was not for Pākehā to dictate structures, process or terms of constitutional change. If questions of sovereignty were to be resolved and New Zealand was to develop a constitution based on Te Tiriti, Māori had to be given the ‘space, resources and authority’ (Archie, 1995, p. 108) to determine their position. At the same time, Pākehā needed to work out where they stood, so that genuine dialogue could take place.

\(^{140}\) CORSO (the New Zealand Council for Relief Services Overseas) was a Pacific-based NGO active in local communities across Aotearoa New Zealand that acted in solidarity with communities in the Pacific and beyond (Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2007).
Models of Treaty governance

Alternative Treaty-based models of government and governance have emerged based on parallel development and/or representation, and bi-cameral models. Two theoretical models with potential for application in a local governance context are the Raukawa Trustees partnership-two cultures development model for government (also referred to as the two-house model) (Winiata, 2005); and the Community Sector Taskforce (2006b) governance model.

Working examples of Treaty-style governance were identified in mainstream New Zealand organisations. The Anglican Church of Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia 1992 Constitution is presented as a working example of the two-house model. The Women’s Refuge demonstrates parallel development. The Waiapu Project (Harmsworth & Warmenhoven, 2007) is an example of Treaty-based partnership in the public sector.

Theoretical models of Treaty-based governance

The two theoretical models of Treaty-based governance are described here: the Raukawa Trustees partnership-two cultures development model, and the Community Sector Taskforce model.

The Raukawa Trustees partnership-two cultures development model

The Raukawa Trustees partnership-two cultures development model was first presented in 1984. Winiata argued that:

the sovereignty’(or käwanatanga) of the Crown ceded by Article 1 of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, was exclusive and exhaustive except for rangatiratanga when this is seen as political sovereignty … [and] may be manifested … through constitutional convention and the electoral process.(Winiata, 2005, pp. 1-2)

For example, proposals affecting guarantees under Article 2 would require Māori approval and Māori electorates. He Wakaputanga and Te Tiriti emphasised the importance of tino rangatiratanga. The partnership-two cultures

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141 This refers to the practice of having two legislative or parliamentary chambers at the level of national or provincial government e.g. USA, Canada and Australia. Below the national level this concept equates to a two-house structure (Conversation with Pita Rikys, 27 October 2007).
model provided for the kāwanatanga of the Crown and Māori rangatiratanga (Winiata, 2005, p. 7).

Winiata emphasised that in 1835, he Wakaputanga described a nation to nation relationship between 34 rangatira (subsequently 52) and King William IV of England. Five years later Te Tiriti proposed a different relationship between William's successor, Victoria and 550 representatives of Māori. Te Tiriti was understood by Māori to provide for kāwanatanga and tino rangatiratanga within the one nation - Crown protection for the small but growing population and rangatiratanga to the Māori signatories (Winiata, 2005, p. 2). According to Winiata it was understood that each signatory to the declaration was to respect the others flag, protect the citizens of the other in their respective jurisdictions and govern their respective lands. In the Māori view he Wakaputanga was not superseded by Te Tiriti. The inclusion of rangatiratanga in both documents was a clear message of its importance to Māori (Winiata, 2005, p. 2).

The model shown in figure 9.1 advocates two discrete conceptual spaces or 'houses', one represented by Māori and the other by the Crown, where each evolves in their own way. Conditions and principles for interaction of the two houses give rise to a Treaty of Waitangi House.

Figure 9.1 Partnership-two cultures development model.


142 The declaration was also referred to as te Rōpū Kaumātua o Ngā Puhi Nui Tonu, or the 'great association with the Ngāpuhi elders'.
Winiata (2005, pp. 8-9) claimed that in the current MMP\textsuperscript{143} parliamentary environment with a strong Māori Party, the two lower houses of the model could be put ‘into one house that we know as Parliament’. The Māori Party, jointly with all other parties, would be responsible for kāwanatanga and rangatiratanga. The concepts underlying the two-house model were acknowledged as having potential for wide application.

**Community Sector Taskforce Model**

The Community Sector Taskforce (2006a) (the Taskforce) was an independent Treaty-based body. It comprised representatives of Māori, Pacific, Pākehā, Chinese and English ethnicity, from the community and volunteer sector (including health, education, sport, childcare and local government).

The taskforce was set up in 2003 with the support of the Labour Government\textsuperscript{144}. Its mandate was to continue the work of the joint community sector and government working parties (2000 - 2002) to develop the relationship between government and the sector. An important outcome of the work was a governance framework called ‘A new way of working for the tangata whenua, community and voluntary sector in New Zealand’.

**A new way of working**

The framework that emerged was based on a Tiriti or two-worldview and took a relationship approach (similar in philosophy to the Raukawa Trustees partnership-two cultures development model). It brought together the concepts of ‘a whare’ and ‘a house’, with the notion of belonging and values (Community Sector Taskforce, 2006, p. 5). The focus was on practices which respected the ‘legitimate practice of tikanga from both houses at all times’. The purpose of the two houses was

To provide a culturally appropriate and safe way to work on sector-wide issues at a national, regional and local level

\textsuperscript{143} Mixed Member Proportional representation, the electoral model embraced by the New Zealand Parliament in 1991.

\textsuperscript{144} The initiative was supported by the Hon Tariana Turia, a Māori member of the then Labour Government who was appointed as Minister Outside of Cabinet, in December 1999. It was funded by the Ministry for Social Development’s Office of the Community and Voluntary Sector until 2006.
To discuss, define and prioritise strategic issues to bring to a combined meeting place

To be a conduit of information and help create relationships and connections between the communities within each house and the sector as a whole (Community Sector Taskforce, 2006, p. 6).

The Tangata Whenua House comprised mana whenua and taurahere. Tangata Tiriti was the generic term applied to the people whose rights to live in New Zealand, derived from Te Tiriti.

The two-worldview model provided tangata whenua with a proper place alongside Tangata Tiriti, where a developmental agenda was being implemented. Exercising the Treaty relationship allowed tangata whenua to operate from an independent position through the exercise of tino rangatiratanga (Community Sector Taskforce, 2006, p. 6).

The model managed the relationships of power - to protect, define and decide. These were important dimensions of the treaty, and individual and collective behaviour on both sides of the relationship. The model was underpinned by Treaty practice that would develop and maintain the power relationships in ways that would enhance the potential for both parties to act, consistent with the worldviews underpinning the values of each group (Community Sector Taskforce, 2006, pp. 6-9). Figure 9.2 (over the page) demonstrates how the parties come together from the two ‘houses’ to work in a way that is appropriate and effective.

The Tangata Whenua House represented people who work in organisations at the whānau, hapū and iwi level and defined ways to protect mana Māori and empower whānau, hapū and iwi on their own terms and with respect to kawa and tikanga. Tangata whenua values included kaupapa, mana, manaakitanga, rangatiratanga, tapu, whakapapa, whānaungatanga, tika pona and aroha (Community Sector Taskforce, 2006, p. 7).

The Tangata Tiriti House comprised those people who work within or can facilitate the voices of those within the community and voluntary sector. Each person could be ‘wearing many hats’ as reflected by their experience. The house created a ‘space’ and understanding for the diverse sectors, and was an open house for all who wish to participate. The Tangata Tiriti values included
inclusiveness, fairness, honesty, optimism, respect, working together, voice carriers and self determination for the sector (Community Sector Taskforce, 2006, p. 7).

Figure 9.2 A new way of working.

The strength of the model was its openness, transparency and acceptance of diversity (Community Sector Taskforce, 2006, p. 16). It recognised the two-worldviews and reflected the importance of Te Tiriti o Waitangi to all participants of the taskforce. ‘A new way of working’ was supported by tangata whenua and tangata tiriti declarations that expressed the values and commitments inherent within each house. These are attached as appendix 7.

**Working examples of Treaty-style governance**

**The Anglican Church Tikanga system**

The history of the Anglican Church in New Zealand goes back to the beginning of the CMS\(^\text{145}\) in 1814, at Oihi in the Bay of Islands under the protection of the

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\(^{145}\) The activities of the CMS included Christian teaching and worship in the Māori language (Anglican Church in Aotearoa 2008, p.2).
Chief Ruatara. Contact with Māori was uninterrupted until the 19th century when the Māori church suffered from the fragmentation that followed the land wars and the general policy of assimilation (Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia, 2008, p. 2).

During the 20th century following the two world wars and the depression, the Anglican Church was involved in social issues throughout New Zealand. In the 1970s and 1980s as Māori ‘moved out of the shadow of European dominance and assimilist polices’ (Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia, 2008), John Paterson, later to become the Anglican Bishop of Auckland, began working with Māori who later became leaders among their people146.

In 1984, Anglican priests were arrested at Waitangi protesting over the government’s failure to honour the Treaty (Archie, 1995, p. 26). The Church responded by establishing a bicultural commission. This concluded that the partnership and two cultures development embodied in the Treaty, aligned with their Christian philosophy, and should be embraced in all of the church’s activities (Winiata, 2005). The church was aware that

if they could achieve some structural revisions and some constitutional rearrangements, it could be offered as one [governance] model among many for the nation to look at (Archie, 1995, p. 27).

The 1992 constitution (Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia, 1992), which became known as the tikanga system, was adopted. The system was an adaptation of the Raukawa Trustees three-house model and comprised: the Pākehā church with its seven dioceses; the Māori church, with five regions; and the Diocese of Polynesia147.

The tikanga system provided an opportunity for the tikanga Pākehā, the tikanga Māori and the tikanga Pasifika to come together in the General Synod and express their views as equals in decision-making. This provided for the Māori view to be expressed and for tino rangatiratanga to be recognised.

147 The Diocese of Polynesia has an important presence in New Zealand but is largely based in Fiji, Tonga, Samoa and the Cook Islands (Anglican Church in Aotearoa 2008, p. 2).
Paterson acknowledged that the process had encouraged people to work hard at knowing their own values and principles (Archie, 1995, p. 28). The developments within the Māori church were attributed with having brought about resurgence. The church grew from 10 full time clergy in the 1970s to more than 300 ordained ministers and 250 lay readers by 1995. The new constitution was described as common ground, their turangawaewae.

The Women’s Refuge parallel development model

The National Collective of Independent Women’s Refuges Incorporated (2007) was established in Christchurch in 1973 to provide support for women dealing with violence in their life. By 1981 a nationwide study on family violence was underway. Māori, Pākehā and Pacific Island perspectives were given equal prominence.

In 1984, Wahine Tangata Whenua voiced concerns of the Refuge not meeting the needs of Māori. A new organisational model was developed and implemented through a controversial national code of ethics in 1985. It became known as ‘parallel development’ and demonstrated to other organisations that full participation of tangata whenua in decision making processes was both critical, and possible (National Collective of Independent Women’s Refuges Inc, 2007).

In 1996, Te Tiriti was formalised as the guiding document in the organisation’s strategic plan. In 1999, the New Zealand Women’s Refuge Foundation was disestablished and the Fundraising Unit formed as part of the National Office, with parallel positions for tangata whenua and tauiwi. The Women’s Refuge code of ethics and statement of purpose are attached as appendix 8.

148 The first Māori Women’s Refuges were established in 1987 in Te Whakaruruhau (Hamilton) and at Te Whare Rokī Rokī (Wellington). By 2007, there were 12 Māori Women’s Refuges throughout the country, all operating according to kaupapa Māori. The first tangata Pasifika Women’s Refuge was established in Auckland, in 1989 (National Collective of Independent Women’s Refuges Inc, 2007).

149 Attitudes to Violence – A Study across cultures was published by the Women’s Refuge in 1988 (National Collective of Independent Women’s Refuges Inc, 2007).

150 The Māori women’s arm of the Women’s Refuge (National Collective of Independent Women’s Refuges Inc, 2007).

151 The Womens Refuge Code of Ethics outlined a commitment to principles of feminism, women's empowerment and self-determination, lesbian visibility, anti-racism, living Te Tiriti o Waitangi, being non-judgmental, collectivism, and sisterhood between the Refuges. In practice, this meant that Women’s Refuges should be run by women, for women and their children. This was seen a radical move for its time (National Collective of Independent Women’s Refuges Inc, 2007).
The Waiapu Project

In 1998 the Waiapu Project was unique in New Zealand. It was the only iwi-led project funded by the Foundation for Research Science and Technology. The joint project, undertaken over a five year period with Manaaki Whenua - Landcare Research, was led by Ngāti Porou researchers from Te Wānanga o Ngāti Porou. According to Harmsworth & Warmenhoven (2007, p. 1), it was acknowledged by participants as a true partnership between scientists, iwi researchers, Māori elders and the Māori community within and outside of the Waiapu catchment that contributed to the iwi/hapū research capability. The aim of the project was to record and use indigenous Māori knowledge, alongside scientific information, to improve understanding of cultural values, catchment processes and environmental change; to facilitate community participation and dialogue … use the research findings to develop a community-based catchment rehabilitation strategy; and support a range of environmental projects (Harmsworth & Warmenhoven, 2007, p. 20).

The project sought to address environmental issues such as erosion and sediment-filled rivers affecting the land, coast and marine environment. The catchment was of great spiritual, cultural, physical and economic significance to the Ngāti Porou people. The poor health of the catchment and depletion of resources was of great concern (Harmsworth & Warmenhoven, 2007, p. 20).

Research methods included building a knowledge base of traditional learning through interviews, hui and oral histories. Historical photographs, manuscripts, papers, books, visits to museums and libraries, and the Māori Land Court records were important sources.

Figure 9.3 demonstrates how a highly collaborative research model was established within a science environment. Relationships were established in preparation for the development of the research proposal. Harmsworth and Warmenhoven (2007, p. 22) emphasised the importance of partnership to a collaborative research project with iwi.

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152 Email communication from Garth Harmsworth, Manaaki Whenua – Landcare Research, Palmerston North 22 April, 2008.
154 The learning institute in Ruatoria, Gisborne-East Coast region of the central North Island of New Zealand (Harmsworth and Warmenhoven, 2007).
THE SCIENCE ENVIRONMENT

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<th>Strategies and Resources:</th>
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<td>- promote research that</td>
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<td>- provide adequate</td>
<td>- contributes to Māori</td>
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<td>resources</td>
<td>sustainable development</td>
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<td>- develop and maintain</td>
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<td>relationships</td>
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Promote Research that:
- contributes to Māori sustainable development
- contributes to Māori economic development
- contributes to an iwi or hapu vision
- builds human capacity
- addresses significant issues
- produces results that can be used by all iwi and hapu
- sustains cultural values


The important steps in establishing a collaborative model established are summarised in table 9.2. The solid ongoing relationship and long-term commitment to Māori, a participatory approach, and a focus on partnership were identified as the critical aspects of the Waiapu Project’s success.

Table 9.2 Summary of important steps and components in collaborative model work.

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<th>Important steps</th>
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<td>Identify and understand national issues and politics</td>
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<td>Build the relationship</td>
<td>Adequate resources</td>
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<td>Follow protocol and tikanga</td>
<td>Belief and commitment</td>
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<td>Identifying and understanding hapū and iwi issues</td>
<td>Key people to drive and champion the research</td>
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<td>Develop effective dialogue and communication</td>
<td>Understanding of the issues that form the research context</td>
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<td>Prioritise issues for collaborative research</td>
<td>Mutual trust and respect and a belief in partnership</td>
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<td>Define the research questions</td>
<td>Vision and goals to provide a focus</td>
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<td>Select the right people</td>
<td>Respect for Tikanga and protocols.</td>
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<td>Write a proposal</td>
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<td>Establish the collaborative research</td>
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<td>Undertake participatory research</td>
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<td>Maintain the relationships</td>
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<td>Complete the research outputs</td>
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<td>Networking.</td>
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Treaty of Waitangi in local government

In 1999, ahead of the Local Government Bill, LGNZ took up the debate around the obligations of local government under Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Under the Local Government Act 1974, the situation was unclear (Local Government New Zealand Te Putahi Matakokiri, 1999, p. 8). It was suggested that local government acted under delegation and inherited central government’s obligation under Te Tiriti. This view was reinforced by the RMA 1991, which articulated certain Treaty obligations. Chen and Palmer (cited in Local Government New Zealand Te Putahi Matakokiri, 1999, p. 9) argued that Māori representation and participation in local government decision-making were key issues.

The Royal Commission on Social Policy 1988 viewed Te Tiriti as central to understanding New Zealand’s history and contemporary realities. The 1986 Royal Commission on the electoral system recommended that government enter into discussion and consultation with a wide range of Māori about the rights of Māori and the recognition of their constitutional position under the Treaty (Local Government New Zealand Te Putahi Matakokiri, 1999, pp. 17-18). The importance of the Treaty was echoed by the Court of Appeal and the Privy Council and recognised by the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 and the Waitangi Tribunal.

The state of the relationship

In 2001, LGNZ research confirmed the significant bearing that local government had on the lives of iwi and urban Māori, as a collective and as individuals (James Barnes and Associates Limited, 2001, p. 7). The two issues raised by Chen and Palmer in 1999 were reiterated:

The prominence and appropriateness of the Treaty of Waitangi in local government and secondly, effective participation by iwi/Māori in the arena of local government (James Barnes and Associates Limited, 2001, p. 9)

A change in the status quo was sought within local authorities - behavioural and cultural change that recognised iwi and taurahere. Alternatives recognised at the time were the inclusion of a Treaty clause in the LGA 2002 and
constitutional change with full adoption of the Treaty by local government. Māori representation, relationships and alliances, and capacity and management were highlighted as issues (James Barnes and Associates Limited, 2001, pp. 11-21).

Notwithstanding the role of the RMA 1991 as a catalyst for the development of relationships between Māori and local government, the LGA 2002 refocused attention in this area. A 2004 survey of local authorities highlighted progress had been made with respect to engagement with Māori under the LGA 2002 (Local Government New Zealand, 2004a, pp. 13-14). The research explored the involvement of Māori in council structures, policies and practices for establishing relationships with Māori, and the monitoring of council resources, training and relationships.

The findings, when compared with a 1997 survey demonstrated a significant increase in activity across most of these areas (Local Government New Zealand, 2004, p. 14). Formal and/or informal consultation processes had been implemented across 92 per cent of councils. Almost two-thirds of councils were providing training on the Treaty and te reo Māori. Almost two-thirds provided funding for joint initiatives with Māori or worked with the Māori community. Half the councils held iwi management plans, and a quarter had established co-management regimes. Monitoring of the effectiveness of engagement with Māori had increased significantly (between 50 to 100 per cent).

While local authority awareness, activity, and resourcing had markedly increased, Māori continued to express high levels of dissatisfaction with the performance of council staff and politicians in respect of their involvement in local authority decision-making (Backhurst et al., 2004, pp. 8-22). Among the councils surveyed, the capacity of both council and hapū and iwi, required strengthening for Māori involvement in planning and governance under the RMA to be effective. A lack of integration across local and regional councils and

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155 Sections relevant to Māori participation are discussed in PUCM Working paper no.2 (Backhurst, Day et al., 2004).
156 Local Government New Zealand undertook a similar but less extensive survey on Māori engagement with local authorities in 1997. In this earlier survey the response rate was only 74 per cent of local authorities compared to 100 per cent in 2004 (Local Government New Zealand, 2004).
workload pressures were limiting factors in capacity building\textsuperscript{157} (Backhurst et al., 2004, p. 25).

The level of Māori representation at councils was generally low, although this had improved with implementation of the LGA 2002. Iwi and hapū perceived understanding of Te Tiriti and kaitiakitanga to be generally low among council staff and politicians (Backhurst et al., 2004, p. 11).

Māori political representation provided for under the 1986 amendment of the LGA 1974, had been repealed in the 1989 LGA amendments. Representation was not specifically addressed by the LGA 2002 or the 2007 review of the Act. Notwithstanding this, various forms of formal and informal representation had developed in response to the requirements of other legislation. This had provided Māori varying levels of rangatiratanga, kaitiakitanga and manaakitanga at the local authority level.

Forms of representation ranged from standing committees (Waipa District and Waitakere City Councils); ad hoc committees such as liaison, advisory and iwi fora (Christchurch and Porirua Cities); and appointments of Māori representatives on committees (non-elected Māori representatives on the Porirua City Council Creative Communities Committee). In some councils, Māori issues have simply been assigned to standing committees (Auckland Regional Council) or referred to the mayor for action (Stratford District Council) (Local Futures, 2005, pp. 4-9). Where formal and informal structures were in place these were often supported by memoranda of understanding and charters that clarified Māori and council expectations and documented processes for consultation and engagement.

Examples of co-management were widespread and included: a statutory board that jointly managed the Okahu Bay/Whenua Rangatira Reserve between Ngāti Whātua o Orakei and the Auckland City Council (Local Government New Zealand, 2007, p. 5); a project by BOP local authorities and Upokorehe, Whakatōhea, Ngāti Awa and Tuhoe iwi to manage the Ohiwa Harbour and catchment area (Environment Bay of Plenty, 2008; Local Government New Zealand, 2004).

\textsuperscript{157} Across the 26 hapū surveyed, on average 1-3 members were involved in processing an average of 160 resource consents a year. While some hapū charged consultancy fees of councils, few Māori individuals received payment for these services (Local Government New Zealand, 2004).
a memorandum between New Plymouth District Council, Port Taranaki and Ngāti Te Whiti to oversee the management of selected New Plymouth port assets (Local Government New Zealand, 2007, p. 5). Examples were based on acknowledgement of iwi history and circumstances. They articulated common goals and objectives, modelled strong leadership and emphasised the importance of planning (Local Government New Zealand, 2007, p. 5).

**Māori wards**

Māori wards were reintroduced in the BOP region following the formation of a working party to investigate the establishment of a Māori electoral system. Work started in 1996. In 2001, the Bay of Plenty Regional Council (Māori Constituency Empowering) Act was passed, which allowed the council to establish three Māori ward seats for the 2004 local government election.

When the Electoral Act was reviewed in 2002, it was amended to include a provision for all local authorities to establish Māori wards (Local Government New Zealand, 2004a, p. 18). No other local authority adopted this provision in time for the 2004 or 2007 election. Hayward argued the challenges inherent in the minority position of Māori in local government:

> ... the odds are stacked against any Māori community convincing the majority of constituents (predominantly non-Māori) to debate the issue, let alone introduce the seats ... democracy does not work well for minorities when it comes down to a numbers game to carry a vote (Hayward, 2005, p. 32).

**Single transferable Voting System**

The Review of the Electoral Act 2002 proposed the single transferable voting system (STV) as an option to first past the post (FPP) for local elections (Controller and Auditor-General, 2004). It was envisaged that this would improve Māori under-representation in local government. However, as with Māori constituencies, uptake by elected members was slow. Further, there was no noticeable impact on the number of Māori on councils that used STV (Hayward, 2005, p. 32).

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158 The New Zealand STV-based system required voters to rank candidates on the basis of their preference.
For many Māori, Te Tiriti was the basis of their relationship with local government and they saw themselves as Treaty partners and constitutional equals with local authorities (Local Futures, 2005, p. 21). This view has failed to find favour with central and local government. Consequently, Māori expectations of influencing local decision-making, and satisfaction with local authorities’ actions were seldom met. The history of distrust and suspicion between Māori and local councils was considerable.

Three local authority models of Māori governance

The Southland District Councils, Manukau City Council, and Waitakere City Council were acknowledged to be at the forefront of local government initiatives to provide opportunities for Māori to contribute to local government decision-making. The three approaches are outlined in the sections that follow.

The Southland District Councils

In 1997, Environment Southland159, Invercargill City Council, and Gore District Council entered into a first Charter of Understanding with the mana whenua of Murihiku160 (Invercargill City Council, Environment Southland, Southland District Council, Gore District Council and Te Ao Mārama Incorporated, Ngai Tahu (Murihiku), 2008). Te Ao Marama Incorporated, the Māori partner, was an entity representing the four papatipu rūnanga of Murihiku.

The purpose of the charter was to provide for a clear understanding of the relationship between the councils and tangata whenua in the context of the RMA. A later version of the charter provided for the LGA 2002. Te Ao Marama was to assist the councils in their relationship with mana whenua and mātāwaka living in their takiwa through Te Roopu Taiao, the iwi-council representative group. The group comprised a representative from each of the four papatipu rūnanga and an elected member from each local authority.

The charter recognised Te Tiriti o Waitangi and provided for kāwanatanga to be exercised by the Crown, while protecting iwi tino rangatiratanga. The focus was

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159 Environment Southland was the brand name of Southland Regional Council.
160 A 2003 version of this charter provided for Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu to be recognised within the charter.
the legislative provisions of the RMA and LGA (Environment Southland et al., 2003, pp. 1-3). Sustainable management of the environment and the social, cultural, economic and environmental well-being of the community for the present and future was the common goal that bound the councils and tangata whenua of Murihiku.

Malcolm (2008, p. 85) found a close relationship had been established between the councils and members of Te Ao Marama. Her research, however, highlighted differences between the parties’ understandings of the role that Te Ao Marama would fulfill. The council expectation was that consultation with mātāwaka would be undertaken by Te Ao Marama. Te Ao Marama experienced difficulties in engaging mātāwaka. Consequently, not all the parties’ expectations were met.

**Manukau City Council**

Manukau City Council published its *Strategic Plan: Te Tiriti o Waitangi* in 2004. This was the culmination of years of work following a 1986 council resolution to ‘uphold and honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi (TOW) in policies and legislative reviews’ (Te Rōpu o Te Tiriti o Waitangi, 2004, p. 2).

The strategic plan was part of Manukau City Council’s strategic architecture, which had the legislative framework and the long-term council community plan within a Treaty framework. The TOW strategy was supported by a ten-year plan, comprised of three-year action plans (consistent with the LTCCP). Its vision was ‘te Tiriti o Waitangi partnerships in practice’. The values underpinning the vision were making a difference, working in teams, partnerships and alliances, valuing diversity, and using knowledge and actions to achieve world class performance. The council recognised that to deliver policies and services that met Māori expectations, relationships with mana whenua and taurahere would need to be sustained.

In 2003, a mana whenua forum was established and relationship agreements were developed between the council and mana whenua groups. The strategy was supported within council by the TOW Unit (kaumatua and Māori staff), the TOW team (staff members who represented business units) and a Māori
planner (Te Rōpu o Te Tiriti o Waitangi, 2004, p. 4). Te Whānau Awhina, a Māori staff group, was coordinated by Māori staff.

**Waitakere City Council**

In 2001, Te Taumata Rūnanga was established at Waitakere City Council (Waitakere City Council, 2001). As a standing committee, Te Taumata reported to the council. Its membership comprised nine Māori representing both local Māori and urban Māori groups such as the Waipareira Trust, and two elected members.

The committee’s fields of activity were to consider Māori values in council decision making and ensure that the council met its obligations to tangata whenua. The committee’s mandate included the provision of council services to meet the needs of the Māori community and effective communication between Māori, the council and its committees. Te Taumata was to raise issues of concern to tangata whenua and Māori. As a committee, Te Taumata had delegated powers to develop a programme of matters of interest to the Māori communities in the city, and make policy recommendations (within LTCCP resources) to the council and the City Development Committee (Waitakere City Council, 2001).

**Conclusion**

He Wakaputanga and Te Tiriti o Waitangi were established as the founding documents of Aotearoa New Zealand. History shows that at the time Te Tiriti was signed, the British had no intention of ruling over everyone in New Zealand (Moon, 2002, p. 102). The course of governance was diverted by the decisions and actions of the early governors.

The differences between the English and Māori versions of the Treaty have been a source of contention. Māori were clear that they retained ‘their lands, estates, forests, fisheries and other properties’ and tino rangatiratanga. Crown breaches of the Treaty and assimilist policy by successive governments progressively alienated Māori from their land (Moon, 2002, p. 177). Māori have consistently asserted their Treaty rights.
The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 and the Waitangi Tribunal were controversial among Māori. Māori opposed the Crown’s 1995 ‘fiscal cap’ proposal and challenged the expectation that settlements would be full and final when they were based on what was affordable and acceptable to the wider public, rather than what was fair to Māori, or the value of land (Kingi, 2005, p. 29).

There was considerable support for Te Tiriti o Waitangi among tauiwi New Zealanders. Resolving Treaty grievances was recognised to require a ‘new way of thinking’ for central and local government (Archie, 1995, p. 105). The three-house model (Winiata, 2005) and ‘A new way of working’ (Community Sector Taskforce, 2006b) provided models for Treaty-based governance. Working examples in mainstream New Zealand society had demonstrated that Treaty-based partnership and power-sharing were possible.

The challenging relationship between Māori and government today was demonstrated by central and local government engagement with Māori. Southland District Councils, Manukau City Council, and Waitakere City Council demonstrated the potential for shared governance with Māori at the local authority level. The examples emphasised that further progress was required for the full expression of Māori tino rangatiratanga in local government.

Chapter 10 that follows describes the Māori participants’ views of governance and sustainability in Aotearoa New Zealand.
Chapter 10
Governance and sustainability in te ao Māori

Introduction

Chapter 8 and 9 presented the background literature and scholarship that informed an understanding of te ao Māori, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and the relationship between government and Māori. This chapter concludes the Tikanga Māori House of this research. It presents the findings of interviews with Māori that explored their views about governance and sustainability, and sought to answer the question:

How could Te Tiriti o Waitangi more fully influence governance for urban sustainability?

The findings are presented in five sections: being Māori, mātauranga Māori, two worldviews, Te Tiriti and he Wakaputunga, sustainability, and governance. The chapter concludes with participants’ views on how local government could change to encourage Māori participation in local government161.

1. Being Māori

To be Māori was a contextual understanding. It was determined by whakapapa, whenua and the values of te ao Māori. Being Māori acknowledged participants Scottish, Welsh, English, Pacific, French, German and Asia-Pacific whakapapa.

One participant emphasised his English heritage:

My mother constantly reminded me that I wasn't Māori ... I did not know I was Māori until I came to Auckland ... In the first instance I was the child of my parents and the mokopuna of my great and of my grandparents.

161 Minor editing of some quotations has been undertaken. The words reflect as closely as possible those chosen by participants.
The individual was placed in a collective kinship system, based on whānau and hapū. This participant described his identity as changing dependent on relationships associated with the block of Māori land that he was standing on. This expression of identity extended to his city connections.

Identity was interpreted differently by a rural participant who grew up with his paternal grandmother with Scottish whakapapa, and whom he referred to as ‘steeped in the Māori tradition’. His was an identity framed by a holistic view of whakapapa that encompassed the natural environment.

Knowing of one’s European heritage was an important aspect of whakapapa and reflected back to early colonisation, when it was of some mana for Māori to have close relationships with Pākehā (Cowan, 1911, p. 49).

The realities of a global world where identity was likely to reflect a common heritage with the land were highlighted

Māori/Indian or Māori/Chinese or Māori/Dutch or Māori/Tongan or Māori/Samoan … the one thing which will ground New Zealand might be the common heritage that we have to this land162.

Notwithstanding the significance of traditional values, the future of a Māori identity in an increasingly diverse New Zealand was questioned.

**Māori values**

The creation story was prominent in the language and lives of participants. Papatuanuku and Ranginui-te ra were central to conversations around land, resources and environmental management.

At kohanga reo children played games based on Papatuanuku and Ranginui. The elemental deities such as Rongomatane, Tane Mahuta, Tangaroa and Haumietiketike were used to teach te ao Māori values to children, for example, the protection of mahinga kai and conserving the natural environment.

Te ao Māori principles provided a framework to describe the indigenous view Māori share of all things as interconnected:

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162 Interview participant 19 May 2008 attributed this to the Ranginui Walker papers.
There are commonalities within the indigenous world … in attitudes towards the earth … the importance of whakapapa … the notion of whakapapa with the natural world.

**Whakapapa and whānaungatanga**

The linkages between people, established through common ancestors and land, were of paramount importance:

> We come from Papatuanuku, our placenta is buried in the land. The land nurtures us, it provides our food and our sustenance and in turn we will pass from this world into the spirit world. As did those who went before us, our tinana will return to Papatuanuku.

Māori talked of their whānau and hapū. Iwi was considered a modern construct:

> Iwi existed in history. When the hapū was threatened with warfare they’d ask other hapū for help or protection … then they went back to being a hapū.

Urban Māori described the whānau or hapū marae\(^{163}\) as their point of reference. When a Māori person died they went back to their home marae to be buried. Urban and rural Māori recognised marae, hui and tangihanga as distinctly Māori.

Polynesian heritage was acknowledged through a founding waka and Māori village culture. Whānaungataunanga was relevant for urban Māori and Pacific people. For example, one participant had worked in a health clinic. Being Māori made it easy for her to work with the clients. Tikanga was ‘just the way you do things.’

Whakapapa influenced culture. Our participant with the Scottish grandmother was raised in a ‘very organic way’.

> My grandmother’s governance stemmed from the environment … the seasons, the moon, the way the rain fell … my father taught me the protocols that went with hunting. My grandmother taught me the etiquette of growing things …

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\(^{163}\) Also called the home marae and referred to as a person’s turangawaewae, or place to stand.
Other beliefs were attributed to his maternal grandmother, who was married to a Catholic lay preacher. She was a devout practitioner of Pai Marire\textsuperscript{164} and taught him to have a close relationship with whenua, and a peaceful existence. The foundational teachings of Pai Marire equated to environmental, social and cultural well-being:

My kuia would haul me up and we would do our karakia, our religious ceremonies at night where the old fella would not hear us, adamant that one of her grandchildren was going to follow in her Tainui faith. Pai Marire … it’s about sustenance, sustainability and living peacefully within yourself … with your environment, with your gods …

A deep sense of the spiritual world was acknowledged by several participants. It was closely linked with the natural environment, and the relationship between Papatuanuku and individuals through the course of their lives.

Reciting one’s genealogy back to a founding waka was a source of great pride. One participant could whakapapa back to:

Whareongaonga … It’s where Te Kooti Rikirangi came ashore … I am a direct descendant of Te Kooti …

One person described his whakapapa this way:

My mother’s people were Waikato. Her father was Ngāti Pukeko. One grandmother was Ngāti Pikio from Te Arawa and Ngāti Mahanga from Waikato … that leg belongs to the Waikato people of the Tainui waka, that one belongs to the Matatoa … the arms are Tuhoe and Ngāti Manawa and … my body belongs to Ngāti Awa.

Ahi kā

Ahi kā described someone who occupied and nurtured the land and 'keeps the home fires burning'. It was about the mana of the whenua, whānau and marae. Whakapapa was important but occupation of the land was equally important. Modern day economics and European land settlement had complicated the situation. Owners of Māori land that was in communal ownership often no longer had contact with their whānau or home marae as they were ‘forced’ leave the land to seek work in the cities.

\textsuperscript{164} Pai Marire was the central North Island Māori religion (Hauhau) practiced by the Tainui people (King, 1997). It was founded by the Prophet Te Ua Haumene, a tribal leader of Taranaki, in 1862. It grew out of the conflict over land and was the first organised expression of an independent Māori Christianity (Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2008).
Other lands had been incorporated to facilitate development. One participant described how Māori land had been registered in the names of individuals who, in good faith, were to be trustees for their wider whānau. The notion of trusteeship had, over time, been converted into private property rights and shares were sold by individuals who had not understood the trusteeship that was handed to their tupuna.

Examples were presented of large family land holdings that were unable to support large whānau. A family incorporation of approximately 100,000 acres - eight sheep and cattle stations - valued somewhere between $60-100 million was described:

> There are about 10,000 members of the whānau … 3,500 shareholders, less than half with anything like ahi kā status. The dividend streams on average are between $10-25 per person per annum.

Treaty settlement processes disregarded ahi kā and caused rifts in families who had small shareholdings. Our Northland participant emphasised that his whānau land belonged to his uncle – ‘he is the person who’s been staying there and keeping the land warm’. Ahi kā meant there would always be a place to stay, but it did not equate to ownership.

Ahi kā demonstrated the bottom-up style of governance of the marae. When a person returned home after being away, they would start contributing by working in the marae kitchen. Over time as their personal mana developed, they might have taken on management roles.

**Hui**

The concept of hui, of debate and seeking consensus, was reiterated as very Māori. It was described as:

> broad and circling and about the notion of a decision being made. Decision-making will often be less explicit than in a Pākehā forum …

Hui was emphasised as the traditional way collective decisions were made. It was for everyday decisions and significant marae matters such as arranging a tangihanga:
… trying to get consensus rather than putting a motion and voting on it the Pākehā way … you debate things, discuss and give people time to agree …

Speaking Māori was important but sometimes speaking English allowed others not fluent in te reo to be drawn in. Making use of both cultures was seen as an advantage.

Hui was referred to aspirationally, as a potential process for debate and seeking consensus in Parliament, in the context of recognition of tino rangatiratanga:

if you want something authentically Māori, you've got to transfer that hui, hui procedure, the custom of debate and consensus into the equivalent of our parliamentary system.

Participants saw the potential for hui to be incorporated into such local government practices as genuine consultation and committee decision-making. The change in etiquette that this would require was not seen as a barrier. An example given of Māori etiquette changing over time was the custom of karanga, which occurred after a battle had begun. Marae practice was now for Māori to karanga visitors onto a marae before the symbolic challenge or wero.

**Mihi whakatau and whai kōrero**

The mihi whakatau could be formal or informal, at home or on the marae. It included reference to a speakers rohe, their maunga, their moana, their tupuna, the generations gone before, and to mokopuna, the generations to come.

Whai kōrero, the right to speak on the marae, was described as something that was earned by the person's deeds and related to their position in the whānau.

**Powhiri**

The pōwhiri served a similar purpose to that of the mihi whakatau. It was a welcome and an expression of manaakitanga. One participant spoke of the pōwhiri as a warm and genuine welcome for guests to his local council. In government and the public sector pōwhiri were held when staff moved between departments or organisations, to recognise the value of the person and the receiving organisation's obligations of manaaki. Regret was expressed that the obligations inherent in pōwhiri were often not met:
pōwhiri is about an exchange of trust when it’s to do with people. It says that when that person as a taonga has been handed over, they will be treasured and they will be taken care of and they will be nurtured …

**Manaakitanga**

Manaakitanga was caring for and looking after visitors. Examples ranged from simply ‘putting on the jug’ when someone came to the door, to the more formal responsibilities of mana whenua, to host and look after all Māori and non-Māori in their rohe.

Participants saw potential for more consistent expression of mana whenua and manaakitanga through pōwhiri in local government.

**Mana**

Mana was understood as authority, respect, integrity and charisma. It was used to describe the state of a person or a group of people.

Rangatira were described as having mana through their deeds. Their ability to lead was dependent on their mana. Governance was described as the exercise of mana.

Mana was described as flowing between parties. It was asserted to start at the top, at the level of authority, not the bottom of the social stratum. Mana was necessary for a whānau to be functional and described the obligations of a parent to a child:

> You need mana to have peace … to have law. Mana is about the parent exercising their duty to their child. The child in the Māori world cannot exercise mana.

The mana of a marae resulted from good organisation and administration. This was described as communal capitalism allowing mana to be expressed:

> … when our manuhiri come our marae’s been swept out, kai, the chiefs, the kuia are there. Communal capitalism allows the mana to flow. Ma te huruhuru kariri te manu - a bird will only fly if it has feathers …

A direct relationship existed between mana and whenua and the exercise of kaitiakitanga and mana whenua. One participant believed that mana Māori was
taken away during the land confiscations. An alternative view of mana described it as inherent in a person, and could not be bestowed or taken away.

Recognition of mana was clearly a pre-requisite for Māori expression of tino rangatiratanga at the local government level. Shared governance with a redistribution of power would be required.

These direct references to the importance of social capital serve to emphasise the holistic focus of te ao Māori and its inherent sustainable development principles.

**Tapu and noa**

Participants recognised the primary state of tapu, and its extensions, as respect for the departmental deities. There was acceptance of a spiritual dimension, and tapu as providing guidelines for everyday practices. Examples included respect for the body and death, and everyday disciplines in terms of hygiene. Advice about tapu was incorporated in the staff orientation of the district health board where one participant worked:

... be careful around death, the head, food and waste products ... you should always ask the family ... The Māori view of death is quite different to [that of Pākehā].

Many examples of tapu were 'common sense' and related to the environment, resources, and kai. An awareness of the natural environment came from living on the land or near the coast, and from knowledge shared by grandparents and other whānau members:

about the tide and the ebbs and flows of [nature] ... the fish life ... If the eels weren't running ... a tapu would just be slapped on ... until the numbers came up again.

Tapu was a discipline around the taking of kai moana and food from the forest. For example, when toheroa numbers were low or the kererū were scarce. The concept of tapu also extended to the management of fisheries:

There were self policing rāhui ... rules about how many shellfish you could take ... rules that are policed and understood at the primal and public level and have been in place, at least in Rongomaiwahine, forever.

Tapu was employed to regulate social behaviour, for example,
If a husband even raised his hand to his wife and struck her that was tapu and the family would exact utu.

**Utu and koha**

Utu was not prominent in the kōrero but was discussed by one participant in terms of a notion of whakapapa and reciprocity, and was linked to koha:

... when you go to a marae and put down a koha, that’s not a gift it’s an expectation that you honour them and when they come to visit your marae they will reciprocate.

**Mātauranga Māori**

Traditional and modern knowledge were important. Concerns were raised about sharing knowledge with Pākehā and the survival of mātauranga Māori. Kaumatua were revered as repositories of traditional knowledge, and for their wisdom to apply it in modern context:

... they are the holders of the wisdom, of the memories, they are the history, the ancestral ties ... They remember events ... the good times, the bad times, the tribal changes ...

The knowledge obtained from kaumatua and tohunga was special knowledge and in the Māori tradition, only bestowed on those considered worthy. One kaumatua spoke of traditional knowledge shared by his grandmother, a tohunga, and Māori Marsden, a respected kaumatua, tohunga and academic:

... when you are a receptacle of traditional knowledge ... you’ve got to demonstrate through your actions that you are the appropriate person ... he felt that I was an appropriate person.

Mātauranga Māori had been lost because the holders of the knowledge were unable to identify an appropriate receptacle for their mātauranga.

In many of the kōrero, knowledge of the spiritual realm was shared that related to special skills for food gathering, healing, weaving, carving, growing or harvesting food from the land or the sea:

... My grandmother did things that didn’t exist in the Pākehā understanding. ... We’d get up in the morning and she’d go and clear the crayfish pots, there was no boat, yet she’d come in with the crayfish. That knowledge exists through Polynesia, not just with Māori.
Special knowledge was also used to gather fish from the sea:

… she used to stand on the beach, all the local people would come around with their kete and she would call the fish in using a number of karakia. And the fish would come and people would fill their kete.

Māori had a distinct understanding of the universe, in particular scientific and celestial knowledge

The ancestors recognised the things that we understand in normal science … and an additional energy dimension that isn’t understood …

Tohunga were specialists in different areas of knowledge, and this was related to the role they fulfilled in their hapū. For example, the tohunga whakairo was the expert of carving. The value of traditional healing practices were acknowledged by one participant. He described how:

… broken limbs are set in the same way that an English doctor would … leaves from tutu are burned for the ash … the arm’s set in a splint. The healer then does the karakia and rubs the ash on, then gathers the ash up and takes it out and scatters it in the wind, and the break is healed.

Māori talked about sharing Māori knowledge with selected Pākehā, now and in the past. It was acknowledged by a few participants that traditional Māori knowledge was being shared with me, as a researcher.

The importance of tikanga was emphasised. It was described as ‘getting in the way of things’ for non-Māori, but was retained to acknowledge culture, enhance the spiritual experience and teach safe practice and respect.

Māori sought acknowledgement of mātauranga Māori as a valid and equal knowledge system. This required acceptance of te ao Māori as a valid and equal form of governance.

Succession planning

Participants were concerned that mātauranga Māori, kawa and tikanga were passed on to future generations, in an appropriate way:

I was the oldest grandson, but also the most capable. My mother was the oldest granddaughter, but also the most capable. My great aunt, albeit that she was a woman, was the most capable … I hold [the mātauranga Māori] on behalf of the entire family … I have a moral duty to see that it gets out there …
For urban Māori, visits back to the home marae with children were a necessary experience to prepare them for future leadership roles. As younger generations moved away from the home marae, sometimes overseas, participants were less certain that there would be appropriate people to receive the mātauranga Māori that many kaumatua had to pass on. The concept of worthiness to receive mātauranga was a dilemma for Māori leadership succession. One participant talked of the conflict between the priorities of young people, and the need for them to attend marae and trust meetings, and be mentored.

Other participants had established commercial ventures and an economic base for their hapū. They saw a modern day education as vital for young Māori. Tertiary education scholarships were an important mechanism to support succession planning.

2. Two worldviews

The distinct differences between the Māori and Pākehā worldviews was a consistent theme of the kōrero. The key differences were signified by the conflicting views of whenua. Parallels were drawn between the Māori experience of colonisation and discrimination, and the experience of other indigenous groups.

Colonisation

According to written and oral histories, Māori were participating in colonisation activities as early as 1820. Colonisation brought with it ‘the shackles of colonialism’ and oppression, through which Māori have struggled to preserve their culture.

Many versions of the history of Te Tiriti were related. All encompassed the formation of the fledging government, the alienation of Māori from their land, the devastating toll of European illnesses on Māori, and the domination of western culture. The failure of many Pākehā New Zealanders to recognise and respect the Māori worldview was expressed in terms of regret and frustration. Several
participants shared their aspirations for a New Zealand constitution and form of government that respects a bicultural relationship.

A few participants spoke of their ancestors responses to the commercial opportunities that colonisation presented. Despite land being held communally and tribal values, their forebears saw opportunity in the ways of the settlers:

… the whole tribal fabric had broken down … the Native Land Court in 1865 was designed to individualise communal title and facilitate sale [of land]… the smart individuals and my relation Te Kooti was one of them, began to trade … in no time at all he had his own trading ships. He was a highly entrepreneurial individual that couldn’t have existed in the Māori model …

Māori related how the land wars and the Native Land Court had alienated Māori land, and how increasing Māori mortality due to settler diseases had seen the Māori population plunge numerically to about 14,000 by the 1890s. Māori were assumed by Europeans to be dying out.

Colonisation displaced the Māori system of rangatiratanga and replaced it with democracy. With the entitlement to vote based on individual property ownership, Māori were disenfranchised.

One kaumatua empathised with his Scottish tupuna:

… the Scottish clearances were influential in the psyche of the settlers. They came here with a determination not to have … an aristocracy-landlord system … This is the whole history of settlement in New Zealand. And it wasn’t racist.

Some saw the establishment of four Māori parliamentary seats and a separate electoral role as a positive move, and a genuine way for Māori to influence the colonial government. Others saw it as discrimination. There was regret at the overshadowing of Māori communal values:

We had a communal people who had no individual rights and over a period of time that was translated into a democracy where every individual had a right to vote … it was a shift from communal to individual values.

165 The Concise Oxford Dictionary 8th Edition (1990) described colonialism as a policy of acquiring or maintaining colonies, economic exploitation of weak or backwards peoples by a larger power.
The Westminster parliamentary system was described as 'heartily Eurocentric'. While few participated in democracy, there was acknowledgement of the shift in terms of the opportunities for individual Māori. Christianity presented an alternative to Māori spiritual beliefs and the power of the tohunga:

Some rangatira embraced Christianity and curiously by 1840, because they’d been missionary school trained, the Māori leadership group was probably more educated than their English counterparts …

The recognition of two worldviews was passed on to succeeding generations by Māori. Those who spoke of the differences were waiting for society in Aotearoa New Zealand to mature, so people could prosper by embracing the opportunities offered by two worldviews.

**Key differences in Māori and Pākehā worldviews**

**Whenua**

A kaumatua described the significance of whenua as a symbol of difference:

I’ve come to see the difference in how Pākehā and Māori view land as being the symbol of where difference begins. And it seems to be where the gap widens as you take in more aspects of our world.

The Māori view of whenua embodied whakapapa, and links with past and future generations. In te reo there was no word for 'ownership' in the European sense. Instead, Māori talked of possession. The translation of rights to land into ownership was seen as 'where everything went wrong' for Māori. Land was never 'owned' so it remained for future generations. Ownership came to mean the fragmentation of land.

The Māori relationship to whenua embodied aspects of the spiritual realm. This was incomprehensible to many Pākehā who saw their relationship to land as being ‘the same’. One kaumatua and leader described his relationship as:

based on battles, based on our whole literature. It’s based on a spiritual religion that ties the land to us. I'm not saying its better… I'm just saying it’s different … we are not the same.

Whai kōrero and whakapapa were used to express the relationship of Māori to their land, water, rivers and mountains. When we say:
’maunga ahau te maunga’, that’s our mountain, we don’t mean we own it, but we have a special connection to it from our ancestors.

Participants expressed a strong connection to their tribal rohe and the distress caused by land alienation:

Land, to the Māori worldview is not up for ownership, it is for guardianship for future generations.

I couldn’t conceive of personally selling land … [The land] has been in my family forever … my children and their children will use that land in due course. It may not always be like that … that’s something that lies ahead of us.

Local government rating of unproductive land that was not alienated under the Native Titles Act in the 1940s but was transferred into individual titles created difficulties. This land had been valued for rating by local government in the same way as productive land and:

… on the basis of being able to be disposed of at some stage for a certain value … If its never going to be disposed of this isn't fair …

The western governance model created a dilemma for Māori management of whenua to which they had ancestral connections. While progress had been made, the challenges remained:

The landscape, seascape, riverscape are different things to Māori decision makers … than to Pākehā. When Māori look at the landscape they see a different thing to mayors, councillors, [and] heads of planning …

The persistence of local government in imposing penalties for unpaid rates on Māori land in multiple ownership, had exacerbated the sense of grievance felt by Many Māori. Resolving this issue needed to be a priority for central government, if the relationship between local government and Māori was to improve.

One participant talked of his whānau having reclaimed land that had been alienated:

… our parents and grandparents believed “ma te werawera o tō rae”, “the sweat from your forehead that’s how you should get everything” … My grandmother had most of her land taken under that Native Lands Act in 1909 … They went to dig gum, farmed, and ended up with 60 acres
where her house was. She eventually bought back about 1500 acres … My dad bought back another 946 … I brought back another 250 …

The next sections describe the holistic view that was intrinsic to te ao Māori.

**Holistic worldview**

Māori viewed the physical world and the celestial realm as interconnected. Whakapapa was the connection between land, present generations and tupuna. All things animate and inanimate were attributed with a mauri. Wairua was likened to the concept of the Yin and the Yang and described the two lives - the physical and the celestial - that were always present.

**Social structure**

The holistic view of te ao Māori encompassed the connection of Māori to their land, and to each other. Māori collective society stemmed from whakapapa and whānaungataunga. Iwi have played an important role in dealings with the Crown:

> Te Rarawa is my iwi … I can whakapapa back to all of the hapū … The centre of the community was always the hapū - those are the people you engage with on a regular basis.

While the value of pan-tribal urban marae were acknowledged, kinship-based systems were paramount for Māori to achieve their social, cultural and economic aspirations (see section 5. Governance, later in this chapter).

**Māori versus Pākehā governance**

Māori emphasised their traditional bottom-up governance based on whānau and hapū. Rangatiratanga was dependent on deeds. As a leader’s mana waxed and waned, the leadership was subject to change. Governance was based on hui, and the participation of all groups within the clan.

The shift from consensus-based governance to the Westminster parliamentary model had been irreconcilable for many whānau, and resulted in a sense of total alienation from the Pākehā culture. Māori seats were not seen as having provided effective Māori representation.

> The tyranny of the majority rules and that is very ‘un-Māori’.
The well-meaning nature of many Pākehā was acknowledged, but so too was the inability of others to understand the differences between the Māori and Pākehā worldviews:

They've got an idealised concept of what tangata whenua means - the Māori warrior that settled here … we've moved on from any form of Māori governance, any form of Māori government. We now have New Zealand governance …

Māori were persistent in their calls for tino rangatiratanga to be recognised, and for a model of government that was culturally consistent with Māori values. In several kōrero the Raukawa Trustees partnership-two cultures development model was proposed as one that could accommodate Māori and Pākehā worldviews:

… the Māori model doesn't exist [in government] … We need a different system - there needs to be a Māori house and there are different views on how that Māori house should look …

The formation of the Māori Party brought Māori values to government:

… we're miles apart … tino rangatiratanga is a dream, an ideal …

**Forms of discrimination**

Māori experienced discrimination through language, education, access to public services, commerce and banking and democracy. Discrimination was seen as perpetuated by legislation, the actions of settlers, immigrants and Pākehā New Zealanders who were ignorant of the values of te ao Māori.

**Language and education**

One participant described the Māori Affairs Department programme to assimilate Māori into the Pākehā education system in the 1960s. While learning English and a Pākehā education were encouraged by elders as a way to 'walk in two worlds', Māori were punished for speaking te reo, in both native and Pākehā schools.

As late as the 1980s, discrimination was perpetuated by culturally biased programmes and poor provision of education facilities for Māori. One participant
highlighted the lack of preparation by the Ministry of Education for a programme targeting fluent speakers of te reo to become teachers of te reo.

Te reo and other languages were seen as a path to another worldview. The controversy caused by te reo in the 1980s was recalled. Saying ‘kia ora’ even during Māori language week generated complaints from ‘redneck Kiwis’:

It wasn’t long ago that Hinewehi Mohi sang the national anthem in te reo Māori and was vilified for it … that Naida Glavish was criticised for answering the telephone with ‘kia ora’ at Auckland District Health Board …

Te reo was attributed with opening the minds of some New Zealanders.

**Public services**

Māori talked of difficulties in getting a fair share of public services in urban and rural communities. The emphasis was on the basics:

… healthy environments, good water supply, facilities for children [such as] skateboard parks …

Māori elected members described how services for Māori and Māori youth were perceived as privileges that were denied to non-Māori. Māori youth were viewed as a problem, rather than a potential asset. There was a prevailing reticence to invest in community assets for Māori.

Māori councillors were nonetheless active in advocating for the needs of Māori, and overcame objections of potential vandalism and discrimination to provide recreation centres and playgrounds. Conservative local councils were a barrier when Māori were seeking a fair share of services. Local government was traditionally seen as the preserve of old well-meaning people, whose children had long since grown up, and who were out of touch.

The kōrero demonstrated how easily small requests for normal services for Māori could be denied by a predominantly Pākehā council, but how common sense could prevail:

… it was a request from one of the local marae to have a couple of loads of metal on the marae road because they were about to have the D Company of the Māori Battalion reunion. The Works Committee turned it down, saying there was no budget … all I said was “it’s a good thing
these chaps in D Company didn’t take the same view in 1939 isn’t it?” … We eventually succeeded in getting the roads sealed in front of all the local marae, and signposts to the marae.

One participant spoke of the discrimination by health and social services officers when undertaking health research with Māori and Pacific, in 2008. Māori were treated differently. Whānau were expected to fill gaps in social services where assistance would be available to Pākehā and others:

Culturally this is a big issue … One of the things that comes through [in hospital]… “Oh you’re Māori you’ve got whānau, you could go home earlier”.

Discrimination against Māori as service providers by government agencies was described as common place:

… we’re set up to fail … Service provision sets out fees and costs … realistically they don’t cover the cost … Government organisations need to be realistic about what they expect people to do … especially when they award the contract but cut [the tender price] in half… They count on us to do it for our community for nothing …

Law and order

Māori recalled discrimination in law that had alienated Māori land, and the persistent Crown disregard for Māori aspirations of self government and influence in governance. In October 2007, during the course of this research, the Crown raided Maungapohatu in the Ureweras for the second time in its history, in response to allegations of terrorism and the intention of this isolated Māori community to become self-governing. Participants who knew the story of the Crown action against the prophet Rua Kenana in Maungapohatu, in 1916, expressed genuine distress:

In 1916 they sent in a totally disproportionate force … shot [Rua’s] son and Rua Kenana himself was carried off and thrown into irons.

The Crown’s willingness to use force during the occupation of Takaparawha (now the site of the Orakei Marae) in 1978 was recalled with much emotion by a participant who was there. He described the siege mentality that prevailed that day:
... protestors were carted off by the bus load ... its etched in my mind, standing in the little whare-nui up there and seeing this huge military type operation ... everywhere there were lines of Police ...

The stand taken by one rangatira who stood up to the Crown's failure, in the eyes of Māori, to honour Te Tiriti was recalled:

The Crown has forgotten that Princess Te Puia, one of my relations, said "No, we’re not sending troops to the first world war. You haven’t done your part of the Treaty deal ... you don’t get absolute fealty".

The loss of leadership in some tribes was attributed to both world wars. The Crown’s failure to honour the Treaty was seen as a poor record alongside this contribution to New Zealand nationhood.

The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, the RMA 1991, and the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004 were the source of much frustration and distress. Provisions that were an avenue to redress Māori grievances did not outweigh the widespread dissatisfaction with a lack of true consultation and the undermining of Māori customary rights. The Courts were seen as failing to consider a Māori worldview.

The successful foreshore and seabed claims by Ngāti Porou and Whānau-a-Apanui were acknowledged as being well short of giving Māori control and management of assets that in terms of the treaty they believed they owned. The Foreshore and Seabed Act imposed limitations on customary rights and the rights of Māori to live as Māori. It failed to recognise te ao Māori as an equal and alternative values system.

Māori saw the government attitude towards ‘racial funding’ as further alienating them from the Pākehā system

... Māori and many immigrants are made to feel less important ...

**Commerce and banking**

Despite examples of entrepreneurialism among those Māori who were able to exploit the commercial opportunities offered by colonisation, many Māori felt discriminated against. One experience highlighted the difficulties for Māori to borrow to fund the development of family land, as late as the 1980s. Even after
arranging individual title to provide surety for a loan, the participant was turned
down for lack of a credit history

They put all these hurdles in front of me … it was blatant racism …

Democracy

The experiences recalled how Māori were discriminated against by the
requirement for males to own land individually to be eligible to vote. The
establishment of the Māori parliamentary seats and the Māori electoral role in
1867 resulted in the segregation of Māori and Pākehā polling facilities, which
persisted until 1975.

Participants acknowledged the reticence of many local councils to accept te ao
Māori as a valid form of authority. This perpetuated discrimination and resulted
in poor services for Māori in predominantly Māori districts.

3. Te Tiriti and he Wakaputunga

The Treaty and the Declaration of Independence were of prime importance to
all the participants. He Wakaputunga was seen as establishing the context in
which Te Tiriti was signed. Participants had their own stories, passed on by
their tupuna.

This section relates views of Te Tiriti and he Wakaputunga, ‘the 6 February
1840 notion’, Te Tiriti principles, the Waitangi Tribunal, Te Tiriti in government
and steps taken to close the gaps in Pākehā and Māori understanding.

Historical context

Participants had their own stories of Te Tiriti from official records, research, and
their tupuna. Māori talked of their tupuna as having been familiar with treaties in
terms of negotiating alliances in inter-tribal warfare. The potential for the settler
population to grow rapidly was foreseen. Te Tiriti was described as a way of
establishing a relative balance of power between Māori and Pākehā

By 1840, Māori had traveled to New South Wales and England, quite
clearly the big kid on the block was England.
Participants talked of their tupuna’s expectations of the Treaty and their persistence in raising their grievances with the Crown:

... they saw the Treaty as protecting their right to be Māori ... the Māori way of life ... accepting that settlement was inevitable.

The establishment of New Zealand as a sovereign state by the Declaration of Independence in 1935, was described as the acknowledged context in which Māori chiefs were believed to have signed Te Tiriti.

Te Tiriti was viewed as affirming Māori rights to natural resources and assets, such as fisheries (Te Ao Kai Moana), Māori radio and television, and forestry assets. The Crown’s failure to honour the Treaty was central to the lives of many of the participants, and was incorporated in family traditions and practices:

... my mum sang songs about the Treaty when I was a little kid ... late 1940s and 1950s. They’d just come through the depression and two world wars ... I don’t think we’ve strayed from the Treaty ...

Many participants acknowledged that northern Māori had wanted a treaty, so Britain would rule over the unruly British subjects. The haste with which the Treaty was established was seen as important to its context.

A Ngāti Whātua participant spoke of her tupuna’s generosity inviting settlement and participating in trade, selling and gifting land for hospitals, railway stations, and schools

We welcomed Auckland to be formed on our land ... thinking that our people could live among the people ...

Principles of Te Tiriti

A number of participants were uncomfortable with the Crown focus on Treaty principles as a means of debate. This group preferred to focus on the words of Te Tiriti:

Sir James Henare said “our tipuna did not sign principles, we signed the words ... ko te kupu te mana, ko te mana te kupu, the mana is in the words, the words carry the mana.”
The three principles developed by Te Puni Kokiri were summarised as partnership, protection and participation, and were seen to have lost their meaning in abbreviation. Hence, they did not reflect the holistic view of te ao Māori inherent in Māori understanding of the Treaty.

The diverse views represented here are organised by Treaty article, and with reference to the concepts of tino rangatiratanga, kotahitanga, rangatiratanga, mana whenua and kaitiakitanga.

**Article 1**

Article 1 of Te Tiriti was based on tino rangatiratanga and linked to kotahitanga and rangatiratanga. To most of the participants this meant a share in decision-making at all levels.

Participants were committed to the expression of tino rangatiratanga. On one hand this was expressed as an extreme anti-Pākehā sentiment. On the other, it reflected wide tolerance and the need for collaboration and co-operation.

The path to tino rangatiratanga was seen as being through education:

… education is the only way to give an individual tino rangatiratanga … absolute authority over your own future, your own destiny … prior to the arrival of the Pākehā it was only rangatira that had rangatiratanga - absolute chiefly authority over life and death … Your average Māori … had none.

The Community Sector Taskforce governance model was seen as providing for tino rangatiratanga. It encompassed the values of Māori and non-Māori, provided for equal status and was described as empowering.

Kotahitanga demonstrated a unity of purpose among Māori. It was discussed with respect to dealings with the Crown, from 1840 to the modern day. This matter was fraught due to the Crown’s consistent disregard for the views of Māori.

The relative newness of iwi as a permanent government structure over hapū was a source of disquiet expressed around the establishment of kotahitanga. Despite this reticence, whānau and hapū who had been separated through distance and circumstance were uniting as iwi and forming rūnanga.
The Kohanga Reo Education Summit, which arose out of the Hui Whakatauira in 1981, was an example of Māori unity that progressed Māori development. The importance of kaumatua advice was acknowledged:

… Our chiefs said “Ngāti Kahungunu, language nest”… Queen Te Ata[rangikahu] said that in Waikato. Sir James Henare said that up north … We listened to our elders and became powerful … they formed tribal groups. In Ngāti Kahungunu we formed a rūnanga.

Kohanga reo was seen to have ‘given the tribes back their mana’. As tribes became constituted as trust boards and rūnanga, it provided a platform for greater unity and recognition by the government. Some Māori viewed this as sidelining hapū as the traditional Māori unit of local government. Empathy was expressed for the difficulties inherent in the Crown negotiating with every hapū.

A counter view was expressed by one participant:

… we spend a lot of time arguing about legitimisation in the eyes of the Crown, but tino rangatiratanga is something that nobody else can give you and has to be [seen in the context of] the life and times in which we live.

**Article 2**

The debate around Article 2 was centred on the protection of taonga including the Māori way of life, mana whenua status, and the practice of kaitiakitanga. Aspects of the debate involving local government are discussed in section 5. Governance, later in this chapter.

Views of mana whenua, mana tangata, mana tupuna, and tangata whenua were wide ranging, and were given different meanings and accorded subtly different expectations by Māori in different rohe. For example, Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Whātua referred to themselves as mana whenua in their respective rohe. Ngāti Kahungunu used the term tangata whenua, and tribes in the Gisborne region used mana tupuna.

Participants highlighted legislation that required government to deal with mana whenua. More often than not that meant the local iwi, or the iwi that was local in 1840. Ngāti Whātua participants saw responsibility for including tauiwi Māori in Auckland local governance as their responsibility as mana whenua:
… we invite tauwi Māori … who are outside of their tribal area and in ours to participate [in decisions] … We own the responsibility of manaakitanga towards those living within our tribal area and that includes tauwi Māori. We’re there as mana whenua, with ancestral connections to our land blocks, our rivers, our maunga …

This was seen as especially important by Ngāti Whātua in Auckland, where only 8 per cent of Māori were mana whenua. It was acknowledged that when taurahere die, they go back to their home marae. The mana whenua status inherent within Māori society had proven difficult for the Crown, as the Treaty partner, to understand. The importance of tribal mandate was emphasised in decision-making

Tauwi are not going to make land decisions, or water decisions over mana whenua in the same hui …

Participants described how the mana whenua relationship was undermined by local government and central government officials who think

any ‘Mr Hemi down the bus stop’ will do, when legislation requires consultation.

The Ngāti Whātua experiences were somewhat unique among Māori in that they were alienated from almost all their land by the 1960s. The memories of land loss within the tribe, and the fear that land would be lost again were very real. This heightened the emphasis placed on recognition of mana whenua.

While many Māori and Pākehā thought Ngāti Whātua ‘should move on’, recent experience was highlighted:

The removal of our family from this land and the burning down of our marae by local government166 happened in my father’s lifetime and he’s still alive. It’s not yet history.

Kaitiakitanga was prominent in all the kōrero. The poor understanding and ‘piecemeal’ way in which kaitiakitanga was applied was the source of immense frustration. The term used within the RMA s 7 was reported to have been

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166 According to the participant who related this story, this event occurred before a planned visit by the Queen. The people of Paritai Drive had described the Māori settlement at Okahu bay as an “eyesore”. It had been declared unhygienic by the local council and for ‘sanitisation reasons’ was destroyed by fire.
misused by central and local government officials who had taken it on themselves to decide when and how kaitiakitanga should be applied.

**Article 3**

The discussion of Article 3 focused on equity and opportunities for all New Zealanders, and participation in governance. There was a firm belief that Māori had not been treated fairly. For this reason, a great number of Māori were choosing to participate in the mainstream, and in tribal activities:

> Eighty per cent of Māori first time registrants on the [electoral] rolls choose the Māori rolls ... They're interested in participating in the mainstream as Māori, and that brand being present in the constitutional arrangements.

Getting Māori involved at the local government level was difficult. Māori viewed local government as having nothing to do with them or as being impenetrable.

> [Many] don’t participate in local or national politics because … they don’t believe that anything they do will make a difference …

Participation was seen as contingent on being in groups that operated on Māori values, and establishing the relationship based on principles of shared governance, so that Māori would be motivated to participate. The Southland local authorities were upheld as having acknowledged their inadequacy in dealing with Māori issues and engaged with the runaka directly. A focus on Māori-specific issues, rather than all matters that concern Māori failed to recognise the holistic nature of te ao Māori, and was seen as a weakness of this approach. Nevertheless, the example was acknowledged as progress.

The poor uptake of Māori seats provided for in the Local Electoral Act 2001 was attributed to the discretionary nature of the provision, and the traditional views of the majority of elderly, well-meaning Pākehā councillors. The Bay of Plenty Regional Council was acknowledged for their special legislation that provided for Māori seats.

Consultation practices were frequently seen as tokenism. The importance of involving Māori early in consultation was raised many times. There was a call for local government to support mana whenua to consult with tauiwi Māori. This was seen as reinforcing te ao Māori and building mana whenua capacity.
Many Māori were still seen to be ‘stuck in the 1980s’ grievance mode, rather than working proactively to find acceptable resolutions to Māori issues:

It’s different if you are required to adopt a mature approach, in which you are trading off some things you want to achieve, and some things you know you can’t achieve even if you’d like to … You’re taking a more dimensioned approach to participation if you are an initiative taker.

Participation was further described as:

… a nuanced picture for Māori because the expression of local voice is not primarily through a local authority, as it is with the Pākehā community. For tangata whenua it is through their iwi or hapū organisations. That’s the voice that resonates for them.

Participation needed to be considered in the context of the time and energy that Māori have available, and their priorities. It was emphasised that the challenge was a double layered one: how to factor the separate authority of iwi into environmental and community management, and how to factor in individual Māori as ratepayers.

This challenge presented iwi with a large capacity gap in governance - the ability to take initiative and lead communities. The Treaty settlement process was seen as one avenue to address this. The shortfall in capacity was anticipated to take at least a generation to overcome, and to require support at the local and central government level.

The message from Māori was clear. The relationship with local government needed to be based on the Treaty, provide for kawanatanga of the Crown, and tino rangatiratanga for Māori. It was foreseen that in practice, this could be a shared form of governance based on equal authority and Māori values.

Representation is discussed in the section on governance, later in this chapter.

The Waitangi Tribunal

The Waitangi Tribunal processes were growing in prominence as early claims gained momentum and the 1 September 2008 deadline for lodgement of historical claims approached. Several participants spoke of the Tribunal as flawed. They saw a process designed by the National Government without
proper consultation with Māori, that was predicated on what has frequently been termed the 'the 6 February 1840 notion'.

"6 February 1840" notion

The '6 February 1840 notion' referred to the Crown having established the Māori way of life as it was at the time that Te Tiriti was signed, as its point of reference for the Treaty in law.

That whoever allegedly held the mana on the 6th February 1840, will hold that mana forever, is not a Māori concept …

The occupation of land was related to ahi kā, which could contradict the Crown’s view of who held mana whenua. It was recognised that when the Māori waka migrations arrived in Aotearoa the land was progressively occupied and migrations occurred over generations:

We’re all migrants to this land … At what point in time did our tupuna become tangata whenua? At what point in time did we become mana whenua? Ngāi Tahu didn’t start out as mana whenua in Te Wai Pounamu …

Māori saw the unwillingness of the Crown to take a more flexible approach as another flaw in a process that in their view struggled for credibility.

Māori expectations and experiences

Despite reticence about the Waitangi Tribunal, the Māori interviewed saw the process as an opportunity to sustain and progress the development of their people. The government’s desire to deal with iwi and rūnanga was a source of frustration for some claimants, as were the limited forms of redress available. One participant was seeking to reestablish her hapū as decision-makers in their rohe, where the population was 80 per cent Māori. The view was that:

… you could still keep the council and the way it operates now. We would interact with them on a basis of political equality …

The apology, which was part of a settlement, was seen as ritualised, and viewed by some Māori as an empty gesture.

There were also examples of how the Waitangi Tribunal called into play old alliances, in order to get agreement over the statutory settlement of complex
claims. In Northland this involved the recognition of Ngāti Hine as a separate iwi from Ngāpuhi to ensure the iwi received an equitable share of fisheries resources.

The Māori worldview was seen to be struggling for acknowledgement through the Tribunal. Traditional Māori concepts were introduced into proceedings to make this point. For example, in the Sealord’s case, the arrangement was not seen to relate to Māori principles of fisheries management. It ignored:

a whole body of lore that’s not recognised as law, in terms of the Pākehā worldview, about how fisheries and kai moana are managed, such as self policing rāhui, which defined how much resource could be taken.

Other important claims mentioned were; Wai 212\textsuperscript{167}, the Ika Whenua report; Wai 11, the te reo Māori claim; Wai 28 and 150, the radio frequencies claims. The Māori language claim was considered fundamental to tino rangatiratanga. Participants also recalled the long fight to establish the Māori Television Service.

The Kaipara claim Wai 312\textsuperscript{168} taken by the five hapū of Ngāti Whātau o Kaipara was awaiting settlement, and was expected to comprise land gifted for community services, and a partnership with government service agencies for the provision of social services for Māori and the wider community.

Participants expressed the distress they felt in having to prove their relationship to their land, waters and mountain, and their customary rights to the foreshore, seabed and other resources. The Māori concept of ‘possession’ as opposed to ‘ownership’ was not widely understood or applied.

All the things that tie you to the foreshore and seabed are not the criteria that you have to show government in order to [prove a] claim.

\textsuperscript{167} Te Ika Whenua Energy Assets Report 1993 responded to allegations that the Crown had been remiss in protecting rights of tino rangatiratanga under Article 2 of the Treaty by permitting the Bay of Plenty Electric Power Board and the Rotorua Area Electricity Authority to erect the Aniwhenua and Wheao Dams on the Rangitaiki and Wheao Rivers. The claim was upheld on the grounds that the river was a taonga that Māori were entitled to retain from 1840 (Te Puni Kōkiri 2008).

\textsuperscript{168} The report covers 14 individual claims stretching from Dargaville down the West Coast to Muriwai, and from Mangawhai on the East Coast to Riverhead on the Waitemata harbour, that deals with numerous breaches of the Treaty resulting in land losses. The Tribunal concluded that claimants were prejudiced by numerous breaches around these issues and that several breaches to Articles 2 and 3 of the Treaty of Waitangi had occurred. The Tribunal found that the claim was well founded (Te Puni Kōkiri 2008).
The elephant in the room - full and final settlement

The Waitangi Tribunal required enormous emotional investment. It set Māori against Māori through the process of claims and counter claims. Participants had reservations about the bureaucracy required to support the Tribunal. Its value as a healing mechanism was acknowledged, and it was likened to the South African truth and reconciliation commission.

The Tribunal was not seen as independent and impartial.

whole offices have been set up to allow redress to occur and yet those we are seeking redress from are controlling the system … Pākehā, the system, were the first to breach [Te Tiriti].

The Tribunal was described as a ‘travesty of democracy’ and something that should be of concern to all New Zealanders, not just Māori. Several participants did not see the claims process as fair, reasonable and just. The Crown was seen as ‘both game keeper and poacher.’

It was commonly held that the Tribunal was taking a huge and unreasonable toll on the lives of several generations of Māori. The responsibility for progressing claims was intergenerational, as those who started them 20 to 30 years ago, themselves passed on:

To expect very small, very fragile communities to mount significantly difficult claims, in many cases inadequately resourced, in many cases fighting against the very institution that appropriated the land in the first instance, I think is morally reprehensible.

It was clear that there was reticence amongst both Māori and the Crown to acknowledge the weaknesses in the process, and the inequity in settlements:

… any expectation that Treaty of Waitangi settlements are going to be full and final chips away at the moral heart of this country. They cannot be full and final if they’re not fair. And we all know that they’re not fair and it is the elephant in the room that most people are not prepared to discuss.

Participants did see some progress, but the process was undermined by its foundations in a Eurocentric worldview.
Te Tiriti in central and local government

The application of Te Tiriti in local and central government raised a number of issues: the need for appropriate decision-making structures, the capacity of Māori and local government, and poor Māori representation.

Issues relating to environmental management are discussed in the section on governance, later in this chapter.

The need for appropriate decision-making frameworks

The decision-making frameworks at local and central government were seen to subordinate Māori views. This created a dilemma for Māori seeking to influence resource and environmental management. Māori were seeking a shared decision-making role, alongside local and central government, beyond Treaty settlement negotiations and applications for foreshore and seabed titles.

It was clear to Māori that the RMA and LGA failed to deliver appropriate levels of Māori control, partnership or influence in decision-making about the environment to which they were connected. Treaty settlements were seen as just one step in the process; the next step being shared governance of the natural environment. This would require a more consensus-style governance model, with sharing of power, control and decision-making. Recent examples included:

... the Waikato River agreement, the Ngāti Porou foreshore and seabed [agreement], the proposal [to] hand back Mauao, Mount Maunganui and joint management of the Rotorua lakes ...

Capacity issues for Māori and local government

Concerns were voiced over the capacity of local and central government to support greater involvement of Maori in a post settlement environment. The profound impact of the Ngāi Tahu and Tainui settlements on activities in their rohe signaled the potential impact of future settlements:

Māori will be owners of significant economic assets ... They'll be powerful stakeholders in the management of the cultural landscape.
A gap was identified in the ability of Māori to articulate outcomes in a way that the system could understand. This was matched by a corresponding gap in the capacity of Government to respond appropriately to Māori initiatives.

**Māori representation**

The desire for better Māori representation, and parallel and appropriate decision-making fora was a recurring theme. Overlapping hapū and iwi boundaries and shared areas of interest had caused issues for Ngāti Whātua o Kaipara and Ngāti Whātua o Orakei. These stemmed from the large number of iwi and hapū relationships across Tamaki Makaurau. The hierarchy and Māori understanding of the order was emphasised.

Contradictions over who could represent Māori, specifically in the health and local government sectors were confusing for Māori and Pākehā. Māori representatives were seen to be constrained by the requirement for them to take a bicultural, rather than a Māori perspective.

It was emphasised that at the local authority level, resources should focus on engaging Māori through whānaungatanga-based organisations first, before recognising Māori participation in the mainstream and through tribal authorities. The reticence of some local authorities to have a Treaty policy was seen as an impediment to better representation and participation by Māori.

**Closing the gap between Māori and Pākehā understanding**

Māori observed progress in closing the gap. Te reo was taught and spoken in a wide range of fora among Māori. Māori sport was contributing to everyday use of te reo, at the individual, whānau and tribal levels.

One participant foresaw the opportunity for Māori and Pākehā to live as equal in her lifetime. The Crown would step back as the dominant partner and make way for a more balanced partnership with Māori.

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169 Shared areas of interest for Ngāti Whātua with Kawarau o Maki included Waitakere and Huia. Shared interest for Ngāti Whātua o Orakei and the takiwa from South Kaipara are Te Raki Pae Whenua, Waitakere, and Whenuapai. In the Rodney District Council area, interest is shared on the east coast with Ngāti Paoua and with Ngāti Manuhiri, a hapū of Ngāti Wai.
Māori were contributing to a raised awareness among Pākehā by leading Treaty workshops. One example aimed to give new migrants establishing businesses an understanding of Te Tiriti, its relevance, and the relationship they might have with Māori.

**Concluding thoughts on Te Tiriti**

Two questions were raised during the kōrero that provide an appropriate end to this section. The first deals with the ‘where to now’ with Te Tiriti, its constitutional status and the meaning of tino rangatiratanga - how to turn this into practical resource management:

> Everywhere I go we discuss this at hui and... We talk about the pure form of tino rangatiratanga and how you recognise the Treaty without subjugating it to the law of this country. That's the dilemma.

The second question pondered what might have been, had the Treaty of Waitangi not been signed. There was no answer, but it was posed that:

> … We could look like Canada, India, Australia or Fiji ... I do not know what New Zealand would look like if we hadn’t signed the Treaty of Waitangi, but I know my great grandmother would still have looked at her English partner and married him.

**4. Sustainability**

Sustainability was without question an intrinsic element of te ao Māori, which took an holistic approach to the universe and encompassed environmental, social, cultural and economic well-being. Political drive and aspirations for Māori self-determination were considered aspects of sustainability that were essential for the survival of Māori as a people.

Sustainability was described as:

> … Māori able to sustain their cultural practices, their political development, their rangatiratanga, the ability to exercise kaitiakitanga in the care for others and… the environment. Kaitiakitanga is about looking after us in a global sense … not just in Aotearoa …
The Māori party values were seen to contribute to sustainability: kotahitanga, rangatiratanga, manaaakitanga, wairuatanga, mana whenua, mana tupuna and te reo rangatira.

An alternate view of sustainability that was based on the natural environment and Pai Marire was described earlier in this chapter.

A serving Māori elected member described sustainability as the legacy we leave for future generations. The environment was inextricably linked to the well-being of the people living on that land, and to the economy that supports environmental and social well-being. Health was linked to the health of whenua. Those Māori with ahi kā status were contributing to the sustainability of Māori, as a people.

The word longevity was used by one participant to describe sustainability, and encompassed a focus on future generations and the health of the environment:

> The challenge for Māori is what we do not want to sustain … raw sewage going into a moana. Why would we want to sustain that?

A parallel was drawn between social sustainability, women’s rights and more generally human rights. In this frame, sustainability was seen in terms of ethical behaviour.

A small group of participants described sustainability is an inherent part of Māori worldview, cosmologically and spiritually:

> all things in the world have a mauri, have a life-force; the trees, the river, the stones have a life-force … when you’re dealing with the environment you’re fighting for sustainability … it’s shifting from an eco-centric to an anthropocentric model, with man as part of, not dominating, the environment.

Several participants attributed the exploitation of natural resources to the dominance of the European worldview and capitalist philosophy. The RMA 1991 and the New Zealand government’s policies for sustainability were regarded as well intentioned, but had not delivered the benefits many Māori sought. Participants were seeking a cultural change within local and central government with actions to support policy for sustainability.
The holistic approach

Sustainability was seen as a very commonsense and practical way of linking health, the ability to practise tikanga, and the need to care for the environment and provide for people socially and economically. The establishment of a pest management programme was described as looking after the environment, strengthening community, building work skills and providing for Māori economically.

Environmental well-being

Environmental sustainability was intrinsic to the Māori worldview. Recurrent themes were water quality, conservation, and resource use.

Wastewater contamination of moana was an ongoing issue for participants. Traditional practice protected the mahinga kai moana by ensuring that human waste was disposed of on land. The European practice of disposing of treated effluent to the sea was an ongoing cause of distress.

The sustainability of natural resources such as forests and fisheries, and the failure of government to recognise the customary rights of access and management was reiterated through the kōrero. Māori were seeking recognition and empowerment of customary models of environmental management.

Participants acknowledged that the environment changed over time and how this influenced customary rights. For example, kererū were plentiful when used as a food source 200 years ago but were now scarce:

… The land has ebbed and flowed and the environment has changed… You use those things that are plentiful and leave the things that are sparse. That’s common sense and traditional …

Living in a traditional whānau environment was emphasised as the old way of learning about environmental management.

The impact of commercial over-fishing on kai moana stocks and fisheries had been observed. The harmful effect that farming had on natural waterways and the impact of grazing stock was acknowledged by rural Māori:

It’s had a terrible impact on some of the rivers … The eels tell you a story about the rivers and the streams.
One participant described how his family’s practices for protecting the environment were viewed as unproductive use of land. Respecting nature was a value demonstrated by those participants who grew up on the land. Wetlands and pukeko were protected, as were saplings. There was a focus on protecting water quality and trees were recognised for their ability to filter streamwater. Māori were undertaking projects to rehabilitate degraded wetlands and waterways. An example was the Ngāti Hine wetland restoration in Kawakawa, and work on the wider catchment.

### Social and cultural well-being

The interdependency between social and cultural well-being was evident through the kōrero, as was the relationship with economic well-being. Giving people opportunities to break out of welfare dependency was a common thread:

> I brought in a single mum who was on the DPB and trained her as the practice manager … using the philosophy of self-sustainability … getting rid of the hand out mentality …

A Māori sports organisation was an example of how to bring together social, cultural and economic sustainability:

> … the club was set up with three components in mind: sport and recreation, the business arm to generate revenue … sustain itself. Equally important was the social service component … so that we could make a difference in the community, provide a service and contribute …

Another participant told of a hapū forestry enterprise that was entrusted to provide for the well-being of future generations:

> We wanted to establish an economic foundation for the hapū … in 10 years the trust [developed] assets valued at $6 million and it’s now about $25 million … we’ve set up an education and welfare fund. So the old people now get a grant every year and anybody who wants to pursue education gets a grant … we’ll put a deposit up on houses. And that’s in my life time …

Social sustainability was recognised as encompassing community networks. Māori elected members expressed the value of being in touch with their communities and knowing their views. Community outcomes were described as an important reference. Decisions such as liquor bans in the CBD, promoting tourism and addressing crime were made in this context.
Politics of sustainability

The kōrero were consistent in the view that achieving well-being in its broadest sense was dependent on the ability of Māori to make decisions based on te ao Māori. Changes that had been made in the political system to accommodate te ao Māori, were viewed as insignificant.

The mixed member proportional representation (MMP) system of government, introduced in 1996 had created an opportunity for the Māori Party. While this had given Māori greater presence, it had not achieved the requisite values change in parliament for sustainability.

Above all, sustainability for Māori was dependent on procreation. One kaumatua described his role on the marae:

I’m the waho kōrero, the messenger … The message is simply about sustainability … “Haere mahi te mahi ki a kapi te whenua ia Ngai Moe Whare, go forth and multiply so you cover the earth with Ngai Moe Whare people”. If we want to do that we’ve got to be healthy. We’ve got to be successful economically. We’ve got to have mana.

The whānau-based social structure and cultural values of te ao Māori shared much in common with western principles of sustainable development. The holistic nature of the Brundtland Report (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987) definition was reflected the Māori view of the world as connected. The cosmology was used even today to teach practices that promote sustainability.

5. Governance

Introduction

The participants’ experience of Māori and Pākehā governance reflected participation at the local, regional and national levels of government and other organisations. The kōrero evolved into six themes: Māori models of governance, constitutional models, Pākehā governance, environmental management, legislation involving Māori, and how local government could change.
**Government versus governance**

For some participants ‘government’ and ‘governance’ were two distinct concepts. Government meant sovereignty or the exercise of tino rangatiratanga. However, the term ‘kāwanatanga’ (a transliteration) was used in the Māori version of Te Tiriti. For those for whom the distinction was important, Māori self determination was inconceivable within a Westminster model of government.

Governance related to participation in decision-making. With respect to Pākehā organisations this was viewed in an Article 3 context, that is, Māori having the same rights and duties of citizenship as Pākehā New Zealanders.

Participants had taken one of three distinctive positions. They either worked within the Pākehā framework as Māori, or focused their energy on constitutional change, or worked in the spaces between these two positions.

**Governance defined**

The term governance was interpreted in different ways. For Māori who were raised in a rural environment, their world was governed by their natural environment, the seasons and the sun and the moon. There was religion, in the form introduced by the missionaries. Māori cosmology and spiritual beliefs practiced in conjunction with religion such as Pai Marire were viewed as another layer of governance.

Governance was described as the exercise of the mana that comes from a ‘continuity of consciousness’ - a link with the past:

when Māori paddled and sailed across the Pacific Ocean they island hopped … At each island they adapted and adopted the architecture, the agriculture, the art, the song, the music, the language … Without that continuity of consciousness you've got nothing to base your past on.

Governance was described as a rule of law that came from an understanding of the land and how people interacted with the environment. This view of the world was likened to the way in which animal husbandry was practiced in tune with nature. A central North Island participant had learned to exercise power and to govern a spirit by his father's way with animals. Governance was seen as a way of directing rather than breaking the spirit.
Within central and local government, governance included making decisions in a representative capacity. This was seen as making a contribution to whānau and the wider community.

Responsibility and a duty of care was part and parcel of governance in both the public and the private sector. The notion of independence in decision-making was acknowledged by one participant as a typically western view. Somebody could be selected for a governance role based upon the notion that they were representative of the interest of certain people, provided they understood that they were to be representative 'of', not 'to' represent the group¹⁷⁰.

**Māori models of governance**

Traditional Māori governance models survived until the late 19th century and were based on ariki or rangatiratanga. After the arrival of European settlers this broadened to encompass kingitanga. ‘Chiefmanship’ was described typically as staying within the bloodline.

The prevalence of traditional models of Māori governance was acknowledged. Kingitanga was referenced by a small group of participants, none of whom belonged to the kahui ariki¹⁷¹.

Traditional models are still adhered to, for example in Tuwharetoa and to a lesser extent in the kingitanga … an attempt to mirror and balance the British queen and royalty with Māori royalty. It has had success because of a commitment to being apolitical.

The Māori concept of rights as part of a collective society clashed with western governance, based on the individual. Hapū was acknowledged as the governance structure of Māori society in pre-contact times. Traditionally, iwi came together for a special purpose. Hapū were likened to the Polynesian villages from which they originated, and the European clan system.

Marae committees were prominent even among urban Māori. Governance was by the traditional practice of hui, which was favoured over the western system of ‘one person, one vote’:

¹⁷⁰ This equated to the western concept of delegate and trustee roles of representation (Heywood, 1999).
¹⁷¹ The kahui ariki is the group of hapū belonging to the kingitanga clan (King, 1977).
Governance on the marae is different… it’s more of a consensus. Whereas at council I’ve won many a vote, seven:six, and I’ve lost many a vote …

Rūnanga were viewed as a way of reuniting iwi following separation that resulted from 160 years of divisive and land-alienating legislation and the migration of Māori to the cities for work, in the post world war periods.

Governance was recognised as a skill by a Northland participant who was instrumental in establishing hapū employment and health initiatives. As hapū learned the governance skills, the initiatives were extended to neighbouring villages and eventually to the whole tribe.

Hapū and rūnanga were viewed as the day to day governance structures. The word ‘marae’ was used interchangeably with the words ‘hapū’ or ‘rūnanga’ as the place where people met, for example, celebrations such as tangihanga and weddings, and for service provision, such as health and education.

One kaumatua talked about the urban marae established by the Ngāti Whātau o Orakei Trust Board:

There’s Mataatua, Mahurihuri, Papakura, Manurewa and others… that’s what Māori people needed … a place that they felt was theirs, run in terms of their culture, their values, their kawa, their protocol …

The Ngāti Whātau kohonganui was described as the top governance structure representing their 35 marae. Their counsel was sought on important governance matters.

Groups such as the New Zealand Māori Congress were established as Māori felt the need to unite to give voice to the concerns they held over the Crown’s treatment of Māori:

[The Congress] was nationwide iwi, coming together to deal with issues that effected Māori … from education to health … We were looking for a better relationship with the Crown in terms of upholding the Treaty of Waitangi …

The New Zealand Māori Council was another group with a national focus that had been successful as a voice for Māori and was still politically active. It had successfully led a number of legal challenges against the Crown over issues
such as the sale of Māori land under the State-Owned Enterprises Act 1986, and the ownership of forests, fisheries and the broadcasting spectrum.

Two participants spoke of the difficulties they observed for Māori women in governance roles. Traditionally, wahine had played various roles in governance through Māori history, though held no formal leadership roles. With the exception of some tribes with a history of matriarchs, wahine had no voice on the marae.

The Māori women participants expressed concern at the lack of practical and financial support by government agencies for Māori women’s organisations. The Māori Women’s Welfare League was an example.

The women described being in a position to breakdown some of the social barriers between Māori and Pākehā, and to set the scene for a more inclusive governance style. From a te ao Māori view, this meant promoting health and keeping tikanga and kawa.

**The distinction between governance and management**

A theoretical distinction between governance and management was familiar to most of the participants who had been involved in Māori and Pākehā institutions. The work of Te Puni Kōkiri in promoting good governance was widely known. In lower level Māori organisations that relied on volunteers:

> … the line between governance and management is completely blurred and often nonexistent … Govern[ors] tend to get intimately involved in the management of things …

This was attributed to the communal nature of Māori society and the sense of ownership that whānau and hapū felt for their communities. Larger Māori incorporations were seen to be adopting Pākehā-style governance structures and practices that overshadowed the concepts of ahi kā and mana.

**Awhi**

Awhi was important for many of the participants. The support, encouragement and mentoring they received to take on governance roles came through rangatira, kaumatua and tohunga within their whānau, hapū, iwi and national networks.
Two Māori, who had served as elected members in local government, related how kaumatua from their marae had visited them with nomination papers and asked them to stand for local council. One recalled the influence of senior members of his church and community, and how the mentoring began early in his life.

In Northland, the late Sir James Henare, an acknowledged rangatira and scholar, was acknowledged as an important awhi within his own whānau, hapū and iwi. Another leading rangatira talked of his good fortune to have learned from great tribal leaders of his time, men of whakapapa and great capacity to lead their people:

I was born at a time of great chiefs and people who had natural leadership. They had title, they had whakapapa, and their leadership was unquestioned … I learnt what it is like to be a tribal leader … I learned different ways … I was on the fringe of Nga Tama Toa, with all their breaking kawa to make a point and … on the other side I was with these gentlemen …

Māori constitutional models

The kūrero generated discussion around how local and central government could recognise te ao Māori. Options for constitutional change and accommodating te ao Māori within the existing Westminster system were proposed. Changes were envisaged to benefit Māori, and at the same time be to the advantage, or at least not disadvantage Pākehā and other New Zealanders.

Options for constitutional change

Amongst those who sought constitutional change, the two-house model (Community Sector Taskforce, 2006b; Winiata, 2005) of government and governance was forefront in their minds. The Hirangi Hui convened by Sir Hepi Te Heuheu in the 1980s and 1990s were described as a major turning point in Māori governance aspirations.

The bi-cameral model of the Parliament of South Africa, which comprised a national assembly, provincial committees, and representatives mandated to the
legislature for a period of four years, was discussed as a working model. Such a bi-cameral model:

… could mandate Pākehā to represent various constituencies. Māori would be on an equal playing field representing their people. We [would need to] develop a new constitutional framework that would enshrine rangatiratanga, so Māori and Pākehā would be making decisions equally …

The Anglican Church constitution was highlighted as a successful working bi-cameral model. A version of the parliamentary two-house model was described that provided for both election to standard portfolios, and for Māori to be appointed by Māori to Māori portfolios. Māori Ministers could be appointed at hui and represent iwi and other interests, for example, kura kaupapa, kohunga reo. It was suggested that some government departments would have two ministers.

Options for implementing such constitutional change would need to reflect on indigenous governance practices and involve a shift in the balance of power. Māori were cautious about expecting change in the short term.

There were reservations about retaining the current parliamentary system in any form. It was acknowledged that there was still much work to be done around options for constitutional change, not least to establish the momentum for such a change. Reticence among Māori about Te Tiriti being enshrined in legislation was a common thread amongst those participants considering constitutional change. Tino rangatiratanga, as intended in Te Tiriti, was seen as vulnerable to being ‘out-voted or sub-ordinated’ to other legislation.

The Māori seeking constitutional change were inherently optimistic despite more than a century of advocating for proper recognition of their tino rangatiratanga. Pākehā who believed in proper recognition of the Treaty were recognised as having worked for, and laid the foundations with Māori, for a fairer system of government and power sharing.

**Local change from within**

Participants advocated models that facilitated Māori involvement in local government. Experience of tangata whenua standing committees and Māori
seats had emphasised how vulnerable these mechanisms were to political change.

Advisory committees were seen as a limited response to incorporating a Māori voice. A meaningful response to sustainability required a change in values at the local government level.

Notwithstanding the resistance to Māori seats, there was a view amongst the elected member participants, even those who favoured constitutional change, that this would enhance the influence of Māori in local governance:

Māori seats would change everything here overnight. We’ve got four wards that are Māori dominated and would turn overnight into Māori wards …

Two tangata whenua standing committee models were recognised to be enhancing Māori participation and well-being: the Te Arawa Standing Committee in Rotorua, and the Taumata Rūnanga at Waitakere. The general view was that while these committees were useful, greater changes were needed. Westminster traditions of Parliament, such as the Speaker of the House being dragged to his seat at the beginning of a parliamentary session, and western structures at local government, were widely seen as irrelevant to Māori:

Auckland councils put up models… but they can be totally overloaded with non-Māori … but in Waitakere, the Taumata Rūnanga has only two or three councillors and the rest are appointed by Māori …

It was highlighted that a Taumata Rūnanga model had been adopted by the eight Auckland local authorities and the Government Urban and Economic Development Office in 2008, as part of the Auckland Sustainability Framework. That this was yet to be implemented emphasised the reticence of many elected members to consider sharing governance power and responsibilities.

There was support for iwi management plans, under the RMA, to bind the local authority in certain areas:

…if iwi management planning is compulsory … it then encourages iwi to take the initiative about the things that are a priority to them … and it treats them as the public authorities that they perceive themselves to be, not as the private associations that the system perceives them as.
Māori reiterated that they were locked into the rigid democratic model at both the national and local government level and denied any form of tino rangatiratanga. Resistance to changes that would empower Māori was evidenced at every level of government.

Māori highlighted that in areas where Māori were the majority, the impact of proper Treaty policy on non-Māori would be minimal. Such areas included Opotiki and Gisborne in the central North Island. Giving Māori effective voice was still seen as fundamentally a threatening model. This may be attributed to the age cohort of Pākehā elected members. As such this could be seen as a generational issue.

**Māori involvement in Pākehā governance**

Seven participants had experience in local or central government, or on public sector bodies. A common theme among this group was the sense of constitutional dilemma they experienced working within a system that was to them ‘entirely Eurocentric’.

**Constitutional dilemma**

Three of seven participants were comfortable working within central and local government, and felt their organisations were able to acknowledge the needs of Māori and ‘generally, do the right thing’. They focused on creating partnership. There was a sense among this group that non-Māori elected members did want to do the right thing.

The remaining four described the system as irrelevant to them as Māori, and creating disadvantage for their constituents. They saw the ‘one person, one vote’ system going against Māori elected members who were a minority, even in Māori dominated areas. This group favoured consensus decision-making and sought the opportunity to set up systems that worked better for Māori.

Māori who participated in Pākehā governance fora commented about the need to acknowledge the difference in worldviews and to understand the position of those at the table. This was in contrast to Māori fora where the issues were presented openly and the position of others at the table was clear.
Whether to participate in central or local government at all was a serious dilemma for some. The Māori elected representatives sought to overcome this by establishing an environment that was more conducive to debate and consensus decision-making.

The second part of the dilemma was the challenge of creating a system that was fair for Māori who live in their rohe, and fair to urban Māori who live and work in the cities. Such a system would need to respect the role of mana whenua, while finding a way to give taurahere a voice. The failure by central government to respond to this need risks alienating Māori further from local government.

**Māori involvement in central government**

Participants working with the Māori Party saw it as their priority to draw attention to the goodness amongst Māori, and to express manaakitanga through the Party’s interaction within government.

The success of the Party in ensuring that the Māori voice was included in the Waitakere Ranges Bill emphasised the value of the Party to Māori. The absence of genuine consultation, even on matters concerning Māori was acknowledged. The fiscal envelope policy and the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004, were two examples given.

Te ao Māori and hui were emphasised as non-negotiable aspects of Māori governance. Such change in the system of local governance is unlikely to be achieved without a strengthened mandate from central government. One course of redress available to Māori is a legal challenge of the government’s interpretation of Te Tiriti o Waitangi or the LGA 2002, with respect to tino rangatiratanga at the local level, for example the Lands Case, the New Zealand Māori Council vs the Attorney General [1987] 1NZLR.

**Māori involvement in the public sector**

Participants in the health and education sectors saw the relationship between Te Tiriti and their work as a partnership approach - showing respect and treating others fairly:
How do I demonstrate the Treaty in my life? It's just who I am. My mother's Pākehā, my father’s Māori. It has always been about partnership and respect and all of those things that are the Treaty … I respect people the same way that I'd expect to be respected but with a [cultural] understanding.

Whānaungatanga was especially relevant for those who worked in the health sector. Participants described 'knowing' their clients or their family members.

Throughout public sector organisations, Māori leaders experienced cultural domination, for example, Māori culture being set aside by western values. Experience had taught Māori that being appointed by government either limited their voice to expressing that which aligned with government policy, or limited their tenure in the role.

Of the Māori with experience in the education system, almost half had either taught at the tertiary level or held a representative role on a college board of trustees. Education was universally viewed as a path to Māori development and self determination. Bringing tikanga to their work was a source of satisfaction.

**Māori involvement in local government**

Three participants were current or past elected members. A further four worked closely with local authorities in their areas and were representatives on advisory boards.

Two in the elected member group described how being nominated to stand was a hapū or iwi decision. Māori otherwise recognised that they were in a position to improve conditions for their whānaunga and put themselves forward, with whānau support.

A Māori politician described how difficult it was both for Māori to get elected and then participate in the Pākehā governance system to try and improve opportunities for Māori people:

> We’ve put some of our best leaders up for local government … our icons and they don’t even come close. So there’s a feeling among Māori that they don’t serve us …
Approach in office

One elected member described advocacy and being fair as his priorities, in much the same way as he viewed his Pākehā colleagues approach:

I wasn't out there hammering the Māori cause. There was no need to. You just agreed to be fair on things. All you've got to do is be fair and [for the most part] everything's fine …

Two women in elected positions described the challenge for women to get elected, and then to stay elected, especially in a Pākehā electorate. They also expressed the challenge of being a woman leader in Māoridom, where in some tribes women had not traditionally taken leadership roles.

The three Māori women participants expressed a consciousness of the cultural difference that they brought to the table. They were open in acknowledging that this was less marked in many of the male Māori representatives, who they viewed as being assimilated by the system:

I bring a cultural background, which very few have in the council. There are other Māori there but they usually position themselves where they can get the Pākehā support … they don’t articulate Māori issues … I’m there for Māori. That’s not to say I’m not there for other people as well, but there is a lack of support for Māori initiatives …

One elected member highlighted his disappointment in the outcome of environmental issues, for example, a private application to draw water from a local river with diminishing water levels that was granted, despite calls for restraint from mana whenua.

An example of positive change highlighted direct contact between local Māori and the engineers at the local authority:

It saves so much hassle because people’s time is precious… [Māori] don’t have the funds and the money to battle the big bureaucracies like councils.

Participation in local and central government processes was seen as a burden in some areas. This was especially so for small and poorly resourced tribes who were participating in Waitangi Tribunal claims and settlement processes.
Each of the participants had experience of local government that put Māori at a disadvantage. The stories ranged from cultural insensitivity to outright discrimination of Māori, individually and collectively. Two aspects of the relationship with local government troubled Māori most. The first was the dominance of the local council’s authority. The second was the perceived tokenism of much of the engagement with Māori communities.

Local government was seen to perpetuate double standards, not just in the voices elected members were prepared to listen to, but also in how funding was allocated. Māori elected members sought to address this inconsistency by highlighting examples and advocating for the inequities to be addressed.

My biggest job was alerting people [on the council] to a different way of looking at things …

The concept of who could represent Māori in a local government setting came up time and again and was an issue of contention. Māori were adamant that local government needed to get alongside Māori, understand Māori processes of representation, and act according to their own policies which reflected these processes.

Local authorities frequently approached different Māori groups about similar issues. They failed to coordinate these approaches and share the knowledge with other arms of council. This gave the impression that Māori time and expertise was not valued. There was also reticence amongst many public groups to acknowledge mana whenua and involve them in protocol, such as powhiri, for official events.

The difficulties associated with rating Māori land were widely debated:

Most of our people live on $20-30,000 [per year] in the rural areas, apart from the wealthy farmers that we might have living among us. We’re trying to cut back [the rates] because so many people just find it hard to pay the rates they’ve got now.

One participant, who had been successful in advocating change, had introducing a new rating system, on his casting vote:

We had a system of rating, which was inherently unfair. It was based on straight out land valuation … but the value of coastal land had suddenly
shot up because of new people coming in… I felt there had to be a fairer way ...

A kaumatua outlined his experience in advising his local authority on a Treaty-based rating policy, which specified whenua tuku iho as non-rateable. The policy was research-based and related to a small number of sites. The local authority adopted the policy as part of their LTCCP in 2006.

It is likely that the new generation of Māori leaders will be less tolerant of a subservient position for Māori at the governance table. As Treaty Settlements are progressed and Māori become significant land holders and decision makers at the local level, they are likely to be seeking recognition and representation at the local governance table.

**Environmental management**

Many of the issues relating to environmental management are reflected earlier in this chapter. In summary the issues related to: the loss of control of ancestral lands; concern over the pollution of lakes, rivers and harbours and the impact on the sustainability of the environment and Māori well-being; and exploitation of natural resources such as water. A poor understanding of te ao Māori with respect to whenua, kaitiakitanga and effective consultation compounded the issues around environmental management.

Some participants acknowledged progress with respect to Māori control over traditional lands and had observed a change in mindset. Some local authorities were taking a more inclusive approach and involving Māori in decision-making. This was seen to be the way of the future.

Participants were heartened by recent government investment in environmental sustainability. The restoration of Lake Rotorua was a significant example for a Te Arawa participant, who saw the potential this offered his council to redevelop wet-lands, and enhance people’s awareness of the natural environment.

**Legislation involving Māori**

Many of the Māori interviewed were highly conversant with law that had constrained the freedom of Māori to live as Māori. Legislation prior to 1953 was
recognised as intent on alienating Māori from their ancestral lands. Māori acknowledged that more recent legislation had aimed, in part, to reconcile grievances. However, the dominant western culture was still imposed over te ao Māori.

Māori involvement in the development of the LGA 2002 was described as a disillusioning experience. Participants saw few opportunities for influence and little will at the local or central government level to engage in discussion around alternative or parallel models of local governance.

Te Ture Whenua Act was valued by participants for providing governance models to acquire and retain whenua for future generations. Marae committees and rūnanga, which were formed under the Māori Development Act 1953, were well known and supported for the status they gave to iwi.

One participant spoke of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu (TRONT), a corporate-style governance structure set up by legislation (in consultation with Ngai Tahu) as part of their Treaty settlement process. The dilemma that arose for Māori in governance - to be representative ‘of’ or ‘to’ represent, was also a feature in TRONT. Many papatipu rūnanga instructed their representatives how to vote. This model of governance was seen to be in conflict with the principles of good governance and demonstrated a clash between Māori and Pākehā views on governance.

**How local government could change**

The Māori interviewed expressed views on how local government could change to encourage Māori participation in governance. The responses sought recognition of te ao Māori. This could be practiced by a more collaborative model of governance, strengthening of the mana whenua role, mandatory iwi management planning, recognising iwi as local authorities, and stronger provisions promoting sustainability in district plans. It was observed that few councils followed their own documented good practice processes and memoranda of understanding with Māori, especially where these supported shared decision-making and encouraged a strong ongoing relationship.
It was clear that te ao Māori was not reflected at all in the structure of most local councils, even in those districts where the Māori population predominates. Strengthening the relationship with mana whenua, and supporting mana whenua to consult with tauiwi Māori, was seen as a way to build the capacity of mana whenua to exercise manaakitanga and kaitiakitanga. It was noted that in some parts of the country, mana whenua was not entirely clear and subject to challenge.

There was widespread agreement that local government needed to recognise whānaungatanga and whakapapa connections to whenua. The importance of hui as an authentically Māori custom was a recurring theme. A system of local government that sought consensus was an aspiration expressed by all participants.

Environmental management was a key driver for Māori to engage with local authorities. It was suggested that iwi management planning needed to be mandatory, in the same way that a district plan was mandatory. At the same time it was observed that sustainability provisions in district plans were generally weak and needed to be strengthened.

There was a call to upgrade the role of iwi organisations in environmental management and planning. Legislative change and policy were sought to strengthen support for traditional structures, to keep them alive and relevant and powerful in the lives of their people and the wider community. Assimilation of a core set of Māori values into the mainstream was envisaged:

Where people arrange themselves by whānaungatanga, their authority and power must be non-negotiable because if they lose that, assimilation is the next step. Once the iwi goes, then the hapū goes, then the whānau goes and then you’re just not Māori anymore.

It was emphasised that the system had to conceive of iwi as necessary players in environmental management.

If there is no iwi voice in the mix of instruments then the job is not complete. In the same way that if there is no district plan, there has to be one.

Local government was seen as needing to view iwi as formal authorities.
Māori perceive tribal authorities as public authorities, which they sometimes agree with and sometimes don’t, just as is the case with local authorities.

The difficulties created for iwi by local government imposed timeframes and the predetermined mandates of many elected members were emphasised. Councils needed to follow their own documented processes and memorandums of understanding with Māori, where these support shared decision-making and the relationship.

Discussion

What it means to be Māori and to practice te ao Māori could be traced through every aspect of the kōrero that described the participants views of governance and sustainability. Whether expressed by someone working at ‘the grass roots’ (community) level, or by a senior governor or rangatira, te ao Māori values were demonstrably present.

Two themes presented as underlying a Māori identity. The first was whakapapa, which was supported by the cosmology. The second was whenua, the land to which a person is connected to through whakapapa.

Māori councillors and politicians were supported by their whānau and hapū to lead in the Māori community and the wider Pākehā world. Participating in the Westminster parliamentary system and in local government, which does not recognise te ao Māori, posed a dilemma for many of the Māori elected representatives.

The traditions of mātauranga Māori that had been present at the time of colonisation were widely upheld and had been brought into a modern context. Mātauranga Māori and modern knowledge was seen as the path to Māori self-determination.

The conscious awareness of two distinctly different worldviews was prominent throughout the kōrero. Participants acknowledged the dominance of the Westminster parliamentary system that discriminated against Māori and sought Māori assimilation into western culture.
The differences between the Pākehā and Māori view of land became the symbol of difference between the two worldviews. This was enhanced by the Māori collective, social structure based on kinship. The bottom-up nature of Māori governance contrasted with the European model of government, which was top down.

Despite the many forms of discrimination that Māori endured, they were seeking to position their people for a future based on te ao Māori, te reo and mātauranga Māori. Māori governors worked to realise a place for te ao Māori within, or alongside, New Zealand’s systems of central and local government.

The wide range of views expressed about Te Tiriti o Waitangi converged at a number of points throughout the kōrero. In the words of one participant ‘the treaty is who I am, it is how we do things’.

Tino rangatiratanga in the Declaration of Independence was seen as having been confirmed in the Māori version of Te Tiriti. It was widely accepted that Māori had understood the threat posed by settler dominance and sought to protect their culture, way of life and access to resources through the Treaty. It was accepted that the settler motivation for the signing of Te Tiriti was based on the desire to acquire land for settlement. Māori grievances over the Crown’s failure to honour the Treaty had been consistently expressed over the last 160 years.

Māori were unanimous that the Waitangi Tribunal processes were not fair, and saw this as likely to impact on the expectation of settlements as being full and final. Many Māori were seeking political redress alongside the apology, land and fiduciary compensation.

Sustainability was clearly inherent in the holistic worldview of te ao Māori. It encompassed the four well-beings and was viewed through the traditional platforms of the foundational values as expressed by the Māori Party - kaitiakitanga, kotahitanga, rangatiratanga, manaakitanga, wairuatanga, manawhenua, mana tupuna and te reo rangatira - and in a very modern way. Sustainability was a very commonsense way of linking health, the ability to practice their tikanga, the need to care for the environment and provide for Māori people economically.
The four well-beings of sustainability found a balance within the Māori collective social organisation and holistic worldview. Inherent in Māori progress towards sustainability was the need for government and governance structures to give expression to te ao Māori. A prerequisite for this would be a shift in the values that underly the parliamentary and local government systems to recognise the foundational values of te ao Māori, and to provide for equitable power sharing.

Not least, for many Māori the concept of sustainability of the people was through procreation and a healthy lifestyle. Economic and political self determination for Māori was seen to be dependent on mana, mana tupuna and mana whenua and mokopuna.

The Māori experience of governance accentuated the difference between the Pākehā and Māori worldviews. There was consensus over what was needed to improve the local government system for Māori. A new system of local government that incorporated distinctively Māori ways of governance was proposed, along with ways to improve the present system.

Governance, as applied to Māori, was seen as something lesser than government. Māori authority, exercised in a culturally different way, had not been recognised as a form of government. Changes were sought that would address the failure of the current traditional system of local government to recognise and respect te ao Māori. These changes would have to shift the balance of power to provide for genuine sharing of decision-making and resources.

Adopting a more Māori form of governance would be seen as going some way towards achieving this. Such a model could encompass a ‘Māori House’ and a ‘Pākehā House’ (Winiata, 2005) and a conceptual place, such as a ‘Treaty House’, which was common to both cultures. The Community Sector Taskforce model (2006b) was proposed as a starting point.

Distinctly Māori ways of governance included the ‘authentically Māori’ process of hui. It was conceived that this could translate to a more inclusive model of central and local government. The concept of whānaungatanga had priority in all matters for governance of Māori people and whenua.
Opportunities were seen for local government to improve its present processes for Māori, by lifting the status of iwi management plans to make them mandatory, and by recognising iwi authorities as public authorities. Strengthening relationships with mana whenua and supporting them to lead consultation with tauiwi Māori would be seen as respecting their right to exercise manaakitanga and kaitiakitanga. Hui was advocated as a model for consensus decision-making.

Improvements in the current system of local governance were conceived as possible, based on a parallel model of effective Māori representation or the establishment of Māori wards and seats. Māori recognised the need to upskill their people and focus on leadership and succession planning.
PART 4
THE TREATY HOUSE
Chapter 11
Progressing urban sustainability

This chapter presents the Treaty House - the conceptual place in which the conclusions of both the Pākehā House and the Tikanga Māori House are brought together. The three assumptions made at the outset of this research were evidenced.

First, in Aotearoa New Zealand’s western liberal democracy, local government elected members were observed to have the potential to influence their communities’ progress towards urban sustainability. Many of the elected members surveyed chose to exercise their role in ways that sought to balance the social, cultural, environmental and economic well-being of their communities.

Second, the elected member role was changing in response to the emerging international trends in local governance brought about by globalisation, urbanisation and the rising international acceptance of sustainable development. Local pressures such as growth, an aging population, increasing diversity, and perceived low levels of voter turnout among young people, were also dominant influences. The need for a more participative style of governance that sought cross-sector, multi-agency and multi-level governance was evolving.

Third, Māori emphasised the cultural landscape as a central component of Maoridom, linking people to their land and their ancestors (Kawharu, 2002, p. 260). While there were competing worldviews in Aotearoa New Zealand, much of what has held true around governance and sustainable use of the environment can be explained through the origin of the Māori view.

The special relationship between Māori and their environment stemmed from the cosmology, and was reflected in their cultural symbols, traditional practices and beliefs. Among the participants, the Māori holistic view of the world was observed to sit comfortably alongside the strong model of sustainability. Māori views of land, resource allocation and land use, and the ‘bottom up’ nature of Māori society based on whānaungatanga, had potential to contribute towards
urban sustainability in New Zealand. The concept of Treaty partnership reflected an inclusive society necessary to achieve social and cultural sustainability in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The research set out to answer the primary question:

What is the appropriate role for local government elected members to progress urban sustainability?

A new external role was envisaged for elected members in Aotearoa New Zealand. The issues facing urban local governments in liberal western democracies had been identified as increasingly complex. As the LGA 2002 had signalled, local government could no longer expect to resolve these issues without the support of a multitude of actors within civil society. The new role for elected members would reflect aspects of the role of their UK and European counterparts, and be external in focus. That role would foster the cross-sector, multi-agency and multi-level governance required to progress urban sustainability.

This research demonstrated a need for New Zealand elected members to embrace the paradigm shift from ‘government’ to ‘governance’, and re-orientate their role towards a more collaborative and participative style of engagement with communities, in order to progress urban sustainability. It is not suggested that this new approach displace elected members’ governance roles (which focused on setting policy direction and decision-making) and representation roles. Rather, it should more clearly define and influence the leadership, public engagement, and political aspects of the elected member role.

The two secondary questions that guided the exploration of the Pākehā House were:

What progress has been made towards urban sustainability in the New Zealand local government sector?

How do the roles of elected representatives in New Zealand’s urban local authorities compare with the roles of local government representatives in other liberal, western, democratic nations?

Local government progress towards urban sustainability was explored through the five case studies using documentary analysis, and an elected member
questionnaire. While half the sample was made up of Pākehā men predominantly over 60 years of age, the questionnaire was skewed towards women and Māori, both of whom were better disposed towards urban sustainability, than their Pākehā male counterparts.

Genuine progress towards urban sustainability was evident in the New Zealand urban territorial authorities studied. The process of mainstreaming sustainable development into local authority processes and practices had begun. Vision statements and strategy based on the four well-beings and a future focus, were observed to be guiding policy and action in the urban territorial authorities studied. In 2009, much of the progress could be attributed to the LGA 2002.

Investment in environmental management and restoration initiatives was widespread among the case study local authorities. Habitat restoration, heritage protection, waste management and a sustainable approach to water quality, water supply and wastewater practices was observed. This was consistent with the findings of Evans et al. (2005, p. 120), who argued that a high level of environmental awareness served as a catalyst for a deeper understanding of sustainable development. This is explained by the devolved environmental management framework in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Community development initiatives progressing social and cultural well-being were prominent among the New Zealand local authorities studied. They were driven by the dominant influences within the meso level of local government, and included village planning, recreation and event centre development, housing for the elderly, and the provision of museum and library services.

Political and executive leadership was acknowledged as an important fifth aspect of governance for urban sustainability. The Auckland City Council (2006, p. 15) described leadership as having faith in the future, trusting in leadership, participation and listening to the voices of diverse communities, and individuals, groups, business, Māori, local and central government working together. Brokering partnerships and initiating regional strategy were widely acknowledged leadership roles for territorial authorities. These are roles that could be encompassed within a new and broader elected member role.
Multi-level governing was widely practiced across the case studies. However, evidence suggested that this was predominantly driven by the professional executive with a small cadre of charismatic, consensus/facilitator type political leaders (Cheyne, 2004).

It was found that investment was required to increase the knowledge and awareness of staff. Sustainable development had become centre-stage in decision-making, planning, and community participation. Greater levels of transparency and accountability were widely observed.

The focus on collaboration with key stakeholders, recognised internationally as a necessary characteristic of governance for urban sustainability was almost absent among the New Zealand elected members surveyed. Collaboration had not traditionally been a part of the New Zealand elected member role and as such would be new to many elected members. Its inclusion in a redefined elected member role is recommended.

It is acknowledged that collaboration requires time, energy, skills and resources. Institutional and social capacity is needed in sufficient stocks to facilitate both a more collaborative approach and to encourage citizen participation. Organisations, how they operate and their institutional form, was found to have the potential to enhance or discourage civic participation (Evans et al., 2005, p. 20). Institutions with the resources and capacity to lead change need to engender trust between individuals and communities, in order to progress towards urban sustainability.

The need for institutional capacity to further urban sustainability supports a case for institutional change to enhance institutional and social capacity among urban local authorities in New Zealand - new structures and rules to guide the behaviour of civil society and local and central government and encourage cross-sector and multi-level governance. Ensuring sufficient stocks of social and institutional capital to progress urban sustainability at the local level, requires investment in capacity building at both local and central government.

For cities to progress towards urban sustainability, inclusive governance needs to be fostered. It was found that New Zealand Māori were excluded from participation in local government as equal partners. The Treaty clause and the
provisions for Māori participation contained within the LGA 2002 were discretionary. While genuine attempts at Treaty-based models of representation had been made by some local authorities, in many cases the Māori voice was diluted.

In 2009, considerable progress was required for full expression of Māori tino rangatiratanga at the local government level. With political will, the short-term could focus on appropriate and effective forms of Māori representation and efforts to build Māori capacity to participate in local decision-making. In the longer-term, new forms of governance are needed, which respect Māori and Pākehā values and provide for shared decision-making.

The inclusion of Māori in local governance, as individuals and collectives, is a prerequisite to progress urban sustainability in New Zealand. It requires a new way of thinking by both the elected members and the executive - recognition of te ao Māori and acceptance of tino rangatiratanga as a valid form of authority.

Case study elected members were found to be embracing the concepts of urban sustainability. They had clearly prioritised their governance and policy development roles as being the most important, and were using these to focus on the four well-beings, and the present and future prosperity of their communities. The predominance of the governance role was consistent with the earlier findings of Drage (2004a, pp. 207-208). Representing communities, leadership and task accomplishment were the aspects of the elected member role that were next in priority. Enhancing external relationships, maintaining cohesion and reviewing performance followed. Political dimensions (political lobbying and influence) were the lowest priority tasks.

The priority of tasks was heavily influenced by organisational and legislative imperatives, over and above the elected members’ preferences. A small number of elected members highlighted that their council’s own bureaucratic processes impacted on their ability to prioritise their tasks. This emphasised the potential for the elected member role to progress urban sustainability to be clarified by amendment of the LGA 2002.

Following the 1989 reforms, as some elected representatives had perceived a hollowing out of their role, efforts to invoke the traditional division between
governance and management had been observed. To a large extent this perception among elected members had prevailed, although, by 2008, the division of roles between senior executives and elected members was beginning to reflect the overlapping roles model. While a degree of tension was acknowledged to be constructive, the reticence to change demonstrated by many elected members further supported the case for roles to be clarified in law.

A comparison across the European, British and Australian variants showed strong similarity in role components, but distinctly different priorities. Newnham and Winston (1997, p. 109) described representation, and communication between elected members and constituents, as the priority for elected members in Victoria, Australia. Governance followed, with performance review third. The community-centred nature of representation was emphasised.

In the UK, party politics clearly dominated (Leach & Wilson, 2000, p. 167). In this environment maintaining cohesiveness was the priority. Developing strategic policy and direction, external relationships and task accomplishment followed. Strategic policy and direction were the priority in times of financial crisis. Further, the emphasis on external relations was significant, and acknowledged the large number of actors involved in modern local governance.

The external relations role was well understood by British elected members and the executive. The transformation from traditional ‘top-down’ process-driven government to community-centred local governance had begun in the 1970s, and was strengthened by the Blair government-led reforms of the 1990s. Networks with local economic and community interests were increasingly important, and elected members were taking on lead roles in council-owned enterprises, external organisations and joint ventures (Leach & Wilson, 2000, pp. 104-107).

European local government also emphasised external linkage roles, such as ambassador and representative (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, p. 176). The representative role was described as representing citizens, the electorate, and groups, in government processes, and being informed of citizens’ views. Multi-level governing was emphasised. European elected members focused on implementing programmes on which they had been elected, and acting as
spokesperson for individuals, groups, and their political party. This was akin to the British model (Mouritzen & Svara, 2002, p. 176). The orientation of these two models emphasised the potential for the New Zealand elected member role to be more externally focused than was observed.

It was concluded that the external aspects of the representative role in the UK and Europe, discussed in chapter 4, had been progressively strengthened since reform began in the 1970s, in response to the paradigm shift in local governance and the compelling pressures of globalisation, urbanisation and Europeanisation. This conclusion emphasised the potential for enhancement of the New Zealand elected member role to respond to the compelling pressures common across international borders and in the local governance environment.

The dominance of New Zealand Pākehā elected members orientation towards governance was emphasised by their ranking of LTCCP-related tasks. Developing a vision for the future ranked as the most important task, and was closely followed by promoting efficient and effective use of the environment. Engaging the public, responding and including feedback in decision-making were ranked as of mid-range importance. Collaboration with key stakeholders, and communicating urban sustainability were of lower importance.

While collaboration was perceived by few of the elected members surveyed as an obstacle to progress for urban sustainability, more than a third highlighted collaboration as an opportunity. This represented a growing awareness, at least among the sustainability aware elected members, of the potential for greater collaboration to deliver on community outcomes.

The time required for meeting legislative, organisational and political imperatives posed a significant challenge for task accomplishment. This observation, coupled with elected members’ perception that their political mandate was undermined by consultation, likely explained their reticence to embrace the more participatory style of governance found to be necessary to progress urban sustainability in the UK and Europe.

The case for New Zealand elected members to actively embrace collaboration and multi-level governance is clear. It is supported by the British and European experience. Senior executives in the New Zealand local government sector had
responded to the LGA 2002 guiding principles, and were strengthening collaboration across local authorities, central government, the community, and the volunteer, and business sectors. A significant percentage of elected members recognised the potential for collaboration to progress both local community outcomes, and urban sustainability at a local and regional level.

Elected members identified knowledge of the concepts of urban sustainability by elected members and officers, as the prime obstacle inhibiting progress towards urban sustainability at the local government level. Correspondingly, this was the most frequently selected opportunity for progressing urban sustainability. This supports a case for emphasis on education at the local authority level.

Calls for a clarification of the elected member role were evident across the different variants of local government and encompassed a range of issues. Drage (2008, p. 176) called for a clarification of the representation role of elected members in New Zealand. Bains (in Newnham & Winston, 1997, p. 110) sought to address the lack of clarity and blurring of boundaries between the elected representative and the executive in Australia. Mouritzen and Svara (2002) emphasised differences in priorities for resource use and task perspectives between officers and elected members that required clarification across Europe.

A reorientation of the elected member role for urban sustainability could be achieved within the LGA 2002. A new role could incorporate the external linkage roles proposed for elected members by this research - engaging communities and stakeholders, cross-sector collaboration and multi-agency and multi-level governing.

The secondary question that guided the exploration of the Tikanga Māori House was:

How could Te Tiriti o Waitangi more fully influence governance for urban sustainability?

The potential of Te Tiriti o Waitangi to more fully influence governance for urban sustainability was explored through kanohi ki te kanohi interviews with Māori leaders. The participants were predominantly, but not exclusively, male. They
represented wide iwi interests from across Aotearoa New Zealand and were experienced and esteemed leaders among Māori, central and local government, public and private sector bodies and the community sector. Many were national and world authorities on indigenous and western governance, and social development.

Te Tiriti was a significant component of New Zealand’s system of government. Notwithstanding this, extensive groups of New Zealand Māori were broadly excluded from local governance, and had become increasingly frustrated by the challenge of participating as individuals and as collectives, in a manner they saw as appropriate.

Overwhelmingly, the Māori governors interviewed expressed a close connection with the Treaty. This was described by one participant and mirrored by many as:

the Treaty is who I am, it is how we do things.

In the Māori view, Te Tiriti provided for a sharing of governance: British governing British and others, and Māori retaining their tino rangatiratanga and governing through te ao Māori. Māori have persistently advocated for successive governments to honour this understanding of the Treaty.

The LGA 2002 had failed to bring about transformation of Māori participation in local government. Where the Māori voice struggled to be heard, the discretionary provisions of the LGA 2002 had tended to preserve the status quo. As one Māori participant expressed, ‘tino rangatiratanga was not even on the horizon’. Other interviews with Māori indicated some progress, although too often they emphasised the long history of shortfalls in local government practice relating to Māori participation.

Despite the provisions within the LGA 2002, Māori concerns were a low priority for the majority of elected members in urban local authorities. There were exceptions. Some local authorities had made genuine attempts to recognise Māori as the Treaty partner, and to provide a form of partnership or shared governance.
Opportunities for Māori to contribute to decision-making were the least identified barrier or opportunity for progressing urban sustainability. Overall, elected members had an optimistic view of their local authority’s performance in providing opportunities for Māori. This mismatch in perceptions was reiterated by Māori, and independent research discussed in chapter 5.

Māori experience with local government encompassed issues related to land, rates and representation, and local government services. Injustices had been imposed on Māori through the local government rating system. Māori forms of representation at local and central government had proven vulnerable to political will and to changes in the political environment.

Māori were enthusiastic contributors to local government despite this history and the complexity of dealing with a large number of local government units whose boundaries did not coincide with iwi and hapū territories. Accustomed to iwi boundaries being dynamic over time, Māori have attempted to work with the rigid boundaries set by the government. This has posed significant social, cultural and economic demands, on sometimes small and fragile Māori communities, to exercise kaitiakitanga and manaakitanga within their rohe, without compensation. Few New Zealanders could conceive of this.

Notwithstanding the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, the inclusion of Treaty provisions in legislation, the good intentions of many Pākehā, and local government reform, by 2009 Māori had seen little progress in their exercise of tino rangatiratanga or acceptance of te ao Māori. Instead, misunderstandings had arisen over the obligations of local authorities to build the capacity of Māori to participate in local government.

Despite an increase in the awareness, activity, and resourcing of Māori capacity and participation in local government, by some local councils, the understanding of Te Tiriti and kaitiakitanga among many council staff and politicians was generally low. Correspondingly, the level of Māori representation was low.

A large body of knowledge existed around Māori participation in local and central government, however, there was a need for more research and guidance about local government engagement with Māori (Cheyne & Tawhai, 2007, p. 9; Local Government Commission, 2008, p. 17). Through the voices of
the many kōrero, this thesis contributes a view of potential improvements to local government that includes governance practices that are consistent with te ao Māori and invite wider Māori participation in local governance.

In te ao Māori, sustainability was presented as ‘a very common sense way’ of linking health, tikanga, kaitaiaakitanga and to provide for Māori people economically. The four well-beings of sustainability found a balance within the Māori collective social organisation and holistic worldview. For many Māori, the concept of sustainability of their people was through procreation and a healthy lifestyle. Economic and political self-determination for Māori was dependent on mana, mana tupuna, mana whenua and mokopuna. These values were inherent in Māori understandings of sustainability.

For further progress towards sustainability, government and governance structures need to give expression to te ao Māori. This will necessitate a shift in the values that underly the parliamentary and local government systems – recognition of the foundational values of te ao Māori and equitable power sharing.

The Māori experience of governance accentuated the difference between the Pākehā and Māori worldviews. There was wide consensus among the Māori interviewed over what was needed to improve the local government system, for Māori. A new system of local government that incorporated distinctly Māori ways of governance was proposed, along with ways to improve the present system.

Governance, as applied to Māori, needed to be seen as an equal form of authority to the established western system - tino rangatiratanga as an equal authority. In 2009, this required a shift in the balance of power to provide for genuine sharing of decision-making and resources.

Constitutional change, that is adopting a Māori form of governance, is one way of achieving the paradigm shift described above. The Raukawa Trustees partnership-two cultures development model (Winiata, 2005) and the Community Sector Taskforce (2006b) model are offered as potential solutions. Both offer a kaupapa Māori approach to governance and provide for the expression of tino rangatiratanga. In local government such a model would
embrace kaupapa Māori and provide for greater Māori autonomy. Māori and non-Māori would work collaboratively respecting each other’s values and beliefs.

Distinctly Māori ways of governance, such as hui, could translate into a more inclusive model of central and local government. Whānaungatanga, which had primacy in all matters for governance of people and whenua, would be respected. Provisions would need to encompass the practice of kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga, and the roles of mana whenua.

Opportunities for local government to improve its present processes for Māori encompassed lifting the status of iwi management plans, and recognising iwi authorities and the obligations of mana whenua.

It is recommended that iwi management plans be mandatory in all local authorities. In this way they would bind the local authority in the same way as a district plan, a regional plan, or a coastal plan.

A further step would be to recognise iwi authorities as public authorities. This is seen as a way to encourage iwi to take the initiative about those things that are a priority to them.

Strengthening relationships with mana whenua, and supporting them to lead consultation with tauiwi Māori, would be seen as respecting the obligations of mana whenua to exercise manaakitanga and kaitiakitanga. This reinforces the concept of whānaungatanga, on which Māori kinship-based governance is centred.

Improvements to the current system of local governance would need to sit alongside effective Māori representation. A parallel model of representation or the establishment of Māori wards and seats, are working examples of Māori representation.

This thesis captures a point in time in the evolution of governance structures for urban sustainable development. The Royal Commission on Auckland Governance provided an important national opportunity to raise the understanding and profile of the need for governance reform. Inherent in this debate was consideration of wide community participation and Māori participation in local governance. As the new governance structure for Auckland
emerged, the need to counter the fragmentation and contractualisation of services that had evolved during the neoliberal reforms was clear.

Lack of knowledge of the concepts of sustainability by both elected members and the local authority staff was emphasised. Clearly, this calls for ongoing opportunities for education to enhance the understanding of the concept of sustainable development generally and how communities can progress towards urban sustainability.

The case for a partnerships approach to governance was strengthened. Maori participation in governance, in any form, was still perceived to be a threatening model. This research emphasises that for further progress towards urban sustainability in New Zealand, the inclusion in governance of both Pakeha and Maori communities alike, is a prerequisite.
Opportunities for further research

This thesis is one of the first to examine the role of the elected member in New Zealand, in the context of sustainable development. It is possibly the first thesis by a Pākehā New Zealander to focus on the role of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in New Zealand local governance. The research was conducted at a time of significant change for the New Zealand local government sector. Between 2007 and 2008, the Labour government recognised that for the country to progress socially, culturally, economically and environmentally, the institutions and practices of local government required further examination. The Local Government Rates Inquiry and the Royal Commission on Auckland Governance were two important processes initiated during the course of this thesis.

During the research it became clear that two areas would benefit from further work. These areas were, firstly, the clarification of the role of elected members to progress urban sustainability; and secondly, understanding the potential strengths and weaknesses of the working examples of Māori governance in New Zealand. The changes to be implemented in Auckland local government, as a result of the National-led government’s response to the findings of the Royal Commission on Auckland Governance, present an interesting context for this work.

The need to clarify the elected members’ representative role was advocated by Drage (2008). Consideration of the broader role of the elected member was undertaken during drafting of the LGA 2002. However, it was not progressed at this time (Hewison, 2008). In the context of a new model of governance for Auckland, clarification of the tasks and priorities of the New Zealand elected member role for urban sustainability would be timely. A comparative study focusing on how the Australian, the UK and European elected member role is defined and implemented, would contribute to options to achieve effective clarification of the New Zealand elected member role.

Further, during the course of this research the large body of scholarship in the field of community participation and partnerships in local government was identified. Clarification of the elected member role to promote urban
sustainability and incorporating cross-sector governance roles would benefit from wider consideration of community participation and partnerships.

The working examples of Māori governance outlined in this thesis, emphasised that Māori governance models based on the Raukawa Trustees partnership-two cultures development model, parallel forms of governance, and Treaty partnership, have the potential to deliver wider benefits to Māori and non-Māori New Zealanders. The Anglican Church Tikanga System, the Women’s Refuge parallel development and the Waiapu Project Treaty-based partnership were three of nine models that were identified during the course of this thesis. Close examination of working models of Treaty-based governance would inform approaches to provide for Māori inclusion in local governance, and expression of tino rangatiratanga. An opportunity to better understand effective Māori participation at the local government level is presented by the Treaty-based models demonstrated by Waitakere City Council and Rotorua District Council. Ideally this research would be undertaken as a collaborative research project with Māori and may be led by Māori. Consideration of this work would be timely with respect to the New Zealand Government’s response to the Royal Commission on Auckland Governance.
Postscript

During the course of this research I was clearly aware that the Royal Commission on Auckland Governance would present its recommendations, as this work was drawing to a conclusion. It was agreed with my supervisors that I would include the background and recommendations of the Royal Commission, but that the government response would not form part of the thesis.

The recommendations of the Royal Commission were presented to the New Zealand government at the end of March 2009. Within two weeks the government responded with an alternative proposal, which included the appointment of a transition board (to govern during the 18-month transition period), and no Māori representation. Government introduced the Local Government (Auckland Reorganisation) Bill to Parliament. This was debated under urgency in mid-May 2009, without opportunity for public consultation. This generated substantial public and parliamentary opposition. The government had signaled that subsequent legislation would be via the select committee process.

On 25 May 2009, a Hikoi was staged by Māori, and other groups and individuals, to protest the lack of any Māori representation on the proposed Auckland Council and what was held by many Aucklanders to be an undemocratic reform process. Around 7000 people joined the Hikoi from along north, south, east and west routes from outer Auckland, and converged on the Auckland Town Hall for a peaceful public rally.
References


http://hcro.enigma.co.nz/website/index.cfm?fuseaction=articledisplay&FeatureID=66#Approaches-to-Research-for-Maori


Malcolm, J. (2008). From potholes to policy: How Invercargill City Council informs itself of, and has regard to, the views of its communities. Victoria University of Wellington.


APPENDIX 1

Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee
(AUTEC)

EA1

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL FOR RESEARCH PROJECTS

Please note that incomplete applications will not be considered by AUTEC. Please do not alter the formatting of this form or delete any sections. If a particular question is not applicable to your research, please state that as your response to that question.

A. General Information

A.1. Project Title
Effective local governance for urban sustainability: The Changing roles of local Councillors in New Zealand

A.2. Applicant Name and Qualifications
When the researcher is a student (including staff who are AUT students), the applicant is the principal supervisor. When the researcher is an AUT staff member undertaking research as part of their employment or a staff member undertaking research as part of an external qualification, the applicant is the researcher. Staff should refer to Section 11.4 of Applying for Ethics Approval Guidelines and Procedures to check requirements for ethics approval where they are studying at another institution.

Dr Marilyn Waring

A.3. School/Department/Academic Group/Centre
Institute of Public Policy

A.4. Faculty
Applied Humanities

A.5. Student Details
Please complete this section only if the researcher is a student

A.5.1. Student Name(s):
Karen Lesley Webster

A.5.2. Student ID Number(s):

A.5.3. Qualification(s):
MBA, BSc, Certificate in Public relations, RGON

A.5.4. E-mail address:
Karen webster@xtra.co.nz

A.5.5. School/Department/Academic Group/Centre
Institute of Public Policy

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A.5.6. Faculty
Applied Humanities

A.5.7. Name of Degree:
Doctor of Philosophy

A.5.8. Research Output
Please state whether your research will result in a thesis or dissertation or a research paper or is part of coursework requirements.

Doctoral thesis

A.6. Details of Other Researchers or Investigators
Please complete this section only if other researchers, investigators or organisations are involved in this project. Please also specify the role any other researcher(s), investigator(s) or organisation(s) will have in the research.

A.6.1. Individual Researcher(s) or Investigator(s)
Please provide the name of each researcher or investigator and the institution in which they research.

There are no other investigators at this time.
The second supervisor is Dr Christine Cheyne, Massey University, Turitea Campus, Palmerston North

A.6.2. Research or Investigator Organisations
Please provide the name of each organisation and the city in which the organisation is located.

Not applicable

A.7. Are you applying concurrently to another ethics committee?
If your answer is yes, please provide full details, including the meeting date, and attach copies of the full application and approval letter if it has been approved.

No. The research commenced in February 2005 at Massey University. However no ethics application has been lodged prior to this application.

A.8. Declaration
The information supplied is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, accurate. I have read the current Guidelines, published by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee, and clearly understand my obligations and the rights of the participant, particularly with regard to informed consent.
APPENDIX 1

_________________________  _______________________
Signature of Applicant       Date
(In the case of student applications the signature must be that of the Supervisor)

_________________________  _______________________
Signature of Student         Date
(If the research is a student project, both the signature of the Supervisor, as the applicant, and the student are required)

A.9. Authorising Signature

_________________________  _______________________
Signature of Head            Name of Faculty/Programme/School/Centre  Date
### B. Project General Information

#### B.1. Project Duration

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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td><strong>Approximate Start Date of Primary Data Collection</strong></td>
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<td>1. September 2006</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td><strong>Approximate Finish Date of Complete Project</strong></td>
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<td>31. October 2008</td>
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#### B.2. Are funds being obtained specifically for this project?

- **Yes**

#### B.3. Types of persons participating as participants

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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td><strong>Researcher’s students</strong></td>
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<td>No</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td><strong>Adults (20 years and above)</strong></td>
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<td>Yes – local government councillors, key Maori participants</td>
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<td><strong>Legal minors (15 to 20 years old)</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Legal minors (under 16 years old)</strong></td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td><strong>Members of vulnerable groups</strong></td>
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<td>e.g. persons with impairments, limited understanding, etc. If your answer is yes, please provide a full description</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td><strong>Hospital patients</strong></td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td><strong>Prisoners</strong></td>
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#### B.4. Does this research involve use of human remains, tissue or body fluids which does not require submission to a Regional Ethics Committee?

- **No**

#### B.5. Does this research involve potentially hazardous substances?

- **No**

#### B.6. Does the research include the use of a questionnaire?

- **No**

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Yes – questionnaire attached

B.7. Does the research involve the use of focus groups or interviews?

If the answer is yes, please indicate how the data will be recorded (e.g. audiotape, videotape, note-taking). When interviews or focus groups are being recorded, you will need to make sure there is provision for implicit consent on the Consent Form and attach to this Application Form examples of indicative questions or the full interview or focus group schedule.

Yes.

Data will be recorded by audiotape and note taking – consent form attached

B.7.1. Who will be transcribing or recording the data from the focus groups or interviews?

If someone other than the researcher will be transcribing the interview of focus group records or taking the notes, you need to provide a confidentiality agreement with the Application Form.

The data may be transcribed by someone other than the researcher – confidentiality agreement is attached

B.8. Describe how the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi are being addressed and applied in this project.

This application has been sent to Hana Crengle, Maori issues advisor.

Maori tikanga advocates sustainability through the principle of kaupapa kaitiakitanga. In addition the Treaty of Waitangi principle of partnership through rangatiratanga and kawanatanga, anticipates a land for two peoples with shared accountability. Maori knowledge is therefore considered to have the potential to contribute significantly to this project. The research will seek the views of selected North island Maori who are Maori leaders (former and current), central and local government politicians, representatives of iwi.

It is the intention of the applicant and the student researcher that this research be conducted in a culturally sensitive manner. Expert advice has been sought from Ruth Norman (former Auckland Regional Councillor and North Shore City councillor of Ngati Porou and Nga Puhi descent) in her role as “awhi” (or informal guide and advisor) to this part of the research. In the first instance individual Maori will be contacted via an introduction from Ruth Norman, the applicant or other contacts. As participation in the project is entirely voluntary, only those individual Maori who wish to be involved will be part of the research, and may withdraw at any time. Consideration will be given to the appropriateness of translating the background document, consent and confidentiality forms into Te Reo Maori, by a suitably qualified translator, once the participants have been identified.

The requirements of Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi, for the retention of Maori control (tino rangatiratanga) over Maori resources, including people, have been considered with particular respect to Matarangi Maori (Maori knowledge and learning).

To satisfy the provision of Article Three, the findings of the research will be shared with all participants. Participants will be offered copies of audiotapes, transcripts and notes relating to their interviews. Where requested any findings specific to Maori could be conveyed in written form or orally to groups nominated by Maori participants.

Possible outcomes for Maori could include a deeper understanding of how Maori knowledge and practices concerning urban sustainability could influence local governance for urban sustainability. This could in turn lead to stronger partnerships and increased participation by Maori in governance at the local authority level.
C. Project Details

Please describe the project details in language which is, as far as possible, free from jargon and comprehensible to lay people.

C.1. Aim of project:

Please explain the broad scope and purpose of the project and state concisely how the type of information being sought will achieve the project’s aims. Please give the specific hypothesis(es), if any, to be tested.

This research seeks to explore the changing roles of local councillors in the context of the urban sustainability and New Zealand’s Local Government Act 2002. It sets out to answer the question: How can local government elected representatives more positively influence progress towards urban sustainability? The approach to this research is three-fold:

1. To explore the influence of local councillors on progress towards urban sustainability in their communities, through the example of the LTCCP 2006-16, using both a councillor questionnaire and document analysis.
2. To explore the Maori view of governance and sustainability and how this could contribute to progress towards urban sustainability through key participant interviews.
3. To undertake an international case study of an urban local authority, integrating western local democracy and indigenous culture to provide additional insight to answer the research question.

The intention is to evaluate the material gathered within these three strands, independently and together to answer the research question.

C.2. Why are you proposing this research?

Tell what are its potential benefits to participants, researcher, wider community, etc.

The research has an applied focus and seeks to:

(1) raise the participants and stakeholders awareness of urban sustainability
(2) inform the researcher, and provide an opportunity to gain experience in Maori tikanga and research with Maori
(3) positively influence the role of local councillors in progressing urban sustainability.

Under the guidance of the applicant and the awhi, the student researcher will feed back to the local councillor and Maori participants, and interested stakeholders, the key findings as they relate to the role of local councillors in this new local government context, the potential for councillors to positively influence urban sustainability, the role of Mātauranga Maori in informing this research and conclusions drawn from it.

The student researcher will benefit through carrying out the field work for this project as part of her PhD, under the supervision of the applicant and the second supervisor. This will provide the student with a sound base upon which to build a teaching and research career.

The benefit to the wider community will be the increased understanding about the current and potential roles of local councillors in promoting urban sustainability. As sustainable development is a global objective, this research is therefore relevant at a national and global level.

C.3. Background:

Please provide sufficient information, including relevant references, to place the project in perspective and to allow the project’s significance to be assessed. Where appropriate, provide one or two references to the applicant’s (or supervisor’s) own published work in the relevant field.

Since the 1980s, local governance has been undergoing considerable change in many western democratic countries. This change has been attributed to a wide range of factors, not least urbanisation, globalisation and for many European countries, Europeanisation (Denters & Rose, 2005). At the same time, awareness has been raised about the deterioration of the Earth’s natural environment and the need for progress towards sustainable development. Sustainable development has been

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defined as “Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). It incorporates a broad focus across the social, environmental, economical and cultural well-being of communities and is explicit in its focus on social equity and the acceptance of diverse cultures. In 1992 the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, The Earth Summit, was held in Rio de Janeiro, to plan for the prevention of the Earth’s environmental decline. The conference proposed Agenda 21, a programme to ‘reduce the environmental impact of industrialised nations, eliminate poverty worldwide and stabilise the level of the human population (Robinson, 1993). The New Zealand Government, one of 130 nations that adopted Agenda 21 at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992, set about implementing legislation and policy to promote sustainable development in New Zealand, almost immediately. One such piece of legislation, the Local Government Act 2002 (LGA 2002), fundamentally changed the role and purpose of local government in New Zealand. The new purpose of the act was ‘to provide for democratic and effective local government that recognises the diversity of NZ communities.’ Section 10 of the LGA 2002 stated the new purpose of local government as two fold: “To enable participation in decision-making and action, and to promote social, environmental, economic and cultural well-being, now and for the future.”

This broad and intergenerational purpose changed the role of local government elected representatives from a representative model of democracy to one that sought a more participative style of leadership. New Zealand local government was now to take an interest in the social, economic, environmental and cultural well-being of its communities. This new purpose required elected members to broaden their focus. To achieve this new purpose, local authorities were endowed with a new power of general competence, in contrast with the ultra vires principles of the previous 1974 Act. In addition, the Treaty of Waitangi was acknowledged and local government was required to provide opportunities for Maori to contribute to its decision-making processes.

The implementation of the LGA 2002 was a significant step by the Labour-led Government to positively move New Zealand forward in a sustainability context. For Auckland and other urban centres in New Zealand, this implied a focus on progress towards a more sustainable regions. It acknowledged the importance of local governance and signalled central government’s intention to devolve responsibilities and decision-making powers to the ‘lowest practical level of governance’ and to seek local outcomes that better met communities’ expectations (Evans et al., 2005). This implied new relations between communities, local authorities and elected members, central government and other organisations. The move towards urban sustainability required by the LGA has been operationalised at the local level by the requirement for all local authorities to identify community outcomes (their communities aspirations, now and for the future) and produce a Long-Term Council Community Plan (LTCCP).

A broad literature search highlighted that recent research in the field of local government has focused on: the new and emerging patterns of political executives in local government (Berg & Rao, 2005); progress towards sustainable development (Evans et al, 2005; Denters & Rose, 2005); the role of the councillor in representative democracy in New Zealand (Drage, 2004); the relationship between senior politicians and senior administrators (Mountzen & Svara, 2002); political leadership in British local government (Leach & Wilson, 2000); the roles of councillors in Australian Local government (Dollery & Marshall, 1997). Political participation and social capital (Putnam, 2000) and policy in the community have also been well-researched (Hill,
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C.4. Procedure:

C.4.1. Explain the philosophical and/or methodological approach taken to obtaining information and/or testing the hypothesis(es).

The research is a qualitative inquiry and will generally take phenomenological and ethnographic perspectives (Patton, 1990, p.69) in that the councillors’ perspectives of the LTCCP 2006-16 will be explored as they relate to their representative role and the culture of their local authority. In exploring the Maori world view, symbolic interactionism will provide an additional perspective of the shared philosophies of Maori around social and environmental sustainability. Attempts will be made to clarify key concepts at the outset of the inquiry. Where possible multiple triangulation strategies (data, source, person, theory) will be applied in an attempt to achieve sophisticated rigor, while being mindful of the critical views of triangulation as a methodology in social research (Denzin, 1989, p.64-68).

C.4.2. State in practical terms what research procedures or methods will be used.

The research is being conducted towards a PhD. The research has four strands:

(1) An extensive review of literature and recent research in the field.

(2) This will be followed by five territorial local authority case studies. The five councils selected are Auckland City, Tauranga City, Rotorua District, Porirua City and Christchurch City. Document analysis of the selected councils’ LTCCPs and documents relating to urban sustainability initiatives will be undertaken. This will be followed by a local councillors questionnaire to be administered to all councillors at the five selected local authorities.

(3) The councillor questionnaire will be followed by interviews with Maori participants.

(4) At the conclusion of the New Zealand field research it is proposed to undertake an international case study of an urban local authority integrating western local democracy and indigenous culture to provide insight into the contribution of indigenous peoples to modern local governance and to inform the future of the New Zealand councillor role. The example of Vancouver, Canada and the bicultural focus of local governance with the First Nations Peoples, may be incorporated to compare

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C.4.3. State how information will be gathered and processed.

Information gathered from the four strands of the research will be gathered through analysis of public documents, a local councillor questionnaire and key informant interviews. The data will be collated using an evaluation framework based on the elements that contributed to good governance for urban sustainability, as identified by the DISCUS research findings (Evans et al., 2005)\textsuperscript{4}, and relevant theory identified during the review. These elements include:

- Local government as a learning organization e.g. building up knowledge of urban sustainability and the four well-beings and focusing on life-long learning
- Links between departments
- Alliances with external agencies
- Creative policy-making
- Facilitation and leadership
- Communication with civil society
- Environmental awareness as a catalyst
- Vision and strength
- Networking between local authorities
- Multi-level governing

It is proposed to collate this material using an excel spreadsheet.

C.4.4. State how your data will be analysed.

The case study data will be analysed using statistical generalisation\textsuperscript{5} to identify findings that represent opportunities for literal and theoretical replication\textsuperscript{6}. It is recognised that the case studies are not sampling units. The analytical model of level one and level two inference will assist with identifying any theories supported by more than one case study (Yin, p.30-33)\textsuperscript{7}, that relate to: individual councillors, the case study territorial authorities; territorial authorities in general; and local government in general.

Individual case studies will be analysed using a case description methodology that is based on the structure of the inquiry and the original theoretical propositions. The proposed structure for the case description will be based on the local authority’s approach to identifying community outcomes and developing their LTCCP and includes: Innovation and New Public Management; collaboration and cooperation with other local authorities; community engagement and participation; and


\textsuperscript{5} In statistical generalisation an inference is made about a population on the basis of empirical data collected about a sample (Yin, p.32).

\textsuperscript{6} Analytic generalisation involves the use of previously generated theory as a template through which to compare the empirical results of the case study. If two or more case studies are shown to support the theory, replication may be claimed. Literal replication occurs when case studies produce similar results. Theoretical replication predicts contrasting results but for predictable reasons (Yin, p.33, 47).

leadership. In addition the analysis will focus on: Councillor perceptions of their roles; their awareness, understanding and support for urban sustainability; and councillor engagement in their council’s community outcomes and LTCCP process.

The evaluation framework is based on the findings of the DISCUS research which identified 10 elements for initiating and managing good governance for sustainable development and is consistent with the principles of Agenda 21 and the LGA 2002. These elements can be grouped into four broad groupings that provide a framework for the analysis of council and councillor processes and practices for progress towards urban sustainability. The framework is attached.

The local councillor questionnaire will be analysed using a computer software package and thematic content analysis.

C.4.5. Provide a statistical justification where appropriate.

Not applicable

D. Participants

D.1. Who are the participants? What criteria are to be used for selecting them?

There are two categories of participants:

(1) Local councillors will be drawn from predominantly urban local authorities. The five local authority case studies are proposed to demonstrate some or all of the following criteria:
   (a) a predominantly urban population
   (b) a focus on urban sustainability
   (c) a tendency towards innovation
   (d) Significant Maori population
   (e) Specific Maori representation.

   The case study territorial authorities proposed are: Auckland City, Tauranga City, Rotorua District, Porirua City and Christchurch City. All local councillors at the case study authorities will be invited to participate in the research.

(2) Maori interview participants will include North Island Maori who are have experience in Maori or local governance and are well-known Maori leaders (past and present), central and local government politicians, representatives of iwi or academics.

   Recruitment of the Maori participants will be through the applicant’s own personal networks, or those of the awhi or the student. It is proposed to confirm the participants in early 2007 before the Maori interview phase of the research begins.

D.2. State whether the participants may perceive themselves to be in any dependent relationship to the researcher (for example, researcher’s students).

No

D.3. Are there any potential participants who will be excluded?

If your answer is yes, please detail the criteria for exclusion.

No.
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Yes. See Councillor and Maori participant consent forms attached.

D.9. Will the participants remain anonymous to the researcher?

Please note that anonymity and confidentiality are different. If the answer is yes, please state how; otherwise, if the answer is no, please describe how participant privacy issues and confidentiality of information will be preserved.

No. Questionnaires will be numbered and the list of participants and questionnaire numbers will be held in a locked cabinet. No information will be attributed to individuals and care will be taken to ensure that individual participants remain anonymous.

D.10. In the final report will there be any possibility that individuals or groups could be identified?

If the answer is yes, please explain how and why this will happen.

Yes. The degree of privacy and confidentiality afforded will be determined by the individual participants.

D.11. Will feedback or findings be disseminated to participants (individuals or groups)?

If the answer is yes, please explain how this will occur and ensure that this information is included in the information sheet.

All records of meetings and interviews will be shared with individual participants to ensure a mutual understanding of the data gathered. In addition, participants will be offered copies of audiotapes and transcripts. At the conclusion of the research, the findings will be shared in the form of a summary of the thesis and meetings or workshops, as agreed and desired by the participants.
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E. Other Project Details

E.1. Where will the project be conducted?

Please provide the names of the institution(s), town(s), city or cities, region or country that best answers this question.

The student researcher, Karen Webster, lives in Auckland where the primary research and thesis write-up will be undertaken. Data gathering may demand that the researcher go to other locations within the North Island of New Zealand. International data collection may require the researcher to go to international locations (as yet to be confirmed).

E.2. Who is in charge of data collection?

Dr Marilyn Waring and Dr Christine Cheyne will direct the data collection.

E.3. Who will interact with the participants?

Karen Webster, under the guidance of the primary and secondary supervisors named above.

E.4. What ethical risks are involved for participants in the proposed research?

Please consider the possibility of moral, physical, psychological or emotional risks to participants.

Few ethical risks are envisaged. It is acknowledged, however, that the student and the supervisors could have access to information that is politically sensitive to the case study local authorities, and culturally sensitive.

E.4.1. If there are risks, identify and describe how these will be mitigated.

During the course of the data collection material may be collected which has the potential to be politically sensitive for the case study local authorities or individual councillors. Such material will be identified during the analysis. Careful attention will be taken to protect the privacy and confidentiality of both the participants and sensitive information. Completed questionnaires, interview notes and audiotapes will be stored in a locked cabinet in the supervisor’s office. Research assistants, transcriptionists or any other third parties will be required to understand the nature of the information they have access to when performing their tasks and to maintain confidentiality and privacy. They will be required to sign a confidentiality agreement.

E.5. Will there be any other physical hazards introduced to AUT staff and/or students through the duration of this project?

If the answer is yes, please provide details of management controls which will be in place to either eliminate or minimise harm from these hazards (e.g. a hazardous substance management plan).

No

E.6. Are the participants likely to experience any discomfort, embarrassment (physical, psychological, social) or incapacity as a result of the procedures?

If the answer is yes, please identify how and describe how these will be minimised or mitigated.

No
APPENDIX 1

E.6.1. If the answer to E.6. was Yes, have you approached AUT Health and Counselling to discuss suitable arrangements for provision of services to deal with adverse physical or psychological consequences?

Not applicable

E.7. Is deception of participants involved at any stage of the research? (Refer Section 2.4 of the AUTEC Guidelines).

If the answer is yes, please provide full details of and rationale for the deception.

No

E.8. How much time will participants have to give to the project?

It is envisaged that councillor participants may spend up to half an hour in an introductory conversation with the student researcher, discussing the nature of the research, the information sheet and the consent form. As participants are expected to raise different issues it is not proposed to prepare set questions. The questionnaire will take up to one hour to complete.

Maori will participate in an initial interview with the student researcher of no more than 2 hours. This may be followed by an additional meeting or telephone interview to clarify data collected. It is intended that the conversations be free flowing and as such no set questions are prepared. An interview guide will be prepared as prompts for the student researcher. This will be further informed as the student progresses through the document analysis and questionnaire phases of the research.

E.9. Will any information on the participants be obtained from third parties?

If the answer is yes, please provide full details.

Documents relating to the LTCCP 2006-16 (e.g. council minutes, reports and background papers) may provide background that relates to the case study councillors. No third party information is sought on Maori participants, although reference to their views may be found in literature and documents reviewed and on the internet.

E.10. Will any identifiable information on the participants be given to third parties?

If the answer is yes, please provide full details.

It is intended to engage the services of a transcription typist. This person will be required to sign a confidentiality agreement.

E.11. Provide details of any payment, gift or koha and, where applicable, level of payment to be made to participants.

Please refer to Section 2.1 of the AUTEC Guidelines and Appendix A for the AUTEC policy on Payment and Koha.

Appropriate koha for Maori participants will be ascertained in consultation with Ruth Norman, in her capacity as “awhi” and will comply with the AUTEC Guidelines on Payment and Koha.

F. Data and Consent Forms

F.1. Who will have access to the data?

Karen Webster, Dr Marilyn Waring, Dr Christine Cheyne, and if appointed, a third supervisor and a transcription typist.

This version was last edited on 19 May 2006.
APPENDIX 1

F.2. Are there plans for future use of the data beyond those already described?
Academic publications will result from this research.

F.3. Provide the exact location and duration of final storage of data.
Offices of Dr Marilyn Waring, Akoranga Campus, AUT

F.4. Will the data be destroyed?
Participants will be given an opportunity on their consent form to indicate if they wish the material collected from them to be returned to them. In general, unless otherwise requested, material collected as part of the Councillor questionnaire will be kept for seven years and then destroyed. Maori and other indigenous participants will be consulted prior to the research to determine their wishes. Where the data collected is considered to be potentially of historic significance, permission of the participants concerned will be sought to lodge the information with the Turnbull Library.

F.6. Who will have access to the Consent Forms?
Karen Webster, Dr Marilyn Waring, Dr Christine Cheyne

F.6. Provide the exact location and duration of final storage of Consent Forms.
Offices of Dr Marilyn Waring, Akoranga Campus, AUT

F.7. Will the Consent Forms be destroyed?
Yes, after 7 years and all ensuing publications, whichever is the latter.

G. Material Resources

G.1. Has application for funds to support this project been (or will be) made to a source external to AUT?
Yes. In due course funds will be sought to support the New Zealand Maori interview phase of this research and the international case study as necessary.

G.2. Has the application been (or will it be) submitted to an AUT Faculty Research Grants Committee or other AUT funding entity?
Yes, as above

G.3. Is funding already available, or is it awaiting decision?
A formal application is yet to be lodged.
APPENDIX 1

G.4. Explain the investigator's or co-investigator's financial interest, if any, in the outcome of the project.

None

H. Other Information

H.1. Have you ever made any other related applications?

No. The student researcher has recently transferred from Massey University but has made no application for ethics approval prior to this application.
## APPENDIX 1

### I. Checklist

Please ensure all applicable sections of the form have been completed and all appropriate documentation is attached as incomplete applications will not be considered by AUTEC.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Complete?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>General Information Completed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Signatures/Declaration Completed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Project General Information Completed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Project Details Completed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Participant Details Completed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Other Project Details Completed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Data &amp; Consent Forms Details Completed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Material Resources Completed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Other Information Completed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Spelling and Grammar Check (please note that a high standard of spelling and grammar is required in documents that are issued with AUTEC approval)

**Attached Documents (where applicable)**

- Questionnaire: 1
- Consent Form: 1
- Information sheets: 2
- Typist Confidentiality Agreement: 1
- Maori interview guide: 1

Please send one (1) copy (single sided, clipped not stapled) of this application form with all attachments to:

Charles Grimer, Ethics Coordinator
Wellesley Campus
Room WA509, Level 2, WA Building
35 Wellesley Street East
Private Bag 9206
Auckland 1020, NZ
Internal Mail Code: RC

395
Elected Member Questionnaire
Effective local governance for urban sustainability: the changing roles of elected members in New Zealand

Why participate?
International research has highlighted the key role that elected members can play in promoting urban sustainability. This questionnaire is part of a doctoral research project to explore how the quest for effective local governance for urban sustainability is changing the roles of local government elected members in New Zealand. The questionnaire will also focus on the progress made towards urban sustainability by selected urban territorial authorities. Your local authority has been selected as one of five case studies for this research.

The questionnaire will take approximately 15-20 minutes. There are no right or wrong answers. You are asked to respond to the questions with your views and first impressions.

→ Part 1 of the questionnaire relates to your role as an elected member and to your interaction with the development of your council’s Long Term Council Community Plan (LTCCP). It will also explore your views on urban sustainability.

→ Part 2 of the questionnaire concerns your council’s processes and practices. It will ask you, as an elected member, to reflect on your local authority’s practice as it relates to different elements of urban sustainability.

Introduction
Since the 1980s, local governance has been undergoing considerable change in many western democratic countries. This change has been attributed to a wide range of factors, not least urbanisation, globalisation and for many European countries, Europeanisation. At the same time, awareness has been raised about the deterioration of the Earth’s natural environment and the need for progress towards sustainable development.

Sustainable development has been defined as:

Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987)

It incorporates a broad approach across the social, environmental, economic and cultural well-being of communities and is implicit in its focus on social equity and the acceptance of diverse cultures.

The New Zealand Government is one of 130 nations that in 1992 adopted Agenda 21, a programme to reduce the environmental impact of industrialised nations, eliminate poverty and stabilise the human population. The Local Government Act 2002 (LGA) was introduced by the New Zealand Government following Agenda 21, to encourage local authorities to progress towards sustainable development.

Your participation is voluntary
This questionnaire was approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 14 December 2006. Please read and sign the enclosed consent form before completing the questionnaire. The findings of the research will be published in a doctoral thesis that will be made publicly available. Individual’s responses will not be identified. A summary of the doctoral thesis will be made available to you on request. You can withdraw from participating in this survey at any time prior to the completion of data collection.
How to return this questionnaire

This questionnaire can be completed in the following ways:

→ In writing on the paper attached or
→ By recording the questionnaire responses on an audio-tape (let me know if you would like me to send you a tape) or
→ By participating in a telephone interview or
→ Any combination of the above.

If you choose to complete the questionnaire in writing or by audio tape, please return the completed questionnaire, with a signed copy of the consent form, by posting it back to me at the address below by 2 April 2007. A stamped addressed envelope is enclosed.

If you have any concerns about the nature of this project, in the first instance, you should contact the project supervisor Dr Marilyn Waring.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTECH, Madeline Banda, Madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz, 09 921 9999 ext 8044.

If you would like more information please do not hesitate to contact me.

Karen Webster
Institute of Public Policy
Auckland University of Technology
Mailbox A 22
PO Box 92006
Auckland
karen.webster@xtra.co.nz
Ph: hm 445 2268

Dr Marilyn Waring
Professor of Public Policy
Institute of Public Policy
Auckland University of Technology
Mailbox A 22
PO Box 92006
Auckland
Marilyn.Waring@aut.ac.nz
Phone: 9219661
Part 1 What Urban Sustainability means to you

This section will explore your role as an elected member, your interaction with the development of your local authority’s Long Term Council Community Plan (LTCCP) and your views on urban sustainability.

1. In a few words or sentences please describe what urban sustainability means to you?

   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________

2. Would you say that urban sustainability figures highly in your consciousness?

   [ ] Yes ➔ please answer Question 3 before proceeding
   [ ] No ➔ please go directly to Question 4

3. In a few words or sentences, please describe how you promote urban sustainability in your role as an elected member?

   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________

4. Please indicate by ticking the relevant box, which 5 of the following sources of information about urban sustainability are most important for you:

   [ ] Your local council e.g. officer reports, issue related workshops and presentations
   [ ] Other local council reports, projects, issue related workshops and presentations
   [ ] The Internet (please give details)
   [ ] Library (please give details)
   [ ] Conferences (please give details)
   [ ] Media (please give details)
   [ ] Your culture/family (please give details)
   [ ] Other (please give details)

5. The roles of elected members have been described in a range of ways. Please indicate on the scale provided how important each of the following are to you, in your role as an elected member.

   Please think about this question in terms of the amount of time you commit to different aspects of your role (Scale 1-5 where 1 is least important and 5 is most important).
Part 1 (continued)

- Representing your community
  - a link between electors and local government

- Policy development
  - identifying the communities needs, selecting objectives.

- Governance
  - Prioritisation and political decision-making

- Providing leadership
  - advocating for your city or district

- Political dimensions
  - Political lobbying and influence

- Reviewing performance
  - monitoring the performance of Council on previous political and legislative commitments

- Maintaining cohesiveness
  - this recognises the importance of the relationship between Elected members, and elected members and officers

- Enhancing external relationships
  - this highlights the importance of partnerships and collaboration

- Task accomplishment
  - getting involved and taking action to ensure strategy is progressed

6. Is this your first term as an elected member?
   □ Yes  □ No
   please go directly to Part 2, question 8
   please answer question 7 before proceeding, if you have served more than one term as an elected member.

7. Do you think the role of elected members in promoting urban sustainability has changed as a result of the LGA 2002?
   □ Yes  □ No  □ Don't know

   If you answered yes please explain briefly

   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________

Part 2 Local Authority Processes and Practices over page
Part 2 Local Authority Processes and Practices

This section will explore your views on your local authority’s practice in relation to different elements of urban sustainability.

8. Thinking about your Council’s approach to developing the LTCCP, please indicate:

A. How important you think each of the following tasks was, and

B. How effective you think your local Council was in achieving each task. (scale 1-5, where 1 is not at all important/effective and 5 is very important/effective).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Task</th>
<th>A - Important</th>
<th>B - Effective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Engaging the general public</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communicating urban sustainability</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providing opportunities for Maori to contribute</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involving diverse groups</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developing a vision for the future</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborating with other councils</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborating with key stakeholders</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Including public feedback in decision-making</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responding to feedback</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supporting environmental management</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promoting efficient and effective use of resources</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other (please describe)_____________________________________

9. Thinking about the involvement of organisations from other sectors in the community and their participation in developing your council’s LTCCP, which 3 of the following sectors did you feel your council best engaged with? Please give an example in each case.

☐ Social Sector e.g. __________________________________________
☐ Cultural Sector e.g. __________________________________________
☐ Environmental Sector e.g. _____________________________________
☐ Economic Sector e.g. __________________________________________

10. Did your council engage with groups that have rarely/never been engaged before?

Please indicate by placing a tick in the check boxes

☐ Yes ☐ No

Please give one example________________________________________

Elected Member Questionnaire Effective local governance for urban sustainability - The Changing roles of elected members in New Zealand
Karen Webster - Institute of Public Policy, Auckland University of Technology
99 Box 90060 - (09) 412-7100 - karen.webster@auckland.ac.nz

400
11. Please list up to 3 initiatives around urban sustainability that your council has been involved during your term in office?

1. 

2. 

3. 

12. What was your personal involvement in these initiatives, if any?

13. International research has suggested the following obstacles to progressing urban sustainability:

1. Poor understanding of the impact of Council delivered services on the four well-beings by elected members and/or officers
2. Lack of knowledge of the concepts of urban sustainability by elected members and/or officers
3. Traditional and lack-lustre approach to policy development
4. Poorly developed environmental management systems
5. Low investment in environmental programmes including education and conservation
6. Few, if any, collaborative arrangements with other local authorities and/or key stakeholders
7. Poorly resourced Council events
8. Limited engagement with constituents and organisations by elected members and/or officers
9. Few opportunities for Maori to contribute to decision-making
10. Failure to implement urban sustainability practices in Council business
11. Lack of a long-term vision for urban sustainability

Please choose up to 3 of these obstacles that you believe significantly inhibit urban sustainability in your region.

☐ ☐ ☐ please write your choice of obstacles in the boxes
Part 2 (continued)

11. Please list up to 3 initiatives around urban sustainability that your council has been involved during your term in office?

1. 

2. 

3. 

12. What was your personal involvement in these initiatives, if any?

13. International research has suggested the following obstacles to progressing urban sustainability:

1. Poor understanding of the impact of Council delivered services on the four well-being of elected members and/or officers
2. Lack of knowledge of the concepts of urban sustainability by elected members and/or officers
3. Traditional and lack-lustre approach to policy development
4. Poorly developed environmental management systems
5. Low investment in environmental programmes including education and conservation
6. Few, if any, collaborative arrangements with other local authorities and/or key stakeholders
7. Poorly resourced Council events
8. Limited engagement with constituents and organisations by elected members and/or officers
9. Few opportunities for Maori to contribute to decision-making
10. Failure to implement urban sustainability practices in Council business
11. Lack of a long-term vision for urban sustainability

Please choose up to 3 of these obstacles that you believe significantly inhibit urban sustainability in your region.

☐ ☐ ☐ please write your choice of obstacles in the boxes
14. International research has suggested the following key factors and opportunities for progressing urban sustainability:

1. Growing awareness and knowledge of the concepts of urban sustainability by elected members and/or officers
2. Growing opportunities for Maori to contribute to decision-making
3. Investment in capacity building for Maori participation in local government decision-making
4. Creative and innovative approach to policy development
5. Investment in sound environmental management systems
6. Investment in environmental programmes including education and conservation
7. Development of a long-term vision for urban sustainability
8. A focus on collaboration with other local authorities and/or key stakeholders
9. Well resourced and supported Council events
10. Established methods of engagement with constituents and organisations by elected members and/or officers
11. Implementation of urban sustainability practices in Council business

Please choose up to 3 of these key factors and opportunities that you believe are important to progressing urban sustainability in your region.

☐ ☐ ☐ Please write your choice of key factors in the boxes

15. Finally, I would like to know just a little about your background. Please answer by ticking the appropriate boxes below

Gender
☐ Female ☐ Male

Age
☐ <20 ☐ 20-29 ☐ 30-39 ☐ 40-49 ☐ 50-59
☐ 60-69 ☐ 70+

Ethnicity
☐ Maori ☐ NZ European/Pakeha
☐ Other (please explain)

What is your highest formal education qualification?
☐ Secondary school
☐ Certificate/Vocational qualification
☐ Bachelor degree
☐ Higher degree
☐ Other (please specify)
Main source of income

☐ Elected member salary
☐ Agriculture/farming
☐ Business/self employed
☐ Professional/Salaried
☐ Retirement earnings
☐ Sales work
☐ Other (please specify)

16. Have you any documents or material that you have produced that may be of interest to this research?

(e.g. press statements, election flyers, papers or reports)

☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, please detail here, attach paper copies or email electronic copies to:
karen.webster@xtra.co.nz

Thank you for your participation
Consent Form

Project title: Effective local governance for urban sustainable development: The changing roles of local councillors in New Zealand

Project Supervisors: Dr Marilyn Waring/Dr Christine Cheyne

Researcher: Karen Webster

☐ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated dd mmmm yyyy.

☐ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

☐ I understand that the interviews or questionnaire may be audio-taped and transcribed.

☐ I understand that this research be conducted in a culturally sensitive manner and that my wishes in this matter will be respected.

☐ I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.

☐ If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including completed questionnaires, tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.

☐ I agree to take part in this research.

I agree to material of potential historical significance being lodged in the national archives at the Tumble Library.

Yes ☐ No ☐

I would like to receive copies of the interview notes and audiotapes:

Yes ☐ No ☐

I would like to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one):

Yes ☐ No ☐

Participant’s signature: .................................................................

Participant’s name: ........................................................................

Participant’s Contact Details (if appropriate):

........................................................................................................

........................................................................................................

........................................................................................................

........................................................................................................

Date: [to be inserted]

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on [type the date on which the final approval was granted] AUTEC Reference number [type the AUTEC reference number]
Participant Information Sheet

Elected member

Data Information Sheet Produced:

Project Title

Effective local governance for urban sustainability
- The Changing roles of local councillors

An Invitation

I am undertaking a doctoral research project and invite you to participate by completing the enclosed questionnaire. This can be done by:

- Writing on the paper attached or
- Recording the questionnaire responses on an audio tape (let me know) or
- Participating in a telephone interview or
- Any combination of the above.

Your participation is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw at anytime prior to the completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.

What is the purpose of this research?

This research will explore the changing roles of elected members in New Zealand in the context of urban sustainability and the introduction of the Local Government Act 2002.

The findings of the research will be published in a doctoral thesis that will be made publicly available. Your confidentiality and privacy will be protected at all times and your responses will not be attributed to you personally. A summary of the doctoral thesis will be made available to you on request.

How was I chosen for this invitation?

Five local authorities were selected as case studies for this research and all elected members at those councils are invited to participate. Your council was chosen because it is considered to be predominantly urban and is acknowledged as having a focus on sustainability, is innovative, has significant Maori or diverse populations and/or has specific Maori representation.

What are the discomforts and risks?

No ethical risks are envisaged. It is acknowledged, that some of the information collected may be politically sensitive to the case study local authorities, culturally sensitive or confidential and private to the individual participants.

What are the benefits?

The research will increase my knowledge and experience in conducting research. It is hoped that participating in the research will raise the awareness and understanding of urban sustainability in the minds of participants. The research findings will have the potential to enhance the roles of elected members in progressing urban sustainability. There is a potential benefit to the wider community of an increased understanding about the current and potential roles of elected members in promoting urban sustainability. As sustainable development is a global objective, this research is therefore relevant at a national and global level.
How will my privacy be protected?

Sensitive material will be identified during the analysis of the questionnaire. Careful attention will be taken to ensure that this information is not used in any way that will compromise your privacy and confidentiality. Completed questionnaires, interview notes and audiotapes will be stored in a locked cabinet in the supervisor’s office. Research assistants, transcription typists or any other third parties will be required to understand the nature of the information and to sign a confidentiality agreement.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

There is no material cost to you in participating in this research. You are asked to contribute up to one hour of your time in completing the enclosed questionnaire.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

Please consider this opportunity to participate in the research and notify me by [insert date 10 days hence] should you decide not to participate.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

You can indicate your acceptance by returning the completed questionnaire together with the consent form by the date indicated.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

A summary of the doctoral research report will be made available to you at the conclusion of the degree, on your request.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

If you have any concerns regarding the nature of this project, in the first instance, you should contact the Project Supervisor, Professor Marilyn Waring, marilyn.waring@aut.ac.nz or phone 09 921 9661

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTEC, Madeline Bande, madeline.bande@aut.ac.nz, 09 921 9999 ext 8844.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Researcher Contact Details:

If you would like more information about this research please contact Karen Webster, karen.webster@xtra.co.nz or 09 921 9999 ext [to be inserted].

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Dr Marilyn Waring  
Professor of Public Policy  
Institute of Public Policy  
Auckland University of Technology  
PO Box 92005  
Auckland  

Marilyn.Waring@aut.ac.nz  
Phone: 9219661

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on type the date final ethics approval was granted,

AUTEC Reference number type the reference number.
Participant Information Sheet

Māori

Date Information Sheet Produced:
16 September 2006

Project Title

Effective local governance for urban sustainability
- The Changing roles of local councillors

An Invitation

I am undertaking a doctoral research project and invite you to participate by in an interview to explore Māori views on governance and urban sustainability. The interview would take between one and two hours and may be recorded. If you decide to participate I would meet you at a place of your choosing.

Your participation is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw at anytime prior to the completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.

What is the purpose of this research?

This research is to explore the potential for Māori views of governance and urban sustainability to contribute local governance in New Zealand. This research occurs in the context of urban sustainability and the Local Government Act 2002.

The findings of the research will be published in a doctoral thesis that will be made publicly available. Your confidentiality and privacy will be protected at all times and your responses will not be attributed to you personally. A summary of the doctoral thesis will be made available to you on request.

How was I chosen for this invitation?

Five to ten Māori participants have been selected to provide a range of views. You have been selected because of your experience as a leader and/or your involvement in local governance and Māori organisations.

What are the discomforts and risks?

No ethical risks are envisaged. It is acknowledged, that some of the information collected may be politically or culturally sensitive, of significance and value to Māori or confidential and private to the individual participants.

How will my privacy be protected?

Sensitive material or material of cultural value may be identified before or during the interview or as part of the process of analysis. Careful attention will be taken to ensure that this information is not used in any way that will compromise your privacy and confidentiality or Māori in any way. Interview notes and audiotapes will be stored in a locked cabinet in the supervisor’s office during the analysis. Research assistants, transcription typists or any other third parties will be required to understand the nature of the information and to sign a confidentiality agreement. This material may be returned to you at the conclusion of the research or with your consent material of potential historical significance may be lodged with the Turnbull Library.
What are the benefits?

The research will increase my knowledge and experience in Maori tikanga, and in conducting research with Maori, in an appropriate way. It is hoped that participating in the research will raise the awareness and understanding of urban sustainability in the minds of participants. The research findings will have the potential to enhance local governance through the roles of elected members in progressing urban sustainability. There is a potential benefit to the wider community of an increased understanding about Maori views of governance and urban sustainability and the current and potential roles of elected members in promoting urban sustainability. As sustainable development is a global objective, this research is therefore relevant at a national and global level.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

There is no material cost to you in participating in this research. You are asked to contribute up to two hours of your time to participate in the interview.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

Please consider this opportunity to participate in the research and notify me by [insert date 10 days hence] should you decide not to participate.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

You can indicate your acceptance by indicating your consent to the interview by telephone, email or by returning the consent form by the date indicated.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

A summary of the doctoral research report will be made available to you at the conclusion of the degree, upon your request.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

If you have any concerns regarding the nature of this project, in the first instance, you should contact the Project Supervisor, Professor Marilyn Waring, marilyn.waring@aut.ac.nz or phone 09 921 9961.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTEC, Madeline Banda, madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz, 09 921 9999 ext 8044.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Researcher Contact Details:

If you would like more information about this research please contact Karen Webster, Karen.webster@xtra.co.nz or 09 921 9999 ext [to be inserted].

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Dr Marilyn Waring
Professor of Public Policy
Institute of Public Policy
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P.O Box 92006
Auckland

Marilyn.Waring@aut.ac.nz
Phone: 9219661

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on [type the date final ethics approval was granted]

AUTEC Reference number [type the reference number]
Confidentiality Agreement

Project title: Effective local governance for urban sustainable development: The changing roles of local councillors in New Zealand
Project Supervisors: Dr Marilyn Waring/Dr Christine Cheyne
Researcher: Karen Webster

○ I understand that all the material I will be asked to transcribe or type is confidential and therefore must not be disclosed.
○ I understand that the contents of the questionnaires, tapes or recordings can only be discussed with the researchers.
○ I will not keep any copies of the transcripts or questionnaires, nor allow third parties access to them while the work is in progress.
○ I understand that copies of the transcripts or questionnaires and work in progress must be kept secure in a locked cabinet at all times.

Transcriber's signature: 

Transcriber's name: 

Transcriber's Contact Details (if appropriate):

Date:

Project Supervisor's Contact Details (if appropriate):

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on [type the date on which the final approval was granted] AUTEC Reference number [type the AUTEC reference number]

Note: The Transcriber should retain a copy of this form.
Maori interview Guide
(Prompts for the interviewer)

Effective local governance for urban sustainability
- The Changing roles of local councillors

The potential influence of the Maori world view on local governance and urban sustainability

Introduction

The purpose of this interview is to gain a deeper understanding of Maori views of governance and sustainability, in particular the elements of Maori governance that are specific to Maori and Maori views on sustainability. The research is undertaken with a view to considering how Maori perspectives can contribute to urban sustainability in New Zealand.

The following topics may be explored, if the interviewee agrees:

- Different Maori world views
- The relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi principles
- The key elements of Maori governance
- The meaning of sustainability in the Maori context
- Maori knowledge and learning
- Maori practices that could progress urban sustainability

The knowledge and viewpoints shared by Maori participants will be interwoven with information gathered from tauiwi elected members in an attempt to propose ways in which Maori views could contribute to progress towards urban sustainability, through influence at the local government level in New Zealand.

Themes for the korero

Discussion about the consent and my role as a Pakeha researcher and interviewing in English

- Sustainability
  So what do the words urban sustainability mean to you?
  What terms would you use in the Maori language?
  How do you think local government could go about including specific Maori practices to progress urban sustainability?
How would you like to see sustainability progressed?

- **Maori governance**

  I’m interested in the Maori way, the way things are done and the protocol that takes place – this is very different from how local authorities conduct their business.

  What kinds of partnerships does your local authority have with local and regional Maori? And how do these operate?

  How does being Maori influence your view?

  What kinds of support e.g. awhi, aroha, kaumatua support have you had?

  What was the difference in how you were treated? How did that affect your ability to be a good governor?

  What are some of the key elements of the way things are done differently in Maoridom?

  Are these influenced by specific Maori knowledge and learning?

- **Treaty principles**

  Is the Treaty an important focus for you?

  How do you think it influences the Maori way of organising things?

  [Principle of partnership – reciprocity and mutual benefit, duty to make informed decisions, to act reasonable, accountable, consultation

  Principle of active protection: protection, honourable conduct, fair process and recognition

  Principle of redress: for landlessness, wrongs can be put right, compensation to reflect social and economic destabilisation (TPK 2001)]

  How can the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, work to improve governance and urban sustainability:

  In the Maori sense?

  In the local government sense?

  What are your views on the Treaty claims process?

- **The roles of local councillors**

  Have you ever been a local or regional councillor?

  Views on Maori councillors?
If we are looking to strengthen the contribution of Māori local elected members to progress urban sustainability what do you think can make a difference?

What would this mean for Māori? For Pākehā?

In general, how do you think we can apply the Treaty principles to strengthen the roles of local councillors today?

**Interviewee Information**

Name:

Iwi relationships and or Whakapapa:

Role:

Governance experience/key organizations affiliated to:

Geographic location of participant:
Appendix 2

Case study evaluation framework.
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**Auckland City LTCCP 2006-16**

Overall policy focus on the vision sought by the community, inclusive of diverse cultures, collaborative approach with government, private sector, not for profit and community organisations acknowledged, perhaps most extensively in Arts, Community and Recreation. (Volume 2 p.12) Achieved by a matrix linking the vision theme, milestones (or activities) with collaboration partners.

(Volume 1 p.18) Recognition of the importance of stakeholders and partners in achieving community outcomes.

(Volume 1. p.4, 29, 54) Public feedback from consultation reported on and its influence on Council decision making and the selection of the top 28 projects for the LTCCP summarised.

(Volume 1, p. 11-37) Clearly articulated vision for a sustainable Auckland, with strong linkage between the community outcomes, the four well-beings and the fifth perspective of leadership and strategies and new projects.

(Volume 2 p.12) Development of a ‘Learning Quarter’ plan, focusing on ‘a distinct urban identity and harnessing the economic and social opportunities stemming from the universities in the CBD’ as part of the wider CBD development.

(Volume 2, p.13) Pursuit of housing partnership with Housing New Zealand Corporation and other providersto increase supply of affordable, healthy and energy efficient housing.

(Volume 1, p.39) Financial impact of the Council's decisions on the rates expressed with a high level of transparency and readability.

(Volume 2, p.86) The Civic Leadership group of activities highlights developing Treaty-based relationships, and establishing inter-agency relationships as milestones for this group of activities.

(Volume 2, p.14) Carry out the safer communities programme.

(Volume 1, p.21) Mayor's task force on sustainable development and participation in START Programme led by the ARC.

(Volume 2, p13) Focus on public participation in particular Pacific communities and other ethnic groups and religious communities.

Strong broker of partnerships e.g. Committee for Auckland
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<tr>
<td>(Volume 2, 52) Vector Arena - 40 year BOOT (build, own, operate, transfer) arrangement.</td>
<td>Maori recognised for their role as Kaitiaki in identifying and contributing to achieving community outcomes.</td>
<td>(Volume 2, p.102) Makes information available through publications (CityScene, rates notices etc), online, through libraries, service centres and media liaison.</td>
<td>(Volume 2, p.87) Develop a Treaty-based policy framework, establish and maintain interagency relationships</td>
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<td>(Volume 2, p. 96) Established Enterprise Board to promote Development with Vision, demonstrating innovation and leadership by being willing to consider land and infrastructure investment to facilitate new forms of quality urban development which are unproven commercially.</td>
<td>(Volume 2, p.107) Advocates for regional transport infrastructure with ARC, transport operators, LTNZ, Transit</td>
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<td>(Volume 2, 98) 'Contributes to leadership by listening, identifying what the community wants, forms partnerships and develops strategies and plans to meet objectives', advocates for community interests at regional and national level.</td>
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<td>(Volume 2, p.107) Transport overview recognises the cross-cutting nature of transport ie impact of social, economic and environmental well-beings. Milestone encouraging land use and transport integration and focusing on public transport, walking and cycling and Gulf island transport.</td>
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## Tauranga

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<td>Tauranga City LTCCP 2006-16</td>
<td>(p.8) Introduction to LTCCP highlights the Tauranga City's mission statement which focuses on working in partnership, meaningful consultation, providing leadership, quality of life now and for the future, affordable quality services, all while balancing the social, economic and environmental aspects of sustainability. This is followed by the 'People First' customer service strategy aiming to empower staff to provide outstanding service.</td>
<td>(p.14) Council participation in formal joint committees with other local authorities and agencies includes: governance, emergency management, SmartGrowth implementation, road safety and regional transport.</td>
<td>(p.29) Innovative community engagement included two regular Council publications 'Word on the Street' and 'Our City Views' used in the pre-consultation phase. In addition focus groups provided another input to decision-making.</td>
<td>(p.8) Tauranga City's LTCCP expresses a clear vision that is reflected through its commitment to the SmartGrowth Strategy, Smart Economy and the major projects.</td>
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Tauranga City Council LTCCP contains references to the intentions to align with a range of government strategies e.g. the National Digital Strategy, the New Zealand Waste Strategy. (p.31) Changes made as a result of consultation on the draft plan were clearly communicated in the LTCCP. (p.14) Strategic leadership was a key purpose of the Council's formal Tangata Whenua Committee.
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<td>(p.10–11) A strategy and plan framework and planning process diagram provides a clear linkage between Tauranga Tomorrow - Catch the Wave (community outcomes) and the council's strategies and plans.</td>
<td>(p.14) A formal Tangata Whenua-Council Committee meets quarterly - its brief is to maintain an effective and meaningful partnership between the Council and Tangata Whenua, and to provide strategic leadership and advice to the Council, Tangata Whenua and the wider community in respect of environmental, social, economic and cultural outcomes. In addition more informal discussions are held on issues impacting on Tangata Whenua.</td>
<td>(p.30) LTCCP emphasises the importance of consultation for all major activities in the plan.</td>
<td>(p.52) The LTCCP demonstrates the Council's commitment to collaborating with a wide range of stakeholders and partners in the government and private sector.</td>
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<td>(p.52) CCOs established achieve specific objectives: Tauranga City Investments Ltd, Tauranga City Aquatics Ltd, Tauranga Art Gallery Trust, Western BOP Tourist Trust. Planning to establish museum as a CCO.</td>
<td>(p.52) expression of commitment to partnership with neighbouring councils - EBOP and WBOPDC, for joint service delivery and activity.</td>
<td>(p.58) Commitment to report on community outcomes every 2 years (legislative req is 3 yearly)</td>
<td>(p.134) Tauranga CBD and neighbourhood revitalisation using integration tool to bring together all relevant strategies, developing an overarching vision for development in Tauranga.</td>
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<td>(p.89) recognition of lack of 'cultural heart', current museum not open. Committed to development of new museum to be jointly funded. Entered into agreement with Creative Tauranga for delivery of services to support and build capacity for community arts and culture.</td>
<td>(p.52) City Investment Programme seeks to develop relationships locally and nationally to co-fund new facilities. Supports the Acorn Foundation</td>
<td>(p.188) Work collaboratively with community organisations and private sector to promote principles of urban sustainability</td>
<td>Leadership role in SmartGrowth (the Regional Growth Strategy) and Smart Economy - [explore this further]</td>
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<td>(p.103-4) Library recognised as key to encouraging life long learning and literacy, preserving historical and cultural material and aligning to govt digital strategy.</td>
<td>(p.52) MOU between TCC and University of Waikato and BOP Polytechnic to progress education.</td>
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<td>Seeking sponsorship, partnerships and alternative funding.</td>
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<td>(p.119) Clearly articulate consideration of future needs and cross-cutting nature of open space i.e. impact on social and environmental perspective and a regional approach.</td>
<td>(p.67) Integrated transport strategy based on JOG (multi-level governance) with a focus on sustainable alternatives to private vehicles.</td>
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<td>(p.155) Management of solid waste to reach zero waste by 2015 (NZ Waste Strategy)</td>
<td>(p.110) Focus on strategic relationship with Sport BOP, community share agreements, contract management of majority of indoor facilities</td>
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<td>(p.164) Focus on improving quality of stormwater and reducing environmental impact</td>
<td>(p.220) Jointly funds CDEMG and Lifelines project with WBOPDC and focusing on establishing effective partnerships.</td>
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<td>(p.172) Sustainable approaches to wastewater treatment and reuse, effluent used to irrigate domain and golf course, wastewater treated and discharged through a wetland before discharge to the sea, sludge disposed of to a private composting facility. Water and wastewater conservation programme through schools. Sustainable approach to wastewater. Acknowledge discharge of wastewater to the sea as offensive to Maori.</td>
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<td>(p.179) focus on sustainable water and education</td>
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<td>(p.187) Environmental policy, strategy and plans to advocate for a sustainable approach includes improving the built environment, measuring and reporting environmental change, guiding funding and provision of infrastructure.</td>
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<td>(p.200) Modernisation of building services - electronic systems, upskilling staff.</td>
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# Rotorua

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**Rotorua District Council LTCCP**

- (p.25) LTCCP communicates a clear planning process that identifies 'Bright Future' Rotorua Community outcomes and regional, national and international influences as key inputs. The eight community outcomes are prioritised and linked to the four well-beings through well-being statements. The planning framework acknowledges the influence these have on the Council's existing plans and strategies and other organisations' contributions to community outcomes.

- (p.20) Statement indicating collaboration by govt agencies and community organisations to progress comm outcomes.

- (p.17-19) As Rotorua District comes under two regional councils, the LTCCP references both the Waikato 'Choosing Futures' and the Bay of Plenty community outcomes processes. RDC undertook its own process to identify community outcomes with its communities, however the regional processes appear to have provided a basis for regional collaboration to progress community outcomes that are common across the wider groups of councils.

- (p.50) The RDC LTCCP considered democracy, Kaupapa Maori, and policy and strategic direction as leadership activities, that underpin the democratic process and provides strategic direction and advocacy for the delivery of services to best meet the communities' needs. Council expressed the intention to review a range of processes including: representation, including canvassing opinion for Maori representation and community boards, facilitation of Maori participation in decision-making, community input to planning,

- (p.53) LTCCP expresses commitment to open and participative democracy.

- (p.6) Waste management strategy introduced and kerbside recycling under consideration following submissions in support received during consultation on the draft LTCCP.

- (p.42-3+C2) Rotorua Partners Programme, established in 2005 to recognises significant contributions to the Rotorua community, by the corporate sector and other organisations.

- (p.12) In 2006 Council developed a Tangata Whenua and Maori communications and consultation guide, to enable staff to engage more effectively and to improve Maori participation in Council decision-making processes. The principles of this guide have ensured appropriate Maori input into long-term land use planning. Kaupapa Maori activity described further on p.56.
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<td>(p.11,12) Dev Maori capacity to contribute to decision-making - Joint governance with Maori includes: Te Arawa Standing Committee and marae hui, Ngati Whakaue Gifted Lands Protocol, Te Pukenga Koeke O Te Arawa O Te Whare Taonga, Kauaue Cemetery Committee, Pukaki Trust, Waka taua Trust, iwi reps on the Lakes restoration and rehabilitation programme and energy events centre construction programme and so on. A memorandum of understanding was also signed with Tuhourangi to provide opportunities for the tribe to contribute to Council decision-making. The LTCCP expressed the Council's commitment to review and developed these mechanisms to ensure their effectiveness.</td>
<td>(p.64) Retrofitting pensioner housing in partnership with Housing NZ, reserve land developments in partnership with private sector.</td>
<td>(p.60) Policy and strategic direction activity - commitment to consult on &quot;major policies, decisions, projects and activities.&quot;</td>
<td>(p.56) Kaupapa Maori activity facilitates Council, Te Arawa relationship.</td>
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<td>(p.26) Developed SEEC well-being statements so that community outcomes could &quot;provide guidance to council policy, plans and strategies and be translated into actions&quot; (p.27-39). The social well-being statement sought to promote knowledge and skills, social connectedness, health, civic and political rights, community safety, education, employment opportunities, and support for families. The economic well-being statement considered appropriate use of the environment, the need for education and skilled workers, and the importance of building strong, well-connected networks and working together to achieve outcomes. The environmental well-being statement specifically encompassed sustainability of water resources, waste management, the districts geothermal resources, biodiversity, urban design, use of rural land and open spaces, sustainable infrastructure, transport, energy and the global environment. The cultural well-being statement was concerned with recreation, arts and cultural expression, cultural tourism, access to information and value of diversity.</td>
<td>(p.70) Aquatic centre partnering with local schools with swimming pools to alleviate capacity issues and reduce costs to schools.</td>
<td>(p.60) Policy and strategic direction activity - commitment to publish news and report community outcomes (the later is a legislative requirement).</td>
<td>(p.97) Provision of event venues is a facilitatory role within the community.</td>
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<td>(p.62-118) LTCCP community and social group of activities demonstrates a sustainable development approach to how services are delivered e.g. the recognition of community policy as an activity (p.93) and pensioner housing incorporating the concepts of social housing and social services (p.101).</td>
<td>(p.166) References to ongoing partnerships with central and regional government departments and agencies to further road safety (LTMA related).</td>
<td>(p.64) Stakeholder and community consultation to develop proposals for lake front development.</td>
<td>(p.182) Development and management of regional airport, owns assets and leases them to an operating company.</td>
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<td>(p.124-45) The environmental group of activities includes animal control, building control of environmental planning. Sustainable development is reflected through the aim which has a current and future focus and through recognition of heritage, kaitakitanga, lake water quality, geothermal energy as a resource to be protected and the value of partnerships.</td>
<td>(p.147-8) The economy group of activities includes Destination Rotorua Economic Development, tourism marketing and travel and information. The LTCCP expressed the focus on implementing strategies that are complementary to economic development e.g. the Employment Skills, CBD Retail and Film Volcanic Strategies and developing Maori land (p.151). Joint venture funding and support was being sought, along with alignment with New Zealand off shore tourism activities.</td>
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<td>(p.196) Coordination and leadership around road safety and management of the highway network (delegated by LTNZ).</td>
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<td>(p.64) Lifelong learning and aging population learning needs of the community recognised.</td>
<td>(p.147-8) Focus on joint venture tourism and Australian tourism marketing.</td>
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<td>(p.65) Formation of a charitable trust to lead fundraising for the museum centennial development expected to cost $18 million</td>
<td>(p.241) Castlecorp Group - separate business unit that provides operational maintenance services for council owned infrastructure, including water, wastewater and stormwater network, parks and reserves, gardens, sports fields and vehicle fleet.</td>
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<td>(p.82-118) LTCCP community and social group of activities demonstrates a sustainable development approach to how services are delivered e.g. the recognition of community policy as an activity (p.93) and pensioner housing incorporating the concepts of social housing and inter-related needs (p.101).</td>
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<td>(p.7, 134) Lakes water quality recognised as a strategic issue. Focus on research to minimise degradation of the environment.</td>
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<td>(p.164) The strategic direction expressed for engineering compliance and land drainage indicates a strong focus on minimising environmental impacts.</td>
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<td>(p.164) Recognition that infrastructure driven by growth and development. RMA requirements acknowledged and attributed in a number of cases.</td>
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<td>(p.163-225)</td>
<td>The infrastructure group of activities reflects a focus on alignment with national strategies and legislation e.g. the collaborative approach to roads with Transit NZ in transport and waste management. (p.166-7) The LTCCP reflected the Council's intention to develop alternative waste disposal sites and methods ($45m over 50 yrs), assigning biogas generation rights to a private company, giving effect to NZ Waste Reduction Strategy, Cleaner Production Programme.</td>
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### PORIRUA

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(p.43) the Council's strategic direction encompasses the seven community outcomes, linked to the four strategic focus areas (with goals) to the Council's priorities in each area, which are further linked to Council's ongoing services and programmes (see diagram p. 43).

(p.27-30) Porirua is working with all of the Councils in the Greater Wellington region and Positively Wellington Business on the Wellington Regional Strategy (WRS, a fifty year economic and growth management strategy). The WRS community outcomes and the City's own outcomes, developed in 1999/2000, were used to inform the LTCCP.

The 2006-16 community outcomes process engaged with local communities, businesses, Tanagta Whenua, and other key stakeholders. Key organisations were invited to form a City Action Forum and 168 people from a range of agencies attended. The purpose of this forum was to agree a process for the development of community outcomes; review progress and achievements; identify the community outcomes for 2006-16; identify the key actions for city partners; and identify milestones in achieving actions. The forum recommended seven revised community outcomes concerned with: health and good quality housing; diverse education and community training goals; the participation of young people; a valued, clean, safe, attractive and sustainable environment; business and sustainable employment opportunities; safe integrated transport; and a welcoming, creative city that fosters safety, belonging and inclusion (p.29-32).

(p.5) The Chief Executives message articulates Porirua's vision: 'Porirua City is an exciting place full of life, colour and fun. It has energy and heart.' This is linked to the Council's four focus areas, described as: a developing economy; active, healthy and safe communities; healthy harbour inlet and waterways; and a well-planned city.
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<td>(p.22) Porirua City Council had adopted, within their significance policy, a set of sustainability principles that included: considering long-term implications; seeking innovative and mutually supporting solutions; using best information to support decision-making; addressing risk and taking a precautionary approach to decisions that may cause serious or irreversible damage; considering a regional, national and global perspective; focusing on sustainable growth; respecting environmental limits; consideration of the views of communities and interested or affected people; Working in partnership with Maori; respecting human rights and cultural diversity.</td>
<td>(p.25, 79) Formal Charter of Understanding signed with Ngati Toa, Tangata Whenua for Porirua in September 2004. Mechanisms to support the relationship included the establishment of the Treaty Partnership Group made up of Councillors and members of the Runanga, regular CE meetings and processes for seeking staff advice. The Council also has a working relationship with other Marae e.g. Maraeroa.</td>
<td>(p.37-9) The LTCCP described the planning and community consultation processes undertaken for the redevelopment of Plimmerton, Titahi Bay, Eastern Porirua and Takapuwahia, and outlined the next steps decided following consultation on the options.</td>
<td>(p.3) The Mayors message highlights that ‘twice the number of submissions’ were received as in the past, due to interest in village development, and the sports and events centre proposals.</td>
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<td>(p.26) Other governance relationships outlined include: The Pacific Islands Forum; the Porirua City Youth Council; and the Older Persons’ Advisory Group. Other working relationships exist with a wide range of organisations and agencies such as the PACNET sports network, residents associations, Healthlinks, the Government Departments Strategic Coordination Group and others.</td>
<td>(p. 99) Policy and planning advice for sustainable development includes Council and the community.</td>
<td>(p.29-32) Council’s leadership in the community demonstrated by the facilitatory role in convening the City Action Forum.</td>
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<td>(p.48) Proposed new sports and events centre - viewed through sustainability lens and across several community outcomes - Porirua Community Appeal Trust reactivated to assist with funding sources.</td>
<td>(p.27) Working with other councils of the region on Positively Wellington Business and the Wellington Regional Strategy Forum (included the community outcomes process).</td>
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<td>The democratic process group of activities expressed the Council’s commitment to decision-making supported by professional advice and meaningful consultation with the public (p.79).</td>
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<td>(p. 62, 113) A native bush revegetation programme is replacing problem pine plantations that have outgrown their usefulness, as a solution to slope stability and bringing back bird species</td>
<td>p.30-33)</td>
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<td>(p.62 , ) Business waste min, plan for diversion of green waste from landfill</td>
<td>(p. 61, ) Two-year contract with MSD to cover the cost of developing a Youth development Strategy</td>
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<td>(p. 57, 113) Walkways and cycleways strategy</td>
<td>(p.115) Inter-agency partnerships and education to protect and maintain the harbour, beaches and inlet.</td>
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<td>(p.57,122) Waste minimisation, waste transfer and disposal joint venture with Wellington City. Manages biosolids from the wastewater treatment plant for beneficial reuse. Kerbside recycling extended to rural areas. Supports zero waste goal through public education and awareness.</td>
<td>(p.4) Funding for the new sports and events centre to be sought from the Porirua Community Appeal Trust's - this trust was to be reactivated by a group of prominent citizens to raise funds from corporate sponsorships and grants.</td>
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<td>(p.57, 58, ) Porirua Harbour and catchment management plan to restore the Onepoto Arm and continue protection of the Pauatahanui Inlet and Karehana Bay stormwater improvements show environmental awareness and commitment.</td>
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<td>(p.60-1, 73, 78) Library internet and Digital Porirua strategy aims to increase learning, business productivity and social cohesion - secured funding from the Government Community Partnership Fund. Research and development of the existing knowledge section and public programmes (?) presented as innovative - follow up.</td>
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<td>Christchurch City LTCCP 2006-16</td>
<td>(p.9) The introduction to the Christchurch LTCCP highlights the 'vision for the future Christchurch': Our future Christchurch is a world class boutique city, where people enjoy a sustainable lifestyle, a healthy environment, a strong economic base and the diverse landscapes of the city and peninsula. The vision includes an overarching set of themes which are about: a place where people enjoy living, inclusive communities, a thriving healthy environment, being the most attractive city in New Zealand and a global economic destination. These themes represent the Council's long-term focus and priorities and contribute to achieving community outcomes.</td>
<td>(p. 61) The LTCCP highlighted that for each strategic direction the Council worked with other local authorities, a range of government agencies, Maori, the education sector, business, developers, professional bodies and voluntary and community organisations.</td>
<td>(p.53)The LTCCP describes a community outcomes identification process that included wide public consultation followed by research and review of Council's existing information and strategies. Nine community outcomes were identified concerning safety, inclusiveness of diverse communities, valuing and protecting the natural environment, good governance, prosperity, health, recreation, lifelong learning and an attractive and well-designed city.</td>
<td>(p.59) as part of the strong communities strategic direction Council committed to promoting participation in democratic processes. (p.111) Democracy and governance group of activities provided these opportunities, ensured effective decision-making and supported the elected council and community board members. The Council's role was described as developing strategies and policies that set the direction for the City's future.</td>
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<td>(p.59) The Council identified four strategic directions that defined its roles in achieving community outcomes: Strong Communities; Healthy Environment; Liveable City; and Prosperous economy. These directions ensured that all the Council’s activities contributed to the achievement of community outcomes.</td>
<td>(p.19, 63) The LTCCP reported a strong working relationship with Maori and was continuing to work at developing processes for Maori contribute to decision-making. Council committed to a review, in consultation with Maori, to ensure that new arrangements were meeting the best interests of Maori and the Council. The partnership with Maori was highlighted as important to achieve a healthy environment.</td>
<td>(p.21) The draft LTCCP consultation reported was broad and inclusive. City-wide discussions through 17 council-hosted meetings or regular group meetings with regional or national bodies, sector groups including business, social services, recreation and the Ethnic Council. Further, fifty-one meetings were held between community boards and their communities at the local level. This was supported by media advertising and interviews, and print material (information and submission forms) in English and four non-English languages, CDs for the visually impaired, and an exhibition of art representing the Council’s responsibility. 1900 submissions were received, and 400 were heard.</td>
<td>Through clear vision and strategic focus the Council is providing strong leadership to its partners and communities. A strong focus on economic development and the performance of CCOs has ensured an additional source of funding over and above property rates.</td>
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<td>(p.37)</td>
<td>Economic strength. The Council held controlling stakes in a number of trading companies which formed part of the City's key infrastructure. These included the port and airport, electricity delivery, public transport and general facilities such as the Convention Centre, Jade Stadium, the Westpac Centre. Together these provided about $30million per year to Council in dividends (and more than $600million in special dividends and capital returns between 1996-2006). Christchurch City Holdings Ltd, the Council's investment arm was working with business and community leaders to consider long-term infrastructure needs of the region. The Council was also contributing to economic development through the Council-owned Canterbury Development Corporation.</td>
<td>(p.118) Participates and contributes to joint venture promotional media and trade shows with industry operators.</td>
<td>(P.53-6) The Community Outcomes process identified nine outcomes that reflected the communities aspirations for safety, inclusive and diverse communities, a valued and protected environment, good city governance, prosperity, health, recreation, lifelong learning and an attractive well-designed city.</td>
<td>(p.99) Council works with community organisations to strengthen them and increase self reliance of communities.</td>
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<td>(p.61)</td>
<td>Council adopted 'The Natural Step' (TNS) sustainability framework in 1999. This defined a sustainable society as one which is not subject to increasing concentrations of: substances extracted from the earth's crust e.g. oil, coal, metals such as lead or substances produced by society e.g. dioxins, DDT and PCBs; Physical degradation e.g. using water faster than it replenishes, soil erosion; and one in which human needs are met world-wide. TNS helped Council to align its operations in the business</td>
<td>(p.118) Contributes to Canterbury Regional Economic Development Strategy through mentoring, coaching, assistance and globalisation services. Seeking to develop and deliver youth employment, entrepreneurship, support and training services</td>
<td>(p.112) Commitment to review iwi management plans in relation to council decision-making processes, develop an MOU, consider variety of processes to meet different (Communication) needs of the community and to encourage more effective participation of ethnic minorities in decision-making.</td>
<td>(p.99) Council provides and operates three early learning facilities and provides an additional 13 that are community operated - reassessing how this role in delivered in the next year.</td>
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<td>and community sectors, to progress to sustainability.</td>
<td>(p.81-3) The LTCCP committed to major capital projects that included expansion of the Christchurch wastewater treatment plant, biosolids reuse, tree renewal, improvements to the stormwater network and Avon River water quality, waste management and reduction, Akaroa public water supply upgrade, central city transport, and Port access.</td>
<td>(p.152) Aligned with the National Transport Strategy, Regional Land Transport Strategy, strong focus on public transport, cycling and pedestrian strategy.</td>
<td>(p.17-27) Section summarising the draft plan consultation feedback highlights the garden city concept, water as a valuable resources, the demand for sport and recreation facilities, traffic congestion and public transport, the inclusion of Banks peninsula and consultation with Maori as key areas of interest to the Christchurch community. This was followed by changes made from the draft to final LTCCP and conveys a sense of transparency and openness.</td>
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<td>(p.92-169) Although the Council’s activities were traditionally arranged by output in 12 groupings, an integrated and collaborative approach towards the delivery and monitoring of activities was evident.</td>
<td>(p.93) Council actively involved in urban renewal, central city revitalisation and heritage protection.</td>
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<td>(p.140) Encourages waste minimisation, reuse and recycling e.g. kerbside recycling, green waste composting, recycling drop off, business resource efficiency and behaviour change programmes</td>
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<td>(p. 166) Planning for sustainable management of city’s water supply, Education of domestic and commercial water users for water conservation.</td>
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Appendix 3

Rio declaration on environment and development

The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development,
Having met at Rio de Janeiro from 3 to 14 June 1992,
Reaffirming the Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment,
adopted at Stockholm on 16 June 1972, a/ and seeking to build upon it,

With the goal of establishing a new and equitable global partnership through the creation of new levels of cooperation among States, key sectors of societies and people,

Working towards international agreements which respect the interests of all and protect the integrity of the global environmental and developmental system,

Recognizing the integral and interdependent nature of the Earth, our home,

Proclaims that:

Principle 1
Human beings are at the centre of concerns for sustainable development. They are entitled to a healthy and productive life in harmony with nature.

Principle 2
States have, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law, the sovereign right to exploit their own resources pursuant to their own environmental and developmental policies, and the responsibility to ensure that activities within their jurisdiction or control do not cause damage to the environment of other States or of areas beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.

Principle 3
The right to development must be fulfilled so as to equitably meet developmental and environmental needs of present and future generations.

Principle 4
In order to achieve sustainable development, environmental protection shall constitute an integral part of the development process and cannot be considered in isolation from it.

Principle 5
All States and all people shall cooperate in the essential task of eradicating poverty as an indispensable requirement for sustainable development, in order to decrease the disparities in standards of living and better meet the needs of the majority of the people of the world.

Principle 6
The special situation and needs of developing countries, particularly the least developed and those most environmentally vulnerable, shall be given special priority. International actions in the field of environment and development should also address the interests and needs of all countries.

Principle 7
States shall cooperate in a spirit of global partnership to conserve, protect and restore the health and integrity of the Earth’s ecosystem. In view of the different contributions to global environmental degradation, States have common but differentiated responsibilities. The developed countries acknowledge the responsibility that they bear in the international pursuit of sustainable development in view of the pressures their societies place on the global environment and of the technologies and financial resources they command.

Principle 8
To achieve sustainable development and a higher quality of life for all people, States should reduce and eliminate unsustainable patterns of production and consumption and promote appropriate demographic policies.
Principle 9
States should cooperate to strengthen endogenous capacity-building for sustainable development by improving scientific understanding through exchanges of scientific and technological knowledge, and by enhancing the development, adaptation, diffusion and transfer of technologies, including new and innovative technologies.

Principle 10
Environmental issues are best handled with the participation of all concerned citizens, at the relevant level. At the national level, each individual shall have appropriate access to information concerning the environment that is held by public authorities, including information on hazardous materials and activities in their communities, and the opportunity to participate in decision-making processes. States shall facilitate and encourage public awareness and participation by making information widely available. Effective access to judicial and administrative proceedings, including redress and remedy, shall be provided.

Principle 11
States shall enact effective environmental legislation. Environmental standards, management objectives and priorities should reflect the environmental and developmental context to which they apply. Standards applied by some countries may be inappropriate and of unwarranted economic and social cost to other countries, in particular developing countries.

Principle 12
States should cooperate to promote a supportive and open international economic system that would lead to economic growth and sustainable development in all countries, to better address the problems of environmental degradation. Trade policy measures for environmental purposes should not constitute a means of arbitrary or unjustifiable discrimination or a disguised restriction on international trade. Unilateral actions to deal with environmental challenges outside the jurisdiction of the importing country should be avoided. Environmental measures addressing transboundary or global environmental problems should, as far as possible, be based on an international consensus.

Principle 13
States shall develop national law regarding liability and compensation for the victims of pollution and other environmental damage. States shall also cooperate in an expeditious and more determined manner to develop further international law regarding liability and compensation for adverse effects of environmental damage caused by activities within their jurisdiction or control to areas beyond their jurisdiction.

Principle 14
States should effectively cooperate to discourage or prevent the relocation and transfer to other States of any activities and substances that cause severe environmental degradation or are found to be harmful to human health.

Principle 15
In order to protect the environment, the precautionary approach shall be widely applied by States according to their capabilities. Where there are threats of serious or irreversible damage, lack of full scientific certainty shall not be used as a reason for postponing cost-effective measures to prevent environmental degradation.

Principle 16
National authorities should endeavour to promote the internalization of environmental costs and the use of economic instruments, taking into account the approach that the polluter should, in principle, bear the cost of pollution, with due regard to the public interest and without distorting international trade and investment.

Principle 17
Environmental impact assessment, as a national instrument, shall be undertaken for proposed activities that are likely to have a significant adverse impact on the environment and are subject to a decision of a competent national authority.

Principle 18
States shall immediately notify other States of any natural disasters or other emergencies that are likely to produce sudden harmful effects on the environment of those States. Every effort shall be made by the international community to help States so afflicted.

Principle 19
States shall provide prior and timely notification and relevant information to potentially affected States on activities that may have a significant adverse transboundary environmental effect and shall consult with those States at an early stage and in good faith.

Principle 20
Women have a vital role in environmental management and development. Their full participation is therefore essential to achieve sustainable development.

Principle 21
The creativity, ideals and courage of the youth of the world should be mobilized to forge a global partnership in order to achieve sustainable development and ensure a better future for all.

Principle 22
Indigenous people and their communities and other local communities have a vital role in environmental management and development because of their knowledge and traditional practices. States should recognize and duly support their identity, culture and interests and enable their effective participation in the achievement of sustainable development.

Principle 23
The environment and natural resources of people under oppression, domination and occupation shall be protected.

Principle 24
Warfare is inherently destructive of sustainable development. States shall therefore respect international law providing protection for the environment in times of armed conflict and cooperate in its further development, as necessary.

Principle 25
Peace, development and environmental protection are interdependent and indivisible.

Principle 26
States shall resolve all their environmental disputes peacefully and by appropriate means in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

Principle 27
States and people shall cooperate in good faith and in a spirit of partnership in the fulfilment of the principles embodied in this Declaration and in the further development of international law in the field of sustainable development.

Appendix 4

Map showing New Zealand local authority boundaries (Local Government New Zealand, 2009)
Appendix 5

Relevant sections of the Local Government Act 2002,

Section 10 Purpose of local government

a) to enable democratic local decision-making and action by, and on behalf of communities; and

b) to promote the social, economic, environmental and cultural wellbeing of communities, in the present and for the future (New Zealand Government, 2002)\(^1\).

Section 12 Status and powers

(1) A local authority is a body corporate with perpetual succession.

(2) For the purposes of performing its role, a local authority has -

(a) full capacity to carry on or undertake any activity or business, do any act, or enter into any transaction; and

(b) for the purposes of paragraph (a), full rights, powers, and privileges.

(3) Subsection (2) is subject to this Act, any other enactment, and the general law.

(4) A territorial authority must exercise its powers under this section wholly or principally for the benefit of its district.

(5) A regional council must exercise its powers under this section wholly or principally for the benefit of all or a significant part of its region, and not for the benefit of a single district.

(6) Subsections (4) and (5) do not -

(a) prevent 2 or more local authorities engaging in a joint undertaking, a joint activity, or a co-operative activity; or

(b) prevent a transfer of responsibility from one local authority to another in accordance with this Act; or

(c) restrict the activities of a council-controlled organisation.

14 Principles relating to local authorities

(1) In performing its role, a local authority must act in accordance with the following principles:

(a) a local authority should---

(i) conduct its business in an open, transparent, and democratically accountable manner; and

(ii) give effect to its identified priorities and desired outcomes in an efficient and effective manner:

(b) a local authority should make itself aware of, and should have regard to, the views of all of its communities; and

(c) when making a decision, a local authority should take account of---

(i) the diversity of the community, and the community’s interests, within its district or region; and

(ii) the interests of future as well as current communities; and

(iii) the likely impact of any decision on each aspect of well-being referred to in section 10:

(d) a local authority should provide opportunities for Māori to contribute to its decision-making processes:

(e) a local authority should collaborate and co-operate with other local authorities and bodies as it considers appropriate to promote or achieve its priorities and desired outcomes, and make efficient use of resources; and

(f) a local authority should undertake any commercial transactions in accordance with sound business practices; and

(g) a local authority should ensure prudent stewardship and the efficient and effective use of its resources in the interests of its district or region; and

(h) in taking a sustainable development approach, a local authority should take into account -

(i) the social, economic, and cultural well-being of people and communities; and

(ii) the need to maintain and enhance the quality of the environment; and

(iii) the reasonably foreseeable needs of future generations.

(2) If any of these principles, or any aspects of well-being referred to in section 10, are in conflict in any particular case, the local authority should resolve the conflict in accordance with the principle in subsection (1)(a)(i).

Section 39 Governance principles

A local authority must act in accordance with the following principles in relation to its governance:

(a) a local authority should ensure that the role of democratic governance of the community, and the expected conduct of elected members, is clear and understood by elected members and the community; and

(b) a local authority should ensure that the governance structures and processes are effective, open, and transparent; and
(c) a local authority should ensure that, so far as is practicable, responsibility and processes for decision-making in relation to regulatory responsibilities is separated from responsibility and processes for decision-making for non-regulatory responsibilities; and

(d) a local authority should be a good employer; and

(e) a local authority should ensure that the relationship between elected members and management of the local authority is effective and understood.

Section 77 Requirements in relation to decisions

(1) A local authority must, in the course of the decision-making process,

(a) seek to identify all reasonably practicable options for the achievement of the objective of a decision; and

(b) assess those options by considering---

(i) the benefits and costs of each option in terms of the present and future social, economic, environmental, and cultural well-being of the district or region; and

(ii) the extent to which community outcomes would be promoted or achieved in an integrated and efficient manner by each option; and

(iii) the impact of each option on the local authority's capacity to meet present and future needs in relation to any statutory responsibility of the local authority; and

(iv) any other matters that, in the opinion of the local authority, are relevant; and

(c) if any of the options identified under paragraph (a) involves a significant decision in relation to land or a body of water, take into account the relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral land, water, sites, waahi tapu, valued flora and fauna, and other taonga.

Section 91 Process for identifying community outcomes

(1) A local authority must, not less than once every 6 years, carry out a process to identify community outcomes for the intermediate and long-term future of its district or region.

(2) The purposes of the identification of community outcomes are---

(a) to provide opportunities for communities to discuss their desired outcomes in terms of the present and future social, economic, environmental, and cultural well-being of the community; and

(b) to allow communities to discuss the relative importance and priorities of identified outcomes to the present and future social, economic, environmental, and cultural well-being of the community; and

(c) to provide scope to measure progress towards the achievement of community outcomes; and

(d) to promote the better co-ordination and application of community resources; and
(e) to inform and guide the setting of priorities in relation to the activities of the local authority and other organisations.

(3) A local authority may decide for itself the process that it is to use to facilitate the identification of community outcomes under subsection (1), but the local authority -

(i) to identify, so far as practicable, other organisations and groups capable of influencing either the identification or the promotion of community outcomes; and

(ii) to secure, if practicable, the agreement of those organisations and groups to the process and to the relationship of the process to any existing and related plans; and

(b) must ensure that the process encourages the public to contribute to the identification of community outcomes.

Section 93 Long-term council community plan

(1) A local authority must, at all times, have a long-term council community plan under this section.

(2) A local authority must use the special consultative procedure in adopting a long-term council community plan.

(3) A long-term council community plan must be adopted before the commencement of the first year to which it relates, and continues in force until the close of the third consecutive year to which it relates.

(4) A local authority may amend a long-term council community plan at any time.

(5) A local authority must use the special consultative procedure in making any amendment to a long-term council community plan.

(6) The purpose of a long-term council community plan is to---

(a) describe the activities of the local authority; and

(b) describe the community outcomes of the local authority's district or region; and

(c) provide integrated decision-making and co-ordination of the resources of the local authority; and

(d) provide a long-term focus for the decisions and activities of the local authority; and

(e) provide a basis for accountability of the local authority to the community; and

(f) provide an opportunity for participation by the public in decision-making processes on activities to be undertaken by the local authority.

(7) A long-term council community plan adopted under this section must---

(a) cover a period of not less than 10 consecutive financial years; and

(b) include the information required by Part 1 of Schedule 10.
(8) A local authority must, in complying with the requirements of this Act in relation to the preparation and adoption of a long-term council community plan, act in such manner, and include in that plan such detail, as the local authority considers on reasonable grounds to be appropriate.

(9) A local authority must, in deciding what is appropriate for the purposes of subsection (4), have regard to -

(a) the provisions of sections 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 96, 97, and 101; and

(b) the significance of any matter; and

(c) the extent of the local authority's resources.

(10) A local authority must, within 1 month after the adoption of its long-term council community plan,

(a) make its long-term council community plan publicly available; and

(b) send copies of that plan to---

(i) the Secretary; and

(ii) the Auditor-General; and

(iii) the Parliamentary Library.

Section 77 Requirements in relation to decisions

(1) A local authority must, in the course of the decision-making process,

(a) seek to identify all reasonably practicable options for the achievement of the objective of a decision; and

(b) assess those options by considering

(i) the benefits and costs of each option in terms of the present and future social, economic, environmental, and cultural well-being of the district or region; and

(ii) the extent to which community outcomes would be promoted or achieved in an integrated and efficient manner by each option; and

(iii) the impact of each option on the local authority's capacity to meet present and future needs in relation to any statutory responsibility of the local authority; and

(iv) any other matters that, in the opinion of the local authority, are relevant; and

(c) if any of the options identified under paragraph (a) involves a significant decision in relation to land or a body of water, take into account the relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral land, water, sites, waahi tapu, valued flora and fauna, and other taonga.

Section 81 Contributions to decision-making processes by Māori

(1) A local authority must---

(a) establish and maintain processes to provide opportunities for Māori to contribute to the decision-making processes of the local authority; and
(b) consider ways in which it may foster the development of Māori capacity to contribute to the decision-making processes of the local authority; and

(c) provide relevant information to Māori for the purposes of paragraphs (a) and (b).

(2) A local authority, in exercising its responsibility to make judgments about the manner in which subsection (1) is to be complied with, must have regard to

(a) the role of the local authority, as set out in section 11; and

(b) such other matters as the local authority considers on reasonable grounds to be relevant to those judgments.

Section 108 Policy on remission and postponement of rates on Māori freehold land

(1) If a policy adopted under section 102(4)(f) provides for the remission of rates on Māori freehold land, the policy must state---

(a) the objectives sought to be achieved by the remission of rates; and

(b) the conditions and criteria to be met in order for rates to be remitted.

(2) If a policy adopted under section 102(4)(f) provides for the postponement of the requirement to pay rates on Māori freehold land, the policy must state

(a) the objectives sought to be achieved by a postponement of the requirement to pay rates; and

(b) the conditions and criteria to be met in order for the requirement to pay rates to be postponed.

(3) For the avoidance of doubt, a policy adopted under section 102(4)(f) is not required to provide for the remission of, or postponement of the requirement to pay, rates on Māori freehold land.

(4) In determining a policy under section 102(4)(f), the local authority must consider the matters set out in Schedule 11.

(5) For the purposes of this section, the term rates includes penalties payable on unpaid rates.

Schedule 10 Part 1
- Information to be included in long-term council community plans

1 Community outcomes

A long-term council community plan must, to the extent determined appropriate by the local authority,

(a) describe the community outcomes for the local authority's district or region:

(b) describe how the community outcomes have been identified:
(c) describe how the local authority will contribute to furthering community outcomes:

(d) describe how the community outcomes relate to other key strategic planning documents or processes:

(e) outline how the local authority will, to further community outcomes, work with,

(i) other local organisations and regional organisations; and

(ii) Māori, central government, and non-government organisations; and

(iii) the private sector:

(f) state what measures will be used to assess progress towards the achievement of community outcomes:

(g) state how the local authority will monitor and, not less than once in every 3 years, report on the community's progress towards achieving community outcomes.

2 Group of activities

(1) A long-term council community plan must, in relation to each group of activities of the local authority -

(a) identify the activities within the group of activities:

(b) identify the rationale for delivery of the group of activities (including the community outcomes to which the group of activities primarily contributes):

(c) outline any significant negative effects that any activity within the group of activities may have on the social, economic, environmental, or cultural well-being of the local community:

(d) identify the assets or groups of assets required by the group of activities and identify, in relation to those assets or groups of assets,

(i) how the local authority will assess and manage the asset management implications of changes to

(A) demand for, or consumption of, relevant services; and

(B) service provision levels and standards:

(ii) what additional asset capacity is estimated to be required in respect of changes to each of the matters described in subparagraph (i):

(iii) how the provision of additional asset capacity will be undertaken:

(iv) the estimated costs of the provision of additional asset capacity identified under subparagraph (ii), and the division of those costs between each of the matters in respect of which additional capacity is required:
(v) how the costs of the provision of additional asset capacity will be met:

(vi) how the maintenance, renewal, and replacement of assets will be undertaken:

(vii) how the costs of the maintenance, renewal, and replacement of assets will be met:

(e) include the information specified in subclause (2)

(i) in detail in relation to each of the first 3 financial years covered by the plan; and

(ii) in outline in relation to each of the subsequent financial years covered by the plan.

(2) The information referred to in subclause (1)(e) is

(a) a statement of the intended levels of service provision for the group of activities, including the performance targets and other measures by which actual levels of service provision may meaningfully be assessed:

(b) the estimated expenses of achieving and maintaining the identified levels of service provision, including the estimated expenses associated with maintaining the service capacity and integrity of assets:

(c) a statement of how the expenses are to be met:

(d) a statement of the estimated revenue levels, the other sources of funds, and the rationale for their selection in terms of section 101(3).

3 Summaries of assessments of water and sanitary services and waste management plans

(1) The long-term council community plan of a territorial authority must contain -

(a) a summary of the last assessment which was made under section 125 by the local authority and which assessed the provision within its district of water services and sanitary services; and

(b) a summary of the waste management plan in force under section 539 of the Local Government Act 1974.

(2) Subclause (1) does not apply in respect of an assessment of water services and sanitary services or a waste management plan if the assessment or waste management plan is included in the long-term council community plan.

(3) The long-term council community plan of a territorial authority must identify and explain any significant variation between the content of any assessment or waste management plan referred to in subclause (1), and any relevant information included under clause 2.

4 Council-controlled organisations

A long-term council community plan must, in relation to each council-controlled organisation in which the local authority is a shareholder,
(a) name the council-controlled organisation and any subsidiary of the council-controlled organisation; and

(b) identify

(i) the local authority's significant policies and objectives in regard to ownership and control of the organisation; and

(ii) the nature and scope of the activities to be provided by the council-controlled organisation; and

(iii) the key performance targets and other measures by which performance may be judged.

5 Development of Māori capacity to contribute to decision-making processes

A long-term council community plan must set out any steps that the local authority intends to take, having considered ways in which it might foster the development of Māori capacity to contribute to the decision-making processes of the local authority, over the period covered by that plan.

6 Funding and financial policies

A long-term council community plan must include the funding and financial policies of the local authority adopted under section 102.

7 Determining significance

A long-term council community plan must contain a summary of the local authority's policy on determining significance under the Act.

8 Forecast financial statements

(1) A long-term council community plan must include, for each of the financial years covered by the plan, forecast financial statements for the local authority.

(2) A long-term council community plan may include, for each of the financial years covered by the plan, or for any of those years, forecast financial statements for any council-controlled organisation or any other entity under the local authority’s control.

9 Statement concerning balancing of budget

If the local authority has resolved, under section 100(2), not to balance its operating budget in any year covered by the long-term council community plan, the plan must include

(a) a statement of the reasons for the resolution and any other matters taken into account; and

(b) a statement of the implications of the decision.

10 Funding impact statement

(1) A long-term council community plan must include a funding impact statement that includes,

(a) in relation to each year covered by the plan, information that discloses the revenue and financing mechanisms to be used by the local authority; and
(b) in relation to each year covered by the plan, an indication of the level or amount of funds to be produced by each mechanism; and

(c) if the mechanisms include a general rate,

(i) particulars of the valuation system on which the general rate is to be assessed; and

(ii) a statement as to whether a uniform annual general charge is to be included; and

(iii) if a uniform annual general charge is to be included, a statement as to how that uniform annual general charge will be calculated; and

(iv) a statement as to whether the general rate is to be set differentially, and, if so,

(A) the categories of rateable land, within the meaning of section 14 of the Local Government (Rating) Act 2002, to be used; and

(B) the objectives of the differential rate, in terms of the total revenue sought from each category of rateable land or of the relationship between the rates set on rateable land in each category; and

(d) if the mechanisms include a targeted rate,

(i) the activities or groups of activities for which the targeted rate is to be set; and

(ii) particulars of the category, or categories, of rateable land, within the meaning of section 17 of the Local Government (Rating) Act 2002, to be used; and

(iii) for each such category, a statement as to how liability for the targeted rate is to be calculated; and

(iv) if the targeted rate is set differentially, a statement of the total revenue sought from each category of rateable land or of the relationship between the rates set on rateable land in each category; and

(e) for each mechanism, a statement of its relationship to the sources of funding described in clause 2(2)(d).

(2) If the same mechanism is to be used in more than one of the years covered by the long-term council community plan, it is sufficient compliance with paragraphs (c) to (e) of subclause (1), in respect of that mechanism, if -

(a) those paragraphs are complied with in respect of one of those years; and

(b) the funding impact statement specifies the other years in respect of which that mechanism is to be used.

11 Significant forecasting assumptions

A long-term council community plan must clearly identify---
(a) all the significant forecasting assumptions and risks underlying the financial estimates:

(b) without limiting the generality of paragraph (a), the following assumptions on which the financial estimates are based:

(i) the assumptions of the local authority concerning the useful life of significant assets; and

(ii) the assumptions of the local authority concerning sources of funds for the future replacement of significant assets:

(c) in any case where significant forecasting assumptions involve a high level of uncertainty,

(i) the fact of that uncertainty; and

(ii) an estimate of the potential effects of that uncertainty on the financial estimates provided.
Appendix 6

Summary of characteristics of Māori institutions (government imposed and Maori kinship-based structures).

The unshaded rows are based on Tomlins Jahnke (2005, p.73-74). The information in the shaded rows is sourced from Te Ara – the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand (Meredith, 2008).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>System</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Jurisdiction</th>
<th>Authority</th>
<th>Outcome for Māori</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grey’s Runanga system</td>
<td>20 district rūnanga Magistrates, Assessors, karere &amp; mail carriers European district commissioners</td>
<td>Local issues Recommend laws to government</td>
<td>Native District Regulations Act 1858</td>
<td>Imposed over existing customary structures Limited Māori autonomy Government control of Māori activity Lacked Māori support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori District Councils</td>
<td>Operated through tribal leaders Annual national conferences</td>
<td>Sanitation Control of liquor Suppression of customs deemed harmful by the state</td>
<td>Māori Councils Act 1900</td>
<td>Initiated by Māori MP Government restricted focus and control of Māori activity Limited Māori autonomy Lacked universal support from Māori Underfunded by Treasury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori war effort</td>
<td>Māori Parliamentary committee Tribal committees, regional committees Districts, Māori recruitment officers (2nd Lieutenant)</td>
<td>Recruitment to military service Deployment of civilian manpower Supervising food production Responsive to domestic labour and social welfare needs</td>
<td>Iwi Māori MPs</td>
<td>Based on whānau, hapu and īwi īwi control Universal Māori support Opposition by the Minister of Māori Affairs Treasury called for it to be disbanded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribal committees</td>
<td>Multi-tiered system of committees District Executive National executive</td>
<td>State appointed welfare officers and Māori wardens liaise with committees</td>
<td>Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945</td>
<td>Based on Pākehā bureaucratic systems Limited Māori autonomy Mārae committee redesignated Māori committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori Women’s Welfare League</td>
<td>Dominion council, district council and local branches Annual conference</td>
<td>Highlight Māori needs across social and welfare sectors Initiate social research</td>
<td>Māori women Māori community</td>
<td>Pan īwi focus Māori control Universal Māori support Pressure group to government on Māori issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZ Māori Council</td>
<td>Māori committees District councils Regional executives</td>
<td>Judicial activities on behalf of Māori at the national</td>
<td>Māori Welfare Act 1962</td>
<td>Abolished tribal committees Māori committees established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>System</td>
<td>Structure</td>
<td>Jurisdiction</td>
<td>Authority</td>
<td>Outcome for Māori</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>National council</td>
<td>level</td>
<td></td>
<td>Limited Māori support Inadequate resources and funding Recognition by government as representative of Māori</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pan tribal agencies/ urban Māori authorities</td>
<td>Urban context Multi-tribal</td>
<td>Local issues</td>
<td>Forge links with local and central government</td>
<td>Foster economic, social and community development Active in education, health and other social services, pre-employment, commercial ventures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribal authorities</td>
<td>Māori tribal organisations</td>
<td>Respond to government’s devolution of services to tribal authorities from the late 1980s</td>
<td>Rūnanga iwi Act 1990 (repealed 1991)</td>
<td>Advocate for tribal self management of resources and delivery of services Deliver government programmes and support</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 7

Community Sector Task Force

Tangata Whenua Declaration

The Māori declaration, a summary statement, was developed from all forums and hui held around the country and was the consensus of all Māori present. It sets out the base position unpinning the work of the Taskforce as follows:

- We are a first nations people;
- The basis of our identity is Whānau, Hapu, Iwi and through whakapapa we link the land, the people and all living things in our world;
- We are culturally diverse as Iwi/Māori but through the practice of tino rangatiratanga we can act in the interests of all peoples, the land and our environment;
- Our beliefs come from Te Ao Māori. Our practice of tikanga Māori includes the disciplines of mana, rangatiratanga and manaakitanga;
- Tikanga sets the framework for our governance and also defines, regulates and protects the rights of whānau and hapu;
- Our marae are expressions of our culture, tikanga, values and principles which sustain our uniqueness;
- The importance of consensus decision making stems from the need to work collectively to get things right – weaving the people together;
- An holistic approach to leadership is needed in order to practise accountability to Whānau, Hapu and Iwi – ko te iwi te rangatira o te rangatira – people are the chiefs of the chiefs;
- For a Tiriti/Treaty relationship to bear fruit for all people of Aotearoa/New Zealand the one-world view of the Crown needs to open up to Te Ao Māori;
- Through a negotiated view of the kawanatanga function, leading to a more active involvement of Māori in governance activity for all people, the needs of New Zealanders, via the Sector, will be addressed more fully, more effectively and in a more sustainable manner.
- The acknowledgment of Te Ao Māori and the respect for tino rangatiratanga will assist the reform of the kawanatanga function in the interest of all peoples, the land and all living things;
- We are committed to governing ourselves through the expression of mana motuhake, our enduring power leading to our self-determination.
Tangata Tiriti Declaration

This Declaration reflects the voices of Tangata Tiriti - Pākehā, Pacific and other non-Māori ethnic groups within the Sector. We celebrate that we are placed in this land of Aotearoa/New Zealand founded on the basis of a contract binding Tangata Whenua and Tangata Tiriti in relationships of trust and mutual honour. We celebrate our proud history of freedom of association and freedom of speech, enriched by the contribution of countless people through volunteer service.

We are everywhere
- For just about every place, every interest, every activity, every type of person, every ideal – there’s a club, a society, a trust, a committee.

We are part of everyone’s lives
- Every person and their family contributes to our sector and/or benefits from what we do.

We are values based
- We are driven by a particular purpose, ideal, or vision, and we have a set of values by which we live.

We are diverse
- We are as proud of our unique differences as we are of what binds us together.
- We change as needs change, as communities change, as time passes.

We are voluntary
- Our existence is not compulsory, but comes from the choice of people.
- We rely on the energy, skill and goodwill, the gifts of time and other resources, of countless individuals both voluntary and paid.

We are advocates
- There are ideals, people, principles, specific situations, which brought us into being, and we will always be impelled to "speak for" them, whatever else we do.

We are not-for-profit
- Even when we are large and complex, the reason for our being is our original vision – being business-like is a means not an end.

We are community-linked
- We all have people as our base – and we always need to be responsive to them.

We are accountable
- We must give account of what we are doing, and how – our members & our communities decide our direction.

We contribute to community wellbeing
- There is an "added value" to our life and work– the binding together of families, of whānau, of communities – because of our shared vision and shared effort.
We are multi-cultural and multi-ethnic
- We are immensely enriched by the work and life of communities from ethnic groups originating from all over the world.

We are worldwide
- Many of us have important international links and we interact with others around the globe.
- We are placed in this one world, with its natural and physical environment, and we believe together we can enrich both the earth and those who inhabit it.

We wish to live up to Te Tiriti/The Treaty of Waitangi.
Appendix 8

Women's Refuge Code of ethics and statement of purpose

Women's Refuge is a women based organisation, which has as its guiding principles, a policy of creating a violence-free environment and community, of providing support and ensuring empowerment for all women and children, the establishment of parallel Refuge facilities for and by Māori women, and the development of culturally appropriate and complementary services within Refuge's own structures for women of different cultures. Parallel development is a partnership between cultures, which enables each to develop services that are both culturally appropriate and complementary. The National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges recognises and accepts Tino Rangatiratanga mo te Iwi Māori.

In line with this belief:

1. Refuges and their workers must maintain each woman and child's right to a relationship of mutual rust, privacy and confidentiality. No information should be recorded or released without the knowledge of the woman and child.

2. Refuges and their workers should actively demonstrate a commitment to women and children and show tolerance and respect for individual views and philosophies.

3. Refuges have a responsibility to ensure that each woman and child has as much information as possible in order for her to be able to make informed choices and her own decisions.

4. Refuges should ensure that women are available for initial contact and Refuge roster and that all women involved in Refuge participate in the decision making.

5. Refuges need to work towards their membership reflecting the ethnic composition of the women they work with.

6. Refuge shall be organised so as to allow and encourage the development of Refuge services, within their own structures for and by Tangata Whenua women and by women of different cultures.

7. Refuges shall work actively in support of the principles of parallel cultural development.

8. Refuges shall work actively to support and promote the visibility of lesbian women in Refuge and have a responsibility to include in Refuge training programmes, workshops on heterosexism.

9. Refuges have a responsibility to actively promote the interchange of skills, ideas and information and to provide support and ongoing training for all women working in Refuges. All training shall be culturally appropriate.
10. Refuges shall respect differences of opinion and practices of sister Refuges and express criticism appropriately and in a responsible manner.

11. Refuges should promote and share opportunities for knowledge, experience and ideas with each other.