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With head, heart and land:
Integration of community work and environmental planning in three north Queensland local government authorities

Douglas Shire Council
Mackay City Council
Townsville City Council

Alice Maree Roughley

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor Of Philosophy of
The Australian National University

November 1998
Statement of originality

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in any form for another degree or diploma at any university or other institution of tertiary education. Information derived from the published or unpublished work of others has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references is given.

Alice M. Roughley

25/11/99

November 1998
Acknowledgments

I began this research in 1994 while working in the Department of Social Work and Community Welfare at James Cook University North Queensland. Once I had convinced the university that the thesis belonged in two university departments rather than one, I was fortunate to have the support of supervisors, Dr. Tony McMahon, Peter Valentine and Dr. Mark Fenton in developing the study questions and research design. The interdisciplinary post graduate study group that formed with students from the Department of Tropical Environmental Studies and Geography on the Townsville and Cairns campuses included Lyn Wallace, Trevor Webb and Ros Anderson. Not only did we share ideas and vent frustrations in the early days of our theses but our trips between Cairns and Townsville were always an adventure. I look forward to reading their completed theses and sharing mine with them as we combine thoughts and continue to contribute to each others’ learning.

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Christine Cannon, Heather Grant, Coralie Cullen, Bette O’Brien and Susan Marsden have extended assistance, friendship and several enjoyable social interludes. I am especially thankful to Penny Hanley for editing the thesis meticulously. My supervisors, Dr. Nicholas Brown, Dr. Helen Ross and Dr. Brendan Gleeson have dedicated much time to discussion of my project and have tirelessly read the thesis and contributed a range of valuable insights from which I have learned a tremendous amount. The interdisciplinary supervisory panel enhanced my learning about different perspectives on my topic and about the research process in general. Throughout our discussions over the last two years, Nicholas has taken a genuine interest in the thesis and has contributed a much valued historical perspective which has assisted me in bringing greater depth to this research. I have greatly valued his sharp critique, and his support.

Townsville City Council, Mackay City Council, Douglas Shire Council, and the twenty-two research participants who made the study possible generously shared information, their time and their personal experiences upon which this study has been able to build possibilities for advancing local area planning towards ecological sustainability.

My family, my mother, Kevin, Pamela, Steevlie, and Sheree have never lost interest in my project. The expertise and wisdom of many years academic experience from my father-in-law, Rod was incorporated through his editing of three drafts of the thesis. Apart from the ‘sociology jargon’ that he, as a scientist, has at times found perplexing, he has given his stamp of approval. To my cherished partner, Colin Campbell and daughters Esther and Alex Roughley-Campbell, I dedicate this work. They have made sacrifices to allow me the time and space to pursue this work over five years. They have maintained interest and faith in the study itself and in my ability to complete it.
Abstract

Set in three local government authorities in north Queensland, Townsville, Douglas and Mackay, this study explores the extent to which community workers and environmental planners contribute to ecologically sustainable local area planning. The concept of ecological sustainability requires a balanced planning approach in order that the well-being of humans and the non-human environment are protected, yet the potential economic benefits promised by local development projects frequently override concerns about loss of areas with a high conservation value.

The approach taken by the three local authorities studied in this thesis, to planning the future of their areas is significant in its potential to contribute to attaining ecological sustainability. Land-use planning decisions have affected and will continue to impact upon not only the aesthetics of the case study areas, but also inevitably short and long term issues of quality of life. There are many conflicting objectives in the councils because they endeavour to maintain employment opportunities, clean, safe environments and manage conservation of natural resources in the face of growing local populations.

In an effort to subscribe to ecological sustainability principles, local government has introduced integrated planning approaches. The attempt by local councils to understand the theoretical context for applying integrated planning remains formative. This thesis in seizing the opportunity to document the early experiences of integrated planning so that they may be built upon, details the contribution of community work and environmental planning to ecological sustainability. The contribution of community work and environmental planners is vitally important if a balance between environmental protection and social well-being is to be attained.

The integrated planning model introduced by the Australian Local Government Association in 1993 provided a structure for a more interdisciplinary local area planning approach with a more integral role for community workers and environmental practitioners. However, the model did not offer an adequate conceptual framework to guide ecologically sustainable planning practice. This study argues that to attain ecological sustainability through local area planning, an understanding of the competing
interests of people and the environment in planning decisions must be acknowledged. Further, a more ecocentric planning approach aimed at ecological sustainability will require a sharing of knowledge, skills, values and power across local government work areas to ensure shared responsibility for local area planning.

Community workers and environmental planners with their diverse and complementary bank of knowledge and skills have a significant contribution to make to local area planning but were marginalised in the three councils. Enhancing their involvement in ecologically sustainable local area planning will require removing a number of obstacles. This study has identified these impediments and as its substantial contribution to the integrated planning and ecological sustainability fields concludes with a new conceptual framework to guide interdisciplinary local area planning. The framework merges the best ethics and ideologies of both community work and environmental planning, two disciplines which have enormous potential together to positively influence local area ecological sustainability.

The roles of community workers and environmental planners in these case studies are presented according to their own descriptions as well as through the perceptions of other practitioners involved in local government planning. The data is viewed and analysed using an interpretive and critical social science methodology that is exploratory, interdisciplinary, reflective and participatory. It aims to generate theory about the three case studies whose issues will have relevance beyond themselves at a time when ecological sustainability is a serious consideration for all local government authorities.
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<tr>
<td>AASW</td>
<td>Australian Association of Social Workers</td>
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<td>ABS</td>
<td>Australian Bureau of Statistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIWCW</td>
<td>Australian Institute of Welfare and Community Workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALGA</td>
<td>Australian Local Government Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATSIs</td>
<td>Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATSIC</td>
<td>Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BBC</td>
<td>the Building Better Cities Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEO</td>
<td>chief executive officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPIE</td>
<td>Department of Primary Industry and Energy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EARC</td>
<td>Electoral and Administrative Review Commission (Qld.)</td>
</tr>
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<td>EIA</td>
<td>environmental impact assessment</td>
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<tr>
<td>EPA</td>
<td><em>Environment Protection (Impact of Proposals) Act 1974 (Cwlth)</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>ESBU</td>
<td>Executive Strategic Business Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESD</td>
<td>ecologically sustainable development</td>
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<tr>
<td>FNQ</td>
<td>far north Queensland</td>
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<tr>
<td>GBRMPA</td>
<td>Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority</td>
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<td>ILAP</td>
<td>Integrated Local Area Planning</td>
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<tr>
<td>IPA</td>
<td><em>Integrated Planning Act 1997 (Qld)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGAQ</td>
<td>Local Government association of Queensland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MRCSD</td>
<td>Mackay Regional Council for Social Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>PEDA</td>
<td><em>Planning, Environment and Development Bill 1994 (Qld.)</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>RAPI</td>
<td>Royal Australian Planning Institute</td>
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<td>SIA</td>
<td>social impact assessment</td>
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<td>SPT</td>
<td>Strategic Planning Team</td>
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<td>The EIA</td>
<td>The Environment Institute of Australia</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNCED</td>
<td>United Nations Commission on Environment and Development</td>
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<td>VRO</td>
<td>voluntary regional organisation</td>
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Introduction
Texts become dear to one’s heart and entrenched in one’s psyche at different times and for particular reasons. As a community worker in the Townsville community in 1988, Kelly and Sewell’s *With Head, Heart and Hand* (1988), a model for community and neighbourhood development, inspired me enormously. I was taken by the concept of integrating the knowledge, values and skills of community work so closely; the notion that community work was only effective when all three connected. This thesis, *With Head, Heart and Land* carries the same theme forward. Land replaces hand not because skills are unimportant in integrated local area planning, but because community work needs to establish a close association between human welfare and the non-human environment.

My interest in the interdependent relationship of environmental and social considerations in the planning process was aroused through two research experiences. The first involved preparation of a literature review on social impact assessment (SIA) for the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority (GBRMPA) in 1991 (Roughley and Scherl 1992). SIA is ‘...an interdisciplinary approach to applied policy analysis and planning activity’ (Carley and Bustelo 1984, p. 16) with the aim of predicting the future effects of policy decisions (including the initiation of specific projects) upon people; their physical and psychological health, well-being and welfare, their traditions, lifestyles, institutions and inter-personal relationships (D’Amore 1981). The other research I was involved in was a study of community values, needs and aspirations in relation to future land-use in Cape York Peninsula (Roughley and Elliott 1995).

The GBRMPA study found that SIA was intended, through state and federal legislation, to be an integrated part of environmental impact assessment (EIA) but had endured marginalisation in its early days (1970s and early 1980s) in Australia. The attempt to link the values of community participation and policy development with the physical science approach of environmental planning constantly left the advocate of social well-being in the background of EIAs.

SIA aims to foster strategies and courses of action to mitigate negative impacts within communities by informing authorities, development proponents and communities and placing residents in a better position to understand the implications of proposed action.
The social impacts of development can be desirable, such as the creation of new jobs for local residents or the improvement of community facilities and services. There may also be undesirable social impacts such as the displacement of residents, the disruption of day-to-day activities or the loss of community character or cohesion.

The many participants in the Cape York study said that as residents of Cape York Peninsula, they were aware of culturally significant areas and hoped for heavy restrictions to be placed on development in those areas. They considered that any form of development in culturally significant areas would interfere with historical land-use customs. Many of the residents surveyed, linked lifestyle characteristics, particularly recreational choices, to low levels of urban development and vast areas of natural environment in the Cape. They also hoped for controlled development in the Cape which would provide local employment opportunities without changing the sense of place they had experienced living in Cape York (Roughley and Elliott 1995).

These two research projects exposed the interdependent relationship of social and environmental factors germane to development and land-use planning and poor integration of social considerations into EIA. Both studies revealed the difficulty in articulating the relationship between people and the natural environment in a way which could inform planners clearly about the best path for development to follow (Roughley and Scherl 1992).

People and environment have been segregated in the conduct of EIA (Roughley and Scherl 1992). The contrasting epistemological approaches of social and environmental planners involved in EIA is one reason for the lack of synthesis in EIA reports of social and environmental impacts proposed development projects (Hindmarsh et al 1988). Social impact assessors work with people, environmental impact assessors work with measurement of non-human phenomena. Social assessors gauge the impacts a proposed development would have on a human population. They engage both technical and participatory social science research methods. Environmental impact assessors employ technical scientific methods. Their predictions are usually considered more precise and therefore more convincing than those of the social impact assessors.

Involvement of the public in project planning frequently led to public contention and
Introducing the lobbying of government departments and development proponents by citizen groups. The SIA process politicised the public while the environmental impact assessment procedures were technical enough to alienate lay people. Decision-makers frequently discarded citizen knowledge and rights to be involved in local development decisions by bluffing the public with scientific findings.

While barriers to social integration into environmental planning are apparent, with Head, Heart and Land there is possibility to develop a planning approach that embraces the different perspectives of participatory community work and environmental planning, and accepts the interdependence of people and the non-human environment. Essentially, sharing of practitioner knowledge and values can contribute to greater cooperation and co-ordination. However, effective integrated planning will never be that simple. The policy and institutional contexts must also be considered in terms of the barriers they create and the possibilities for removing them.

The local government context provides succinct sites from which this study views these issues more intensively. First, there must be an interrogation of the way these practitioners conceive local area planning; the processes practitioners adopt and the kinds of activities in which they are involved. These attributes explain the knowledge and skills bases of the practitioners - the Head. The Heart is characterised by the values underpinning the approaches of the practitioners. By accepting the interdependent nature of people and the environment, I assume that most local government planning will affect both, hence, Land. Examination of the roles of community workers and environmental planners in local area planning means challenging traditional relationships between local government authorities, community workers, environmental planners and land-use planners.

Study objectives
This study has three major objectives. The first is to explore the roles of community workers and environmental planners in the north Queensland local government authorities of Townsville, Douglas and Mackay.

Their roles are comprehensively documented as they describe them and as other local government practitioners in the councils perceive them.
The second study objective is to describe obstacles to effective integration of community workers and environmental planners in local government's ecologically sustainable planning effort. Through these two objectives, this study probes a largely unexplored terrain.

Enhancement of knowledge about the contribution social and environmental practitioners in local government can make to ecological sustainability at the local level is the major aim of this study. Thirdly, therefore, I present possibilities for advancing local government knowledge about relating ecological sustainability goals to the field of interdisciplinary planning.

Study Context

The case studies

In Townsville, Douglas and Mackay proposed development often threatens sensitive natural environments. In each town, public debate surrounding proposed development exposes polarisation of public opinion. Some sections of each community support development that they argue promises local employment and high living standards while others contend that ecologically significant environments should be protected if ecological sustainability is to become an attainable goal. At this early stage in the development of ecologically sustainable planning knowledge in local government, there is an opportunity to explore the reactions of local government practitioners to integrated, ecological sustainability-oriented planning models and to identify issues that may impede their progress.

Local government and integrated planning

The Australian Local Government Association (ALGA) introduced an Integrated Local Area Planning model (ILAP) which a number of local government authorities implemented in the early 1990s. The meaning of integrated planning and the characteristics of the ILAP program are elaborated in chapter one. ILAP was evaluated following a number of pilot projects that put the model into practice. The evaluation found that participating councils failed to develop holistic interdisciplinary planning approaches and conducive organisational structures (Purdon 1995). Interdisciplinary co-operation was not achieved in pilot ILAP projects. Nor was it achieved in projects funded through the Building Better Cities (BBC) Program, a Joint Government urban
Introduction

planning initiative (Hundloe and McDonald 1997). While requiring an interdisciplinary planning approach, neither program provided the theoretical framework to guide planning practice, an important omission given that the values of workers from different occupational groups can be diverse and conflicting (Lincoln 1985). This issue is discussed in detail in chapter one.

Regional planning processes undertaken in the far north, south east and northern regions of Queensland have shared this inadequacy. Drawing on specific expertise, each regional planning project produced between eight and fourteen comprehensive, technical reports. They covered issues such as transport, social infrastructure, economic development, nature conservation, urban development and natural resource management. However, the regional planning processes were also beset by the difficulties of integration when it came to incorporating information from the many multi-disciplinary reports into one plan. Each of the final reports failed to acknowledge that certain environmentally destructive economic growth strategies conflicted in the long term with nature conservation strategies. Therefore, they did not address issues of ecological sustainability thoroughly.

According to Birkeland (1991; 1993) one procedure for addressing ecological sustainability is to challenge the relationship between planning and the market whereby planning is driven by market forces and a development ethos that is resistant to the preservation of non-human nature. Diesendorf and Hamilton (1997) also argue that ecological sustainability requires a re-thinking of planning along lines of environmental and social values instead of solely economic imperatives. A problem in the regional studies in Queensland and in many EIAs has been an inability to address the question of ecological sustainability in that way. Limiting environmentally destructive growth was simply not seriously confronted. The experiences and concerns referred to above inspired this research. They assisted in the development of the above research interests and objectives.

Research approach

This research approaches ecological sustainability by positing a relationship of interdependence between human welfare and protection of the non-human environment. Accepting this interdependence within one ecological system, the study inquires about
the contribution community workers and environmental planners can make on a number of levels: their epistemological foundations, the roles they actually assume and their status within the organisational and policy contexts.

The methodology for this study is philosophically based within a post-positivist social science paradigm. The question of integrating not just one, but two different categories of local government practitioners from fields which frequently appear to compete in the context of ecological sustainability is a relatively unexplored terrain. A positivist methodology which attempted to hypothesise about research outcomes would restrict the potential for exploration and the ability to establish new insights (Sarantakos 1995).

Interpretive and critical research principles inform the approach I have adopted to address the above study objectives. Interpretive research assumes that meaning is socially constructed in relationships between people (Denzin and Lincoln 1994). Critical social science inquiry adopts the view that power structures also influence peoples experiences and understandings (Sarantakos 1995). As this study examines community work and environmental planning at the organisational and practitioner levels, these theoretical perspectives are most appropriate. The principles and methods of interpretive and critical research are discussed in detail in chapter four.

With exploration, description and theory building as central methodological aims, the approach to this study required the openness characteristic of a qualitative case study. The case study method is ideal for the how, what and why questions I asked during in-depth interviews as it provides for elicitation of rich data and evokes different discourses reflecting different kinds of knowledge. The multiple voices of planners from different disciplines and three particular organisations and communities could not be heard through a research paradigm that recognises only one way of knowing. The positivist propensity to observe, measure and standardise is therefore rejected here in favour of the premise that reality is socially and symbolically constructed (Berger and Luckmann 1975).

Three case studies
In this study the case study refers to community workers and environmental planners as focal points in each place. The three local government authorities provide an important organisational dimension of the case studies. The broader context is located in the
places, Townsville, Douglas and Mackay. While Townsville, Douglas and Mackay are all located in north Queensland, each place is unique. Chapter three illustrates the particular physical and social environments of the three places and their diverse local ecological sustainability issues and responses. Each case study presents different organisational approaches to local area planning. The three provide a basis for comparing the ways in which community workers and environmental planners are involved in local area planning. Knowledge derived from the three case studies is not a step towards grand generalisation about integration of social and environmental practitioners in local government, but is in itself an interesting and valuable contribution to current understanding about integrated planning for ecological sustainability in local government. The issues identified through this study are therefore generalisable (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Glaser and Strauss 1967).

Defining terms
Throughout this thesis, I refer to the terms ecological sustainability, community work and environmental planning. Each term is explained below.

Ecological sustainability
A more common term than ecological sustainability is ecologically sustainable development (ESD). In this thesis, I distinguish development and ecological sustainability. The tendency to link the two creates confusion.

In this study, the term ecological sustainability is defined as:
Endurable levels of consumption that recognise that land, water and all life forms are finite. The aim of ecological sustainability through prevention of environmental degradation, is to ensure that future generations have the same range of options and resources that we have today (adapted from Birkeland 1991).

In the Australian Local Government context, ecologically sustainable development (ESD) is the common term for a planning approach that takes account of both social needs and minimising damage to or loss of areas of natural environment. According to the United Nations World Congress on Environment and Development (UNCED) ESD policy document, Agenda 21:

Because so many of the problems and solutions being addressed by Agenda 21 have their roots in local activities, the participation and co-operation of local authorities will be a determining factor in fulfilling its objectives. Local authorities construct, operate and maintain economic, social and environmental infrastructure, oversee planning processes, establish local
environmental policies and regulations, and assist in implementing national and sub-national environmental policies. As the level of governance closest to the people, they play a vital role in educating, mobilising and responding to the public to promote sustainable development. (United Nations 1992, p.233).

According to State and local government policy statements, ESD projects implemented by Australian local government authorities to date coincide closely with the sustainable development principles established through the United Nations (1992). They include: enhancement of individual and community well-being by following a development course that safeguards the welfare of future generations; provision for equity in and between generations; and protection of biological diversity and maintenance of essential processes and life-support (Australian Government 1992c).

Striving to achieve the harmony between economic growth and environmental protection assumed to be possible through ESD, local government authorities must balance economic, social and environmental goals in their communities. Should economic goals continue to take precedence over environmental preservation, ecological sustainability will be difficult to attain. Without adequate attention to maintenance of both social and environmental stability, local government's planning effort will be an inadequate response to the requirements of ecological sustainability.

**Community work**
Workers within the social welfare field assume various titles in the work place. In this study, I have encompassed the tasks of social welfare workers and social planners irrespective of their title under the broad heading, *community worker*. I have elected to do so for a number of reasons, including existing definitions, the actual roles of the seven community workers participating in this study, and the values which guide their practice. I expand on these in chapter five.

The term community work has always retained a broad enough definition to encompass not only communities as localities but also communities within localities that are formed through mutual connections or interests such as ethnic or indigenous groups, women's groups, people with disabilities, and functional co-operatives (Kenny 1994). Inclusion of marginalised communities with specific interests has been a major objective of community work. Given this breadth, community work innately concerns legitimising difference while at the same time encouraging formation of collectives to facilitate expression of community aspirations (Roughley and Elliott 1995). It is as
much a philosophical or an intellectual approach to the world as it is a set of tasks (Kenny 1994).

As a model of social welfare born in the 1960s and most prominent during the 1970s and in Australia, the 1980s (see for example Baldry and Vincon 1991; Burghardt 1986; Coover et al. 1985; Alinsky 1971), community work proposed that solutions to social problems should be addressed as political rather than individual issues (Thorpe and Petruchenia 1990). During the 1970s, when five of the seven community workers participating in this study either undertook tertiary studies or were employed in the social welfare field, the occupation’s focus was experiencing a period of change. The once psychological, philanthropic, individualist orientation to social welfare in education programs began to incorporate the new radical community work arm of social welfare informed by sociology, politics and gender studies (Mowbray 1981; Thorpe and Petruchenia 1985). Community work engendered the Gandhian model of peaceful collective action as opposed to the personal therapy, social welfare models that situated the worker as the expert (Kenny 1994; Kelly and Sewell 1988).

In Queensland, community work made its local government debut in Townsville around 1974. Employed only by larger metropolitan and regional councils, community workers were set the task of seeking funding to establish community-based services such as child-care centres, after school care and holiday programs, aged care services, community transport and community halls or centres (Townsville City Council 1975). The community work emphasis in Queensland was on development of non-government, community-based organisations to provide services to disadvantaged groups within the community, freeing up local government workers to co-ordinate community welfare services and influence broader welfare policy to ensure it was locally appropriate (Menzies et al. 1995). A significant contribution of community work to local government has been that it has complemented the work of town planners and engineers by encouraging adoption of social justice strategies based on a sophisticated social science analysis of human oppression in relation to class, racial and gender-based discrimination.

*Environmental planning*

The Environment Institute of Australia (the EIA) recognises that environmental practitioners come from a range of occupational backgrounds including planning, bio-
physical sciences, economics, geography, social science, engineering, law, agriculture, industrial technology and mining (the EIA n.d.). Environmental planners differ from town planners because they specialise in linking environmental considerations to the land-use planning process.

Unlike the community workers with tertiary courses accredited by professional associations, the EIA does not accredit educational courses for environmental practitioners. However, the EIA does aim to advance ethical and competent environmental practice through a code of ethics of professional conduct (the EIA n.d.). The primary ethical consideration of environmental practitioners according to that code of ethics is that:

The member shall carry out his or her professional activities, as far as possible, in accordance with emerging principles of sustainable development and the highest standards of environmental protection (the EIA n.d.).

In accordance with this primary occupational guideline, in this thesis I have distinguished environmental planners in local government as those workers who engage in tasks aimed at environmental protection in addition to assuming management tasks in program implementation, such as regulating and monitoring pollution control levels (Graham 1992). The environmental protection role involves strategic planning in addition to the regulatory environmental management role and as such incorporates the notion of ecological sustainability.

Environmental planners joined local government authorities in Queensland later than community workers. In 1984, the environmental planner in Townsville City Council was one of the first appointed in Queensland. Introduction of environmental planners to local government in Australia is difficult to gauge due to lack of records. In addition, local government employees engaged broadly in environmental tasks do not always assume an environmental protection role. For example environmental health officers have a longer history in local government than environmental planners but their role has been largely technical. Town planners also assume responsibility for environmental planning as part of the land-use planning role. By contrast environmental planners are specifically responsible for specialist strategic environmental planning that anticipates ecologically sustainable outcomes.
Both community work and environmental planning can be considered as professions because they are represented by professional associations. In discussing them here as work areas within local government, I have chosen to avoid entering into the contested domain of professionalism. Professionalism is considered to be characterised by a number of features including possession of specialised knowledge and skills acquired through training and collective responsibility for maintaining the profession as a whole organised via a professional body (Dietrich and Roberts 1997). Jones and May (1992) add to that list of professional attributes, systematic theory, community sanction, authority, an ethical code and a professional culture. While both community workers and environmental planners could claim to possess all of the above qualities, there are two reasons for avoiding adoption of the professional label for them in this study.

To begin with, community workers emerge from various training backgrounds as do environmental planners. Secondly, given the orientation of the two groups of practitioners, their occupational values and those of professionalism can conflict. In particular, conflict can occur in relation to the division professionalism can incur between the professional and the consumers of the service they provide (Jones and May 1992). Community workers and environmental planners commonly recognise intrinsic value. A further conflict therefore, for these practitioners, is between intrinsic value and the economically constructed values of professionalism (Dietrich and Roberts 1997).

**Thesis structure**
This study is divided into three broad sections: context, description and analysis. The study is primarily informed by the exploration of community work and environmental planning roles in the case studies. The study context is elaborated in chapters one, two and three. Chapter one elaborates upon the association between ecological sustainability and integrated planning and explains the tensions within the concept of ESD noted above. These difficulties are illustrated through discussion of the experience of ILAP in local government. Chapters two and three situate the three case studies according to the physical, social, cultural, economic, and organisational characteristics of Townsville, Douglas and Mackay. An explanation of the methodological rationale and study approach are the subject of chapter four.
Chapters five and six address the first study objective through description of the roles of the community workers and the environmental planners. These two chapters document perceptions of study participants about integration of community workers and environmental planners in strategic local area planning. The third section of this thesis addresses the second and third objectives. Chapter seven returns to the theme of integrated planning with the meanings assigned by study participants. Chapter seven also considers the role of citizens in integrated planning. Chapter eight elaborates upon the constraints to effective integration of community workers and environmental planners in the local area planning processes of their councils. Chapter nine submits possibilities for overcoming the impediments discussed in chapters seven and eight and presents an ecocentric planning framework to inform ecologically sustainable local planning practice.
Ecological sustainability and integrated planning in local government

Chapter One
Some of the difficulties of applying ESD to local area planning were indicated in the introduction. This chapter considers those issues in greater detail. The aims of this chapter are three-fold. Firstly, the components of ESD are examined with the intention of exposing internal conflicts. Secondly, I clarify the connections between ecological sustainability and integrated planning. Finally, the ensuing discussion provides a critical appraisal of the broad policy context for this study.

**Ecologically sustainable development**

*Act locally, think globally* has been a significant motto for capturing the sentiment of ecological sustainability in the 1990s. ESD has been a dominant policy theme at all levels of government in Australia. That ESD is an extremely amorphous concept is both its weakness and its strength. It offers the potential to integrate the competing goals of local area planning to which I referred in the introduction. At the same time, it stops short of indicating how to bring often conflicting objectives and processes together.

In this section, I analyse the terms *ecological sustainability* and *development* separately. Given the definition of ecological sustainability provided in the introduction, I consider difficulties experienced in attempting to transform ESD into practical local planning strategies.

**A background to ecological sustainability in local government in Australia**

The concept of *sustainable development* was introduced by the United Nations Commission on Environment and Development (UNCED) in 1987 as development that: ‘Meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs’ (United Nations 1987, p. 43). Following the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in 1972 and the publication of the Bruntland Report, *Our Common Future*, in 1987, *Agenda 21* was produced at the 1992 UNCED Earth Summit in Rio. *Agenda 21* aimed to transform recommendations of the Rio Earth Summit into a blueprint for ESD policy. The ESD role of local government was considered significant. Given the long standing environmental management responsibilities of local government, *Agenda 21* cited local government’s role to be broad, incorporating community participation in local planning, particularly inclusive of

*Plate 2 (Previous page) Green tree frogs shelter from the tropical summer in a suburban letterbox*
marginalised groups, among them young people and women. At the other end of the spectrum, Agenda 21 encouraged exchange of information about local experience amongst local authorities on national and international levels (United Nations 1992).

In the 1980s and early 1990s, following the publication of Our Common Future (1987) and before the Rio Earth Summit each with a strong emphasis on local government involvement in ESD, local government authorities in Australia were becoming more aware of issues pertaining to development and environmental protection. In response to domestic environmental pressure and consciousness raising, the Australian Local Government Association (ALGA) commissioned a number of reports. The reports uniformly recommended a more integrated planning framework be adopted by local authorities to ensure that land-use plans were compatible with social, economic and environmental strategic plans (ALGA 1993a; 1993b; Graham 1992; ALGA 1992, 1990). There were two common themes in all the reports. A more integrated interdisciplinary approach to local area planning was required by local government in order to embrace ESD. Greater emphasis would also have to be placed on strategic as opposed to one-off project planning.

Serious consideration of ecological sustainability by local government in Australia can be traced to an Inter-Governmental Agreement on the Environment 1992. A formal agreement was established between the Federal Government, all Australian States and Territories and the ALGA in February 1992. The agreement aimed to establish a mechanism to facilitate a co-operative national approach to the environment, a better definition of the roles of the respective governments, and enhanced environmental protection (Inter-governmental Agreement on the Environment 1992, p. 1-2).

A survey conducted in 1996 of 770 Australian local government authorities revealed that 119 councils, representing all states and territories, were responding to Agenda 21 by developing a local sustainability strategy (Environs Australia 1996). These local initiatives have been supported by a range of national programs including resource packages (information packages and tool-kits), training programs and national information exchange networks produced through the ALGA and State and Federal Environment departments (Environs Australia 1996). By 1993 grants were available to
councils to generate projects that would enhance opportunities to meet objectives of ESD at the local level. Two significant programs, Building Better Cities (BBC) and Integrated Local Area Planning (ILAP) were established during 1992-1993 as joint Commonwealth and local government initiatives. Although not overtly derived from ESD, both programs had ESD objectives. They aimed to strike a balance between economic development and environmental protection and enhancement. As they combined social and environmental goals they assisted in informing my study analysis. ILAP is discussed at length later in this chapter.

Before considering the issues associated with ESD and with specific ESD-oriented programs, I examine different meanings assigned to development because there appears to be a tension between ecological sustainability and development depending on the interpretation of development.

Development
In contemporary policy discourse, development generally refers to economic growth. Even according to the tenets of ESD, a growth rate of three per cent GNP is advocated (UNCED 1987), relegating the notion of sustainability ultimately to a numerical calculation rather than a commitment to a far more complex phenomenon of well-being as it relates to the interdependence of people and the environment (Birkeland 1991). Projects which generate both employment and profit are central to the definition of development for local government. It is often difficult to conceive of a balance between growth and environmental protection because there are numerous instances where environmental protection measures curtail development proposals.

The mainstream development perspective contrasts with an alternative view which emphasises total community needs rather than growth alone. Community within this context is taken to mean a form of social organisation which has human scale, identity and belonging, obligations and culture (Ife 1995, p. 90-91). Community has become a contested term. Both the argument that it has been used to romanticise or justify oppressive structures, and that it has been used in policy to represent social control rather than democratic citizen participation (Bryson and Mowbray 1981), have credence and are important criticisms. However, I agree with Ife (1995) that the term remains
useful because it is still meaningful to people who associate community with cohesion of people in a particular place, and with an associated sense of social and cultural identity.

The alternative view of development centring upon community recognises the interdependent relationship between people and nature, acknowledges and challenges power relationships and sees development as a process that includes both intrinsic and utilitarian values. For example, Ife’s (1995) view of environmentally aware community development is one where community workers assist communities to enrich their spiritual, economic and physical well-being. Ife’s (1995) model is innovative because he added environmental considerations to the long tradition of community work. This view contrasts with the economic-growth-centred approach because it proposes that social well-being, not profit, should fundamentally influence social, environmental, and economic decisions and political affairs (Ife 1995). Ife’s (1995) community development model replaced the conventional people-environment dichotomy with cooperatives and community mutualism; an acknowledgment of interdependence.

Also with a holistic perspective, Shiva (1990) viewed development as loss of nature and therefore destruction of important aspects of social life. She linked her concern about declining respect for traditional female roles in developing countries to technological advancement. In her critique of development she claimed:

While gender subordination and patriarchy are the oldest of oppressions, through development they have taken on new and more violent forms. Patriarchal categories which define destruction as production and regeneration of life as passivity have generated a crisis of survival (Shiva 1990, p. 191).

With similar concerns in Australia, Cox (1995) is an advocate of social capital. In the search for A Truly Civil Society her work promoted a brand of change that rested heavily on intrinsic values and increased tolerance of diversity. The work moved beyond the distributive paradigm of orthodox Marxism because Cox (1995) advocated that development that is driven purely by economics can erode other important aspects of social life. She pin-pointed contemporary aspects of private and public life in developed countries that were neglected within the current instrumental rationalisation of development characterised by technology and competition. Activities such as building interpersonal relationships and nurturing of children were devalued within the
purely economic definition of development (Cox 1995). In the public sphere, according to Cox (1995), there should be time for people to share ideas and participate in making decisions that affect the way they live. The important feature of works such as those of Shiva (1990), Cox (1995) and Ife (1995) is that they ask how are we to value phenomena that have no dollar worth.

These alternative views of development are constructed upon principles which assume justice to encompass not solely distribution of material wealth but also forms of justice which cannot be measured quantitatively. When Young (1990) referred to non-distributive justice, she suggested it would be represented by participatory democratic decision-making processes and equality of opportunity without discrimination. She argued that both material and non-distributive forms of justice are important but feared that neo-conservative economic regimes afford less value to phenomena that cannot be valued in monetary terms. By integrating economic factors with social and environmental concerns the alternative development perspective is holistic in its aim to attain an ecological balance. The importance of material distribution is not denied. Rather, it places distribution in proportion to the knowledge that resources are finite.

Alternative development models usually stress the importance of participation and cooperation (Nozick 1992) not only as outcomes, but also as processes for attaining justice in communities. Conversely, the economic growth oriented model of development is focused unilaterally upon outcomes. Arguably, ecological sustainability must embrace the broader conceptualisation of justice apparent within the alternative development perspective in order to value both social and non-human components of the ecological whole.

Conflicts within ESD
The discussion of ecological sustainability and development above, illustrates a number of conceptual and political issues embedded in ESD. Clearly there exists an ecological sustainability-development cleavage. A central problem in marrying environmental protection with the mainstream notion of development is that the two elements are often in competition. The Australian ESD Working Groups found these contradictory imperatives to be a major obstacle to ESD policy development (Diesendorf and
Hamilton 1997). Birkeland (1991) argued that planning theory and practice perpetuate the conflict by defining environmental problems as the dilemma of restricting profit through sale of public land for private development.

ESD-inspired initiatives are of course more concerned to protect the natural environment than those which ignore the issue of environmental problems. However, the issue of how the non-human environment is valued at any time in the context of development is vexatious because economic values are quantitative and ecological sustainability depends on an acceptance of intrinsic values which are more difficult to quantify. Economic growth frequently takes an environmentally destructive form. How often are development project decisions determined by endurable levels of consumption that recognise that land, water and all life forms are finite? Do local government planners consciously aim through prevention of environmental degradation, to ensure that future generations have the same range of resources that we have today?

In the hands of politicians, the term ESD has been misappropriated with the economic growth imperative of development subjugating ecological principles. ESD has been tied to economics, associated with growth and to technocratic decision-making in the political process (Beder 1994). A recent debate in the Senate of the Australian Parliament in May 1997 illustrated the tensions between development and ecological sustainability in the policy-making context.

In the debate pertaining to the wording of the National Heritage Trust Bill (Australia, Senate 1997) Australian Democrat, Senator Lees was concerned about the future of the environment of the Murray Darling Basin. She argued that the wording of the Draft Bill: '...with a view to achieving a sustainable future for the basin, its natural system and communities'... should be changed to read: '...with a view to achieving an 'ecologically' sustainable future for the basin...''. Senator Lees' rationale for changing the wording rests upon the fact that the bill is about the environment, not an economic bill. She asserted that:

...if the government's position were consistent, then in bills dealing with the economy we would look at environmental sustainability and social sustainability. Wouldn't it be nice if every single bill that came before this chamber not only had an economic impact statement but had an environmental impact statement and a social impact statement? Sometimes the answer might be 'no impact' but, on an awful lot of occasions, the bills that you bring into this chamber do have an impact on the environment.
She suggested that unless any project was environmentally sustainable, it would not be either socially or economically sustainable in the longer term. Therefore, she argued that this bill about the environment should begin by:

... preventing further degradation and then working to undo the damage we have done.

Senator Hill (Minister for the Environment) responded, outlining his reservations about the addition of the word ‘ecologically’ to the Draft Bill. He claimed Senator Lees was:

... inviting questions of interpretation that are unnecessary and might lead to an unexpected outcome...

Senator Hill argued for:

... the broader definition of sustainability... that is unqualified... a three armed concept of environmental, economic and social sustainability... unless you treat the environment sensitively, ultimately you will destroy its economic potential.

The conflict between the economic and environmental intent of the Bill was heightened when Senator Brown (Tasmanian Green) summarised the two sides of the argument in the context of possible outcomes:

If you lose your environment, you do not have your economic base. ... The Natural Heritage Fund, is aimed at putting money into repair of past environmental damage in the Murray Darling Basin. She (Sen. Lees) is saying that we ought to put the word 'ecologically' as an adjective before the word 'sustainable' to make it clear that money must be spent within the ambit of ecological sustainability. There is only one alternative to that, and that is that money would be spent on projects that injure the ecological attributes of the Murray Darling Basin. If it is not ecologically sustainable, it must be ecologically damaging. But we have got the Minister for the Environment saying, “No, I don’t want that word there. It might cause some restriction in the way in which I and the Minister for Agriculture spend money for the environment”. He adds to that... "We have got to also look at economical sustainability,” as if the two things are incompatible.

Senator Faulkner (Leader of the Senate in the Labor Opposition and former Minister for the Environment) attempted to draw the debate back into the domain of existing ESD policy when he asked Senator Hill:

... whether the government still supports the National Strategy for Ecologically Sustainable Development. My mind goes back to 1992 when Commonwealth and State and Territory governments signed on to that strategy. It involved not only environment groups but also industry groups - a very broad number of working groups developing the strategy. What I would like to hear from the Minister is whether this government is committed to the ESD strategy.

Although he replied in the affirmative, Senator Hill maintained that:

... One of the problems has been that the States and the Commonwealth have for a long time been negotiating these sort of high principled national strategies, and when the strategy is completed, the file is put away.

(Australia, Senate 1997, Debates, p. 3238- 3242).
Senator Hill appeared unable to separate the environment from its substantive economic potential. He seemed unable to conceive of the environment as having an intrinsic value. Both he and Senator Lees were reluctant to accept each other's application of limits. Hence, being so open to interpretation, ESD appears to do little more than provide policy documents with a sprinkling of good feeling about environmental protection because they are so difficult to implement. Senator Hill was quite right when he declared that ESD is a theoretical concept and difficult to apply to policy.

Implementation of ESD-informed policy is restrained by a lack of recognition that some economic compromises must be made if the ESD balance is to be calibrated. Before ESD policy frameworks that are able to be applied to practical planning can be constructed, ESD principles require more detailed explication. For local governments, to embrace ESD will mean shifting from an essential focus on economic growth as the primary measure of success, to an ideological model where the environment has a value of its own; not solely a utilitarian value to the human community.

In spite of the ALGA's commitment to ESD, in a recent draft policy document called *Designing Competitive Spaces* (Australian Government and ALGA 1996b), the economic growth goal of local government emphasised the proposed urban planning policy for creating competition between local government authorities for economic growth. The draft policy was dominated by the object of economic growth, an unqualified argument that:

> Australia's economy is increasingly exposed to the international environment with which we must compete if we are to maintain our present quality of life (ALGA 1996, p. 9).

This draft policy urged local government authorities to compete against one another for highest economic growth and thereby significantly contradicted local government's commitment to ESD. The draft development policy was unequivocal in its support for unrestrained economic growth which not only creates social inequality but also environmental degradation (Korten 1990; Trainer 1989). The essential components of ecological sustainability are compromised severely by growth that cannot be endured by the natural environment and the draft policy did not express concern about the effect unrestrained growth could have on the environment.
Sustainability in the draft policy referred solely to economic sustainability, the trap which Senator Lees tried to avoid in the debate cited above. The policy stated that: ‘They (cities and towns) are places which use resources effectively and work towards a sustainable position’ (ALGA 1996, p. 4). Unless ecological sustainability is overtly recognised it will simply replicate the economically informed position Senator Hill expressed during the Senate debate, whereby there is a definite reluctance to limit growth, being manifested in yet another government arena. In contrast, the goals of local government’s integrated planning policy produced three years earlier, also by the ALGA, were more consistent with the principles of ecological sustainability (ALGA 1993a). The ILAP model emphasised co-operation rather than competition between councils (figure 1.1). These local government policy examples illustrate the economic growth versus environmental protection paradox.

Agenda 21 has extended the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by adding the non-human dimension. In 1948 The Universal Declaration of Human Rights stated that:

Everyone is entitled to rights and freedoms without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property or other status (Article 2).

In 1992, 44 years later, the Earth Summit produced the Declaration on Environment and Development, recognising:

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 1).

Although intending to integrate people and the environment, the Rio Declaration did little to raise consciousness of the nature of interdependence. Rather, it perpetuated the notion that humans are the most important species in the web of life and that nature has essentially a utilitarian value to humans. The Declaration could have emphasised interdependency had it imposed an ethic of care; responsibility upon human beings to protect their physical environment (Warren 1997).

Local government authorities face infinitely complex decisions about local development, determining whether social, environmental or economic imperatives will take priority. No development ever seems to satisfy equally all of these planning objectives or to concur with the aspirations of the whole community the council represents. For example, in the heart of the wet tropical rainforests of far North
Queensland, Douglas Shire Council comprises 85 per cent proclaimed wilderness area. The Douglas Shire Council has adopted a policy of population limits according to environmental carrying capacity but one unforeseen social equity issue emerged; a social elitism based on highly valued, natural environment. According to the council’s elected members and officers, the price of land and housing had become exclusive in Douglas Shire, largely restricting residence in the Shire to the wealthy. ABS data supports these observations of study participants (ABS 1996). Tourist industry workers who attract comparatively low wages are increasingly unable to live in the area where they work because of inflated housing costs. A more common example of competing social and environmental interests is where proposed local developments which promise employment opportunities in the community become contentious because they threaten natural eco-systems. These issues are elaborated in the particular case study contexts in Chapters Two and Three.

It must be remembered however, that it is still the early days of local government applying ecological sustainability principles to practice. Those local government work areas concerned specifically with social equity issues and with environmental protection outcomes of local development are the newest in local government. Undeniably, ESD in the hands of politicians has been compromised for economic growth and technocratic decision-making (Beder 1994), but because ESD brings economic and environmental imperatives together it holds an unfulfilled promise of a balanced approach towards the economy and the environment. Therefore, in spite of the apparent conflicts, perhaps the greatest strength of ESD is that it is inclusive of both human beings and the non-human environment. As such, ESD presents a challenge to locate common and respected philosophical grounds. In the following section integrated local area planning is considered as an early local government response to ecological sustainability.

**Integrated planning**

Although I have argued that ESD is a vague abstraction that is therefore difficult to operationalise, integrated planning models are one example of the attempt local government has made to implement ecological sustainability goals. In this section *integrated planning* is defined and discussed. ILAP, the specific integrated planning
model developed by the Australian Local Government Association for use in councils, is then considered in detail.

**Integrated planning defined**

Integrated planning refers to a process which includes participants from a range of disciplines such as engineering, town planning, environmental planning, community work and administration (ALGA 1993a). The process involves the participants in a cooperative working arrangement where decision-making is shared. In the local government context this interdisciplinary planning approach aims to achieve the development of broad and balanced plans that express a local area vision and strategies by which it can be realised. In this thesis, planning is considered within local government authorities, organisations that are developing strategies for the social, cultural, environmental and economic future of a specific, designated geographical area. In seeking to enhance each of these broad community attributes, integrated planning represents a significant ecological sustainability response.

**Why associate integrated planning and ecological sustainability?**

Contemporary western planning approaches have long been criticised due to their preoccupation with how to use land for best economic outcomes (Birkeland 1991; Daly and Cobb 1989; Pickvance 1982). Lack of attention to the social and environmental consequences of land-use decisions has contributed to social and environmental problems (Harvey 1996; Mullins 1976). For example, urban sprawl or extensive broad-acre development at urban fringes has added significant social and physical infrastructure costs, resulting frequently in social inequality (Purdon and Graham 1992).

Development of this kind has been common in Australian cities and towns over the last thirty years and is frequently blamed for the current problem of inadequate physical and social infrastructure because it has driven the costs up enormously. Where adequate infrastructure is provided for a new area, older areas are often less likely to have their infrastructure upgraded as required (Lang 1994; Purdon and Graham 1992). A further impact of short-sighted land-use planning has been social isolation for many people who are able to acquire cheap housing in new areas but are often without access to public transport, local employment opportunities, and basic services such as schools and

The outward spread of towns and cities has also had little respect for protection of the natural, local environment (Graham 1992). Local governments have had to respond to the challenge of managing areas where there are potential threats to people and the environment. These include for example, solid and liquid waste management, water supply and quality, and traffic and air pollution control (Brown et al. 1992b). In addition, the development approval role of local government is particularly significant where natural areas, species habitats, significant vegetation, natural resources, and world heritage areas may be impinged upon by proposed development (Graham 1992; Brown et al. 1992a; 1992b).

Local government authorities are planning for the future of their community while concurrently confronting these social and environmental problems emerging as a result of imprudent, unsustainable planning. Councils alone cannot be held responsible for these problems as they have little autonomy within the three tiers of government. They must however respond to the needs of the local area. Accordingly, the strategic planning responsibilities of local government have increased in recent times. Many councils that have planned by way of one-off project assessments are having to grasp the big picture that includes not only the different aspects of the area but also how each relates to the other (Local Government Act 1993 (Qld). Chapters three and eight take up this concern in greater detail.

A more integrated approach that facilitates interdisciplinary co-operation and collaboration in policy formulation and planning practice in local government has the potential to address the balanced environmental, social and economic outcomes ecological sustainability pursues. It is noteworthy that while this sentiment appears reasonable in theory, the new Integrated Planning Act 1997 (Qld) which follows New Zealand’s resource management planning model in its attempt to make connections of the various disciplinary planning expertise, has been criticised as having changed very little in reality. According to Moon (1997 p. 9), ‘...financial clout will remain the dominant planning weapon’ without real provision for government to advocate on
behalf of environmental or public interest.

The following section considers the institutional issues associated with integrated planning and explains the development of local government’s integrated planning model, ILAP (Integrated Local Area Planning).

**Integrated planning in local government**

Although the focus of this study is interdisciplinary integration at the organisational level, a number of issues emanating from other levels of government affect the ways in which councils perform. In particular, the approach councils take to ecological sustainability is affected by the policies of the Commonwealth and state governments. Local government in Australia remains a legal entity of the State and is therefore compelled to act within the broad policies of the states and Commonwealth government, but historically, has had minimal involvement in developing those policies.

Policies made at the national level frequently have little relevance to Australian communities with enormous diversity, from coastal to inland, from tropical to arid. This can also often be true of state government policies, particularly in Queensland where two thirds of the population live a considerable distance from the state capital, many in remote rural areas. An important development to facilitate more locally relevant planning responses was the formal Protocol between the Queensland Government and the Local Government Association of Queensland (LGAQ) in 1993 which clarified the roles and responsibilities of both spheres of government in relation to planning and development in the State of Queensland (Queensland Government and LGAQ 1993). The Protocol Agreement encouraged partnership structures for policy decision-making.

Formal inter-government partnership agreements have come only after many years of local government recording dissatisfaction with its subsidiary role, claiming it was the level of government closest to the people, able to offer grass roots experience and knowledge to inform policy (ALGA 1990). Even with the improvements in local-state arrangements in Queensland, local government has met with minimal success in having their requests met for inclusion in a tripartite partnership for national policy
development, and remains largely in the background of the policy making structures in which the other spheres of government in Australia are involved. A case in point is the Inter-Governmental Agreement on the Environment referred to above. The Commonwealth and State governments provided the legislative framework but inclusion of local government in the partnership agreement was limited. The National Environmental Protection Authority proposed under the Agreement limited the role of local government to that of observer (Inter-governmental Agreement on the Environment 1992).

The ALGA expressed the need for increased partnership in its relationship with the state and federal governments to replace patriarchal arrangements which impeded severely the ability of councils to meet the specific needs of the communities they were elected to represent (ALGA 1990). The objective of a tripartite partnership arrangement was to ensure local government authorities had increased involvement and power in policy development and program planning.

More equitable local government participation was said to require four reforms to inter-governmental relations:

- Ensure that local government has adequate opportunities to contribute positively to national priorities;
- Provide local government with adequate resources and adequate information to carry out its role;
- Allow local government to develop a sense of 'ownership' of social and economic programs by effective participation in their development and implementation; and
- Provide local government with a basis for developing its own policies and programs to fit in with and support initiatives of other spheres of government (Purdon and Graham 1992, p. xii).

The call for such reforms in 1992 was not a new theme. Similar recommendations were made through the Australian Government Commission of Inquiry into Poverty (Henderson 1975) and the information papers from the Advisory Council for Inter-Government Relations (1981). All reports pointed to the unclear relationship between the three spheres of government, the overlap in their roles and responsibilities, wasteful expenditure and the resultant confusion within the Australian community on an effective process within government (ALGA 1990, p. 2).
Given these institutional constraints, local government seems to lose out both ways. It has a peripheral role in setting national policy priorities and limited local policy making autonomy (Briggs 1992; Purdon and Graham 1992). These institutional issues are considered throughout this thesis. The main point here is that this history of subordination of local government in the three tier government system continues to affect councils. No matter what planning approach a particular council adopts, it is subject to the political ideology of state and Federal governments. In spite of the constraints outlined above, Diesendorf and Hamilton (1997) in a recent critique of ESD policy in Australia, acknowledged that local government has made a more serious and enthusiastic advance into ecological sustainability than the State and Commonwealth governments. Both the institutional impediments and the growing awareness in local government of the importance of ecological sustainability gave impetus to the development of ILAP.

The ILAP model

The Local Government integrated planning model ILAP, was developed as a package for local government reform which would result in a more balanced and comprehensive local area planning approach. The Australian Local Government Association designed the ILAP model and approximately forty pilot projects were under way in councils throughout Australia by 1994.

The ILAP model (figure 1.1) was developed at the national level by the ALGA following the reports referred to above which recognised the restraints local government endured in the conduct of their role. In addition, it had been found that lack of coordination between internal council departments inhibited holistic strategic planning (Purdon and Graham 1992; Graham 1992). The methods and structures proposed through ILAP are explained below. The goal of the model, to bring land-use, social and environmental planning issues closer together, is considered in relation to a limited number of reports from the forty (approximately) funded pilot ILAP projects, providing an insight into the problems with its initial application.
The ILAP model advocated interdisciplinary involvement in strategic local area planning and included the three government sectors and the community (figure 1.1). Issues of which local area planning must take account were also incorporated in the model. The ILAP proposition posed two fundamental changes. Firstly, that councils embrace a strategic planning role; a comprehensive community planning approach extending their traditional service provision role. Secondly, through ILAP the compartmentalised structure of councils was challenged to develop an integrated approach involving all work areas. Among them community work and environmental planning were identified (ALGA 1993a).

Figure 1.1 Integrated local area planning model

By proposing partnership arrangements between the three spheres of government and focussing the co-ordination of planning activity at the local level, ILAP placed councils in a position to gain greater control over local development (ALGA 1993a).
ILAP methodology
The process that councils are instructed to follow in adopting ILAP has five steps:

**step 1:** Involvement of identified contributors to local area planning (figure 1.1) in designing the overall planning process. The aim of the initial step is to set the scope and the limits to the overall planning approach.

**step 2:** Establishment of an interdisciplinary working culture and identification of significant issues facing the community.

**step 3:** Prioritising of the most significant issues facing the community. These are referred to as ‘key issues’.

**step 4:** Clarifying who is involved in the key issues, what activities they undertake, the problem/s to be addressed, aims for improving the current situation and actions and targets for outcomes.

**step 5:** Implementation of the plan to improve a key issue area as established in step 4 (ALGA 1993a).

ILAP did not assume all councils would have the expertise or the organisational structure required to adopt the model. The ILAP guide advised that councils would need the specialist skills of economic development, social planning and environmental management, as well as new approaches to public health and cultural development (ALGA 1993a, p. 18). The guide suggested that councils may be assisted in acquiring new skills through reference materials, training programs and multi-skilling or where resources were available, by employing specialist staff (ALGA 1993a, p. 18).

**Council structures**
At the structural level, the ILAP model advocated that councils aim to have compatible strategic plans that ‘...influence trends and issues in the locality’, and corporate plans for ‘...administration of the council’s own activities’ (ALGA 1993a, p. 19). The types of
internal council structures to facilitate the integrated planning model grouped functions according to community needs and corporate priorities rather than by functional departments which can act as competing bureaucracies (ALGA 1993a, p. 21). This model offered a range of possibilities including a senior management team, amalgamation of social, infrastructure and land-use planning within one department, a specialist corporate/strategic planning unit, one overseer of integrated planning across traditional council departments or replacing the traditional departments with specialist resource units (ALGA 1993a, p. 21). The traditional model which separated functional work areas into individual departments was viewed as fragmenting strategic planning responsibility (ALGA 1993a). The compartmentalised model also failed to represent some key functions at the top decision-making level (ALGA 1993a).

Potential problems with the ILAP model
A number of issues are apparent in relation to the ILAP model. They pertain in particular to the structures for integrated planning. ILAP decision-making processes include providing for all relevant factors to be given due weight and all participants to set local priorities. Although the ILAP guide promoted partnership decision-making arrangements, it asserted that the councils make planning decisions in the inevitable circumstances of incompatible community aspirations. That planners from different disciplines may also have incompatible perspectives beyond organisational structure, was not acknowledged in the ILAP guides. The experience of attempting to bring land-use and social planning together in the City of Bellarine, in Victoria for instance, reflected that:

The different community and professional perspectives available in a local government each bring with them a wide range of values, understandings of the world and potentially different definitions of the planning task (McVicar and Reynolds 1992, p. 46).

Successful integration depends on planners being informed about the perspective of each discipline and accepting the contribution each makes to the overall plan (McVicar and Reynolds 1992). If ILAP is to meet a stated aim of placing a greater emphasis on 'bottom-up implementation-driven processes' to balance 'top-down policy-driven approaches' the form participation takes for all parties must be a serious consideration in transforming a highly compartmentalised hierarchical organisation into one which reflects the model of participatory democracy or partnership ILAP aspires to. All participants would need to have equal decision-making power and the resources to
enable that level of involvement by all partners (Arnstein 1969).

In the interdisciplinary planning context, environmental impact assessment (EIA) projects have illustrated epistemological conflicts between physical and social planners (Craig, 1989; 1990). Although more often viewed as an approach to assess potential impacts of proposed development, EIA is also considered to have a planning role because its nature is anticipatory (Burdge 1985 and 1987). While EIA aims to integrate social and environmental considerations, the Australian EIA experience has demonstrated some significant difficulties in combining the two (Craig 1989; Rickson et al. 1990a; 1990b; Gibson et al. 1988; Formby 1988). EIA reports have frequently not reported social science expertise, methods and findings to the same extent as the technical assessments of the physical sciences (Rickson et al. 1990a; Taylor et al. 1990; Hindmarsh et al. 1988). One reason for this is that the backgrounds and inclinations of agency decision-makers and EIA consultants are typically in the physical sciences (Rickson et al. 1990a).

These are valuable insights for local governments in the early stages of implementing an integrated planning model. Local government directors or departmental heads involved in decision making are engineers more often than community workers. Differences in interpretation among practitioners within integrated planning affect how problems are identified and how the relationship between theory and action is understood (Rickson et al. 1990a). The same caution was raised by Blahna and Yonts-Shepard (1989) in relation to internal power struggles within integrated planning teams which can affect the development of resource plans. In their experience with the United States National Forest Management project, economists accustomed to having primary influence in development agencies were less sympathetic to decision making or evaluative methods that challenged the primacy of economic concepts (Blahna and Yonts-Shepard 1989). The subordination of social and cultural issues in interdisciplinary projects is well documented in relation to Social Impact Assessment. Commonly, the problem is viewed as the consequence of appointing project managers with a positivist perspective who have little regard for the social science contribution, and a participatory approach (Rickson et al. 1990a). There appears to be a preference among decision makers for a technical approach due to the still dominant, positivist paradigm which retains faith in
Chapter One  Ecological Sustainability and Integrated Planning in Local Government

the belief that, 'To make impacts count in assessments, they must be quantified and priced' (Carley and Bustelo 1984, p. 213).

In 1997, sponsored by the three levels of government and funded by the Commonwealth, twenty-six Building Better Cities (BBC) projects aimed to ‘...improve the efficiency and equity’ of the operation of Australian cities’ (Hundloe and McDonald 1997, p. 96). The evaluation of the BBC Program asserted that there were two major obstacles to the projects meeting ESD objectives; professional boundaries and lack of strategic planning coherence (Hundloe and McDonald 1997). These issues experienced within interdisciplinary projects are pertinent to ILAP as a rationalist approach has long dominated planning and restricts the field to a positivist technological approach and to the values of the planning agency (Davidoff 1973). Integrated planning encourages a new relationship between social and physical sciences. It challenges the physical sciences which have in the past proceeded with little knowledge of human behaviour in an empirical sense, to expand their analytic frameworks. Reports from pilot ILAP projects also indicated some difficulties in the application of the model (Ballarat City Council 1994; Lang 1994; Hazebroek 1994).

The pilot projects
A number of the pilot projects funded under ILAP experienced difficulty in applying the ILAP model/principles. Firstly, any model developed for use by local government must ensure enough flexibility to recognise the diverse physical and social characteristics of the hundreds (831 in 1990 according to Jones 1993) of individual councils. Secondly, the requirement of ILAP for integration to occur at the inter-governmental, interdisciplinary and organisational levels simultaneously, was an extremely complex task. Each of these limitations of ILAP in the early stages of application in councils is considered below.

Ability of the model to reflect local government diversity
There is no doubt that ILAP aims to be holistic, incorporating the environment and people. However, that goal is extremely complex. To adopt the model in its entirety would, for most councils, demand fundamental changes. Not only would significant structural changes take time, but because local government authorities are so diverse
they would occur in different sequences depending upon the particular circumstances of councils. ILAP guidelines recognised that the model must be able to be tailored for each particular area/council:

...(ILAP) aims to make land use planning more effective by improving relationships with other important elements of planning, whether it be undertaken by other agencies, other parts of council, or in concert with the local community or the private sector. How this is done will vary from state to state, and most appropriate internal and external relationships will vary from council to council (Lang 1994, p. 22).

Inevitably, that translates into a need for councils to identify different local issues. Local issues therefore direct where the implementation of ILAP should begin. For example, the ILAP project in Ballarat City Council in Victoria undertook to develop a community plan (Ballarat City Council 1994). In the northern Adelaide region an ILAP project was established to increase integration between councils in the region as well as between the Local, State and Commonwealth governments throughout the region (Hazebroek 1994). On the north coast of New South Wales, two additional ILAP projects approached integrated planning from yet another perspective: in Tweed Heads an integrated strategic planning process was developed to build a more integrated approach with external planning and development agencies (Lang 1994). In its conclusions, a range of institutional structures were recommended to enhance integration within the planning areas of council as well as between planning bodies within the region (Lang 1994). Coffs Harbour took a participatory planning approach to revising its strategic plan with the objective of establishing an effective community consultation model (Lang 1994). These few cases demonstrate that individual councils approached ILAP from quite different perspectives.

**Multi-level integration**
The pilot projects referred to above did not embrace all three levels of ILAP: integrated strategic planning, organisational reform and improved inter-governmental relations. In the evaluation of the ILAP program the failure of the forty funded projects overall, to tackle all three levels was viewed as their most significant limitation (Purdon 1995). Conducting a program evaluation, Purdon (1995) considered that when refined to include anything less than the three levels of change, ILAP lost the ability to achieve its aims and improve community well-being (Purdon 1995). The level most inadequately addressed through ILAP was organisational reform. A significant barrier to ILAP achieving the three objectives was a poor understanding on the part of participants in the
pilot projects of the whole ILAP model.

Particularly germane to this study, the pilot project reports isolate poor practitioner co-ordination and integration as a restriction to integrated planning. They considered traditional council structures to have segregated activities in a way that made it difficult to create a co-operative planning model where power and expertise needed to be more evenly shared. These issues are considered in relation to the empirical findings of this research in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

Summary
This chapter has highlighted the contradictions which exist within the concept of ESD. Despite the difficulties of balancing economic and environmental objectives to achieve ESD, the alternative development perspective incorporating intrinsic as well as instrumental values enables a more harmonious connection between the two. Through ILAP, integrating social, economic and environmental objectives, local government in Australia has made a serious attempt to apply ecological sustainability principles. Having illustrated through the above examples that there exist certain obstacles to integrated planning in local government authorities, my aim throughout this work is to further explore these concerns by focussing upon the issues relating to integration of social and environmental practitioners in the case studies.

Early experiences of ILAP emphasise the diverse responses of different councils and illustrate the fact that a local government planning model must be flexible enough to accommodate different types of organisations and communities. The ILAP project reports consulted here recognise, in particular, difficulties in linking the range of different professional perspectives represented by council staff into project implementation. Striking the ecological sustainability balance between economic and environmental planning outcomes depends upon interdisciplinary co-operation and knowledge sharing. As ILAP is developed further in councils there is potential for its ecological sustainability goals to be achieved because the model encompasses all of the basic requirements of ecological sustainability. However, the experience of the ILAP pilot projects suggests that traditional power relations between council departments and practitioners may be a serious constraint to the success of the model if not closely
The three councils participating in this study were not involved in ILAP pilot projects but all were reviewing their corporate structure in 1995 at the time of this research. Their approach to introducing elements of ILAP was not always consciously linked to the model. However, their efforts to integrate social and environmental concerns more fully into local area planning provide important insights into both constraints to integrated planning and the potential for community workers and environmental planners to advance it.

The following chapter provides a further level of context to the case studies. Each council is introduced in relation to its particular characteristics.
My aims in this chapter are to introduce the case study areas and the sustainability issues confronting the respective councils. Before describing the particular characteristics of the three places, I situate them in the broader domain of recent Queensland political history, including environmental politics. The geographic, economic, social and political situation of each council area are reflected in difference in local culture, environmental concerns and city visions. The distinct responses of the three councils to ecological sustainability are then linked to their particular characteristics.

**North Queensland politics in recent history**

Settled in the late Nineteenth Century, Douglas, Mackay and Townsville, each with historically significant ports on the north Queensland coast, are remote from Brisbane, the State Capital (figure 2.1). All three are located in the tropical area of a very disparate State. The tropical areas of Queensland cover fifty-four per cent (or 933,000 square kilometres) of the State (Harris and Crossman 1980). Queensland Government policy should take into account that two-thirds of the State’s population live outside Brisbane at the very south-eastern corner of the State. In recent history, that has not always occurred. The attributes and culture of each place vary, but living in the tropics, distant from a capital city, provides certain commonalities and affinities.

Twenty years prior to a long conservative political reign, north Queensland was internationally prominent as the red north. For more than three decades from the 1930s onwards, communist activity was a feature of daily life in north Queensland. The local government authorities of Townsville, Douglas and Mackay were involved along with numerous other north Queensland councils in what has been described as:

A political episode in which north Queensland differed from the rest of Australia in showing itself better informed about international events, more committed to democratic values, more generous in sympathy, less obsessed with local issues and factional jealousies.... (Menghetti 1981, p. i).

Under the Queensland National Party Government led by Joh Bjelke-Petersen from 1965 to 1989, state government power and policy decisions were centralised in Brisbane. During that period, Queensland was internationally notorious as the most
corrupt and authoritarian state of Australia (Reynolds 1993; Coaldrake 1989; Lunn 1987; Patience 1985). Far from being a ‘...humble servant of the people’, the Queensland National Party Government is remembered as a regime which sought to restrict what were previously regarded as fundamental democratic rights (for example, political demonstrations), or to disregard or obfuscate basic consultation procedures (Coaldrake 1989, p. 7). Indeed, the revelations of cronyism, cover-ups and the politicisation of public appointments and other government practices tended to demonstrate the extent to which the interests of the National Party had increasingly over-ridden those of accountable and democratic government (Patience 1985). For Bjelke-Petersen the government was accountable to a higher authority than that of the people or the State; to 'God, the Bible, and his own sense of morality' (Coaldrake 1989, p. 67). This style of state government meant there was little opportunity for regional planning and decision-making even though state decisions did not always reflect all regions’ aspirations.

Emergence of the environmental movement in the north

During the mid to late 1970s development, population and economic growth increased with a flurry in the provincial centres of north Queensland (Harris and Crossman 1980). The rapid growth was accompanied by a burgeoning vanguard of environmentalists speaking a language of dissent in relation to environmentally damaging development. The environmentalists aimed to counter unrestrained development, espousing constraint to consumerism on the basis that natural resources are finite (Armit et al. 1991). In Douglas Shire and Townsville, the fervour and passion of battles to preserve sensitive coastal or forested environments compares with the intensity of the communist campaigns of the 1930s and ‘40s. Examples of such environmental struggles are provided in the ensuing discussion of the three case study environments.

Three places in profile

This section provides brief geographical, economic, social and cultural descriptions of Townsville, Douglas and Mackay. Each area is considered separately prior to a discussion about the specific issues of ecological sustainability each council confronts in the context of their development plans.
Figure 2.1 The Case Study Areas Within Australia
Townsville: ‘capital of the north’

Following the establishment of a port in 1865, Townsville was declared a municipality in 1866 and as a city in 1902. The area is estimated to have been inhabited by Aborigines for more than 40,000 years. With the burgeoning gold mining boom and the establishment of a sugar and cattle industry, the town grew steadily to accommodate a population of 45,000 people by 1956 (Townsville City Council 1992).

Widely regarded as the unofficial capital of north Queensland, in February 1981 Townsville became my home for sixteen years. In spite of warnings raised by Glesne and Peshkin (1992) that familiarity can constrain effective data collection when conducting research in your own town, and that the divulgence of potentially ‘politically risky’ information can compromise both researcher and study respondent, I decided to include Townsville in this study. I remained convinced that such foibles are balanced by the advantages of bringing personal knowledge and experience to research (Reinharz 1992). I therefore weave personal perceptions into the following descriptions of Townsville.

The physical environment

Townsville, located on the coast, 1,113 kilometres north of Brisbane by air, covers an area of 1,865.5 square kilometres. Although Townsville is regarded as an urban centre (DPIE 1994), fifty-three per cent of its total area was classified as rural in 1991 (ABS, 1991). With changes to electoral boundaries in 1994 (figure 2.2), the rural and potential urban growth areas within Townsville were expanded. The re-alignment of electoral boundaries resulted in Townsville expanding further towards the south of the city to include Cape Cleveland and Mt Elliott National Park (EARC 1991).

Although Townsville is generally characterised as a major urban, regional centre, distinct land systems contribute to the biodiversity of Townsville’s environment. They include coastal plains, wetlands (including mangrove forests), mountain ranges, grass lands and savanna woodlands (Queensland Government 1996d).

The City of Townsville provides access to the Great Barrier Reef which was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1981 as a property with significant environmental and
cultural value (Australian Government 1995a). The Great Barrier Reef Marine Park is not only a major species habitat but also the haven for reefs and seagrass. National parks and nature conservation reserves include Magnetic Island, Paluma Range and Bowling Green Bay National Parks, and Cape Pallarenda and the Town Common Conservation Parks (figure 2.4).

Townsville’s rainfall is variable and dry conditions tend to place stress upon plants and soils (Townsville City Council 1992). The Townsville landscape was green when I arrived in late February 1981 following thirty continuous days of wet-season rain. This was unusual in Townsville, generally regarded as the dry tropics with high humidity and low rainfall. I was to experience only one more season with such heavy and persistent rain during the following fifteen wet seasons. I waited desperately for a cool change which I had always been able to anticipate with some confidence in Melbourne, but not so in the dry tropics. The dryness was contrasted however, by the coast, and views to Magnetic Island five kilometres to the east of Townsville. Magnetic Island is a suburb of Townsville but its character is very different (plate 12). Magnetic Island has a local population of approximately 1,500 people which is increased with tourists throughout the year creating a year-round leisurely ambience.

Population and economy
In 1986, Thuringowa, the fastest growing Shire in Queensland, with an area of 4,115 square kilometres, was declared a city (Townsville City Council 1992). Until then, Townsville City incorporated the adjoining Thuringowa Shire (figure 2.2) and both fell within the auspice of Townsville City Council. In 1991, the population of the Townsville-Thuringowa northern sub-region had reached approximately 125,000 (Rider Hunt 1991). Of that population, 87,000 resided permanently in Townsville (ABS 1991) and approximately 38,000 in Thuringowa. The Townsville-Thuringowa region has experienced relatively stable population growth with an average annual growth rate of 2.2 per cent between 1971 and 1996 (ABS 1996; Townsville City Council 1989, p. 22). However, the growth rate slowed slightly during the period from 1991 to 1996.

The greatest growth period in Townsville's history was between 1966 and 1976 when the population increased by fifty per cent. High growth at that time was related to the
Figure 2.2 Townsville-Thuringowa Local Government Boundaries

![Map of Townsville-Thuringowa Local Government Boundaries with 1994 and 1991 boundaries marked.]

Figure 2.3 Mackay-Pioneer Local Government Boundaries

![Map of Mackay-Pioneer Local Government Boundaries with 1994 and 1991 boundaries marked.]

Figure 2.4 Areas of Nature Conservation Significance in Townsville

federal trend towards de-centralisation and the establishment of Townsville as Queensland’s major regional administration centre (Harris 1990). Many state and Commonwealth departments established offices in Townsville thus broadening the city’s diverse economic base (table 2.1).

Table 2.1  Principal characteristics of Townsville City

<table>
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<th>Features</th>
<th>1,865 square km</th>
<th>Great Barrier Reef Marine Park, Magnetic Island</th>
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<td>Area</td>
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<td>Rural area 1991</td>
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<td>World Heritage Areas</td>
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<td>National Parks</td>
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<tr>
<td>Population</td>
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<tr>
<td>visitor</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torres Strait Islanders</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian born</td>
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<td>Overseas Born</td>
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</tr>
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<td>British, United States, New Zealand or South African</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Other countries</td>
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<tr>
<td>Local Industry</td>
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<td>Industry as % of workforce 1996</td>
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<tr>
<td>Retail</td>
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<td>Public Administration and Defence</td>
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<td>Health and Community Services</td>
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<td>Education</td>
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<td>Property and Business</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation, cafes &amp; restaurants</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Transport and Storage</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wholesale Trade</td>
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<tr>
<td>Personal &amp; Other Services</td>
<td>3.8 %</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cultural &amp; Recreational Services</td>
<td>3.3 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance &amp; Insurance</td>
<td>2.1 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Stated</td>
<td>1.7 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6.3 %</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Urban Development</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>New Residential Dwellings 1990-95</td>
<td>4,444</td>
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</table>

As the main regional centre in north Queensland, Townsville supplies the administrative and educational services for the whole region from Mackay to Cairns. The Port of Townsville has been operational since 1866, facilitating significant export and import in the region including the large mining town of Mt. Isa (Taylor 1980). In addition, Townsville accommodates Lavarack Barracks, the largest army base in Australia with over 4,000 army personnel and their families, as well as a Royal Australian Airforce base, James Cook University with 1,000 staff and 8,000 students, and a large TAFE college. Copper and nickel processing plants have also been stable industries in the city since the 1950s (Townsville City Council 1989). Tourism, particularly on Magnetic Island, has contributed to the Townsville economy since late last century (Taylor 1980) and increased during the 1970s and 1980s (Australian Economic Consultants 1997).

The unique culture of the tropics

It is not uncommon for ‘southerners’ to think Townsville is a northern beach suburb of Brisbane. Travelling the seemingly endless coastal road on my initial journey from Melbourne to Townsville I reached Brisbane, surprised to find I was only half way to Townsville. Thea Astley’s richly descriptive novels about tropical north Queensland had scarcely prepared me for its strikingly distinctive culture. When I finally arrived in Townsville, I felt as though I was in a different country. Wide streets with no footpaths and a low density of wooden buildings gave a sense of spaciousness. The air was steamy and heavy with the clinging odours of the tropics. The rich olfactory remnants of a good mango season lingered in the absence of a breeze. Compared with Melbourne, Townsville had a presence of life outdoors, on the street, on verandas, in parks under trees; outside rather than inside hotels.

Townsville has frequently been conjured as a workers city and as a non-metropolitan city it offers elaborate social and cultural facilities (Townsville City Council, 1992). When the nine Townsville City Council staff who participated in the study were asked how they would describe the city to a newcomer, several highlighted the extensive range of activities and facilities Townsville offered. They also shared a perception that the city had a stable and diverse economic base. The unique culture of Townsville is considered below in terms of urban development, multicultural issues, community welfare issues and environmental issues.
Urban development
In Townsville urban development has occurred outwards from the city centre to the north and south. The accent upon rural residential development since the local government boundary changes in 1994 have significant social and environmental impact implications which are discussed later in this chapter in relation to ecological sustainability.

Attributes of modern architecture more commonly applied to temperate climates in metropolitan areas contrast with special tropical features in Townsville. Policies made in Brisbane reflect the tyranny of distance as they are often oblivious to the culture of the north. Development trends and building styles are also sometimes at odds with the special experiences of living in the tropics - the hot, humid climate where residents spend much time outdoors. Developers build brick bungalows without verandas and banks of air conditioning which characterise one solution of modern, residential architecture in the tropics.

Residential settlement patterns on the city fringe create long distances between residents and employment and facilities such as health care, education and child care. Access difficulties are exacerbated by an undeveloped public transport system. Of the eighty per cent of Townsville’s workforce who regularly use one method of travel to work, only one per cent used public transport and 0.8 per cent of those travelled by bus (ABS 1996). In addition, private vehicle ownership in the region is much higher than the average for the State of Queensland. According to the 1996 census data, there were 29,502 vehicles among 34,452 private households in Townsville and 58.2 per cent of the workforce travel to work as the driver of a car.

Multicultural issues
Indigenous and ethnic groups represent approximately twelve per cent of the Townsville population. Eighty-nine percent of all Townsville residents over five years of age speak English at home. The largest non-English speaking groups include Italian, (0.7%), Macedonian (0.5%), German (0.5%), Greek (0.5%), Indigenous Australian languages (0.4%), and Chinese languages (0.4%) (ABS 1996). The 303 cultural organisations and activities listed in the Townsville and Thuringowa area, provide social and service networks to the ethnic and indigenous communities (Queensland Government 1996b). In
addition, approximately 3,000 people on the isolated Palm Island community (20 minutes by air from Townsville) are dependent on services and facilities (including educational and health services) provided in Townsville although they are part of the Hinchinbrook Shire since local government boundary changes in 1994.

Community welfare issues
According to a recent draft policy report of the *Townsville-Thuringowa Strategy Plan* (Queensland Government 1996b), Queensland has a much lower level of community welfare related expenditure than other Australian States. Given that a wide geographical area has to be serviced with government funds, the welfare funding level in north Queensland is also lower than that for metropolitan areas. Consequently, approximately seventeen per cent of Townsville families, many of those Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, are living in poverty (Queensland Government 1996b).

Factors which contribute to local poverty and social disadvantage include an unemployment rate which has varied between six and twelve per cent over the last six years, a poor public transport system and an under-supply of affordable housing (Queensland Government 1996b). Of 38,991 people in employment, 11,574 were employed on a part-time basis (ABS 1996), a factor which may have significant quality of life implications.

Like many north Queensland towns, Townsville has a presence of indigenous people living in city parks. Racial disharmony is apparent through regular public debates on the issue of indigenous park dwellers (Townsville Bulletin 1983-1996) which has raged for more than thirty years. High levels of unemployment and homelessness among indigenous people lead to significant health problems for them throughout north Queensland. These structural conditions result in increased demand for welfare services that can be difficult to address when the area has one of the highest mobility rates in Australia (52.6 per cent between 1986-1991) (Queensland Government 1996b).

Environmental issues
In Townsville, proposals for development within areas in close proximity to the reef have been met with some strenuous opposition from the community. Townsville has a large community of environmental scientists associated with the array of local
environmental bodies including the world-renowned marine studies program at James Cook University, the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority, CSIRO, and the Australian Institute of Marine Science (AIMS). These organisations provide Townsville with a much larger than average contingent of environmental experts. Together with other concerned members of the community, these citizens operate at times in the capacity of voluntary experts, informing the environmental side of development debates. Thus, a number of informed animated campaigns have been launched against development proposals in Townsville which have threatened significant areas of natural environment.

Florence Bay on Magnetic Island remains one of several highly publicised examples of such action. The bay was earmarked for a $400 million resort in the 1980s by the National Party Government in Queensland (Waters 1992). Local conservationists and residents mounted a long campaign against the development on two counts. Firstly on the basis of the negative effect the development would have on the reef and secondly, because Magnetic Island has poor water, sewage and road infrastructure. The future of the resort development was decided in a local government referendum in 1989. The referendum, a unique example in Australia of a council calling upon citizens to vote on the future of a development proposal, resulted in sixty per cent of voters opposing any resort development at Florence Bay. In 1992, following an election promise (Townsville Bulletin 23 June 89, p. 5) the newly elected Labor Government in Queensland added seventy-four hectares to the Magnetic Island National Park by including Florence Bay (Townsville Bulletin 18.5.92).

Mackay: A wealth of natural resources

The physical environment

Mackay City at the southern end of North Queensland, is lodged between the two major northern Queensland centres outside Brisbane - Townsville 400 kilometres to the north and Rockhampton a similar distance to the south. The city sits in a valley protected on one side by a ring of forested mountains and is screened from the oceans of the Great Barrier Reef by mangroves. Much of the rural district of Mackay is occupied by sugar cane fields that provide both aesthetic and economic significance (plate 4).
As a point of entry to the Great Barrier Reef, Mackay, like Townsville and Douglas, encompasses significant nature conservation and World Heritage areas (figure 2.5). However, the large National Parks in the region fall mostly within the catchment areas of neighbouring councils as do a number of the Whitsunday Islands. Several of the Islands fall within the area of Mackay City (figure 2.5).

Mackay was amalgamated with Pioneer Shire in April, 1994 (EARC, 1991), resulting in Mackay, a once small, predominantly urban shire, increasing in area from 3,591 hectares to 281,613 hectares (figure 2.3 and table 2.2). That area consists of 2,820 square kilometres of mainland, 100 square kilometres of islands and 25,644 square kilometres of ocean (Mackay City Council 1996).

Population and economy
Founded in 1869, Mackay City is one of the larger north Queensland centres. The population of Mackay expanded considerably from approximately 22,000, to 63,648 following amalgamation with Pioneer. Like Townsville, Mackay experienced a steady rate of population and economic growth between the mid 1970s and late 1980s.
Figure 2.5 Areas of Nature Conservation Significance in Mackay

NATIONAL PARKS

1. Eungella
2. Cape Hillsborough
3. Mount Ossa
4. Lindeman Islands
5. Smith Islands
6. South Cumberland Islands
7. Reliance Creek
8. Mount Martin
9. Brampton Islands
10. Newry Islands
11. Bakers Creek
12. St Helens Gap
13. Skull Knob
14. Bloomsbury
15. Pioneer Peaks
16. Bushy Island
17. Conway

0 10 20 30 40 50
kilometres

Prosperine

The Whitsundays

Mackay

Sarina
Table 2.2  Principal characteristics of Mackay City

| FEATURES | 
|----------|------------------|
| Area     |                  |
| Total Size 1996 | 2,887 square km |
| Urban Area 1991 | 2.2 %            |
| Rural Area 1991 | 97.8 %           |
| Population 1996 |                  |
| Total people counted at home census 1996 | 71,894 |
| Projection for 2000 | 76,098 |
| Status    |                  |
| Resident  | 65,756           |
| visitor   | 6,123            |
| Ethnicity |                  |
| ATSI      | 2,606            |
| Non-ATSI  | 62,313           |
| Overseas Born | 6,975  |
| Local Industry | \( \text{industry as \% of workforce 1996} \) | 
| Retail Trade | 15.4 %          |
| Manufacturing | 11.2 %          |
| Construction | 8.2 %           |
| Health and Community Services | 8.1 %          |
| Property and Business Services | 7.4 %          |
| Wholesale Trade | 7.3 %        |
| Transport and Storage | 6.7 %         |
| Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing and Mining | 6.6 %          |
| Education | 6.4 %           |
| Accommodation, Cafes and Restaurants | 5.6 %          |
| Personal and Other Services | 3.7 %          |
| Finance and Insurance | 2.8 %          |
| Government Administration & Defence | 2.9 %          |
| Other | 8.6 %           |
| Urban Development |                  |
| New residential Dwellings 1990 to 1994 in Mackay | 977 |
| New residential Dwellings 1990 to 1994 in Pioneer | 2,987 |
| New residential Dwellings 1995 in new Mackay | 882 |


The major population growth in the region between 1986 and 1991 took place in Pioneer and in the large adjoining rural shires.
Like Townsville, Mackay was built around a port. The city’s largest export has always been sugar, an industry founded on the support of the Kanaka labour of South Sea Islanders who were recruited to Queensland in large numbers between 1863 and 1904 (Moore 1985). The major industries in the area have continued to be agriculture and service provision for nearby extractive enterprises, particularly large coal mines.

After Townsville, Mackay has the second highest regional economic output per head of population in Queensland (Mackay City Council 1995, p. 2). In 1996, average household income in Mackay was $637 per week compared to the Queensland weekly average of $611 and the Townsville average of $649. Weekly household income in Douglas Shire, at $617 compares more closely with the average throughout the region and state (ABS 1996).

In addition to the sugar and beef industries from which Mackay originally derived the bulk of income, cotton, maize, potatoes and timber industries have been developed in hinterland areas (Australian Government 1974). More recently, coal has become an important industry for the city and hopes are still held for an increase in tourism (table 2.2).

In spite of being a strong economic region, staff of the Mackay City Council interviewed in this study alluded to the sense of isolation the region experiences:

We’re by ourselves... When the Premier comes to Mackay he says what a great contribution we are making to the economy, and it is one of the richest areas in Queensland. The GDP is so high here. Yet they’ll set a new Department of Transport in Rocky. They’ll set up Family Services or Sport and Recreation in Townsville. I said to them that we’re worse off than we ever were (Mayor, Mackay City Council 1996).

However, there was also an optimistic view of the physical location of Mackay which points out that:

Both Mackay’s prosperity and its relative isolation may have shaped the hardy self-reliance which outsiders attribute to us. ...Certainly there is great strength in such a self-reliant ethos...people are willing to work together for common purposes and their loose associations and networks of contacts usually have long histories (Armit et. al. 1991, p. 2).

Indeed, in response to the perception of receiving inadequate government attention and resources, Mackay led the way in 1995 to organising a Voluntary Regional Organisation (VRO) forming eight local government authorities in the north-central Queensland area into an incorporated body with the objectives of fostering co-operation and co-ordinating
responses to issues of regional importance and promoting the needs of the region to State and Commonwealth Government ministers (Mackay City Council 1995, p. 4).

Multicultural issues
South Sea Islanders constituted forty-five per cent of Mackay's population in 1875 (Moore 1985). In 1996, Aborigines represented approximately 1.8 per cent of Mackay's total population and Torres Strait Islanders 1.4 per cent. The total overseas-born population was 6,975 or 9.6 per cent. Of those 3.4 per cent were born in the United Kingdom, and 1.8 in New Zealand. English is the first language spoken at home by 93.4 per cent of Mackay residents over five years of age. Statistically the most significant other language spoken at home in Mackay (0.6 per cent) is Maltese (ABS 1996).

There remains a large Islander population in Mackay, possibly the largest in any Australian town. According to a Mackay study participant:

There is a smaller number of Aboriginal people. But there is a growing number of Torres Strait Islander people... There's a lot of disharmony between the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and the South Sea Island people. I think that's largely due to the fact that South Sea Islanders were originally eligible for ATSIC funding and they were cut out of that in about 1986 or 1987 (Community Development Worker, Mackay City Council).

Community welfare issues
Mackay had a five per cent unemployment rate in 1996 compared to the rate of 5.8 in Townsville. According to the Community Development Worker in Mackay there is an unemployment rate of between fifty and sixty per cent among indigenous people in Mackay. Of 30,709 people in employment, 8,797 were employed on a part-time basis (ABS 1996).

Mackay has a long history of employing community development workers in the council. In 1974, with funds through the Australian Assistance Plan (AAP), Mackay developed the Mackay Regional Council for Social Development (MRCSD) with eight surrounding councils. Through its life the MRCSD has supported the development of varied local projects, services and facilities. One of those was 'Visions 2008', a community development process to ascertain community aspirations for the city in a twenty year plan (plate 5).
Plate 5  Visions 2008 Conference Advertisement

The project emanated from the Mackay Conservation Group’s disenchantment with the pace of local development and its perceived reckless approach towards environmental protection (Armit et al. 1991). Community meetings, surveys and workshops culminated in a conference concerned with the long-term future of the Mackay region. Although the extent to which the council plans have recognised the conference recommendations is not known, the emphasis was community participation. The aim was to encourage involvement from a broad range of communities of interest within Mackay referred to as:

... a diverse band of conspirators: three members of the Mackay Conservation Group, the community development officer, a secondary school teacher active in community affairs, a Pioneer Shire Councillor, a senior member of the local Solomon Island community, and a member of the Women’s Health and Information Centre (Armit et al. 1991, p. 5).
These community members, who numbered more than one hundred throughout the conference planning phase (August 1988 to July 1989) were active in identifying the major issues, planning the conference and participating in it in 1989 (Armit et al. 1991).

Urban development
Figure 2.6 illustrates the pattern of and vision for future urban development in Mackay. Settlement in the City is characterised by a series of rural residential developments on the urban fringes. Planned as self-sufficient villages, most rural settlements have at least basic infrastructure including shops, schools and medical facilities. Although modern temperate-climate architecture is present in Mackay, the Council plans to preserve traditional-style buildings. They are currently investigating low-cost options for Twentieth Century-style timber housing with open spaces and the air-flow which is important in the tropics. Much effort has already been made to preserve heritage buildings in the city centre (Mackay City Council 1997).

Environmental issues
With much of Mackay dedicated to sugar cane production, measures have to be taken to prevent chemical run-off, soil erosion and salinity (Mackay City Council 1997). Although the region’s national parks are outside Mackay, the council has responsibility for several islands within the Great Barrier Reef National Park. Waste management and pollution control are important environmental concerns as the council intends to further develop tourism on Lindeman and Brampton Islands.

The recent strategic plan for Mackay classified areas of high conservation within the city as ‘rural landscape’. Few restrictions are placed upon development within these areas (Mackay City Council 1997). The plan is discussed further in the next chapter.
Figure 2.6  Mackay City: Urban Development Pattern

Source  Mackay City Council 1997, p. 44
Chapter Two  Townsville, Douglas and Mackay in Profile

Douglas Shire:  ‘the mountains meet the sea’

The physical environment

The most southern point of the remote Douglas Shire is twenty-five kilometres north of Cairns. The Shire extends north along Coral Sea coastline adjacent to the Great Barrier Reef National Park. Mossman, the administrative centre of the Shire, is sixty-two kilometres from Cairns. The steep, heavily-forested mountainous country to the north extends to the sea. This wet tropical area experiences highest rainfalls, accompanied by high levels of humidity, between December and April. Douglas Shire covers an area almost as large as Mackay but has a much smaller population (table 2.3). Over eighty per cent of the Shire is classified with either National Park or World Heritage status which presents a major physical constraint to development (figure 2.7).

Significant environmental features include the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park and a large area of wet tropical rainforest and wetlands which house several endangered plant, animal and marine species (Appendix 1). Urban and agricultural development has been limited predominantly to the Mossman and Port Douglas areas (figure 2.7).

Renowned as the world’s largest protected wet tropical rainforest, the area of protected environment continues to expand under the Daintree Rescue Program whereby privately owned land considered to have World Heritage value is being purchased by the State Government for restoration and conservation (Brannock Humphreys 1994).

The Shire has three quite separate and distinct settlements, Port Douglas, Mossman and the area north of the Daintree river which is more isolated and marked by the long road to Cape Tribulation arched by palms and edged by the oceans of the Great Barrier Reef. The streets in Mossman are very wide with buildings of a predominantly older style, and verandahs constructed from the characteristic rustic timbers of tropical north Queensland. Mossman is quieter than Port Douglas. There is a sense of roundness in the main street where huge old fig trees circled with seats are always alive with people, greeting, sitting, chatting, coming and going. In the park at the end of the street Aborigines and Islander people also gather in circles around shady rain trees.
### Table 2.3  Principal characteristics of Douglas Shire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEATURES</th>
<th>Douglas Shire 1995</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Area</td>
<td>Total Size 1996 2,446 square km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Residential: 1995 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban: 1995 0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rural: 1995 99.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protected Environmental Areas</td>
<td>World heritage Area 1995 920,000 hectares</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>National Park Land 1995 25 % approx.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population 1996</td>
<td>Total people counted at home census 1996 14,594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Projection for 2000 14,342 projected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>resident 8,856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>visitor 5,770</td>
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<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td>ATSI 1,004</td>
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<td>Non-ATSI 11,279</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Overseas Born 2,311</td>
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<td>Local Industry</td>
<td>industry as % of workforce 1996</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Accommodation, Cafes and Restaurants 22.8 %</td>
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<td>Retail Trade 10.2 %</td>
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<td>Property and Business Services 8.0 &amp;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manufacturing 7.0 %</td>
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<td>New residential Dwellings 1990 to 1995 1,267</td>
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</table>


During an initial research visit to the area, upon making the journey south from Mossman to Port Douglas, I wrote the following entry in my research journal:
The two towns (Port Douglas and Mossman) are only 20 minutes apart, separated by a road which straddles the blonde and rocky shores of magnificent coastline on one side and dense forest ranges on the other. So special was the view and the feeling it evoked in me, the aura of the place, on this sticky, steamy, grey day, it was hard to keep my eyes concentrated on the winding road. Very few patches of developed land were visible from the road but all the time I knew that a short drive down the road to Port Douglas was an appendage of the Gold Coast with its high-rise, tourist attractions, ritzy shops etc. (Research Journal Entry: February. 6, 1995).

In my research journal I documented these early experiences and impressions, allowing myself as the observer to build on tacit knowledge, both my own and that of research participants (Lincoln and Guba 1985). Along the road to Port Douglas, natural landscapes have been retained with the built environment developing behind trees and mostly out of sight from the road. Douglas Shire has historically been characterised by the lush green fields of sugar cane lining each side of the road at the Shire’s entrance but the fern-edged road to Port Douglas provides a contrast to the otherwise rural landscape.

The council’s planning scheme intentionally contains the diverse industries and activities of the Shire in these discrete areas. The Town Planner at Douglas Shire Council was very clear that the three sections of the Shire should remain distinctly individual in character and in appearance. He said the entrance to Mossman, the rural centre, should be symbolised by sugar cane fields, and Port Douglas with palms and ferns (Town Planner, Douglas Shire Council 1995).

Population and economy
Douglas Shire was settled in 1877 as an access point for transportation and a service centre (then in Port Douglas) for nearby goldfield activity. The tourism boom in the late 1980s and early 1990s was held responsible for the Shire’s biggest period of growth (9.2 per cent between 1987-89). The population of Douglas Shire in 1995 was concentrated in the urban areas with 3,723 people residing in Port Douglas and immediately surrounding areas and 2,878 in the Mossman area. A further 858 people were resident in the northern part of the Shire, with less than three hundred people on the northern side of the Daintree River (Brannock Humphreys 1994).

The Shire’s economy is based in three major industries, agriculture, tourism and commerce (table 2.3). In 1920 sugar was the most significant industry in the Shire with the mill and its service centre in Mossman. For scores of years sugar has been the
Figure 2.7  Douglas Shire

Source  Brannock Humphreys 1994, Map 4.1
community staple, and a way of life for this and surrounding communities. The archaic image of the cane tram which shunts regularly through the main street of Mossman during the harvesting season is a tribute to the timeless value of sugar in Douglas Shire. Respect is commanded as conversation lulls waiting for the vociferous tram to pass (plate 6).

Plate 6  A cane tram passing the Douglas Shire Council building, Mossman, 1995

In recent years, the tourism industry, focussed on the natural environment, rainforests and reef, has become more significant than sugar to the economy of the Shire (table 2.3). On census night in 1996, the temporary residents in the Shire totalled 39.5 per cent of all people in Douglas Shire. It can be assumed that many of these people were tourists.

The contrast between the main settlements of the Shire is pronounced. There is a sense of anticipation as you near the end of the Port Douglas road. There you find an array of tourists and tourist facilities, an ambience that sings only 'holiday'. Tourism is Port Douglas, a bustling hub where the tinsel of the industry glitters on the sparkling ocean. Its offerings of visitor comforts had certainly not spilled into the sleepy village of Mossman where there was only one run-down motel at the time of my initial research visit in 1995. Tourism could be contained in one section of the Shire with little visibility in Mossman.
Carefully managed tourism development is the strategy the council has adopted to ensure the future economic stability of the Shire (Brannock Humphreys 1994). The Mayor of the Shire expects that the established sugar industry and tourism in protected environmental areas will sustain the Shire well into the future provided that residential development is confined in compact urban settlements and rural areas, and the population of the Shire does not exceed 20,000 (Mayor, Douglas Shire Council 1995).

**Multi cultural issues**

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people represent 6.9 per cent of the population of the Shire (ABS 1996). The indigenous population live in particular sections of the Shire with few living in Port Douglas. Three per cent (340) live at the Wujul community Wujul (included in ABS as part of Douglas Shire, although it is actually a Grant of Deed in Trust Community) in the far north and many live in the Mossman area where another small community (100) exists close to the Mossman Gorge (figure 2.7). Traditional activities including hunting, fishing and gathering remain important to the lifestyle of many local indigenous people. In addition, the long history of distinct groups of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Douglas remain in the area with many archaeological, cultural and religious sites (Brannock Humphreys 1994). The overseas born residents of Douglas Shire represent a similar proportion to indigenous Australians (table 2.3). Of overseas born residents, most were born in the United Kingdom (5.8 per cent) and New Zealand (2.4 per cent) (ABS 1996).

**Community welfare issues**

Although the population of Douglas Shire is small compared to Townsville and Mackay, the Shire has an unemployment rate of 3.2 per cent. This can be explained in part because Douglas has a higher proportion of population of working age, for example, fewer children and aged persons. The strategic plan for Douglas incorporates high employment as a sustainable development objective.

The council employed an Aboriginal Liaison Officer in 1994 to work with local Aboriginal and Islander people with a view to improving employment opportunities for indigenous people resident in the Shire. Douglas Council’s two community workers commented that in addition to unemployment, homelessness was one of the most serious issues for the Shire’s indigenous people.
Housing costs in Douglas Shire are high compared to Townsville and Mackay, and are significantly higher than the state and national averages (ABS 1996). The number of households in rental accommodation (38%) in Douglas in 1996 was well above the state average (28%) (ABS 1996). According to study respondents, local private rental costs increased with the growth of the tourism industry, particularly in Port Douglas. With proportionately fewer families with children and fewer married couples than state average (ABS 1996), greater demand would also be placed on housing supply in Douglas. As housing purchase prices were also very high in the Shire, the mean monthly housing loan repayment in 1996 was $899 compared to the state and national averages of $809 and $787 respectively (ABS 1996).

Improvement of Aboriginal housing conditions and stocks was a significant project for the Aboriginal Liaison Officer. Although the Council had only employed a community development officer and an Aboriginal liaison officer for a matter of months when my research interviews took place, welfare support networks and services were being strengthened in the town through their efforts in working with local community groups and submitting applications for government funds.

Environmental issues and the Daintree to Bloomfield road
Clearly, environmental protection is one of the most significant concerns for Douglas Shire. The natural environment is both the character and beauty, and the economic staple of the Shire. The Gandhian-style protests to stop a road being built through dense tropical forests from Daintree in Douglas Shire to Bloomfield in Cape York Peninsula in 1983 are testimony to the spirit of local conservationists in their convictions to protect the natural environment within Douglas Shire.

The then Douglas Shire Council had approved the road, arguing that it was the missing link in the road network for residents, tourists and defence personnel (Douglas Shire Wilderness Action Group 1984). Their plan to build the road was supported by the State National Party Government of the time (Douglas Shire Wilderness Action Group 1984). And so, the peaceful but adamant protest began, first with film nights, petitions and eventually an unyielding blockade (plate 7).
The blockade involved more than 500 people in total, led by the current Douglas Shire Mayor and lasted for over one month (Douglas Shire Wilderness Action Group 1984).

Plate 7  *Protesters battle the bulldozers in the Daintree*  
(Douglas Shire Wilderness Action Group 1984, pp. 51)

Although bulldozers removed some vegetation including a number of old-growth rainforest trees and threatened a number of activists, the protesters consider that their efforts in blocking the bulldozers, assisted by heavy wet season rains, prevented the road's completion (Douglas Shire Wilderness Action Group 1984). Whatever the reason for cessation of work on the road in December, 1983, it has never been completed. In 1987 the area was included in the Australian Government nomination for World Heritage listing of the wet tropical forests of North East Australia which was conferred in 1988.

These profiles of the three towns has offered an overall impression of the three case study areas. The descriptions also provide a basis for further exploration of each area in terms of the ecological sustainability issues the three councils will have to address. These issues are considered below and in chapter three they are related to the three councils. Chapters five and six then take the analysis to the heart of the research questions through their inquiry of the roles of the community workers and environmental planners respectively. Those chapters explore the responses of practitioners to issues of ecological sustainability in the three different council areas.
Ecological sustainability challenges the three councils face

I begin this section by reiterating the working definition of ecological sustainability being adopted in this study:

Endurable levels of consumption that recognise that land, water and all life forms are finite. The aim of ecological sustainability through prevention of environmental degradation, is to ensure that future generations have the same range of options and resources that we have today.

The following discussion of issues facing the three councils draws upon that definition as a basis for analysis. In addition, the precautionary principle as a measure of sustainable planning is utilised to extend the above definition because it is significant in the regional strategic plans of both Townsville and Douglas:

...decisions should be made on the basis of the precautionary principle; that is where there are threats of serious or irreversible environmental damage, lack of full scientific certainty should not be used as a reason for postponing measures to prevent environmental degradation (Queensland Government, 1995, p. 23).

In 1998, the regional planning process is just beginning in Mackay.

The sketch of the three councils above indicates a number of counts on which they will confront dilemmas in attempting to balance economic and environmental issues in order to attain ecological sustainability. Table 2.4 lists issues where ecological sustainability will require careful planning and decision-making on the part of the councils. While a number of the concerns are common to all three councils, they also face some unique challenges in pursuit of ecological sustainability. The issues listed in the table have been drawn from the descriptions of the three places and documents which detail future development plans. Each is discussed in relation to the dilemma that arises in relation to local plans and ecological sustainability.

Maintaining a vibrant economic image without causing environmental damage

In the case of Townsville, new and proposed economic developments which will maintain the city's vibrant economic image include a zinc smelter and refinery, a zinc mine, specialist chemical plants to service the regional mining industry, a gold refinery, a food processing complex for horticulture and aquaculture products, bovine hide tannery, copper wire manufacturing plants, alloys and metal coating, lead smelter, stainless steel plant, phosphate fertiliser plant, and others, most of which fall into the category of heavy industry (Queensland Government 1996c).
### Table 2.4 Ecological sustainability issues for the three councils

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Townsville</th>
<th>Mackay</th>
<th>Douglas</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maintain a vibrant economic image without causing environmental damage</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Maintain environments which sustain primary industries</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimising tourism impacts upon north Queensland communities and sensitive environments</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managing newly acquired rural areas</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reconciling Native Title claims and ecological sustainability requirements</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ensure affordable housing for local residents when land values are high around protected areas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing residents and managing the effects of increasing population and urban sprawl on environments with a high conservation value</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustaining local employment as public sector shrinks</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintaining a global ecological sustainability focus which incorporates principles of access and equity between geographic areas as well as generations</td>
<td></td>
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<td>X</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The ecological sustainability issues associated with such economic plans are significant. Firstly, new industries have to be sited, potentially involving land clearing, land degradation, air/waterway and noise pollution, increased traffic, loss of vegetation and habitats. Once established, such industries will also incur risks associated with toxic waste disposal, transportation of dangerous substances and road construction and maintenance costs through additional use by heavy vehicles. Such industries are also energy intensive in an area where power supply is already under great pressure (Queensland Government 1996c). These issues were identified in the Urban Development and Nature Conservation sections of the draft strategic planning policies for Townsville-Thuringowa in relation to future land uses. Although ESD was stated as an important principle informing the overall strategic planning process, the Economic
Development section did not discuss the potential environmental or social effects of the proposed forms of economic development.

Secondly, the types of industry proposed for a prosperous Townsville future will need to be monitored for social impacts. Pollution in the various forms mentioned above threatens human health, outdoor recreation and environmental and aesthetic amenity for nearby residents. These considerations have become globally significant as justice issues with negative environmental effects of development becoming increasingly the burden of poor and black communities (Bullard 1993; Hamilton 1993; O'Connor 1993). They also represent male-dominated industries. What employment opportunities will these industries create for women in Townsville when women currently represent only thirty-four per cent of full time workers, sixty-six per cent of part time workers and forty-one per cent of the unemployed Townsville workforce? It cannot simply be assumed that economic development of this type will enhance quality of life for all residents, many of whom currently experience impoverished living conditions.

Managing pollution and maintaining environments which support primary industries

The economies of both Mackay and Douglas are dependent upon income from sugar cane production and processing, and have been for more than one hundred years. While such industries make a positive economic contribution, there are concerns about the effect they will have on local area ecological sustainability. Particular environmental concerns in relation to the sugar industry include chemical run-off, especially into waterways and areas that border the Great Barrier Reef. Levels of soil toxicity and leaching through use of pesticides and insecticides, soil siltation and erosion are further environmental protection concerns (Wet Tropics Management Authority 1995; Douglas Shire Council 1994). Pollution from the industry has an effect on human and environmental health. The industry draws extensively upon water and power, resources that are finite and limited in both areas. There are also questions as to how long the land can remain productive under these circumstances (Australian Government 1992c; Wet Tropics Management Authority 1995; Brannock Humphreys 1994).
Minimising tourism impacts upon north Queensland communities and sensitive environments

Tourism is an issue for the three areas, although the concentration of tourists in the environmentally sensitive Douglas Shire is much higher than in Townsville and Mackay. All three areas plan to continue promoting tourism with the aim of increasing their share of the tourist industry profits. A major concern in all areas is the Great Barrier Reef as a significant tourism drawcard. Boating, diving, fishing and water sports all affect the quality of the Marine Park.

In addition, construction of tourist resorts close to coastal shores often results in loss of environmental attributes such as mangroves and sea grass and in turn affect marine life habitats, for example, those of the dugong. A useful, although not isolated example of tourism development causing widespread environmental damage is the recent controversy over a resort at Port Hinchinbrook, north of Townsville (National Environmental Consulting Services 1995). In many of these island and coastal areas, waste disposal also has negative effects on the reef. While the Marine Park is managed by the GBRMPA, which sets limits to uses of the Park, local development will have to be planned with an awareness that if tourist development causes deterioration to the Marine Park, the most important tourist attraction will be compromised. GBRMPA should not be the only watchdog over the effects of development on the reef and coastal areas. Councils should also encompass such responsibilities in their development control regulations, particularly the three councils in this study as they encompass areas of the Great Barrier Reef.

Tourism on a large scale has also been found to create social problems including increased prices of goods and staples which affects the cost of living for residents. Increased levels of crime have been noted, as have escalated levels of drug use and gambling in tandem with tourism (Craik 1988; Reynolds 1990). Residents of areas that have experienced an influx of tourists also report loss of privacy and loss of community cohesion (Reynolds 1990). Community cohesion can be threatened when there is disagreement in the community about whether or not tourist developments should proceed, particularly in environmentally sensitive areas. McColl, Ryan and Walkden (1997) provide a good example of these community tensions over tourist development
proposals in their book about the lost development proposal at Nelly Bay on Magnetic Island.

Managing newly acquired rural areas

Both Townsville and Mackay have inherited large rural areas through the 1994 Queensland local government boundary re-alignments. Mackay is in the process of developing a new planning scheme which will take account of the whole city. Townsville, on the other hand, had an existing planning scheme at the time of boundary changes and has not developed a plan for the new rural area. In the case of Townsville, the southern boundary of the city, for which the council is now responsible incorporates environmental areas considered to be of high conservation value (figure 2.4). They include National Parks and World Heritage areas within the combined boundary of Townsville City and its neighbour, Thuringowa Shire (Queensland Government 1996d).

Although the sensitive needs of the Great Barrier Reef are primarily managed by the GBRMPA, an important environmental management role of the councils therefore includes protecting mangrove areas which provide a physical interface between the terrestrial and marine environments (Townsville City Council 1992).

The new zinc smelter in Townsville has been sited on the southern boundary of the city in the area inherited by Townsville from Thuringowa. At the time when the project was proposed, concern was expressed by environmental groups in relation to the proximity of its siting to the Great Barrier Reef and nearby wetlands (Dames and Moore 1996b). Environmental scientists feared that run-off from the industry could affect these environmental attributes (Dames and Moore 1996a).

A further issue of ecological sustainability in these inherited areas is rural residential development. Social and environmental threats are posed when rural residential settlements are poorly serviced with social and physical infrastructure, and residents having to drive long distances on a regular basis. The existing strategic plan for Townsville (1988) failed to acknowledge these issues. The draft strategic planning reports for Townsville-Thuringowa however, suggest that a plan for the area must be established quickly to avoid these problems (Queensland Government 1996b and
Chapter Two Townsville, Douglas and Mackay in Profile

1996c). The recent strategic plan for Mackay (1997) is cognisant of the issues and advocates compact, self-sufficient rural settlements as one solution.

Reconciling native title claims and ecological sustainability requirements

It is not possible or necessary to canvass the many complex issues germane to this topic in detail. There are however, significant ecological sustainability issues associated with Native Title. With three current Native Title claims in Douglas and one in each of Townsville and Mackay (Appendix 2), the councils are forced to consider the relationships between groups of people and their cultural associations with the land. Native title claims bring to the fore different definitions of inter-generational care, current uses of land, waters and sub-terrestrial resources. The current claims therefore have serious implications for the economic and environmental plans of each of the three local government authorities (National Native Title Tribunal 1998).

Ensuring affordable housing for local residents when land values are high around protected areas

With such a large proportion of Douglas Shire’s land area restricted to nature conservation, affordable housing has become a serious local issue. The details of the higher than average housing costs in Douglas Shire were discussed above. There was an under-supply of affordable rental accommodation in 1994 according to study respondents. The area’s population has continued to grow at a faster rate than construction of new dwellings (table 2.3). In interviews with council employees in 1994 this problem was raised on several occasions. Community workers in Douglas were preoccupied with increasing public housing in the Shire, particularly to meet the housing needs of many homeless Aborigines.

The Town Planner and the Community Development Officer both commented on the problem of staff in the tourist industry being unable to find accessible and affordable accommodation. Because housing rental prices in Port Douglas, where they were employed, were too expensive for them (tourism workers are on a relatively low income level), some were travelling for up to thirty kilometres to and from work each day. The Deputy Mayor reported that his daughter and her children were unable to return to live in the Shire due to formidably expensive land and house prices.
Housing residents and managing the effects of increasing population and urban sprawl on environments with a high conservation value

Tables 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 provide information on the extent of residential development in Townsville, Mackay and Douglas. New suburban areas have been emerging rapidly throughout the 1980s and 1990s. While the populations of Douglas and Mackay are spread out through the local government areas, the settlements tend to have been planned as fairly self-sufficient entities. This has not been the situation in Townsville and Thuringowa. The suburbs have spread outwards in all directions from the city centre. They have poor infrastructure and tend to be dependent on suburban centres closer to the city which often involves travelling to gain access to basic services such as schools, work, health facilities and even shops.

Issues of rural residential development and urban sprawl have been discussed already as have the limitations environmental protection measures enforce in Douglas. Only Douglas Shire Council have adopted an explicit policy to deal with this issue. They have introduced limits to population growth according to the Shire environment's carrying capacity. If natural areas are to be preserved in Mackay and Townsville, the councils will also have to confront these issues and devise strategies to enable both to occur in a way which does not threaten human well-being or the environment. Their current planning schemes do not endorse policy explicitly developed to seriously deal with the inevitable tensions between housing residents and managing the effects of increasing population and urban sprawl on environments they claim require or deserve to be conserved.

Sustaining local employment as the public sector shrinks

A major issue for Townsville is the shrinking public sector which provided more than 2,500 jobs (approximately 13 per cent) in 1991. By 1996, the Townsville workforce employed in public administration and defence had dropped to approximately eleven per cent (ABS 1996). With the current federal emphasis on privatisation and centralisation of government administration, an additional 620 jobs were lost between May 1996 and February 1998 in the public sector, excluding the research institutes (Commonwealth Public Sector Union 1998) (Appendix 3). The loss of so many jobs in such a short
space of time will have a major effect in terms of increasing material social disadvantage.

Given that a high percentage of government employees were female, and new industry is traditionally male-dominated, the decline in the public sector will have particular disadvantages for women pursuing local employment opportunities. In addition, the large public sector industry including government administration, defence, health, community services, education, and scientific research was relatively innocuous in environmental terms. New industries proposed in Townsville will potentially have far reaching environmental effects as I have explained above.

Maintaining a global ecological sustainability focus which incorporates principles of access and equity between geographic areas as well as generations

Douglas Shire Council has clearly articulated a commitment to ecological sustainability through its planning scheme and its policies (Brannock Humphreys 1994). These are discussed in detail in the next chapter. With an emphasis on traditional industry and nature-based tourism, the shire aims to protect its environment, particularly areas of high conservation value, and to restrict urban or industrial development which would result in harm to or loss of the environment. But, while aspiring to environmental protection, such an approach raises some important questions of equity. With a huge area of protected and internationally recognised environment, a proportionately small population, planned limited population growth, and a strong economic base, how can it not be sustainable?

Douglas is arguably on the track to meeting the objectives of ecological sustainability, but what about its neighbours? The Shire has already become exclusive, with land and house prices rising accordingly. By comparison, Townsville and Mackay have experienced smaller cost increases. If Douglas complied with the strategies outlined in the Council's planning scheme, there is every reason to assume it could be an ecologically sustained area in the long term, and an example of such within Australia, even globally. But considering that ecological sustainability in the local government sense is about acting locally to effect global sustainability, exclusive sustainability policies that only protect Douglas Shire create a dilemma. Is it just that only those who
are lucky enough to be there, or who can afford to move there, have access to a clean, healthy sustained environment while over-crowded, industrialised and consolidated urban towns look on with envy? Ecological sustainability should not create environmentally-based imperialism: its principles suggest that it should be as much about social justice as environmental protection.

Summary

A number of similarities and differences between the three case study areas and their councils have been illuminated throughout this chapter. The three local government areas in the north Queensland tropics are attempting to balance economic growth and environmental protection. Douglas Shire Council has made environmental protection a definite priority as it is the Shire’s means to economic stability. Without the extent of highly valued natural environmental resources of Douglas, plans for Mackay and Townsville are not dominated by environmental conservation. Douglas has always been a small, remote town. While Mackay is also somewhat isolated, it has a proud history of generating wealth through the processing of natural resources. Townsville, being a regional centre, has developed sophisticated links with state and federal metropolitan centres through its state and federal public administration roles. The city has established an urban character and has prospered with a diverse industrial base.

In spite of the ways in which the three towns have evolved they must all now face the question of ecological sustainability as demands on their resources increase. As their populations grow, resources will be taxed and forward planning will need to ensure not only a comfortable standard of living in economic terms, but assurances that the natural environment has the capacity to provide a future environment which is clean, safe and healthy. Planning which fails to safeguard the environment and equitable living standards for all residents will surely result in continual debate and contention as the tensions between economic growth and environmental conservation heighten.
Chapter Three

Three councils in a milieu of local government reform
Having established a sense of the three places and the sustainability issues which they confront, this chapter asks: are the local government authorities of Townsville, Mackay and Douglas equipped with planning practices and policies to meet the challenges local circumstances present? I address this question on three levels. Initially, changes occurring at the institutional level are considered. The organisational council structures, strategic and corporate plans are then described. Finally, this chapter provides a discussion of the implications of the institutional and organisational constraints to integration of community workers and environmental planners in their work towards ecological sustainability. Overall, the organisational overview presented in this chapter provides a further significant contextual dimension for the research questions under consideration.

The changing role of local government in Australia

There are two contemporary policy paths which threaten to fundamentally change the structure and functions of Australian local government authorities. One is realignment of local government boundaries resulting in fewer and larger councils, covering bigger areas. The other is the national micro-economic reform agenda. The latter has informed new local government legislation during the 1990s in most Australian States. It carries the insistence that councils devise written corporate plans setting out management structures, organisational responsibilities, and allocation of resources linked to performance indicators (Purdon and Graham 1992). Corporate planning thereby imposes an evaluation model which measures organisational success in quantitative, most often money values. The most common council structure to emerge to enforce corporate plans has few but large departments whose directors have significant decision-making power (Dolley and Marshall 1997; Sansom 1997; Jones 1989; Jones 1993). The legislation also compels councils to produce strategic plans linking land-use objectives to social and environmental goals (Local Government Act 1993 (Qld). Mowbray (1997) has claimed that:

Australian local government could have a future other than that likely to result from its present trajectory. The latter is one which is being steered by Commonwealth and State governments in concert with local officials and others sympathetic to economic fundamentalist principles - along contours apparent on the international landscape (Mowbray 1997, p. 256).

Transformation of local government in Britain and the United States has resulted in centralised policy-making and prescriptive management and organisational structures for local authorities. Transfer of a number of functions from councils to private contractors has also represented a significant change (Marshall 1997; Tucker 1997).
While acknowledging that these amendments are causing local government in Australia to change, Mowbray (1997) is suggesting that such change can be resisted. He calls for an historical and internationally informed structural analysis of local government change.

Although it is not my aim to provide the penetrating analysis Mowbray invites, I will consider each of the reform issues to which I have referred above. I will then discuss the consequences such reforms will have for ecological sustainability for the three case studies under examination. Particular impacts on Townsville, Mackay and Douglas councils of recent state and federal policies are detailed further on in the chapter with attention to their effect upon non-metropolitan councils specifically. Two questions posed by the President of the Australian Local Government Association assist in framing this discussion about local government reform: 'Is local government to develop further as a primary institution of governance, as well as a deliverer of services; and are its constituents to be treated first and foremost as citizens or customers' (Sansom 1997, p. 4)?

Amalgamation

As an outcome of the Fitzgerald Inquiry in Queensland, the Electoral and Administrative Review Commission (EARC) was established to investigate possibilities for electoral reform and ethical conduct. The findings of EARC led to the rewriting of the 1936 Queensland Local Government Act (Wensing 1997). In addition, recommendations were made for electoral boundary changes leading to the amalgamation of Mackay and Pioneer Councils, increased area of Townsville City and decreased area of Douglas Shire as discussed in chapter two.

Queensland has retained a larger proportion of small councils than other states in the wake of amalgamation. The number of councils in NSW was reduced by fifty per cent in 1991 and in Victoria from 215 councils to seventy-eight (Sansom 1997). In the Queensland instance, amalgamation of councils was primarily concerned to remove gerrymanders, thus creating fairer electoral boundaries. In other Australian states, amalgamation has aimed to establish councils with more efficient economies of scale where one administration manages a larger area (Vince 1997; Jones 1989; Jones 1993). However, as Jones (1993) points out, amalgamation must be assessed on the bases of community identity and political control. One feature of local councils has been their accessibility to community
members and their consequent responsibility for making local services readily and equitably available. Larger local authorities risk becoming impersonal especially when they move away from providing local services directly (Castell 1989). This concern is considered below. Little attention has been given to the potential environmental effects of amalgamation or to issues of maintaining bio-regional diversity. Rather, rationalisation for amalgamating councils emphasises economic benefits.

Effects of new managerialism

An extensively discussed issue in recent academic literature about local government is the extent to which local authorities are being transformed from simple structures concerned with providing essential services to commercial managerial corporations. Features of this model include firstly, the purchaser/provider split or separating the client and contractor roles. Local government authorities are encouraged therefore to create separate structures to deal with policy development and service delivery. Secondly, the model requires councils to call for tenders for all work over $100,000 with the intention that competition will lead to cost-cutting (Dolley and Marshall 1997; Johnstone and Kiss 1997; Jones 1989). The Local Government Act 1993 (Qld), in concert with most other Australian States, emphasised the new managerial approach following the model that was introduced in British local government during the 1970s (Tucker 1997). The most significant structural change to the organisational model of local authorities was separation of councillors from managers and other staff. Councillors would no longer have a role in day to day decision-making or overseeing staff and their operations. These would become the roles of the CEO and departmental managers (Tucker 1997).

In terms of functions, the new legislation increased the planning and management role of councils and reduced their role in direct service provision. Corporate and strategic planning under the Act became compulsory functions of Queensland councils after 1993. They represented new tasks for many councils who had depended upon state planning agencies and focussed their organisation on service delivery, particularly roads, rubbish and water. In theory, the new legislation placed councils in a position to plan across the range of community interests and implement programs like ILAP. In reality, they were restrained because they had very limited legislative authority and were also
largely excluded from State and Commonwealth government policy-making forums. In addition, they received insufficient resources from other spheres of government to facilitate autonomous council policy development (Briggs 1992; Graham 1992; Purdon and Graham 1992; ALGA 1990).

Privatisation and contracting out of services by tender are the two major strategies in the Act which diminish the direct service provision role of local authorities. These national policy initiatives aim for optimal use of resources, achievement of results and performance excellence (Tucker 1997). Critical appraisals have warned that they threaten fundamental changes to the day to day business of councils (Mahony 1998; Tucker 1997; Ernst 1994). Both privatisation and National Competition Policy (Hilmer 1993) impose change upon local government’s role. The managerial economic paradigm from which they emerge has been described as one which treats everyone and everything as a commodity for sale or purchase (Rees 1993). Citizens are seen to be reconstructed as clients or customers forcing a re-definition of community in purely instrumental terms, and creating serious implications for the democratic relationship between councils and citizens and consequently, the concept of governance (Boyd 1995; Ranald 1995; Ernst 1994).

As councils gradually shift their primary focus from provision of public utilities and services to economically-based, strategic local area planning in accordance with the Local Government Act, 1993 (Qld), will they be able to maintain a close relationship to their community? A further concern is that the essence of these political-economic policies harbours competition rather than co-operation, which leads me to inquire how they can possibly be compatible with an integrated planning model such as ILAP. The question is applied specifically to the case studies in later chapters. Where councils prioritise profit as the major benefit of planning, the relevance of community workers and environmental planners must be compromised because their planning objectives are not always solely instrumental. Objectives like disability access, development of increased affordable housing choices, reductions in emission and consumption levels, are all long term goals which require attitude and behaviour changes. In addition, their outcomes are usually difficult to price in dollar terms. Given the new corporate model
described above, this places community work and environmental planning at odds with pecuniary organisational goals and evaluative criteria.

Local Government officers participating in this study expressed fears that privatisation of council services from water to entertainment and libraries, could divide the community according to those able to afford services and those excluded because of cost. If essential services were to be privatised, they expected that social disadvantage would result. In addition, loss of local employment and social capital (Cox 1995) in the wake of such policies was a concern. The likelihood of negative social and environmental consequences occurring as a result of economic managerialist policies in a non-urban area such as Douglas Shire Council is vividly illustrated in the following comment:

One of the biggest constraints is having to call tenders. You have to get quotes for work over $1000 and if we didn't have those constraints it would certainly help. Most of them now come from outside the region. This is a bit of a problem with this compulsory, competitive tendering... you tend to lose your core staff of fellas that are reliable when you get a cyclone. ... they're not around, they're gone in an emergency, and that's a thing that has to be planned very carefully... That means most of the contractors aren't in the Shire so the money goes out of the community (Engineer, Douglas Shire Council).

Similarly environmental services currently carried out by councils, including conservation are difficult to measure in economic terms. Like social values, the importance of environmental objectives may diminish compared to economic outcomes (Young 1995). Contracting out environmental management tasks will undermine the potential for effective integrated planning where issues can be debated and interdisciplinary views shared (Couston 1995; Young 1995).

The corporate and strategic planning demands now placed on local government raise questions of whether local government should prioritise strategic local area planning or service provision, how the two should be managed and resourced, and the extent to which councils have the expertise and resources to successfully perform in both roles. The views of study participants in relation to this issue are discussed in chapter eight.

Loss of direct control of service provision in the local area together with centralised legislative processes moves councils a step away from their constituents. This could result in a changed form of local governance. Traditionally, with a close constituent
relationship, local government has been in a strong position to represent the diverse interests of Australian communities.

Representing hundreds of local authorities, the ALGA has indefatigably pursued recognition of the fact that policies and laws made in Canberra or State Capitals cannot always be appropriate because communities vary so much. With the national economic policy direction continuing its trajectory of new managerialism, whether or not a council gives priority to management-oriented planning or service provision is fast becoming a question over which it has limited discretion (Sansom 1997). The Local Government Act 1993 (Qld) is testimony to the commitment of the State Government to this form of economic reform at the local government level.

The three councils

Given this broad institutional context by which local authorities are governed, the following section describes the political structure, organisational arrangements and strategic plans of the three councils, emphasising their relative ability to effectively involve community workers and environmental planners.

Political context

Few local government authorities in Queensland are dominated by a political party. With the exception of the metropolitan and large regional councils, they are usually constituted by independents who run for council with policy platforms based on local issues. There have historically been exceptions with councils in larger centres running a party-aligned team. The Brisbane and Townsville Councils have been party political for over twenty years. While it is difficult to track the particular political leanings of the three councils over a long period, communications with long-standing councillors and staff of the councils revealed that of the three councils, only Townsville has had a strong affiliation with a mainstream political party, the Australian Labor Party (ALP). In fact, according to the Director of Community and Cultural Services at Townsville City Council, with an unbroken twenty-two year incumbency, the Labor council is the longest standing continual Labor Party administration in Australia. According to study participants, Mackay or Douglas had never had an explicit political affiliation.
In Douglas and Mackay, the councils have instead been constituted by independents. Study participants referred to the councils in both cities as having taken a conservative management approach during the period 1982 to 1988, characterised by hierarchical, non-participatory decision-making. According to local lobby groups at the time, the councils were typical of the overall conservative political milieu of the day in the State of Queensland. They advocated a form of economic growth which had little regard for environmental consequences and scarcely involved citizens in making decisions about the future of their area (Armit et al. 1991; Douglas Shire Wilderness Action Group 1984).

The council which had been elected in Mackay in 1994, shortly before my interviews were conducted, combined Mackay and Pioneer for the first time. Most of the new councillors were from Pioneer Shire, including the Mayor and Deputy Mayor, and only two of the previous Mackay councillors remained on the new team. They were in the process of implementing the corporate plan, with new departments and directors. The previous small Mackay Council had been centrally concerned with service provision and adopted an informal working model. With less than one hundred staff, everyone knew each other and by maintaining regular contact, communication and decision-making had been less structured than in the new directorial management approach. One research participant said the council was still grappling with the culture of a larger, more bureaucratic organisation and changes, marrying the cultures of the two councils.

Douglas Shire was also in the process of corporate transformation but remained a small council with a history of working informally. The Mayor in Douglas is a self-proclaimed, environmental activist and was re-elected in 1994 and 1997 on a promise to introduce population control measures for the Shire. However, another councillor referred to the Mayor as a 'radical' who was always fighting for the environment, not for people, suggesting this council of independents represented quite diverse views.

Although such issues are clearly political, even though the council was not formally politically aligned, the issues in Townsville were of a different political nature. Three Directors and two officers in Townsville commented on the fact that the alignment of the council with the ALP meant councillors were following a personal career path to
state and federal politics. Further, their alliance resulted in decisions that were compatible with the political profile and aspirations of the ALP state government. In this way they considered that the aspirations of local citizens and 'good local decisions' were sometimes compromised. Generally, respondents were able to see the good and bad aspects of the councils' affiliations with the ALP, noting on the positive side that:

... we do operate in a political system and we get support in community services from that system. The Labor Party system does, by and large, have a social justice focus (Manager Community and Cultural Services, Townsville City Council).

By contrast, in Douglas Shire, the Mayor sung the praises of an independent council thus:

We've got a Council of independents and no teams here. ... At the same time it can make things a bit slow because everything has to be argued through and everyone's got a different position whereas if it was a team I'm sure all the decisions would be made in the back room and the Council is just a farce really; just a front to pretend you're making decisions. Here it's reality and all the dirty linen gets hung up in there and the press is there. It's open and it's all up front which is a good, healthy way to have it. Democracy working at its best (Mayor, Douglas Shire Council).

Yet, with a newly elected council of independents in Mackay, a number of study respondents from the council feared that overall, the council was united in its economic growth goal, with little regard for environmental and social justice principles.

Council missions
The three councils under consideration expressed their mission in terms of visions, values and purposes (boxes 3.1 - 3.3). In this study, I specifically consider the extent to which the missions aspire to ecological sustainability and encourage the involvement of community work and environmental planning.

Box 3.1  Townsville City Council mission statement

The corporate vision of Townsville City Council is:

... to ensure Townsville is a prosperous, vibrant, tropical city where people enjoy living and working.

Its mission is to:

enhance community lifestyle and environment through effective leadership, community involvement and commitment to quality service.

(Townsville City Council 1995, p. 1).
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The City's values as expressed through the corporate plan include a creative and innovative approach, fairness, honesty and integrity, quality service, effective communication and consultation (Townsville City Council 1995, p. 2).

The values of Douglas Shire Council were expressed in terms of continuous improvement, people concern, teamwork and quality service (Douglas Shire Council, 1995, p. 6).

**Box 3.2 Douglas Shire Council mission statement**

Douglas Shire will be a Shire which will nurture and utilise its acknowledged and unique natural resources in the best interests of its citizens and understands its responsibilities to husband them also for the world.

Opportunity will be made available for people to pursue employment, education and leisure, be well housed and to enjoy a friendly, relaxed lifestyle.

Its natural resources including soil, water rivers, forests, flora, fauna, minerals and air will be valued and responsibly managed on a sustainable basis for this and future generations. The Shire will be an inspiration to others for its initiatives in sound environmental planning, especially for ensuring the survival of viable populations of endangered species, including the cassowary, in their natural habitat.

Council will be responsible and progressive in its management of the Shire.

The community will be encouraged to be proud of and share in the social, economic, and environmental well being of the Shire, and be actively involved in its care and management.

(Douglas Shire Council 1995, p. 6)

**Box 3.3 Mackay City Council mission statement**

The vision:

A vibrant, developing community where people can pursue a wide range of interests and lifestyles in a secure environment.

The Mission:

...to enhance the quality of life of our community by ensuring the provision of appropriate services and facilities through the effective mana resources.

(Mackay City Council 1995, p. 8).

The mission of Douglas Shire was focussed largely upon protection of its World Heritage wilderness areas. The visions in Mackay and Townsville did not link directly to attributes of the natural environment. They essentially emphasised the aspirations of those councils for economic prosperity. Mission statements in the corporate plans of the three councils were all written after the introduction of the Local Government Act 1993 (Qld.) but apart from in Douglas, while they expressed visions for the future of people and their quality of life, the future quality of the non-human environment was not given special attention.

Democratic participation in the development of the plans was also given varying degrees of attention. Through their mission statements, Townsville, Douglas and Mackay Councils subscribed to public involvement in city management. Unfortunately, the three documents failed to articulate clearly the processes they would engage to encourage participatory democracy. Public involvement can be genuine where citizens are afforded decision-making power, but it can also be tokenistic (Arnstein 1969). There are many more token than genuine examples of citizen participation. Public involvement in the planning process is frequently limited because the public are often alienated by technical, lengthy draft reports available upon public request and expecting responses in the form of a formal, written submission (Taylor et al. 1990).

Organisational structures

In addition to the political orientation and missions of the councils, resources dictate to some extent, the overall strategic directions for local areas. An example of the income and expenditure details of each of the councils suggested structural constraint (table 3.1). The area of Douglas Shire covers 2,446 square kilometres, while Mackay is 2,886 square kilometres and Townsville 1,865 square kilometres. The size of population was not proportionate to the total area each council administered (tables 2.1 to 2.3). With greater income from rates, Townsville and Mackay had more to spend per head of local area population on facilities and services for their residents. Douglas Council, with a huge area and small population, had a small rates revenue and many obligations in
relation to the sensitive Shire environment. Consequently, the funding arrangements were not very equitable because rates are considered as a significant proportion of the councils’ incomes. As rates were directly linked to population size and this varied so much between the three councils, Douglas and Mackay had to service greater areas with fewer resources.

Table 3.1  Comparative income and expenditure of Townsville and Mackay City Councils and Douglas Shire Council

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Council</th>
<th>Income from rates and utilities 1996</th>
<th>Total Area</th>
<th>$ Per square km.</th>
<th>$ per head of population from rates and utilities income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Townsville</td>
<td>$67,511,197</td>
<td>1,865 square km.</td>
<td>$36,199</td>
<td>$854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mackay</td>
<td>$38,408,737</td>
<td>2,886 square km.</td>
<td>$13,308</td>
<td>$584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglas</td>
<td>$8,342,788</td>
<td>2,446 square km.</td>
<td>$3,410</td>
<td>$942</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Townsville City Council 1997, Mackay City Council 1997; Douglas Shire Council 1997

The three councils also varied in terms of organisational size (table 3.2). Representing bigger populations, Townsville and Mackay Councils had more councillors, staff and departments than Douglas.

Table 3.2  Organisational statistics for Townsville, Douglas and Mackay Councils

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Council</th>
<th>No. of councillors</th>
<th>No. of staff (approx.)</th>
<th>No. of departments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Townsville</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglas</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mackay</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Functional structures
Structuring the functions of the councils is the central objective of corporate planning. Before outlining the actual organisation of functions within each council, I will refer to the corporate planning process assumed by each of the councils.

The corporate planning process
As previously noted, all three councils developed a corporate plan in 1995 in accordance with the requirements of the Local Government Act 1993 (QLD). Although Townsville had engaged in corporate planning previously, neither Douglas nor Mackay had a pre-existing corporate plan. In those two councils decisions had to be made about which functions fitted with which department. Therein lay a source of tension for council staff.

According to study participants, anxiety was heightened through lack of staff involvement in development of corporate plans. According to two Townsville respondents who were not directors, only staff at the directorial level were consulted about the corporate plan. Two directors confirmed that their experiences were that it had been a very consultative process involving all staff and the general public. The Director of Corporate Services said all directors had been asked to consult their staff in relation to the draft plan and that it had been made available for public consultation through public advertisement as prescribed in the Local Government Act.

The Mackay experience was similar, with staff being invited to comment on the plan after it had been drafted and at the same time that it went to the public for comment. However, in Mackay, the public consultation effort included providing copies to residents prior to a public meeting where fifty residents provided feedback on the draft corporate plan. Study respondents were unsure about the extent to which public comments were integrated into the final plan.

The corporate plan in Douglas was still being developed at the time of my interviews in 1995 and respondents were extremely anxious about the process. As the plan was being formulated by the CEO and Deputy CEO, study participants felt it was being imposed upon them without consultation. When three staff who were not at the directorial-level
reflected upon the process for developing the plan, they viewed it as fostering hostility and low morale among staff. They also feared lack of staff input to the plan would diminish its success when implemented. One staff member also noted that the process for public consultation was minimal and less than adequate to meet the participation requirements set out in the *Local Government Act 1993 (QLD)*, s. 18. According to the Act, the public should be invited to participate in all stages of corporate planning from its outset.

**Internal organisation**

Below, I provide a preliminary interpretation of the potential effects of the organisational structures of the councils on inclusion of community workers and environmental planners. These issues are reflected upon again in chapter eight in relation to the actual day to day experiences of community workers and environmental planners, the subjects of chapters five and six.

The corporate plans specified the internal organisation of the three councils (figures 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3). All three councils had similar corporate structures with a chief executive officer (CEO) directly responsible to the council of elected members and functional departments responsible to the CEO. Each department in all councils had a director, and the directors formed an executive decision making group within the councils. Being a smaller council with a small staff, Douglas Shire had a less complex structure than Townsville and Mackay. The 1995 corporate plan did little to change the organisational model already operating in Townsville City Council. Departments there remained separated into social, physical and economic/administrative functions (figure 3.1).

The Department of Community and Cultural Services in Townsville City Council had departmental status and was therefore an independent section of the organisation. It was established with one social planner in 1976 and in 1995 had 16 staff. In this study, it is the only one of the three to have appointed a director. According to the Deputy Mayor, the recent appointment of a director in the community services area increased the status of the department within Council:

In most councils, or in most departments, community and welfare services are relegated very low down in the scheme of things. That’s not so here because the Community and Cultural Services Director is on the same level as the director of engineering.
The three major departmental functions according to the corporate plan included recreational, cultural and community planning services. The broad operational plans of the three major areas of the Community and Cultural Services Department are discussed in detail in chapter five.

Although Environmental Planning Services had become an identifiable council program with a manager in Townsville, it did not have a director who was represented in the major council decision-making forums. For instance, Environmental Planning Services was not directly represented at the weekly meeting of departmental directors, known as the Executive Strategic Business Unit (ESBU). The Strategic Planning Team (SPT) aimed to involve all council program managers in a fortnightly, information sharing forum. The SPT had been set up for a short time before the interviews for this thesis took place and had met only twice. The structure provided an opportunity for the environmental planners to comment on proposed council policies and projects.

The SPT was set up by the Director of Planning and Development Services to ‘...make sure everyone’s strategic planning is having proper regard to everyone’s issues’ (Director of Planning and Development Services, Townsville City Council). The issue
of erosion control was used as an example to explain the co-ordinating functions of the SPT:

Now is that (erosion control) an environmental issue, an engineering issue, a planning issue or a social issue? It's a classic one because part of the reason you want erosion control in a new development is so that we protect our infrastructure because erosion goes off into the drains and the other systems, destroys the roads, destroys the drains, so it's an engineering issue. Some of the solutions are engineering about how you design it. From an environmental point of view, we don't want to lose topsoil and from a planning point of view, development assessment, we're the guys who are going to have to make a decision, so everyone's involved. That's the sort of thing SPT will look after (Director of Planning and Development Services, Townsville City Council).

The recommendations of the SPT, that were developed on the interdisciplinary strategic directions of the various council programs, had to be considered by the ESBU and then by the Council for a final decision regarding policy development and the future of project proposals. This would indicate that there was no guarantee that the recommendations of the SPT would be acted upon. Indeed, the ultimate discretion for policy decision-making lay with elected councillors, rendering only advisory power to the SPT.

In Mackay, corporate planning had resulted in six departments which were quite different from those which existed previously. In the absence of staff involvement in developing the corporate plan, the council staff I spoke to in Mackay commented that there had been a fear that amalgamation would result in loss of actual positions. There had also been apprehension about where the prior departments would be aligned in the new corporate structure (figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2 Mackay City Council: organisational structure
Loss of jobs had not actually occurred but not all staff were pleased with the re-alignment of functions. The Community Development Section with four staff who divided their tasks along the lines of particular communities of interest (multi-cultural, disability, youth, aged etc.) had a high level of autonomy prior to the corporate re-shuffle. The new corporate plan situated the department in a very large department with a range of quite diverse functions. Community workers remonstrated that the new structure decreased the status of their work because they were lost in such a big department and were remote from direct decision-making forums.

The Community Services Department in Mackay, with over 100 staff, headed by a director with qualifications in accountancy, maintained each of its sections as separate entities. According to one respondent working in that department '...he doesn't always see the connections'. The sections include parks and recreation, libraries, health, cultural services, and community development. The Community Development Section had previously been a department with a more distinct profile.

The environmental planner in Mackay suggested the new corporate plan had still not really recognised the council's role in environmental planning. It remained buried in the Health Section of the Community Services Department. Without a formal structure to integrate environmental planning expertise in Mackay, the environmental planner reported to the Chief Environmental Health officer who in turn reported to the Director of the Community Services Department of which the Environmental Health Program was a part. The Director participated in the Executive Officers Group in the Council (which was equivalent to the ESBU in Townsville) who made recommendations for deliberation by the Council. The environmental planner was not as optimistic about the ability of this structure to enhance the status of environmental planning as his counterpart in Townsville was about the SPT, when he commented that:

The councillors should have more contact with the staff themselves. The director can't know everything. At times at meetings they ask questions of the director and he just hasn't got a clue what to say. I don't blame him for that. He can't be Einstein. I think in a way that red tape does tie us up quite a bit. I believe one of the big problems with this Council is they really haven't learnt to delegate and they've got to learn to delegate a lot more. They employ professional staff, pay them pretty big money. They've got to learn to trust them and be able to delegate responsibilities and duties to them so they can do their job to the best of their abilities. Five hundred people is a big organisation. I think it's unreasonable that they expect five or six directors to make virtually all the decisions (Environmental Health Officer, Mackay City Council).
In Douglas, with a situation similar to that of Mackay, the 1995 corporate plan created formal structures (figure 3.3). In particular, the Corporate and Development Services Department incorporated land-use planning, environmental planning, community services and cultural services. All had previously been fairly autonomous but under the 1995 corporate plan, were to be directly overseen by, and accountable to the CEO. The combination of these functions under one umbrella seems logical as all contribute to ecological sustainability. However, with directors being the formal decision-makers, heads of specific functional sections were as worried as their counterparts in Mackay about how their section’s concerns would be heard.

Figure 3.3 Douglas Shire Council: organisational structure

Townsville City Council was quite different from Mackay and Douglas with regard to having a specific community services department with its own director. Also pertinent to this study were two similarities in the new corporate structures of the councils. The first was that environmental planning did not, in any of the councils, have departmental status. The other was the placement of environmental planning and community work within large departments comprised of several different sections in Douglas and Mackay.

In Douglas and Mackay, environmental planning was incorporated within a large interdisciplinary department rather than being a discreet department in its own right. The extent to which this provided for interdisciplinary integration is questionable. In practice, study participants argued that environmental planning was at risk of getting lost in these conglomerations. Community workers and environmental planners in both
Mackay and Douglas claimed that the amalgamated departments had fostered little if any interdisciplinary collaboration. In spite of the attempt to link them on paper, they said there had not been a process engaged to integrate the different departments that had merged and they continued to operate separately. Dissatisfaction with the new structures among community workers in Mackay and Douglas was exacerbated by the concern that one director would be unable to adequately represent all the sections within these large departments at the decision-making table. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine how, one director could grasp all the detailed functions and practices of the various sections for which they were responsible.

**Strategic directions**

Having illustrated the structure of each of the three councils and the place community workers and environmental planners hold within the organisations, I now look at the strategies each of the councils advocated for the future of the area they manage. The *Local Government (Planning and Environment) Act 1990* (Qld) s. 1.4 requires councils to develop a strategic plan as a component of a local government planning scheme. According to the legislation strategic planning means:

...a plan that specifies in general terms the future preferred dominant land uses for the planning for the planning scheme area for the progressive development of lands within that area, that ...is approved by the Governor in Council *(Local Government (Planning and Environment) Act 1990 (Qld) s. 1.4)*.

The strategic plans of the Mackay (1998) and Douglas (1996) Councils were more recent than Townsville’s 1988 plan. Mackay did not have a prior planning scheme but was incorporated in that of Pioneer. Consultants were contracted by the Mackay City Council for specific planning projects. Both Douglas and Townsville had previous plans. Although Townsville’s strategic plan was developed prior to the enactment of the 1993 local government legislation, it incorporated many of the requirements of the legislation. In addition, Townsville and Mackay did not indicate areas of environment which they guaranteed to preserve on grounds that they were either at risk of damage or of high conservation value.

In Mackay, the council appeared to have engaged a more comprehensive approach to consultation on the strategic plan than Douglas or Townsville. The plans were made available in the three areas through advertisement and availability for public viewing. In
addition, in Mackay citizens were involved in development of the strategic plan from the outset. Focus groups were facilitated through the council to establish major planning issues, the entire community was surveyed and workshops were also held to allow public comment on the draft plan. Throughout the process newsletters organised through the council kept the community informed of the plan's progress.

**The strategic plan for Mackay City**

Mackay's planning scheme was still being developed at the time of data collection for this study in 1995. The draft strategic plan was released for public comment in 1996 and the final plan with minimal amendment in 1998. Compared to the Douglas Shire plan which is detailed below, the Mackay plan was less comprehensive but more accessible to the lay person. It is preoccupied with future development in line with the mission of the council cited above. The plan provided '...a framework for growth and conservation management to the year 2011...' (Mackay City Council 1997, p. 2). Consequently, the plan attempted to integrate environmental and social considerations with all proposed land uses.

The general intention was to create a central urban area in Mackay and a series of 'rural villages' with adequate infrastructure to ensure self-sufficiency of rural residential dwellers (figure 2.6). The plan separated residential, agricultural and environment conservation areas, and provided no detail about how one could potentially significantly effect the others.

As stated in the strategic plan, the environmental conservation objectives in Mackay included:
- protection of the biody-versity of species and cultural heritage places and features;
- preservation of the rural character and visual backdrop to the city;
- population growth according to water supply (Mackay City Council 1997, pp. 4-5).

Strategies by which it was proposed these objectives be met included protecting remnant vegetation, wildlife corridors and habitats, estuarine and coastal ecosystems, places of cultural heritage. Unlike the Douglas plan, the areas of Mackay requiring protection were not distinguished but were incorporated into other land-use categories such as Special Uses and Reserves, Open Spaces and Recreation and Rural Landscapes (Mackay City Council 1997). The environments requiring special attention were not
described nor was the management plan for their conservation. The plan made no mention of an environmental management plan for the sensitive marine environment or the islands within the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park for which the council was responsible.

**The Strategic Plan for Douglas Shire**
The strategic plan for Douglas Shire was extremely comprehensive. Indeed, it was not difficult to get lost in its two (large ring binder) volumes with cross references and technical language. According to the town planner, Douglas citizens have found the plan rather inaccessible. Even so, the plan was attentive to strategies for local ecological sustainability that aimed for ...a fine balance between development and conservation’ (Brannock Humphreys 1994, p. 1). One of the most locally controversial of those strategies was that which sought to limit population growth in the Shire in accordance with environmental carrying capacity. Indeed, the plan is unique in Australia in its commitment to ensure ecological sustainability, not to simply pay lip service to it (Brannock Humphreys 1994).

The strategic plan for Douglas Shire specified processes by which ecology objectives would be achieved. They included:

- avoiding or minimising clearing of native vegetation and promoting appropriate plantings;
- maintaining native flora and fauna habitat;
- avoiding or minimising soil erosion and land slippage;
- promoting efficient usage of energy and resources;
- minimising increases in the rate and amount of stormwater run-off;
- minimising air and water pollution;
- ensuring the maintenance of appropriate air and water quality;
- maintaining or rehabilitating the integrity and functioning of natural ecosystems (Brannock Humphreys 1994, p. 1.4).

Detailed environmental analyses and audits within the strategic plan provided a rationale for these objectives. To ensure success in meeting the objectives, the plan incorporated policies in the form of restrictions to development and bonuses for environmentally sensitive development. The planning scheme detailed the council’s intention to maintain the small, rural character of Mossman, extend managed, eco-tourism in Port Douglas, and conserve areas of natural coast and tropical rainforest north of the Daintree River (Brannock Humphreys 1994). In addition to prohibition of mains power, water and telecommunications to the five percent of Shire residents in the northern area,
residential and commercial development was limited through planning by-laws. For example, a guide had been established whereby developers were required to pay for removal of trees on a development site, on a sliding scale depending on the age of the tree (Brannock Humphreys 1994).

Objectives of the strategic plan which were specifically social, in addition to infrastructure provision, included:

- maintenance of a sense of place as a whole Shire and in its various communities;
- development which is sensitive to sense of neighbourhood;
- take account of the particular needs, aspirations and values of the local indigenous communities

(Brannock Humphreys 1994, p. 1.12).

The sub-text of the strategic and development control plans was that ecological controls would result in sustainability in the Shire; that controlled population growth would limit the need for employment creation, housing and infrastructure, growth-oriented activities that threaten sensitive natural environments. With very limited unrestricted land, the Douglas Council was forced to be precise in its planning. But, returning to concerns raised in the previous chapter, a major sustainability issue for Douglas Shire is to plan in a way that mitigates not only environmental but also the social impacts of tourist development.

**The strategic plan for Townsville City**

As outlined previously, Townsville City Council’s strategic plan was seven years old during the data collection period for this study in 1994-1995. The overall planning scheme was similar to that of Mackay, even though the Mackay plan was more recent. The Townsville plan was pre-occupied with how land was to be used. It did not identify areas of high environmental conservation value. Nor did it describe particular environments requiring protection from degradation which could result from development.

The conservation strategy in the strategic plan for Townsville incorporated: ‘sites, buildings or objects of important historic, cultural, scientific, ecological, architectural or scenic value and protect Aboriginal significant places from damage or modification’ (Townsville City Council 1988). Evidence of work towards ecological sustainability in
Townsville can be traced to the development of a separate environmental strategy *Living Today for Tomorrow*, which was produced by the environmental planner in 1993. The strategies for environmental conservation outlined in the plan had not been transformed into council policy at the time of interviews. However, the Townsville-Thuringowa regional planning process referred to in chapter two provided an environmental audit identifying all areas of high conservation value in the area. The regional plan also identified the various effects of local development both on the community and the environment. However, the regional plan had not been developed until 1996 after I conducted the interviews. Consequently, in this thesis it will not be possible to question how information from the regional plan has flowed into the council and contributed to either its policies or its planning procedures.

**Summary**

Within an environment of local government reform, in 1995 Townsville, Mackay and Douglas Councils remained focused on the development of their respective cities. The differences between the places were demonstrated in chapter two as were their particular ecological sustainability issues. Each of the councils was planning a very different place. Their specific characteristics have evolved over time. Ecological sustainability was a consideration for all three, although the goal was far more explicit in Douglas with its expansive areas of protected environment. Douglas Shire Council was quite unique due to its policy to limit eco-tourism and population growth according to environmental carrying capacity. The aspirations of the council capitalised on this feature while plans for Townsville and Mackay Councils concentrated on urban development. With larger populations and different local missions their attention to nature conservation although no less vital, was understandably less pronounced than in Douglas.

The strategic plan in Douglas suggested an awareness on the part of the council of the importance of environmental planning to ensure protection of environments with high conservation value. In Townsville and Mackay, less attention was given in the plans to specifying the actual environmental assets within the cities and plans for their conservation. With less detail about areas for environmental protection their
commitment was only loosely defined compared to the specific ecological sustainability policies explicitly documented in the Douglas Shire Council strategic plan. Given those features, the council must understand the implications for future employment in the Shire.

In spite of the new legislation imposing conformity of organisational structure and planning forms, there were pronounced differences between the designation of functions in three councils. Given that Douglas Shire and Mackay and Townsville City Councils retained distinct functions according to disciplines practising within the organisation, the linkages between ecological sustainability, organisational structure and strategic plans in the councils were at times tenuous.

Townsville City Council had recognised environmental planning by creating a specific section within the council and employing a manager in addition to several staff. The council had also acknowledged community work and land-use planning by giving them each departmental status and a director who was in a position to influence policy decisions within the council. Separation of physical and economic departments might, on the other hand, be interpreted as lack of commitment to interdisciplinary integration but the SPT had been established to assist integration. Interdisciplinary co-operation should therefore not be precluded by organisational structures in the Townsville Council. In fact, community workers and environmental planners had organisational status and access to policy decision-making forums.

In both Mackay and Douglas Councils, despite their broad missions, community workers and environmental planners had less power within the organisation to influence planning directions than their Townsville counterparts. Environmental planners in Townsville were still on the third rung of the decision-making ladder but the environmental planner held out hope that the new SPT would provide an avenue for absorption of environmental planning issues into council plans.

The environmental planner in Douglas considered that power to ensure environmental protection was embedded in the Shire's Planning Scheme. The scheme was still subject to interpretation, however. One might expect that if there was not an environmentally aware
town planner or a council in favour of development over environmental protection, the situation could change. Even with an ecological sustainability oriented planning scheme, project by project decisions will reflect the values of the actual decision makers and the environmental planner had very little opportunity to influence policy given the place of that position in the hierarchy of the council.

In both Douglas and Mackay, at the time of interviewing there were no formal structures existing to facilitate inclusion of environmental planners in planning decisions. Environmental Planning expertise was being filtered to the councils via senior staff in all three cases. The influence of community workers and environmental planners in Douglas and Mackay will depend upon a number of factors. Does the departmental director have a good knowledge of the many portfolios under his/her authority? Will he/she be able and/or willing to further the goals of community work, environmental, land-use and infrastructure planning equally and how will priorities be determined? Will a cooperative working model between the traditionally distinct sections be encouraged and facilitated or will the divisions be preserved? As I have mentioned, this theme will be further explored in chapters five, six seven and eight. The roles of environmental planners and community workers are the subject of chapters five and six respectively. Constraints to their effective input into local area planning are considered in detail in chapter eight.
An interdisciplinary study approach

Chapter Four
This chapter details the processes adopted to study the roles of community workers and environmental planners in the councils, and the extent to which they were involved in ecologically sustainable local area planning. First, I explain why I selected methods that are underpinned theoretically by interpretive and critical methodological positions. The chapter then details the research methods adopted for analysing the research.

Research methodology

This study addresses the research questions:

What are the constraints which prevent or impede community workers and environmental planners from contributing effectively to ecologically sustainable local area planning?

How can the contribution of community workers and environmental planners advance ecological sustainability in local government?

The study approach is qualitative and theoretically informed by interpretive and critical social science positions. Qualitative research is built on the assumption that '...the social world is always a human creation, not a discovery' (Sarantakos 1995, p.45). It aims to interpret social interactions as seen and experienced by the respondents (Sarantakos 1995). Qualitative research therefore is most appropriate for this study which is exploratory and seeks to understand relationships between people, organisations and policies.

An interpretive research orientation seeks:

to create new relationships, better laws, and improved institutions... and... sees inquiry as comprising not just the mechanical observation of nature and others but the intervention of political and moral illumination (Reinhartz 1992:175).

In undertaking critical and interpretive research, I chose a research style that records the ways respondents make sense of community work and environmental planning. These research methods are only of use when judged in the light of the theoretical perspective in which they are used (Denzin 1970). My purpose in the research is to explore, describe and understand the actions and interactions (Blumer 1969) of community workers and environmental planners in contributing to ecologically sustainable local area planning. Interaction in the context of this study, in concert with interpretive methodology, features issues of history, power, emotion and knowledge (Lofland 1996).
An interpretive methodology is particularly suited to this study as it enables a wide-lens view of different practitioner perspectives. For the study questions to be addressed adequately, I sought to gain insight into the roles of community workers and environmental planners as they described them. Their roles are also considered according to how they are perceived by other council officers who are involved in local area planning in the three councils. Analysis of their place within the councils' organisational structure reflects the status of the functions of community workers and environmental planners in relation to other council roles.

Interpretation occurs on a number of levels: the councils' organisational, geographical and political structures, and the broader institutional context. Critical theory in its broadest sense also informs the methodology for this study. Put simply, critical theory is concerned with removing conditions which restrict human potential whether they be based in gender, class, race or social structures (Sarantakos 1993). Here, critical theory is relevant because I aim to expose socio-economic and political conditions and the real effects of organisational structures on the roles of community workers and environmental planners. Informed by this structural analysis approach to data analysis, I consider the plans of each council for future development in relation to the principles of ecological sustainability. In addition, the organisational structures are considered in terms of local area goals and strategies, and the status they provide for community workers and environmental planners.

Allied with the critical and interpretive approaches, I draw on exploratory case study research. This is a particularly relevant approach for establishing a vantage point from which to observe a great range of perceptions (Harper 1992) and from which to establish new insights (Sarantakos 1995). A case study is:

...an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, and in which multiple sources of evidence are used (Yin 1989, p. 23).

In exploring community work and environmental planning in the three councils, the case study provided a 'situational groundedness' or real life situation facilitating exploration of integrated planning concepts and ecological sustainability principles as well as an opportunity for comparison between experiences of officers in the three councils (Harper 1992, p. 139). Even though the three councils are located in north Queensland, the variation between them - the experiences, perceptions and
organisational arrangements - provided a basis for a detailed comparison of approaches to integrated planning. A greater depth of understanding in response to the research questions can be established through drawing out similarities and differences in particular cases (Feagin et al. 1991; Lincoln and Guba 1985). The aim of comparison in this study is to understand constraints to involvement of community workers and environmental planners in local area planning in each council so they can be overcome, not to test councils' integrated planning performance. Indeed, such an expectation would be unfair in councils where the whole integrated planning concept is so recent.

The three case studies were purposely selected to provide insight specifically into the roles of community workers and environmental planners and to examine the extent to which they contributed an ecological sustainability influence to local planning decisions. Consistent with much qualitative social science inquiry, the selection of these case studies sought to comprehend the research problem at a deep and complex level rather than aiming for breadth in terms of generalisability of the research results (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). These case studies therefore, do not intend to reflect the experience of all local government authorities, although other councils might well be able to benefit from the case studies. Issues are raised which will have relevance to other councils and from which other councils can learn a great deal in relation to their own planning practices, constraints and possibilities. For instance, the majority of non-metropolitan councils in north Queensland do not employ community workers and environmental planners but may intend to in the future. In light of recent Queensland planning legislation that requires councils' planning practice to be more attuned to social and environmental issues, this scenario is highly probable. In other words, what may be able to be generalised from these three case studies is knowledge about the difficulties associated with integrating community work and environmental planning, and ideas about how to overcome those constraints (Yin 1989).

Unlike positivist research, these qualitative case studies did not begin by setting out to test the validity of a hypothesis. My aim in this research has been to generate information about constraints to the contributions of community work and environmental planning and propose possibilities for overcoming those obstacles. Through my own research experiences and cases cited in planning studies (introduction and chapter one), I began this study with a perception that community work was
Chapter Four

An Interdisciplinary Study Approach

Inadequately integrated in the planning process. However, this perception is not a hypothesis of this study as such. Rather, it was an incentive to know more about the interactions of community work and environmental planning in the local area planning process.

In addition to making the above decisions about ways to address the research questions, I required a methodology to encompass the concerns of both community work and environmental planning - people and the non-human environment. I therefore imposed upon the study the proposition that people and the non-human environment are parts of one ecological system. This proposition assists in conceptualising integrated planning and ecological sustainability as both are holistic, incorporating people and non-human nature.

According to Harper (1992, p. 141) ‘The goal of description remains, ... to arrive at theoretical understanding’. This grounded theory approach discussed in detail by Glaser and Strauss (1967) supports the gradual emergence of theory from research data through the interpretation of this data. The process of theory-building in this study has taken empirical data in the form of concepts, values, practices and models. Comparison between the three cases and the different perspectives of planning practitioners has assisted in validating collected facts (Glaser and Strauss 1967). It has strengthened causal inferences, leading to theoretical insights (Sarantakos 1993). This approach to theory-building is less restrictive than a set of interrelated propositions that are testable and explain some phenomenon (Vaughan 1992).

In what follows, I present a more detailed rationale for case study selection. I then describe the process of gaining access to the councils and study participants and introduce the study participants. The research methods are then discussed.

Selecting councils to be involved in the study

In the introductory chapter I said that examples of public contention over development in areas of high environmental conservation value were well known in north Queensland. Because Townsville, Mackay and Douglas and their councils incorporated the particular characteristics and ecological sustainability challenges that were described in preceding chapters, they provided interesting contexts in which to explore the
research questions at a comprehensive level. Particular struggles that depict this tension regarding development and environment were cited in chapter two through the Florence Bay issue in Townsville and the Daintree to Bloomfield Road in Douglas Shire. The World Heritage listing of the Wet Tropical Rainforests of North Queensland in 1987 provides a further example. It is specifically of interest because in World Heritage listing the forests, concern centred on social effects of environmental conservation policy upon communities of the Atherton Tablelands. The listing of the rainforests became contentious and created much division within the affected communities because it posed a major threat to the area’s large established timber industry. It drove a rift between those who stood to lose their livelihood and those in favour of preservation of the forests (Gibson et al. 1988).

A further important reason for including Townsville, Douglas and Mackay in the study was that they were among only a few councils in Queensland, and very few non-metropolitan Queensland councils, that had created positions specifically for both community workers and environmental planners (Officer of LGAQ, pers.comm., 1997). A fourth council originally considered for inclusion in the study, Charters Towers Shire Council, was not included because it did not employ a community worker or an environmental planner and the tasks that such planners would be expected to undertake were not actively carried out by that council. For example, in a discussion with the council’s CEO it became apparent that the council did not have a role in establishing projects with either a community work or a natural area conservation orientation. Environmental management roles like waste management and water treatment were viewed purely as engineering concerns rather than as part of an environmental planning/protection strategy.

From one interview, I perceived that Charters Towers Council was under-resourced and under-informed in relation to integrated planning, impact assessment and social and environmental roles revealing poor information flow from centralised, metropolitan-based policy makers to remote, rural councils. Elected members and senior council officers in Charters Towers had not even heard of ILAP while officers from many metropolitan councils had already attended workshops and started to implement the model in their own councils.
Thirdly, as the three councils selected for this study were in the early stages of adopting a planning approach that included community workers and environmental planners, the timing of the study was propitious, allowing for the early experiences and perceptions of planners in response to the ecological sustainability challenge to be documented. The timing of the study was also advantageous because new planning and development legislation was being revised in Queensland. The *Planning, Environment and Development Bill* (Qld) 1994 was released for public comment, revised and reincarnated as the *Integrated Planning Act* (Qld) 1997 (IPA). The IPA proposed that local government authorities adopt an integrated planning approach and that they assume greater responsibility for incorporating social and environmental considerations in development of strategic local area plans.

Finally, as a resident of north Queensland, I had some personal perceptions to bring to the study. Researching locally also provided the opportunity for accessible, ongoing dialogue with study participants, facilitating the preferred iterative research process whereby new information could be assimilated at any point creating potential to make changes along the way, unlike a highly ordered step by step research process (Taylor et al. 1989).

**Gaining access**

Case study development occurred in three phases. Firstly, the councils were approached in writing. The letter outlined the content and nature of the proposed inquiry and asked whether the council would have an interest in participating. It also informed of the other councils being approached. Four councils (including Charters Towers) were then visited and finally, I conducted preliminary meetings with council officers who would potentially be involved in in-depth interviews. In a research setting which is a public institution, negotiation of consent was important for both legal and ethical reasons (Lincoln and Guba 1985). Written consent was obtained, firstly from the three councils (Appendix 4) and from each study participant prior to commencement of individual interviews (Appendix 5).

As my aim was to understand the roles of community workers and environmental planners in the councils, the letter stated that I wanted to interview community workers and environmental planners about their roles. In addition, the letter indicated that I
sought to develop an understanding of whether other key council officers engaged in local area planning, understood the roles of community workers and environmental planners as they had described them. Therefore, in the letter I suggested that interviews include engineers, councillors, town planners and administrators.

Following an expression of interest from all four councils in being involved in the study, I visited each to discuss the details of the study and the responses of the councils to my proposals. This second phase of gaining entry enabled me to observe and gather information about the places, the councils, and the people with whom I talked. These early impressions, documented and referred to as observations, make an important contribution to the study (Denzin 1989). During this phase of the study, one week was spent in meetings at the councils of Douglas and Mackay.

In Douglas, the council agreed to participate in the study following my letter of request. A series of telephone conversations between myself and the Mayor’s secretary then led to her organising appointments with possible respondents from each of the above six categories. Meetings were held in the offices of the respective respondents and at the outset I provided a summary of the research proposal, written in accessible language, outlining the research aims, procedures, and intentions for use of the data (Appendix 6). The specific requirements of the individuals and their councils in the research project were discussed to ensure my expectations were clear to participants and to check that they considered them to be realistic. As the Mayor of Douglas Shire was not available, I met the Deputy Mayor. On this initial visit I also met the CEO who could not spare the time to continue formal involvement in the study but we talked about the study objectives. He confirmed that the other officers with whom I had appointments would be appropriate informants for the information I sought. In addition, he suggested I interview the Mayor, who he said had a very particular perspective and a great influence on the council’s policy direction.

The Aboriginal Liaison Officer and the Community Development Officer were present at the first meeting in Douglas. Both were very enthusiastic about the study, as was the town planner who was keen to advance planning approaches that would contribute to local ecological sustainability. The community workers hoped the study might assist in increasing knowledge of their role among other officers in the council and lead to an
improvement in their minimal inclusion in council information distribution and decision-making. The engineer, deputy mayor and environmental planner were agreeable to participating in the study but with less enthusiasm than the community workers and town planner. As I had been explicit about the study objectives, and both the deputy mayor and engineer had said they were concerned that environmental policies didn’t go too far, I considered that they may have felt they had little to gain from the study. I was uncertain about the environmental planner’s lack of interest, although she was new to the council and still feeling her way. She may have been apprehensive about commenting because there was some contention among council officers about the extent to which policies should continue to promote environmental preservation and limit other forms of development.

A similar process evolved in Mackay where I met respondents including the Mayor, CEO, Director of Engineering, Environmental Health Officer, Director of Planning and Development, and the Community Development Worker at the first visit. When the Community Development Worker again showed greater interest in the study and its potential to advance community work in the council, I thought they may have sensed that my own community work background would be particularly sympathetic to their cause. Given the research questions, their expectation was valid, although I stressed that the study was exploratory and that I had not developed a hypothesis which was to be proved or disproved through interviews. The Director of Planning and Development was very defensive at the initial meeting in his assurances that he would draw upon the skills of social planning in the course of his work but that community workers were different because they did not have the technical skills he expected social planners to possess. He also appeared uneasy about having limited involvement with the officer responsible for environmental planning, suggesting as a reason, that the Environmental Health Officer was not qualified to perform the role. These issues are taken up in the next two chapters.

In Townsville, the situation was a little different because I lived there. As I had worked for several years in the Townsville community welfare sector, I knew the Director of Community and Cultural Services as a colleague. He advised that I should formally request a meeting with the council administration to discuss the details of the study. When researching in one’s own community, an informal process could be expected. In
this case the opposite occurred. The meeting took place at the Council with the Deputy Mayor, CEO, Director of Health and Director of Planning and Development. In Douglas and Mackay, where I initially met with study participants individually, the process of entry had been much less formal. The large group meeting in Townsville, was by contrast, very formal. The group I met represented the more bureaucratic, corporate and politicised style of the large, regional Townsville City Council. The amount of time officers would have to dedicate to the study and questions about how the data would be used were predominant concerns among the group. From this meeting, I gained the impression that the council wanted an assurance that the research results would not be in any way politically injurious to the public image of the council. Given that the council had been widely criticised by local conservation groups for its support of developments on Florence Bay, Nelly Bay on Magnetic Island, and a cable car on Castle Hill among others, their concerns were understandable. However, I again stressed that the study aimed to explore the questions for academic purposes.

Establishing the researcher-participant relationship

This initial research phase involved potential participants in the research design. Rejecting the role of the ‘unembodied scientist’ in this study, I am aware that I have adopted the role of human knower complete with feelings and ambivalences (Reinhartz 1992). Although as a qualitative researcher, and therefore an interpreter of meanings, I have shaped the research process and its conclusions, I have outlined above how I engaged the participation of respondents (Denzin 1989). Research participants were never treated simply as objects of the research project. With regard to their employment in government organisations, they had control over the information they submitted in later interviews through return of interview transcripts to respondents for editing. They were able to exclude any sections that could cause any form of discomfort or difficulty for them. Although few revisions were made for political purposes, this involvement assisted in building trust between myself and the study participants.

Indeed, I found some respondents to be extremely candid and trusting during the initial contact. Respondents made comments about the administration of their councils and critical remarks about councillors. In the case of a number of respondents, it was as though they needed an outside and unaligned ear to use as a vent for their frustrations
with intra-council dynamics and organisational politics. So candid were participants that in one case a participant asked that I recommend in the research conclusions that her department be granted improved status. Of course, I could not commit to do so but given that the research methodology shares the broad emancipatory aim of critical theory, to provoke change and to empower research participants, I would hope to effect heightened awareness amongst, and potentially beyond study participants, through a mutually educative enterprise (Lather 1986).

Although study participants did not suggest any changes to the questions or the proposed methods, it was important from the outset that participants considered the research process to be appropriate and that they were able to commit time to the study. In line with the broad aims of critical social science research, I also wanted to ensure that the study content was considered relevant and useful to the participants (Bredo and Feinberg 1982). The approach I adopted was informed by participatory SIA. Many SIA texts advocated research principles whereby participants were engaged in shaping the study purposes, questions and the outcomes. Consequently, they had some power over the information they provided (Taylor et al. 1990; Ross 1990; Craig and Fowler 1985).

I spoke with participants about the benefits they wanted to derive from the project. As outlined above, a few of the officers with whom I spoke hoped the study might have particular benefits specifically for themselves. Others were satisfied that the major benefit would be expanded knowledge about how community workers and environmental planners can contribute to the planning processes of their councils. I made a commitment to ensure every effort would be made to meet their expectations. One way of doing so was to retain an iterative approach whereby study methods are open to continuous change as a consequence of consultation with a diverse group of council officers from three different areas and distinct organisations (Taylor et al. 1990).

Another function of the initial visits was that they allowed me to gain participants' reactions to the research questions. I was aware that information channels from government departments in Canberra, even Brisbane, were frequently inadequate in effectively reaching regional and rural councils (Brown et al. 1992a) and established that limited information about ILAP and integrated planning had reached Mackay or
Douglas. Townsville officers had more knowledge of ILAP. This was particularly the case because the Director of Community and Cultural Services had been seconded to the ALGA for a period to be involved in the development of the model. Given that there was little knowledge of ILAP in Mackay and Douglas, I became aware that the interview questions should be framed in more general integrated planning concepts and terms to be equally accessible to all respondents.

With the information gained through the initial meetings, I was able to construct interview schedules that were appropriate to the officers representing six different practitioner groups in each of the participating councils. I was confident of developing interview questions and formats that were relevant and of interest to the particular work areas of respondents and that would assist participants to draw on their own experiences. I anticipated that this approach would facilitate discussion in interviews rather than a question and answer style.

**Study participants in profile**

The study included interviews with twenty-two respondents (table 4.1). They represent six broadly defined groups of practitioners employed in the councils that, according to the *Local Government Act* (Qld) 1993 should be involved in local area planning: community workers, engineers, town planners, environmental planners, administrators and elected members (table 4.1). Respondents actual titles and those I have given to each do not always coincide. My categories represent particular areas of practice within the councils but they were never conceived as homogenous categories.

The specialist skills, values and knowledge of community workers and environmental planners are elaborated upon in the two chapters that follow. Importantly, respondents identified with the grouping in which they have been categorised. Members of each group have educational backgrounds in similar fields. In addition, community workers and environmental planners identify with particular philosophies and values (discussed in chapters five and six). This method of grouping assists analytical interpretation (Harper 1992). Categorisation of this type does not deny however, that within a particular category workers undertake a variety of diverse activities. There are also areas of overlap where study respondents from different categories are involved in similar areas of work, an issue to be considered in chapter eight.
### Table 4.1 Profile of study respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local Government Authority</th>
<th>Position Title</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Educational Qualifications</th>
<th>Years of Service in Council</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Douglas Shire Council</td>
<td>Community Development Officer</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>BA, Dip Ed, Dip. Communications</td>
<td>16 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aboriginal Liaison Officer</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Grade 11</td>
<td>12 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Planning Officer</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>BSc Environmental Science, Grad Dip Town Planning</td>
<td>7 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manager Planning Services</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Bach. Town Planning</td>
<td>7 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Director Engineering Services</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Dip Civ Engineering, Build. Surveyor, Grad. Dip Management</td>
<td>18 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mayor</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Carpenter, Bach. Physiology</td>
<td>4 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deputy Mayor</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Grade 8</td>
<td>7 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mackay City Council</td>
<td>Director Planning and Development Services</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Bach. Surveying, Grad Dip &amp; MA Urban &amp; Regional Planning, 2.5 yrs</td>
<td>2.5 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chief Executive Officer</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Junior Certificate</td>
<td>10 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mayor</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Secondary Level</td>
<td>30 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community Development Worker</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>Grad Dip. Social Planning</td>
<td>4 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Director Engineering (Water and Sewerage)</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Bachelor Civil Engineering</td>
<td>17 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Environmental Health Officer</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Ass. Dip. Health Surveying</td>
<td>6 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Townsville City Council</td>
<td>Director Community and Cultural Services</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>Dip. Philos. and Theol., MA Social Policy</td>
<td>16 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Director Planning and Development Services</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Bach &amp; MA Town and Regional Planning, Bach Computer Science</td>
<td>3.5 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manager Planning and Investigation</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Municipal Engineers Certificate, Building Surveyor</td>
<td>4 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community Services Manager</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>BA, Dip. Social Studies</td>
<td>4.5 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community Project Officer</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>BA, Dip. Social Studies</td>
<td>2 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community Development Officer</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Grade 10</td>
<td>2 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Director Corporate Services</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Bachelor Economics</td>
<td>7 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manager Environmental Planning Services</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Bachelor Science/Environmental Science</td>
<td>6 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deputy Mayor</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Registered nurse</td>
<td>7 yrs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The number of respondents from each council varied with nine from Townsville, seven from Douglas and six from Mackay. This occurred because the Director of Community and Cultural Services in Townsville, with a larger community work-oriented department than Douglas and Mackay, suggested that three other members of the Department be interviewed to reflect the diversity of community workers roles in the department. Those workers agreed to participate in the study and their involvement does result in a portrayal of the different roles of community workers in that council in contrast with the other two.

The gender and age of respondents varied both between councils and between study participants from different work areas. Six of the nine female respondents were from Townville. With four of the seven community workers being from Townsville, this is indicative of the nature of the social welfare profession (Marchant and Wearing 1986). Only two of the seven community workers were male and one of them held a senior management position in the council. Of the nine women, five aged between forty and fifty-seven years were employed in community services departments of the councils and one of those held a management-level position. The two youngest study participants from Douglas and Townsville were environmental planners, women aged twenty-three and twenty-eight years. Their age reflects the newness of environmental planning practitioners in local government. Two women were in senior management positions, the Director of Planning, aged thirty-six, and the Deputy Mayor aged fifty-two years. Both were at Townsville City Council.

Thirteen of the twenty-two study participants were men, including the four longest serving employees in the study. Eight male respondents held ten of the senior management positions represented in the sample. The other senior management positions were held by two women in Townsville. In terms of the length of time respondents had been employed, twelve had been employed for between three and seven years, five for between one and two years and five for more than eight years. The very long-standing employees were the Mayor and CEO from Mackay, the Engineer from Douglas Shire Council and the Director of Cultural and Community Services in Townsville.

Finally, respondents both across and within disciplines had different qualifications. Fifteen of the twenty-two had tertiary qualifications. Of the seven without tertiary
qualifications two were the Aboriginal Liaison Officers, three (one in each council), were elected members, one held a senior management position (CEO), and the other was an Environmental Health Officer. Seven study participants representing four of the six work areas, excluding elected members and administrators, held post-graduate or multiple tertiary qualifications. Land-use planners and community workers were more highly represented in this group than the other work areas. All those with tertiary and post-graduate qualifications had studied in the field in which they were employed. The land-use planner in Townsville and Engineer in Douglas had supplemented their initial field of study with computer and management studies. The importance of the different disciplinary theoretical underpinnings of the social and physical sciences is an issue discussed at length in following chapters.

**Research design**

According to Marshall and Rossman (1989), a qualitative research design should deal with the following:

- site and sample selection
- gaining access
- researcher's role
- research strategies
- data collection techniques
- managing and recording data
- data analysis strategies.

Site and sample selection, gaining access and my role as the researcher have been discussed above. The remaining qualitative research considerations are addressed below.

**Research strategies**

The case study method drew upon a number of data sources. Primary data included interview transcripts, observations, recording of observations in a research journal, maps, photographs and demographic data. Interviews provided the personal reflections of individuals about their experiences of integrated planning and their perceptions of community work and environmental planners in the councils. Formal council documents provided information on the organisational case study context and articles from local newspapers and reports (referred to in chapters one and two) illustrated some of the ecological sustainability issues facing each council. Documents collected from
the councils (table 4.2) were used to provide information about the formal organisational structures of the councils and their strategic and corporate plans.

Prior to interviews, a review of integrated planning, SIA and local government texts was undertaken. Information from the review revealed that the only source of prior inquiry into the relationship of social and environmental considerations was through SIA. Even then, the SIA studies considered were not set specifically within local government as responsibility for EIA, of which SIA is a component, falls under state or Commonwealth jurisdiction. Review of the literature provided an outline of the problems of integrating social and environmental issues pertaining to development proposals and planning processes, to which I have referred previously. This knowledge enabled me to enter the research with a broad understanding of issues relating to the inquiry yet these research questions had not previously been applied to local government, my research aim remained exploratory. I wanted to know about the particularities of these three councils, not to influence participants' responses with my prior knowledge.

In addition, the respondents were considered the experts on the research topic. Systematic comparison of the descriptions respondents gave of their experiences, together with information from the documents, led to the formation of concepts and the basis for qualitative interpretation and analysis (Denzin 1989).

Data collection techniques
Documents were collected throughout the four year period of the study. Interviews were conducted between May, 1995 and May, 1996.

Documents
Documents were collected throughout the study as they became accessible (table 4.2). Documents were not equally available from all three councils. In most cases where they were not accessed they simply did not exist. The 1993 local government legislation increased mandatory formal recording by councils. In particular, small rural councils were often fairly informal organisations before the advent of corporate planning guidelines. As I elaborate below, where documents were available across the three councils they have used to uphold systematic comparative analysis of interview data.
Where not universally available, they provide contextual information.

### Table 4.2  Summary of documents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Document</th>
<th>Douglas</th>
<th>Mackay</th>
<th>Townsville</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regional Plan</td>
<td>May, 1995</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social plan</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>July, 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>environmental plans</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maps of region</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>local newspapers</td>
<td>during field visits, 1997</td>
<td>during field visits</td>
<td>during field visit, 1997</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NA = not available

The corporate plans of Townsville and Mackay Councils were collected at the orientation visits. The corporate plan for Douglas became available following the initial visit. The corporate plans were used to provide information about the organisational goals and structures of the councils, and the position of community workers and environmental planners within those structures. These documents were also the basis for a discussion theme in the first round of interviews. Strategic plans which set out land uses, social and economic objectives for a local government area were not applied as systematically as the corporate plans. They were developed at different times and under different state legislative guidelines, as I explained in chapter three. At the time of data collection, the strategic plan in Douglas was still being negotiated and public objections to it processed.

Strategic plan development and public objections to the draft plan were predominant issues in the daily work of Douglas respondents. Discussion of the plan revealed some crucial differences among respondents' perceptions of ecological sustainability. This was not the case in Townsville where the strategic plan was several years old and viewed by the town planner as outdated in relation to the *Local Government Act 1993* (Qld). The plan was in early stages of being developed in Mackay and was integrated into the write up of this study in early 1998. There was however, an opportunity to discuss the council's approach to developing the plan with respondents during
interviews in 1995-1996.

Although regional plans that incorporated Douglas and Townsville had not been developed at the early data collection stage of this study, they were incorporated when they became available. They presented strategies for the regions’ economies and environments and provided an opportunity for incorporating this detail in the study. These plans have served as context to respondent interpretations in interviews.

In addition to corporate, strategic and regional plans, a range of secondary data was collected including demographic information for the three areas, local maps, photographs and annual reports from the councils. Information from these sources assisted in establishing the image of the three places and councils provided in chapters two and three. Council plans that were specifically social and environmental only existed in Townsville, although these aspects had been integrated into Douglas Shire’s strategic plan. The existence of such specialised plans demonstrates that Townsville City Council is larger, with greater resources and therefore able to present more sophisticated corporate planning documents than Mackay and Douglas.

Local newspapers were collected during visits to each case study location to gain a sense of current local issues. Additional historical newspaper articles were also drawn upon to illustrate particular examples of the character of the places. Initially, I had also sought participants’ written job descriptions. However, I have not been able to incorporate them because so few were available. Two were available in Townsville and one in Douglas. All other respondents said they had never had a written job description that outlined the tasks for which they should be responsible.

The information derived through the documents about the towns and the councils prior to the semi-structured interviews resulted in there being less need to cover much of this contextual ground in interviews and consequently it also allowed more time for respondents to reflect upon issues in practice rather than using the interview time substantially for descriptive detail. Instead of asking respondents to describe the structure in interviews, I was able to ask them to comment on their experiences of working in the structures. The documents that were able to be obtained at initial visits to the councils assisted in providing early information pertaining to the culture of the
case study areas, especially in terms of political structures and policy frameworks within the councils. This process can be likened to a domain search within ethnographic methodology aimed at identifying features common to members of a particular culture (Spradley 1979, p. 100).

**Interviews**

With three exceptions, study participants were individually involved in two separate face to face interviews of approximately two hours duration. The Aboriginal liaison officer and the Community Development Officer at Douglas Shire Council elected to be interviewed together on the first occasion and the Aboriginal Liaison Officer was not available for the second interview. The Manager of the Community and Cultural Services Department and the Community Development Officer at Townsville City Council also chose to attend a joint interview in the first round of interviews.

Time spent with respondents was limited to interviews in their offices. While the interview setting was not unnatural it was, to a large extent, formal and there was not a great deal of opportunity to experience the culture of the three councils through an extended participant-observer role. I made the decision that the empirical data generated through interviews and documents was to be the primary source of information. I did not feel convinced that immersing myself in the culture of the councils would greatly enhance this study, which was primarily concerned with hearing the views of the planners as they wanted to convey them.

With permission from respondents through written consent (Appendix 5) and verbal agreement at each interview, the sessions were tape-recorded and faithfully transcribed. This process assists in clarifying terminology and information provided by participants and acts as a corrective to researcher pre-conceptions (Bredo and Feinberg 1982). The interview transcripts were returned to respondents for editing prior to analysis. Few amendments were made. Intensive tape-recorded interviewing distils the language and the words of study participants. Analysis of participants' own words assists in grounding research data in the meanings and values held by its subjects (Bredo and Feinberg 1982, p. 380).
The initial interviews (following orientation interviews) took the form of depth interviews, a style adopted because it allows time and flexibility for discussion and deep probing. According to McCracken (1988) and Denzin (1989) the depth interview is a study method suited to exploratory research aiming to develop understanding. A semi-structured interview schedule with open-ended questions (Appendix 7) allowed for conversation and information exchange between myself and each study participant (Denzin 1989; Lofland 1996). The semi-structured interview therefore served as a guide to broad discussion topics determined by the researcher and validated by study participants. It also allowed for other issues to be raised by respondents. Questions used a vocabulary that all respondents could understand and feel comfortable responding to (Denzin 1970). Given that study respondents were multi-disciplinary, flexibility was particularly necessary to ensure questions were relevant and interviewees felt able to contribute with their specific areas of interest and expertise (Lofland 1996). Subjective descriptions of workers' fields of expertise, experiences and their understandings about organisational culture expressed in interviews then added depth to the data overall through multiple discourses (Denzin 1989).

Initial interviews sought information about the respondents, their role, their knowledge of and relationship to the environmental planners and community workers. They were asked about their perceptions of how they could be more effectively involved in local area planning to suggest ways of overcoming the constraints to involvement of community workers and environmental planners in local area planning. Other topics discussed with respondents included the roles of local government and its relationship to the Commonwealth and the State Government.

The second interview schedule (Appendix 8) was more structured, based partly on data from the initial interviews and also on findings of previous studies (cited above) about integration of social concerns in EIA and environmental planning considerations in local government (Graham 1992). The second interview had three sections. Part A was designed to clarify points individuals had made during the first interview. Respondents were asked to talk about constraints to successfully implementing a more integrated planning model within their councils in Part B that also sought to gather information about how participants viewed the area they worked and lived in and their hopes for its future. Part C was specifically focused on the tasks of community work and
environmental planning. Such questions were particularly informed by the political or participatory planning SIA orientation (Craig 1990), recommendations of Graham (1992) regarding appropriate environmental planning tasks for local government, the roles of community workers in local government as discussed by Menzies et al (1995) for the LGAQ, and principles for effective, participatory SIA summarised at the end of an extensive literature review by Roughley and Scherl in 1992.

**Research journal**

I share the view of Lofland (1996) that field notes filter rather than mirror what actually happens and that there are different interpretations of reality. This view opposes that of Denzin (1989) who considers field notes as social realism. My observations of the places, the councils and the participants in the three case studies were documented as initial personal perceptions and reflected upon as they influenced the project's structure and the interpretation of research data (Thomas 1993). These journal entries formed one level of interpretation of the research data. It assisted in early coding of the characteristics of the places, the councils and the study participants. The information collected through observation has contributed further to the rigour of the research validity through triangulation as discussed below (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983, p.199).

**Newspapers**

Articles from local newspapers and reports (referred to in chapters one and two) illustrated some of the ecological sustainability issues facing each council. Local newspapers were collected during field visits to provide information for the researcher on contemporary issues in each place. Some historical newspaper articles were also sought in presenting some important issues such as attitudes towards indigenous people in Townsville and environmental controversies.

**Managing, recording and analysis of research data**

To ensure systematic management of data and maintain the flexibility qualitative research allows, I managed the various forms of research data outlined above in a number of ways. I managed my research journal and records of documents manually. As themes emerged I created theme categories and sub-categories in my research journal. I also maintained a section in my journal for theoretical memos. Theoretical
memos took different forms at various stages in the research process. At times, they related to my perceptions about how useful the interview schedules seemed to be and about gaps in data I needed to follow up. I also wrote notes about themes that were beginning to emerge from the data. For example, after conducting a number of the second interviews, I wrote the following theoretical memo:

The questionnaire has drawn upon the political versus technical planning dichotomy. With the exception of community workers who make a clear preference for political methods, study participants did not dichotomise the two. It seems more common that they perceive the two as unable to be separated. The same applied when I asked whether it was more important for councils to be strategic local area planners or service providers. (August 25 1995).

In the theoretical memos I linked themes emerging from the data and the literature review. I also kept a reflective log in which I noted methodological decisions. Key themes included local issues of a social and/or environmental nature, the place of community workers and environmental planners in the respective organisations and decision-making structures and processes in the councils. Using an iterative research process, initial interviews were analysed prior to constructing the second interview schedule.

The second interviews assisted in identifying causal inference and suggested direction for further stages of the study (Taylor et al. 1990). In addition to asking new questions, I was then able to clarify particular details or statements individual planners made in the first interviews. Interview transcripts from the first round of interviews were coded according to the broad topics addressed in the interview schedule (Appendix 7). The qualitative data analysis computer program NUDIST (Non-numerical Unstructured Data Interpretation, Sorting and Theorising) assisted data storage and sorting from the outset. Interview transcripts were broken down into two data types - base data and themes. Base data refers to the categories pertaining to the characteristics of the places (name, population size), the councils (size, structure), research participants (age, gender, position title, length of service).

Thematic data consisted of the documents and the interview transcripts, but only the interview transcripts were sorted through NUDIST. Transcripts were initially sorted using the question topics as themes. As themes were compared across practitioner groups and between councils new themes emerged creating the NUDIST tree which has continuing branches refining data at each level (Richards and Richards 1994). This procedure reduces raw description for interpretation (Lincoln and Guba 1985), a process
known as analytic induction (Denzin 1989), or constant comparative method (Glaser and Strauss 1967). With addition of the transcripts from the second interviews into NUDIST, the level of bracketing became sophisticated. For example, significant themes emerged when using the program to collate comments from interview transcripts. In particular, participants experienced a number of constraints when they applied their preferred planning approach in practice. Differences between the various practitioners then became more apparent.

NUDIST facilitates bracketing by searching for words and then associations between words, codes or concepts. In the case of my interest in constraints, I was able to search for particular words (such as difficult and problem) then associate them with the context of the conversation, the respondent and the council from which they emerged. This information formed a branch on the NUDIST tree called Constraints which was then divided into three branches (the councils). The three branches were then divided again to allow comparison between practitioners representing different fields.

This theorising assisted by NUDIST was subject to further coding and contextualisation by constant reference to documents and secondary data. For instance, the regional and isolated geographical situation of Douglas, Mackay and Townsville was always an important consideration in physical, social and economic terms. Secondary data was used as contextual information to the case studies and for cross-checking and adding missing detail to the interview data. Triangulation of data through multiple sources provides a broader range of perceptions of the phenomena being studied (Lincoln and Guba 1985). Interpretation was an ongoing process. In this study, it was initially unstructured to maximise discovery of interpretations. Instead of beginning with set hypotheses the intent has been to continually revise and refine emergent hypotheses (Denzin 1989). Given diverse study settings and participant experiences, the study embraces flexibility and resists the imposition upon the data of one single, rigid theoretical framework. I agree with Lincoln (1985:221) that explorations in the new world of interdisciplinary planning must recognise that, 'The language is new, tentative. The terminology is exploratory and indeterminate rather than precise and circumscribed' (Lincoln 1985, p. 221).
Truthfulness or trustworthiness of research design

In research taking place in the respondents' environments, the concern with truthfulness is to adequately represent multiple realities (Lincoln and Guba 1985). This perspective differs from the positivist paradigm where research validity refers to the question of whether the case studies measure what they intended to measure and this becomes a gauge of truthfulness (Eyles and Smith 1988). As stressed earlier, in terms of external validity or generalisability of study findings, the three case studies have been specifically selected and are not representative of all local government authorities. The aim has been to research ways in which community work and environmental planning activities are integrated in the three selected local government authorities. Knowledge about the difficulties associated with integrating community work and environmental planning and ideas about how to overcome those constraints ascertained as a result of studying these three cases will be generalisable. The construction of theory specific to these cases can generate recommendations for policy and planning practice, through analytical analysis (Yin 1989). Subjective descriptions of workers' experiences and knowledge about organisational culture expressed in interviews adds depth through multiple discourses and strengthens the study's external validity (Denzin 1989).

Internal or construct validity in qualitative research is also ensured through the multiple sources of evidence collected in the research effort and outlined above. Triangulation, the process of consulting several different sources of information (Denzin 1989), enables assessment of data according to a number of accounts. In addition, acquisition of background information prior to interviews with planners assisted in the triangulation of information because, 'Links between concepts and indicators are checked by recourse to other indicators' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983, p. 199). As Feagin et al. (1991) pointed out, triangulation in qualitative research provides even greater construct validity than much quantitative research where there are often fewer sources of data to facilitate cross-checking. The case study method provides the ability to compare the information provided by different people as well as multiple contexts (Feagin et. al 1991). The information collected through observation has contributed further to the rigour of the research validity through triangulation (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983, p. 199).

In qualitative case study research the requirement for reliability or truthfulness is satisfied through a number of methods.
They include:
- investigating phenomena in a number of places, through comparison of responses of different people to similar questions, over roughly the same time period;
- careful selection of cases where the similarities and differences can be justified in terms of comparability and where the research questions are able to be confronted and theoretical insights are able to be distilled; and
- strict documentation of context and procedures to achieve some certainty that others might observe the same findings under similar conditions (Feagin et al. 1991, p. 239-240).

My research methods and process as described above have observed each of these reliability requirements. Data collection was conducted in each of the three case study areas using consistent categories of respondents, interview schedules, interview processes, observation techniques and document collection. In addition to the criteria set out above for selecting the three case studies, they were chosen with regard to their ability to be compared, contrasted and most importantly, to provide a rich source of information about integrating social and environmental concerns into local area planning. The orientation procedures and consequent rejection of Charters Towers Council illustrates the process of ensuring that the research questions could be adequately addressed through the chosen case studies.

In the interpretation of research data in this project, one limitation has been the sheer amounts of data with which I have worked. In spite of systematic coding, the propensity to be distracted with exploration of remotely relevant themes has been an issue because the subjects touched on by the study participants were many and extremely diverse. They ranged from issues within work areas to issues between local government work areas, institutional concerns and broad policy frameworks pertaining to many policy areas. The sorting and re-sorting of data into meaningful categories has resulted in much data not being used. It has also forced a more structured presentation of the data as a mere management strategy because with limited space it was considered important to represent the institutional contexts as well as to convey the experiences and opinions of individual participants. The task of balancing data analysis and description is commonly a challenge presented to the interpretive researcher (Lofland 1996:165).

In addition, I proposed at the outset of the study to return to each community with the research findings. Focus group discussions were to inform a final stage of the research design through discussion and subsequent validation of draft conclusions. This stage of
the research did not eventuate for a number of reasons. Firstly, I moved out of the region in 1996 and also due to the need to limit the amount of data. To have lost an opportunity to give something back to the participants is to me the greatest loss in not carrying this stage through. I have agreed instead to send each of the councils that participated in the study a summary report of the conclusions and to discuss the study findings with them.

Having met the challenges of interdisciplinary research, I have learned much of the inherent difficulties confronting those planners who are in the process of developing interdisciplinary work models. The obstructions to permeating the boundaries set by traditional local government work areas cannot be underestimated. In my recent experience, the practice of compartmentalising knowledge is as much alive and well in academia as it is in local government. My attempts to span disciplinary compartments were, at times, discouraged and impeded rather than facilitated with concerns raised about the legitimacy of an interdisciplinary analysis that does not contribute to the existing knowledge base of one narrowly defined academic discipline. Throughout this doctorate I have experienced a sense of isolation as I have resisted pigeon-holing of the thesis topic. Unlike research within one particular discipline, interdisciplinary research may produce less specialised knowledge because it would be impossible to consult the extent of literature produced on a selected topic by two or more disciplines in finite detail (Lincoln 1985).

Interdisciplinary research is, however, not rendered less useful by this admission. If anything, it is more a criticism of existing academic inflexibility and of the continuing dominance of the ‘purist’ positivist research paradigm. Perhaps the advantages of engaging in interdisciplinary research, have outweighed the limitations in that I have gained first-hand experience of the difficulties of breaking through disciplinary boundaries, of the attitudes and responses of the ‘boundary police’ and their rationale, woven in power, politics and bureaucratic culture, for protecting disciplinary ownership and status.

Summary
This chapter has described the research approach and methods I used to understand the roles of community workers and environmental planners in Townsville, Douglas and
Mackay Councils and how they contribute to local area planning. Criteria for selection of case studies and the impetus for the study have been described in this chapter. With a focus on the interactions between locations, roles, structures and functions, the research questions can be addressed at multiple levels. Although much social science research imposes a single theoretical framework on data for purposes of analysis, I chose not to do so. Instead, the overall social science approach to critical inquiry adopted here allows for exploration of a subject that is both a broad and largely unexplored terrain. The interdisciplinary nature of the project necessitated flexibility for the data to generate theory.
The community workers

Chapter Five
This chapter introduces and describes the seven community workers who participated in this study and their roles in the three councils. The roles are presented as the community workers themselves described them and then as respondents other than community workers perceived the role. Before examining the community workers' roles, I further elaborate on the meanings of community work offered in the introductory chapter. The real meaning of community work is located not only through the respondents' descriptions of their roles and tasks but also through consideration of the themes in their educational training, their values and ethics. I then consider the extent to which the roles are incorporated in the councils' processes for local area planning. Specifically, I ask to what extent the roles of the community workers contribute to ecological sustainability.

The nature of community work

At the outset of the study I wanted to know about the roles of the local government practitioners in the three councils who were specifically responsible for tasks pertaining to enhancement of social welfare or well-being. The seven community workers who participated in the study assumed those areas of responsibility even though their official titles varied.

During orientation visits to the councils, prior to formal interviews, when I referred to the community workers, some respondents required clarification about who I was referring to. Where this occurred, I reflected the question back to the respondents by asking them to identify the community workers. In several instances, because my study was exploring the roles of workers in local area planning, respondents made a distinction between community work and social planning on the basis that they perceived social planning, not community work to be associated with land-use planning. Social planner positions did not exist in any of the councils. The community workers were perceived by their colleagues as welfare workers with little if any role in land-use planning.

The seven respondents (profiled in table 4.1 in the previous chapter), had various qualifications and titles. They were not specifically called community workers or formally qualified in community work but I categorised them as community workers. Important considerations underlie this methodological decision. They include existing definitions,
associations workers themselves made with community work, and practitioner values.

Existing definitions

Community work, as defined by (Lynn, 1994), has four key functions. They are:

- bringing people together and encouraging the recognition and ownership of needs and functions;
- translating needs into strategies for action;
- forming coalitions with others who have interests in common; and
- challenging power relationships and structures to redress inequalities (Lynn 1994).

Based on key components in definitions of community/locality, relationships and ideology (Hillery 1955), the three most commonly recognised practice models in community work literature are locality development, social action and social planning (Rothman 1974). Locality development works towards meeting expressed local needs. Social action engages communities in confrontation over local issues, with those in power, and social planning, most often undertaken from within the power structure, aims to assess needs and allocate resources (Lynn 1994).

The broad category community work encompasses the functions of the seven workers with different qualifications and titles as I demonstrate through role descriptions in a later section of this chapter. I am interested in the involvement of these seven workers in sustainable local area planning, and social planning is the model that most often specifically links social and physical aspects of planning. To have categorised the seven workers as social planners however, would have been a misrepresentation. According to their descriptions of their roles, their involvement in planning new development, environmental and land-use policy was generally limited and still developing. As understood by study respondents (and discussed below), the term social planning does not encompass both the philosophical foundations and actual functions of the seven community workers as clearly as community work.

Early definitions of social planning emphasised a positivist rather than a participatory approach to increasing social well-being. The practitioner within the paternalistic social planning approach is the expert acting on behalf of a particular community of people rather than working with the community (Burnley 1980; Midgley and Piachaud 1984).
More recent interpretations from the Australian context incorporate the principle of community participation in the planning process and principles of social justice.

For example, according to Dale (1995a) social planning within a local government area is usually based on social justice principles. It:

...refers to planning to meet the social needs of communities within that area. This may include issues as broad as fair input into decision making, community access to services, the provision of housing options, public health and safety, ease of transportation, cultural development and issues of amenity (Dale 1995a, p. 3).

Mowbray (1992) also related social planning to the well being of a community. Similarly, McVicar and Reynolds (1992) claimed the aim of social planning as:

...to ensure the promotion and development of communities that facilitate a high quality of life for residents. Its focus is to define and describe the social goals of a community and then to translate these into effective plans, approaches and programs (McVicar and Reynolds 1992, p. 31).

Unlike community work which emphasises processes, definitions of social planning emphasise outcomes. In doing so, the implication is that social planners will be responsible for planning outcomes. Expert-directed models are often reliant on the development of quantitative measures such as the application of developer contributions to social infrastructure (Briggs 1992), minimum standards (of infrastructure) (Reynolds 1989) and benchmarks (Queensland Government and ALGA 1995). All aim to gauge what levels of social infrastructure provision will ensure equity within and between communities. They do not always specify that citizens will be included in determining and achieving the levels. While it has been proposed that technical social planning and participatory community work models can be integrated (Taylor et al. 1990; Menzies et al. 1995), and I agree with this supposition, it is important to acknowledge that in practice they are more often dichotomised (Craig 1990; Heywood et al. 1995). This issue is examined again in chapter eight as a constraint to integrated planning in the three case studies.

Inclusion of technical aspects of the community work role has historically been more prominent in New South Wales and Victoria than in Queensland (Wills 1985). Infrastructure planning as a social welfare role emerged in local government in New South Wales and is still gathering momentum in Queensland, according to study participants. Draft social planning guidelines commissioned by the LGAQ implied that form of social planning which is associated with land-use and new social infrastructure
facilities (such as community centres, schools, medical facilities, shopping centres and transport), somehow supersedes the community development model:

Social Planning advanced the community development agenda of local government with its principles of social justice and participation (Menzies et al. 1995, p. 3).

Is it being suggested that the principles of social justice conveyed through community development have been upgraded through the addition of technical social planning processes? Given that in other sections these social planning guidelines advocate citizen participation in planning, the term *expanded* might have been preferable to *advanced*. I am not simply being pedantic with this issue. Given the dominance of positivist planning approaches and their comfortable place in the neo-conservative paradigm, there is a severe danger that the more tangible skills of social planning will be more familiar to physical planners and therefore highly valued compared to the participatory community work model.

In their interpretations of community work and social planning, study participants were divided. Respondents other than community workers made finer distinctions between the two. They suggested that social planning was an anticipatory and technical activity and community work reacted to problems in the community after they emerged. Community workers, on the other hand, perceived that because community work embraced the four principles outlined above, it could encompass social planning. Indeed, Zweig and Morris (1983) insisted social planning was as much about planning to overcome social problems as it was about preventing them.

Several respondents other than community workers said their councils did not employ social planners as such. The Town Planner in Townsville viewed social planning as transferring community needs into facilities. She, in fact, considered social planning to be something apart from social welfare:

Social planning is one of those issues about identifying needs which refers to social as community not as welfare. For example, child care facilities are not a welfare issue. They are a community needs issue (Director Planning and Development Services, Townsville City Council). Social welfare was the role of the council’s community workers in her estimation.

The Environmental Planner in Douglas made a similar comment about community workers assuming a social welfare role. She considered that with a town plan and population projections established, town planners could fulfil the social planning role;
Chapter Five

The Community Workers

ascertaining the need for community facilities according to the size of populations in different age groups. She said:

We (in the planning department) deal with social needs and they (community workers) deal with the people (Environmental Planner, Douglas Shire Council).

When I asked how she was able to separate the two, she replied that the planners’ work was in the office and the community workers worked in the community.

In Mackay, the Town Planner also insisted that social planning was not a community work role. He claimed that community workers did not perform the technical functions of social planning. In his opinion community workers were best suited to:

...going out, getting amongst the community and facilitating action groups; giving them support and encouragement to get together and form their groups; lobby people to get things happening in their community. ... if you go and hold community meetings the big issues really come up, like, "I'm not happy with the way traffic flows through the area”, "I find access to places difficult”, where's the open space?", "where's the bikeways network?” I think their talents are wasted sitting in an office doing social planning. (Director Planning and Development Services, Mackay City Council).

This view assumes that community work is more reactive than anticipatory and that planning is separate from community interaction. The distinction was also made quite clearly by the Mayor of Mackay City Council when he said:

Community development of course, is looking at the problems within the community, seeing the needs of the community. Social planning is where you're going to plan something; you're consulting the community. So, there's consultation but you're not necessarily doing the groundwork that you do with community development (Mayor, Mackay City Council).

The respondents quoted above generally made specific distinctions between community work and social planning. They saw social planning as anticipatory and technical and community work as a response to social problems requiring skills in human interaction. They also tended to acknowledge the social justice or welfare orientation of community work but removed that from social planning, implying that a technical orientation was not laden with social justice values but rather, value-free.

Community worker associations with community work and social planning

All seven community workers identified as such. They also considered they could perform some social planning functions. Unlike other respondents, community workers linked community work and social planning with citizen involvement in planning their communities (boxes 5.1 and 5.2).
Box 5.1 Community worker comments on community development

- Giving the community information.
- Liaison with community, council and government departments.
- Encouraging community involvement in council projects.
- Working with community and council to solve social problems such as those of the park people.
- You go into the community because you want to hear what people are saying.

Source: Extracts from interview transcripts with community workers in Townsville City Council, Douglas Shire Council and Mackay City Council 1995

Box 5.2 Community worker comments on social planning

- Social planning grew out of the social work profession and gradually became much broader. It's about people, how they live together in households, neighbourhoods and communities and how people use the resources of communities for enhancement of that community. It's about the techniques to enable communities to articulate what they want to move to. Then it's about the specialised needs of that community and ensuring social justice, access and equity.

- Social planning is about more than land use but about how people interact and whether they need social facilities. They (town planners in Council) see social planning as technical; you need special expertise and special skills and special knowledge to do it. It is probably a combination of both. There has to be some understanding of the planning frameworks, but I think you just need to have that connection with your place and the people in it. You could say a neighbourhood centre allows citizens to retain the use of that land, but it's more about providing a meeting spot for all the people in the neighbouring areas.

- Social planning is not just to do with community planning or social services planning or looking at needs in disability, aged or child-care for example, but planning that links in with the strategic land use planning and parks and with roads and a whole range of things. I think we're still a long way off doing that.

Source: Extracts from interview transcripts with community workers in Townsville City Council, Douglas Shire Council and Mackay City Council 1995
Some community workers were aware that other respondents distinguished community work from the technical functions of social planning particularly in relation to land-use planning. The community workers still located social planning within the broader realm of community work characterised by Lynn (1994) and outlined at the beginning of this chapter.

Five of the seven community workers with formal qualifications (table 4.1) were either training or working in the social welfare field in the 1970s and 1980s, the period during which the radical arm of social welfare emerged. The so-called radical social welfare movement inspired by the ideas of Saul Alinsky (1971) (who also influenced planning literature) urged social welfare practitioners to move away from an individual therapy model and towards channelling the power of social action groups and facilitating collectives to bring about local change in line with the aspirations and needs identified by community members (Ife 1995). These important developments in social welfare are certain to have touched the respondents in some way.

Also during the 1970s and early 1980s, the social welfare wing of local government in Queensland was in its infant stages. One community worker in Townsville who had been involved in the introduction of local government-based community work in Queensland, commented that the community workers were originally employed to identify needs within the community. They facilitated the development of local services to improve social welfare. He claimed that:

> The areas of community services were originally around social services planning with not much link to land use or any other aspect of planning be it cultural or environmental (Director, Community and Cultural Services Department, Townsville City Council).

The community worker in Mackay saw community workers as a pivot between the council and the community and between the community and the other levels of government. They provided an opportunity to advocate on behalf of local citizens and to influence State and Federal Government to implement policies relevant to their community.

When community workers referred to social planning, they also recognised technical skills such as ascertaining the need for safe and accessible siting of community centres, schools within new residential developments. When discussing social planning, some identified a relationship between land-use planning and social planning. When
community workers referred to community work that association was not elaborated. Another characteristic of community workers' perceptions of social planning was recognition of social planning by way of infrastructure such as child-care centres, bike-paths, community centres, etc. They identified the more tangible outcomes of social planning. In line with the non-community work respondents' comments on social planning cited above, the community worker in Mackay said that the field of social planning was specifically pro-active, and would eliminate the need for reactive work. She cited as an example:

...footpaths which are inaccessible for people in wheelchairs, or how they were built in the past without any thought to people in wheelchairs. Now what's happening is they are having to go back and put in ramps and make sure that pathways are wide enough for wheelchairs (Community Development Worker, Mackay City Council).

She suggested that this type of role was appropriately assumed by community workers in Mackay.

**Practitioner values**

All seven community workers defined the ideological context of their work without any hesitation when asked whether a particular model or philosophy informed their work. In all cases, the philosophy underpinning the working model of the practitioner conformed with the values espoused in the ethical codes of the two prominent social welfare professions in Australia, the Australian Association of Social Workers (AASW) and the Australian Institute of Welfare and Community Workers (AIWCW).

Professional principles within these two social welfare codes of ethics (Appendix 9) include an assertion that welfare workers have an obligation to:

* Utilise all available skills and knowledge to promote the well-being of individuals, groups and communities;
* recognise every person's unique dignity irrespective of ethnicity, social and economic status, gender, sexual preference, age, beliefs, or contributions to society;
* advocate that society has an obligation to promote social justice by protecting all members from harm and providing maximum benefits; and
* ensure that each individual, unless violating others' rights, has the right to self-fulfilment

(AASW 1990; AIWCW 1986).
Particularly striking in the value statements of the social welfare professions is the sanctioning of intrinsic value. The concept of self-determination which is expressed within the codes of professional social welfare ethics really sets social welfare workers apart from town planners and environmental planners whose ethical codes portray the planner as the expert (RAPI 1995; The EIA undated). Social welfare workers are unique because although trained as professionals, they are ethically obliged to regard client self determination highly. Professional intervention can therefore be conceived as a process of participatory decision-making (Compton and Galloway 1984; O'Connor et al. 1991; Pinderhughes 1983). Indeed, the community workers considered their professional values to set them apart from physical planning practitioners.

Above, I have argued that the community workers participating in this study associated with the values of the social welfare professions and the processes of community work. All seven identified as community workers and some incorporated social planning as being or potentially being an appropriate component of the community work role. Importantly, the associations they made between community work and land-use planning were not strong. This issue is explored further on in this chapter.

Like community workers, other study participants distinguished community work by the presence of the worker in the community, interacting with community members. When study participants other than community workers referred to social planning, they inferred that the worker would formulate strategies on behalf of the community. They tended to circumscribe social planning by removing the community or the welfare. Through activities such as facilitating active citizen participation in planning, identifying community needs and development of collectives to redress inequality within communities in their day to day work, community workers reflected a participatory work ideology.

**Community workers in the organisational context**

There is variance in the length of employment of the seven community workers in the respective councils (table 4.1). This is partly because each council had engaged staff in community work-type positions for varying periods of time. Townsville and Mackay Councils established such positions approximately twenty years earlier than Douglas Shire Council. At the time of my research interviews in Douglas in 1995, the Community
Development Officer and Aboriginal Liaison Officer positions had only been established for just over one year. The respondents from Douglas Shire Council were therefore the first community workers employed by the council. In 1995, it was not common for very small remote Queensland councils like Douglas to employ a community worker (LGAQ Officer, pers. comm., 1997).

Given these differences in the time there had been established positions in the three councils, community work had a different kind of presence in each. In Townsville there was a large department of seven community workers. Mackay had only three workers but a long established history of community workers in the council. After only sixteen months, the two workers in Douglas council were still developing their role in the council and the community. In theory, the community workers in Townsville had more organisational status than their counterparts in Mackay and Douglas. Yet the physical location of the community work department in each council would suggest they were all struggling for equal status with other council departments. Below I describe the physical and organisational position of community work in the three councils and consider the implications for its effective integration.

Physical location

Physically within two of the three Councils, community work departments were located separately from the main council building and administration sections. In Douglas, council departments were situated in four locations. Three were in the same street and the Parks and Gardens Section was about one kilometre away. The Community Development Section was located in a caravan, under a tree, behind the library, looking out to the public toilets and car park at the rear of the council building on one side, and towards a public playground on the other (plate 5.1). A large blue street sign indicated the location of the public toilets and another pointed the way to the library. The only sign to the Community Development Section is on the side of the caravan.

In Mackay, with building renovations taking place it was more difficult to gain an accurate sense of the location of the Community Development Section. It was temporarily isolated from other sections of the council in the otherwise unused second floor of the council building. The community worker stated that when the renovations
Chapter Five

The Community Workers

were complete the council planned to move the Community Development Section to:

... the ground floor at the very end of the corridor, tucked away, and that is very significant. Before we were near the main entrance foyer.

The environmental planner simply said:

... they're demolishing the toilets and putting them (the community workers) in the toilets.

The Department of Community and Cultural Services in Townsville City Council is situated one block away from the main council building, but still within its view. In an older building, again without any signposting, only a small sign on the door indicates its location. When asked whether the physical circumstances of their department affected their service, community workers in Townsville did not feel disadvantaged by location. One community worker said:

I like being here. We are accessible to community groups here. We do not have enough space but it's got a nice informal feel about it (Manager, Community and Cultural Services, Townsville City Council).

Plate 11 Douglas Shire Council Community Development Office, Mossman, 1995

In Douglas, on the other hand, community workers expressed some frustration at being isolated from other areas of the council. They suggested that their isolation contributed to the lack of integration of the new community workers in broader planning work of the council because others had an under-developed knowledge of their role.
Community workers within the corporate structures of the councils

As described in chapter three (figures 3.1 to 3.3), the three councils have similar corporate structures with a CEO directly responsible to the council of elected members, and functional departments responsible to the CEO. Each department in all councils has a director who forms part of a policy decision-making group for the councils. The place of community work in the council structures varies as do the functions of the departments. Below I describe the organisational context of community work in each of the councils.

**Townsville**

The Department of Community and Cultural Services in Townsville City Council, established in 1974 with one social worker, is now a large department with sixteen staff and its own director. With three social workers elected to the council during the late 1970s and 1980s, in 1974 the deputy mayor, a social worker, developed the position for a person with formal social work qualifications. A report the incumbent submitted to the council in 1975 indicated that the initial focus of the position was on ascertaining community welfare needs and seeking funding to establish services such as a shelter for women and children escaping domestic violence (Townsville City Council, 1975).

The current Director of the department was the third incumbent to the position when started in 1969. He was appointed with the title *social planner* but the nature of the position had not really changed. By 1969 a strong community work movement had developed in Townsville as a result of the Australian Assistance Plan. The first three community workers facilitated funding submissions which resulted in the development of several community-based welfare agencies including services for youth, homeless people and women escaping domestic violence. These services were managed by community volunteers while the council provided sponsorship and support with financial management. The council community worker also facilitated co-ordination among community-based services and identified social need and gaps in social welfare services.

A sub-program of the Townsville City Council, the Townsville Welfare Council, was formed to plan disaster relief following Cyclone Althea which devastated Townsville in 1975. In the early 1980s the Townsville Welfare Council became incorporated and
assumed the role of co-ordinating and providing administrative support for local welfare services and developing policy responses (Director, Community and Cultural Services, Townsville City Council 1995). Townsville City Council retained one community worker until 1984 when the section began to attract project funding from state and federal government grants and consequently increased staff numbers and the profile of community work within the council.

Townsville was the only one of the three councils where community work had departmental status and a designated director. Figure 3.1 in chapter three depicts the Department of Community and Cultural Services as having an equal position with the other five departments. The three major departmental functions according to the corporate plan were social, cultural and recreational planning. The operational plans for each of these three functional areas of the Community and Cultural Services Department are presented in full in Appendix 10.

According to the director, social planning was the oldest and most established of the three sections. It was the only one of the three to have a manager. Cultural and recreational planning were more recent functions of the department and the director admitted the process of integrating the three sections was still at a developmental stage at the time of interviews. The Cultural Planning and Recreational Planning Sections are not reviewed here as interest revolves around the social planning section from where interviewees were selected to discuss community work specifically. The three sections do however, overlap and each has specialist staff with the departmental director coordinating their functions. One might expect open space, and parks and gardens plans for example, would require co-ordination between the Planning and Development and Community and Cultural Services Departments. The community workers consulted, including the director, did not refer in any detail to the recreational dimension of the department during interviews.

The objectives of the social planning section match closely with the community workers' roles as they described them.
The objectives included:

- Development of social plans and community services based upon consultation with communities in local areas, and communities of interest;
- Enhancement of households' ability to care for their members, including children, people with disabilities, and elderly people;
- Promotion of citizen access to services, facilities, events;
- Maintenance of a commitment to the process of reconciliation between the wider community and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island people (Townsville City Council 1995, p. 34).

Mackay

Although the Community Development Section within the Mackay City Council had a long history, there was not a long-term community worker to recall its history as there was in Townsville. Minutes of a regional meeting of north Queensland community workers revealed that the Mackay Regional Council for Social Development (MRCSD) was established through the AAP in 1974 and Mackay City Council employed its first community worker prior to 1980 (Townsville City Council 1980).

As I noted in chapter three, in Mackay, the corporate re-structuring of the council in 1995 resulted in amalgamation of separate functional sections into large departments of which there are six. Unlike the situation in Townsville where community work expanded and became a department, Community Development in Mackay is one section of twelve within the Community Services Department.

According to the Mackay City Council Corporate Plan (1995, p. 12), the overriding goal of the Community Services Department is 'To provide a high level of services to enhance the quality of life of the community in the areas of public health and environment, recreation, culture and community development'. The department incorporates disciplinary sections with functions far more diverse than those of the Department of Community and Cultural Services in Townsville. It comprises the twelve sections listed below:

- Parks and Recreation
- Libraries
- Health
- Refuse and Disposal
- Cemeteries
- Cultural
Swim Centres
Community Development
Community facilities
Youth
Housing
Art gallery/collection
(Mackay City Council 1995, pp. 5-11)

The functions of these twelve sections were spread across a larger number of smaller and less diverse council departments before the amalgamation of Mackay and Pioneer Councils in 1994. According to the community worker and the environmental planner from Mackay, there had been no process engaged to integrate the different sections within the Community Services Department. Consequently, they continued to operate quite separately. The Director of the Community Services Department, originally an accountant, had the onerous task of coordinating the twelve sections and their staff who total over one hundred. Before amalgamation, the Community Development Section was a department within a council only a third of the size of the amalgamated council. The previous council had a less formal structure and culture. The strategies for the section, according to the corporate vision in 1995, are summarised in box 5.3. Appendix 11 includes the comprehensive strategies for each section as elaborated in the council's corporate plan.

Box 5.3 Strategic directions for Mackay City Council Community Development Section

- To provide, in conjunction with the community, infrastructure to meet identified social needs of all sectors of the community;
- To work with people towards the improvement of their potential and the development of a more equitable, caring and supportive community

Source: Mackay City Council 1995, p. 12

In 1995 the Community Development Section employed four community workers who divided their tasks according to particular communities of interest within Mackay - multi-cultural, disability, youth and aged. In addition, all workers undertook a role in responding to social problems and social policy review.
Douglas

The Community Development Section of Douglas Shire Council was established in 1994, employing a Community Development Officer and an Aboriginal Liaison Officer. Similar to the corporate structure in Mackay, as a result of corporate re-structuring in 1995, the Community Development Section within Douglas Shire Council was one of seven sections in a large department, the Department of Corporate and Development Services. The Deputy CEO of the council was the director of the Department of Corporate and Development Services which encompassed multi-disciplinary interests as follows:

- Administration
- Secretarial Support
- Building
- Planning
- Environmental Protection and Planning
- Community Development
- Library

(Douglas Shire 1995, p. 5).

The corporate plan states the broad aim of the community development section as:

To determine the social and human needs of the Douglas Shire Community and help initiate, develop and facilitate the satisfaction of those needs within the context of the resources provided by Council and other agencies (Douglas Shire Council 1995, p.19).

With a small staff and a new section still working towards recognition within the council, the community workers at Douglas Shire Council have a narrower range of tasks than their colleagues in Townsville and Mackay. Their account of their roles equates very closely with the strategic direction explained in their corporate plan, which is the case in the three councils. The key strategies for the Community Development Section are listed in box 5.4.

Implications of organisational arrangements for effective integration of community work

On paper, the corporate structures of the three councils appear to integrate community work. In Townsville, as an actual department, community work seems to have more prominence than it does in Mackay and Douglas. But in the latter two, community work was within the same department as land-use and environmental planning implying a greater effort towards integration. Respondents’ experiences suggested that this was not
Box 5.4 Strategic Directions For The Community Development Section of Douglas Shire Council

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aboriginal liaison</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Provide liaison between Council and Aboriginal and Islander community;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• facilitate an awareness and recognition of the identity of Aboriginal and Islander people;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• maximise co-operation between public/private agencies and Aboriginal and Islander people.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Assist the community and council to develop social and human services;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Child-care</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Facilitate provision of quality needs-based child-care within the Shire;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Housing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Support community initiatives to ensure a range of affordable housing options;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Youth needs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Improve recreation facilities for youth;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Facilitate employment opportunities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arts/cultural development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Facilitate the arts and cultural heritage within the Shire.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Douglas Shire 1995:19-20

The community workers and environmental planners in both councils claimed that the sections within the large community-oriented departments in Douglas and Mackay worked in a parallel rather than integrated way. Unlike Townsville where community workers have a director to represent their interests at high levels of council decision-making, in Mackay and Douglas the community workers felt powerless within the larger council decision-making structures. They perceived their directors to be torn between the interests of the different sections they represented. They also considered their respective directors were uninterested in facilitating cross-fertilisation of sections within their large departments. Community workers saw the directorial decision-making structures within the councils as maintaining power at the top bureaucratic level of the council, neglecting consultation with staff of the various sections or with citizens.

Community workers in both Mackay and Douglas commented that the directorial structure created a climate in which directors became competitive and preoccupied with
'protecting their own turf' instead of collaborating with other council departments. The community workers were not confident that their directors understood their roles, day to day projects and activities and the overall objectives of their sections well enough to support them in the larger council forums. Speilman and Glanville (1994), in considering the most appropriate position of social planners within councils, suggested that because they have a resource and facilitation role, they should be responsible directly to the CEO. This they argued, would allow social planners to move more freely between departments and the community, facilitating public involvement and consideration of social issues in the planning process (Speilman and Glanville 1994).

Instead, with their positions buried in large departments, the community workers in Mackay and Douglas were marginalised. They did not feel as though they were accepted as fully contributing members of their departments. Community workers in Townsville were represented as a department and in decision-making forums but had not much more of an established relationship with land-use and environmental planning than their counterparts in Mackay and Douglas. I return to this issue later in the chapter.

**Integration policies and community work**

Integration of community work into the broader planning and policy decision making forums and activities of Douglas and Mackay Councils is occurring slowly. Granted, community workers are still very new to the Douglas Shire Council and still establishing their role and their overall contribution to council functions. In Mackay, community workers were employed within the council for many years but were becoming less prominent, having moved from a department to a section within a multi-faceted department.

Both the *Local Government Act 1993 (Qld)* and the ILAP model encourage local government authorities to increase integration of community workers. The *Act* authorises local government authorities to prepare and adopt corporate and strategic plans which provide for public participation in developing local policy frameworks (s. 3 (b)). The Act also requires the corporate plans of local authorities to outline an assessment of local and regional issues. Local and regional assessments must include information on arts, community development, human services, economic development,
housing policy, population change and development, environmental management and infrastructure development, change and maintenance (secs. 418-427). The Act therefore provides the power and responsibilities to prepare and implement community work positions and programs in local government authorities in Queensland.

The structure and principles of the ILAP model were discussed in chapter one. Figure 1.1 depicts community development responsibilities as equally important to the traditional physical planning activities of councils. Key community development areas identified through ILAP as components of local area planning included social and cultural development, community services, housing and health, employment and economic development, transport and access and infrastructure and public facilities (ALGA 1993b). In fact, community workers could play a vital role in five out of eight key local government areas of responsibility recognised in the ILAP model.

In spite of these policies, the experiences of community workers expressed throughout this chapter reflect a similar situation in the three case studies. Community work departments are physically isolated from the rest of the council, in Douglas and Mackay they are one of many sections in large departments and do not have direct representation from their sections on decision-making boards. Their role in facilitating public participation is considered further on. This section has extended the discussion presented in chapter three with the aim of explaining the position of community work within the three councils. Community workers' comments about their experiences of working within those organisational structures has also been reported. Later in the chapter, I return to the question of how the structures actually facilitate or impede integration of community work.

**Community work practice in the councils**

This section presents the community workers' roles as they described them. Firstly, I outline their tasks. Picking up on the distinction respondents made between community work and social planning, I have categorised the tasks of the community workers as being either anticipatory or reactive. Secondly, the tasks are placed within the stated practice models and philosophies of the community workers. I discuss their roles in facilitating public participation, a major philosophical underpinning of community
work. Finally, I analyse the roles of the community workers in their respective councils as they relate to land-use planning and to the principles of ecological sustainability.

Tasks
As described during the first round of interviews, the tasks undertaken by the seven community workers were diverse (tables 5.1 and 5.2). The roles listed in the tables represent only those identified by community workers when they were asked to explain what they actually did on a day to day basis. There may be additional tasks that the community sections of the councils undertake which were not mentioned by study respondents because they were not personally responsible for them. The full range of areas for which each of the three community work sections is responsible was outlined above.

I noted above that based on the distinction between community work and social planning most commonly identified by study respondents, the tasks are categorised as reactive and anticipatory (tables 5.1 and 5.2), although the separation is sometimes arbitrary. Categorising community workers’ tasks thus, they compare in some ways with the dichotomous social planning approaches, political and technical, described by Craig (1990). Craig’s social planning dichotomy (explained in greater detail in chapter eight) suggests that the two models are informed by different epistemological foundations and would be difficult to merge.

While the merger may be difficult, given the tasks the community workers undertook, separating the two is also complicated. For instance, infrastructure planning may occur in a new neighbourhood centre which is also a forum for community meetings. The one community worker with a role concentrated in anticipatory community work tasks was unable to separate the two which she linked within a social justice philosophy. In her view, community workers should be involved in:

...community representation, community impact, facility needs, infrastructure needs, community responses, basic needs of either nature...child care, psychiatric care, but even on issues of transport, and gentrification. Even though we may be planning the development of suburbs in the outer areas, are the facilities and their needs being met? What is the demographic profile? Are they going to have access to transport? Are they going to have access to health care, child care and maternity care? Are they families where the mother is at home and she’s probably in her early child-bearing years?...Has she got access to medical facilities? And perhaps her husband will have the car at work. So does she have access to public transport and shopping facilities, schools? (Community Project Officer, Townsville City Council).
### Table 5.1 Reactive community work roles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reactive Tasks</th>
<th>Douglas</th>
<th>Mackay</th>
<th>Townsville</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Problems And Citizen Complaints</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>address public complaints eg safety, domestic violence, disability access, transport, health hazards, etc.</td>
<td>♦</td>
<td>♦</td>
<td>♦</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>citizen and or group advocacy</td>
<td>♦</td>
<td>♦</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referral to personal support services</td>
<td>♦</td>
<td>♦</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prepare social need statements</td>
<td>♦</td>
<td>♦</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Direct Service Provision</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child-care- in centres and after school and vacation care programs</td>
<td>♦</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>services for the aged</td>
<td>♦</td>
<td>♦</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pensioner housing</td>
<td>♦</td>
<td>♦</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Government Agency Support</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assist to co-ordinate local and regional community-based programs eg indigenous peoples, migrants, disabled, aged, youth</td>
<td>♦</td>
<td>♦</td>
<td>♦</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assist community agencies to access funding sources and develop management skills.</td>
<td>♦</td>
<td>♦</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assist community organisations in staff recruitment</td>
<td>♦</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Public Policy</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attend meetings &amp; prepare submissions to State and Federal Governments re proposed social policy</td>
<td>♦</td>
<td>♦</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.2  Anticipatory community work roles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipatory Tasks</th>
<th>Douglas</th>
<th>Mackay</th>
<th>Townsville</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Support New Projects and Community Services design cultural projects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>submit for funding and develop new services eg. child-care centres, community centres etc</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assist community groups to write funding submissions</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Planning participate in urban renewal project team</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>traffic calming</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Develop Social Policy local area tourism strategy</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cultural policy development</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affordable housing policy</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>community consultation policy</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Planning participate in regional planning forums</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Departmental Planning determine future departmental structure and roles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>develop relationships with other departments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Produce Planning Data and Community Information develop community profile, newsletter, social plan or atlas</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Not all workers were involved in the full range of tasks. They were more likely to focus on the concerns of particular communities of interest, for example indigenous persons, migrant communities or people with disability, or to facilitate community consultation on a residential renewal project. All workers undertook a variety of tasks. A community worker involved in provision of direct services such as aged care may be both responding to a need in the community and collecting statistics and information to inform aged care policy.

Social welfare work has been conceptualised as having three overlapping dimensions; casework to assist with personal difficulties, community work to assist communities to both plan for the future and respond to problems, and social policy formulation informed by community-based experiences. The function of social welfare work is to move among the three dimensions to effect positive social change (Leonard 1971).

Although the tasks of community workers outlined in tables 5.1 and 5.2 indicate that the workers are involved in a greater number of reactive than anticipatory tasks, the breakdown varies between the three councils, with the larger Community and Cultural Services Department in Townsville taking on more anticipatory tasks. Even so, community work roles in the three councils, according to the descriptions of tasks provided by the seven community workers and the formal council documentations (referred to above) were extremely varied, illustrating the tendency to move through the different dimensions of social welfare work.

In Douglas and Mackay, the tasks of community workers concentrated for the most part on facilitating community welfare service provision, even though some of that work involved forward planning. The direct service provision role was minimal in both Mackay and Townsville. Even in Douglas, with a slightly larger service provision role, the aim was to facilitate the development of new services in the community rather than directly from the council. Generally, the community service sections of the councils were more concerned with assessing community needs and developing proposals to generate funding for new services in the community according to need. In this reactive or responsive community work role, community workers tended to be working within that middle dimension of welfare practice, assisting communities to both plan for their future and respond to emerging problems. The work they were doing within the
community then aimed to build knowledge to inform their recommendations for social policy that would be locally relevant.

One community worker felt that her secondary level, intervention role was misunderstood by other council staff who were more likely to see their work as primary intervention:

> I think a lot of them see that we do a lot of social work type things, do-gooders. The Director of Corporate Services would say, 'Lots of cups of tea', that is his assessment of our section. I mean, he says it jokingly but in one sense that's quite true. We do have lots of cups of tea, but it is in the cups of tea that so much work gets done. You're sitting with people. You begin your relationships. You talk with them and start to help them to address their issues. That has certainly been an issue with our mental health stuff - power of people with a psychiatric illness to be part of things. We have set up a group that has representatives from all the government services, community based services, and the network groups and with people with psychiatric illness and people who are caring. The power balance is very strong there (Community Development Worker, Mackay City Council).

Apart from facilitating project funding submissions, which was a key anticipatory task of the community workers in the three councils, the community workers in Douglas had less involvement in anticipatory than in reactive roles. The Community Development Officer had, however, just started work on a local area tourism strategy.

Cultural program and policy development was an issue being covered by the three councils as was regional planning around social and cultural concerns. In Townsville, workers assumed a greater range of management tasks than their counterparts in Mackay and Douglas because they had departmental status and consequently, responsibility for associated management duties. The other significant aspect of the community workers' practice models was involving citizens in planning. Citizen involvement can be encouraged both in anticipatory and reactive work. Public participation as a component of the role of the community workers is discussed in the following section in relation to the overall philosophy informing the work of the seven community workers.

**Practice ideology**

The community workers performed their roles within a particular ideological framework. In the initial interviews, all study participants were asked about their day to day work, and then whether particular beliefs or models informed their work. In every case, when community workers were asked to describe their role, they linked it to particular values. Of the six practitioner groups involved in this study, the community
workers were the only group to do so. The only other study respondent who did so was the Mayor in Douglas.

One common feature in the work of community workers in each of the councils was a practice of working with citizens. Models for community consultation about proposed council policies and projects were being considered in Townsville and Mackay. The Community Development Section in Mackay had also written a community consultation policy for the council (Mackay City Council, 1995) although, according to Mackay respondents, it had not been formally adopted by the Council. The community consultation role, in this formal sense, was newer in Townsville:

In the Building Better Cities Project I feel that the consultants did the community consultation. Their process and format were very good. I do not think we would have been able to have done that internally. I do not think we had the resources or the skill to do it in that way. The consultants worked very closely with us and we learnt a lot from that process (Director, Community and Cultural Services, Townsville City Council).

In Douglas, the community worker considered community consultation to involve a large administrative component that could be just as easily taken up by the town planners as the community workers. All seven community workers, when describing their roles, referred not to formal consultation but to mobilising public opinion as an integral part of their work. They also portrayed a genuine commitment to empowerment of citizens and an empathy for powerlessness. The following quote from a community worker in Townsville illustrates these points:

I will use post school options as an example. I think there has been government department meetings and now they have asked me to come along too..... They have not involved parents...... In the meantime, I have rung around to a number of parents saying there is a suggestion that the Council sponsor this (project for disabled school leavers) to find out honestly what they think about it. Heaps of them do not think it is a good idea but they do not say that because they have got nothing. They are at home with people who need total care 20 hours a day (Manager, Community and Cultural Services, Townsville City Council).

In Townsville, one worker was encouraging community involvement in urban renewal. The Aboriginal Liaison Officer was keeping in contact with local Aboriginal organisations, liaising with government departments, and attending public meetings in an attempt to establish an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women's shelter. She claimed her role involved much negotiation and mediation. In a similar vein, the Aboriginal Liaison Officer in Douglas was facilitating the rights of local Aborigines to have a say in their housing design. He was also helping people fill in application forms for public housing.
The Community Development Officer in Douglas was assisting the community to develop a proposal for a home maintenance program. She believed one of her most important tasks was listening to members of the Douglas community. The community work role was still in a very developmental phase in Douglas as the community development section was very new. In addition, there were two workers in Douglas compared to four in Mackay and seven in Townsville. The workers in Douglas had spent much time assessing the need for affordable and culturally appropriate local housing. They had developed needs-based submissions advocating increased housing and, with strong public support, were mounting a lobby in favour of their submissions at the time of our meetings in 1995.

The Mackay department was more established. The respondent in Mackay said roles were shared among the four workers. Her particular area of focus was working with South Sea Islanders, Aborigines, Torres Strait Islanders and people with disabilities. Her work involved, for example, assisting cultural groups to seek funding for their services. She commented:

... often they are just ordinary people from the community and they do not always fully understand their responsibilities. Sometimes I provide information to people, sometimes I help them to make the connections without leaving them in the lurch ... it is taking them in (Community Development Worker, Mackay City Council).

When asked explicitly about the philosophy informing their work, community workers elaborated a common sense of values. One community worker said her work was based on:

... a liberation theology background and a belief that people have to take control of their lives and be empowered to do that. Community work most closely fitted with that particular philosophy. In a nutshell, it's respecting the rights of people to take control of their own lives and knowing that sometimes they need to establish the sorts of relationships whereby you can then help them to do those things (Community Welfare Worker, Mackay City Council).

Other community workers also articulated the importance of self-determination when asked about their working model:

Community development, participation, valuing people and valuing what they do as opposed to what I think they should do. Certainly, in terms of disability, we have operated on a model of inclusion and that's a challenge at the moment because people see things differently and that brings up the issues of respecting views which are different (Manager, Community and Cultural Services, Townsville City Council).
According to one community worker, community work practice rests upon a model in which cultural differences are acknowledged:

The most important value is the inherent dignity of the individual and the fact that we are a community. In the last decade we have developed a better understanding of what culture means and how important that is because it raises the whole question of diversity and respecting diversity. The community is a binding thing and also a disparate thing but there are many crossings so there is a sense of collectivism which is critical to community development (Director Community and Cultural Services, Townsville City Council).

The community worker in Douglas, when asked about the philosophy which informed her work, also highlighted the centrality of involving citizens in planning services and responding to needs identified by citizens. She emphasised the 'specialness' of the geographical area with not only its natural beauty and peaceful lifestyle but also the sense of isolation residents experience in Douglas Shire. A recognition of the diversity within the community’s population also influenced her work.

Among the two Aboriginal liaison officers, the worker in Douglas was clear that he believed disadvantaged indigenous people should have greater opportunity for self-determination in their community:

I try to do what the Aboriginal people want in the community. My work is more community led than by Council. I believe we should have more say in our community. We should be really well off in our community, in all areas - employment, owning businesses, doing what we want to do with our culture and our land. Just more freedom, so that's what I work for (Aboriginal Liaison Officer, Douglas Shire Council).

The Aboriginal liaison officer in Townsville approached her job with an aspiration to end discrimination against indigenous communities and to assist them in addressing local problems. She understood her role in liaison was to work with different racial communities towards harmony but still accepted that the goals of different groups would vary.

Although the two Aboriginal liaison officers were without formal tertiary qualifications, their philosophical work commitments were very much in concert with the values of the social welfare professions. Indeed, all seven community workers shared this strong philosophical basis to their practice. Making connections between citizens and institutions was an important component of the job of the seven community workers.
The community workers were all involved in working towards overcoming marginalisation of local groups whether they were indigenous, migrant or disabled groups. Community workers stressed consideration of equity and access to social and economic opportunity for all citizens. Inclusion of marginalised communities with specific interests or those formed through mutual connections or interests has been a major objective of community work (Kenny 1994).

**The contribution of the community workers to land-use planning**

Only in Townsville was there a community worker involved in urban planning tasks. The Community Project Officer was employed to work specifically on the Building Better Cities (BBC) Project in South Townsville and the Garbutt Urban Renewal Project. The projects required the community worker to liaise closely with planners from council as well as from state government departments, citizens, and community groups. Consultation took place on diverse issues from traffic calming to road shoulder design, to the aesthetics of landscaping.

The study participant in Mackay recalled that a community worker who had since left the council, had some community consultation involvement in the Building Better Cities project in Mackay. Involvement of the section in the project was not ongoing. Although the community workers in Mackay had requested through their departmental director that development applications be sent to them for comment, they apparently arrived spasmodically, only ‘...when someone remembered to send them’. The community worker felt that the director did not always see the connections. The Council had appointed a Chief Community Development Officer who had not started in the position at the time of my interviews. The community worker interviewed said the incoming worker had experience in the land-use planning area and would pursue greater involvement of the Community Development Section in land-use planning matters when she arrived.

In Douglas, the Community Development Officer observed that instead of being included in development decisions:

(...) We (community workers) end up dealing with the consequences. I do think we've got a role. I think we would have to be very careful that we have resources to cope with that and a forum to legitimise that role (Community Development Officer, Douglas Shire Council).
Her position had started at the time when the new Douglas Shire Planning Scheme was being developed but she mused:

No-one has ever thought to say to us, 'You should be involved in this'. We had no role whatsoever (Community Development Officer, Douglas Shire Council).

The town planner, Mayor and Deputy Mayor claimed that the final community consultations on the planning scheme were in progress when the Community Development Section was established and it was too late for the community workers to become involved. Had they been available, these three respondents considered they would have had a role to play in the community consultations. The engineer and environmental planner did not see that there would have been a role for community workers in the preparation of the planning scheme at all.

Assessment of development applications in the three councils did not involve community workers on a regular basis. Nor were they consulted as a routine procedure on controversial proposals or those with significant social or environmental implications. The respondents who had had some marginal involvement in commenting on development proposals expressed an interest in being more involved in land-use planning. However, they felt constrained, partly by their lack of experience, and partly because they believed the perception in councils of their role was limited to reactive-type work. Town planners did not automatically think to consult with community workers about development applications because their role in land-use planning was not established.

Even in Townsville with a community worker engaged in urban planning tasks, another community work respondent commented that a formal structure to involve community workers in land-use planning was needed. The SPT did not deal specifically with each proposed development. Rather, 'Town planners seem to think their own social planning skills are adequate to deal with such issues as they arise' (Manager, Community and Cultural Services, Townsville City Council).

While the role was not well established, in Townsville community workers were increasing their interest in local area planning. The town planner suggested that the growing interest by community workers in local area planning created role confusion.
When asked whether the community workers could make a more significant contribution to local area planning, she became quite defensive, alluding to the tensions in marking out practitioner responsibility:

I don't know what their role is and how it's different from our role. A classic example was the other day when the Education Department contacted me about some land at Douglas which I'm the project officer for. I told them they needed to speak to the company who own it and the community worker was upset at not being involved in that meeting. Yet a consultant's report has been prepared which identifies the school site. It was pretty straightforward from my point of view but the community worker would say that anything that relates to community facilities or anything like that, should involve them. I say that I cannot draw the line. I know there are some environmental and social impact issues that I'm more than competent to deal with because that's my training (Director, Planning and Development, Townsville City Council).

The community worker, unaware of the comments of the land-use planner in the same council, recognised the tensions but articulated a desire for a more co-operative and less territorial approach:

It (integrated planning) will only work when the disciplines break down their walls, their barriers. I am concerned though, that the town planners see themselves as the pre-eminent co-ordinators and I don't believe that they are naturally so. They are presuming that strategic and land-use planning is the basis of integrated planning. If environment was the basis for integrated planning it would be more likely to take into account cultural land-use issues. If you are drawing maps you are using an order that is usually a western, middle class understanding of society (Director, Community and Cultural Services, Townsville City Council).

Integration may also be impeded through community work and land-use planning being located in separate departments physically in the three councils. The corporate and strategic plans also fail to integrate the two. Lack of integration frequently results in poorly planned residential areas, lack of community cohesion and public amenity (McVicar and Reynolds, 1992). The planning department might develop affordable housing but '...without asking who benefits from affordable housing; who really lives in the dormitory suburbs' (Speilman and Glanville 1994, p. 8).

Community work and ecological sustainability

An association between community work and ecological sustainability was more difficult for community workers to define than that between their own role and the contribution they could make to land-use planning. Agenda 21, the strategy for ESD, views social and economic development as central ecological sustainability considerations. It also identifies local authorities as major contributors in attaining ecological sustainability (United Nations 1993). ‘Recognising the integral and interdependent nature of the earth, our home...’ (United Nations 1993, p. 9), Agenda 21 declares as the first principle of ESD:
Human beings are at the centre of concerns for sustainable development. They are entitled to a healthy and productive life in harmony with nature (United Nations 1993, p. 9).

Although a general awareness about ecological sustainability was emerging in many spheres of Australian government policy in 1995, there are few instances of academic social welfare analyses which connect social welfare or community work and the environment. Ife (1995) contributed a model that applied some connecting concepts drawing upon the values of community work. The model builds on the concept of interdependence but because it is concerned with community work per se, not within an integrated planning context, it is not concerned with tensions inherent in the different epistemological and discursive perspectives practitioners bring to their work. It does not pursue the issue of community work being marginalised within an organisational or interdisciplinary framework. Lane and Lee (1992) introduced environmental subjects into the social work curriculum at University of Sydney and Berger and Kelly (1993) offered an ecological creed to the core values of social work. Even though members of social welfare professions are beginning to connect people and nature, community workers in this study had given little thought to developing strategies that would recognise the interdependence of people and nature. The need for a deeper understanding of how to achieve an effective interdisciplinary approach is summed up thoughtfully by a community worker in Townsville:

I think constraints come from our own intellectual disciplines which are fairly narrowly defined. There is still a lot of distrust between professions because of educational isolation. There is still a lot of distrust and issues of inequity. There is the question of gender relationships and of areas of responsibility that different people have. There are political affiliations and the way people think society should work. All those things mitigate against integration (Director, Community and Cultural Services, Townsville City Council).

Community workers in other Australian councils were beginning to draw upon environmental themes in their work by 1995. There are many examples of such projects undertaken by community workers. Some which were documented in 1994 by the Local Government Community Services Association in a book called, Challenges and change: Examples of good community development practice by local government in Australia include:

- formulation of principles and guidelines for environmental river management and community mapping projects to create nature reserves in Liverpool (NSW);
- environmental arts project in Wanneroo (WA);
• development of an integrated community, environment and cultural plan in Penrith (NSW);
• re-development of an historic park as a ‘wilderness’ amphitheatre in Gosnells, (WA)
• active involvement in environmentally-aware urban design and housing projects in Townsville, (QLD), Penrith (NSW), Waverley (NSW), Maroochy, (QLD), Adelaide (SA), Launceston and Hobart (TAS);
• review of decision-making procedures for assessment of development proposals in Burnie (TAS) and Cockburn (WA).
• innovation of a model-making kit in Adelaide (SA) where citizens could physically illustrate their design preferences and learn about the complexities of urban/environmental planning;
• establishment of active citizen participation in planning local development projects and developing strategic plans;
• development of local projects which boost local employment while being sensitive to the environment in Werribee (Vic);
• education and involvement of citizens in reducing local traffic by establishing bikeways in Brisbane (Qld), walking paths in Maryborough (Qld);
• active citizen involvement in integrated urban, environmental and community/cultural planning in Tweed Heads (NSW), Toowoomba (QLD), Johnstone (QLD), Barossa (SA). Most of these councils have involved citizens in the development of comprehensive needs studies, community and management plans.

(Local Government Community Services Association 1994).

These examples illustrate that councils, both urban and rural, have involved community workers in projects which link to environment and development issues. Community workers in Australian councils are involved in interdisciplinary projects with a range of practitioners including environmental and town planners and their skills have obviously contributed to local projects.

Although the community workers in this study referred to the need for additional community work input to land-use planning, they did not really relate local growth and expansion to issues of loss of natural environment or to potential issues resulting from increased consumption of non-renewable natural resources. When asked to elucidate a vision for the local area, twenty-five years into the future, only two of the seven
community workers mentioned conservation of the environment. This was not unique to community workers however, as most respondents from other practitioner groups apart from the environmental planners and elected members also ignored the natural environment in their visions. None of the engineers and only the Douglas town planner included the environment in their vision for the local area.

Of the two community workers who identified preservation of the environment in their vision, one was from Douglas Shire, with a desire to see the World Heritage areas within the Shire maintained, and the other from Mackay who elaborated her vision thus:

I would like the strategic plan to start looking at setting aside environmentally fragile areas, such as river plains, and rain forest areas. I would like it to have an identity of its own. You have an identity when people say this is my place and I want to care for it... (Community Development Worker, Mackay City Council).

In their visions for the future, other community workers in Townsville identified the need for harmonious race relations, controlled tourism, growth and urban sprawl, a good water supply, and better public transport. When asked about the most important roles of their council in a more general sense, not one of the seven community workers mentioned the natural environment or ecological sustainability. They talked in general terms about local government needing to provide physical infrastructure and participatory decision making models.

**Community workers and environmental planners**

Social planning guidelines for local government in Queensland were being prepared during the data collection phase of this study (Menzies et al. 1995). The draft guidelines listed SIA as a community work task (Menzies et al. 1995). As a way of approaching the question of an association between community work and the natural environment, I asked community workers whether they had or would in the future have any involvement in SIA as part of their work with the councils.

In response, I discovered that the councils all employed consultants to undertake SIA. The community workers in Townsville were aware of a role emerging. The Community Project Officer involved in the BBC and urban renewal projects, when probed, suggested her involvement in citizen consultations on the upgrading of parks, landscaping, streetscape improvement and land contamination was a form of SIA. It
was not formally referred to as such by the council or other project officers but did connect environmental protection and community work.

The State Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs in Rockhampton was responsible for SIA in Mackay, with no formal working arrangement with community workers at Mackay City Council. The Mackay-based community worker suggested that as she was working at the grass roots level all the time, it would be very appropriate that she become involved in, if not conduct SIA but had found it difficult to develop a working relationship with the responsible Queensland Government Department.

While interested in becoming more involved in environmental and urban planning and assessment, all seven community workers acknowledged that they had a limited knowledge of the role of environmental planners in their council. They had not discussed common issues of concern, or work areas where one could complement the other. Nor did the community workers articulate connections when asked to explain their understanding of the roles of the environmental planners in each of the councils. This situation was so for a number of reasons. The community workers in Douglas and Mackay contended that the environmental planning role in their councils was very new and still developing. Others considered there to be little connection between community work and environmental planning. There was also some confusion about who the environmental planners actually were.

Without a position with the specific title, environmental planner in Douglas and Mackay, the community workers in Douglas viewed environmental health officers, town planners, the staff of the parks section of engineering and the cassowary protection officer as having an environmental planning role. In Mackay, the community worker also regarded environmental health officers and the parks and gardens staff as environmental planners. The community worker was aware that one staff member of the environmental health section was involved in environmental protection work but did not have a detailed knowledge of his role. Their interpretations are no doubt apt. Once I clarified with community workers who was, for the purposes of this study, referred to as the environmental planner, they were asked about the role of that person, specifically. Without prompts, community workers identified a small number of environmental tasks
for which the environmental planners assumed responsibility. They are summarised in table 5.3.

Table 5.3  Community worker perceptions of environmental planning tasks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Douglas</th>
<th>Mackay</th>
<th>Townsville</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>♦ Daintree Rescue Package</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♦ Processing development applications</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♦ Cassowary protection</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♦ Impact assessments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♦ Manage industrial pollution particularly of water</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♦ Concerned with environmental threats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♦ Establishing walking trails in parks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♦ Impact assessments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♦ Management of contaminated and degraded land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♦ Protecting environments which have a value to the community</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♦ Environmental education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Townsville, with a large and longer established environmental planning section in the council, community workers were able to recognise more easily who the environmental planners were. They were able to identify a greater number of tasks than respondents in Mackay and Douglas. The tasks they did identify were general. The community worker in Mackay also only mentioned general areas of environmental planning responsibility. The community workers in Douglas, on the other hand, were aware of some of the specific environmental planning projects in which the environmental planner was deployed ie the Daintree Rescue Project and the Cassowary Protection Program.

Community workers in Townsville and Douglas suggested that because environmental planners and community workers have different ways of understanding local area planning, they had not developed a good understanding of each others’ roles or close working relationships. A study participant in Townsville noted that social and environmental planners worked from a quite different perspective:

> While land use planning is precise because of its relationship to law, compensation and dealing with money, value of land, environmental planning is on about the minutest detail of specific species and we are on about the broad aspects of the contrasting issues of people (Director, Community and Cultural Services, Townsville City Council).

Another community worker in Townsville recalled experiencing some conflicting work approaches with a physical planner who viewed expert knowledge to be more valuable than community knowledge, and hence scorned the community participation processes...
of the community workers. A community worker in Douglas remonstrated that the environmental planner had, at a public meeting, demonstrated a lack of understanding of community involvement and of social problems such as discrimination:

the environmental planner started to say there's no problems with enough housing because she was able to get a house. It is irrelevant. There are Aboriginal people who cannot go to a real estate agent and get a house. There are other people too who cannot get a house because they are not seen as desirable people (Community Development Officer, Douglas Shire Council).

In this case, the example demonstrates the tensions between the social analysis and a physical 'scientific' perspective. Discrimination is a social phenomenon and difficult to explain in scientific terms. Given that there had been few serious attempts in the three councils to integrate the concerns of community work and environmental planners, it is not surprising that the community workers were still grappling with where and how the two might converge.

Perceptions of the community work role
The perception held by other study participants about the role of the community workers is the subject of this section. Firstly, I explore community workers’ perceptions about how they think other council workers understand their role. The section assists in developing insight about integration of the community workers.

The view of community workers
According to their experiences, the seven community workers said their roles were not well integrated with those of other council departments, although they believed they should be. When asked whether other council officers had an understanding of the community work role, only one of the seven community workers interviewed could say with any certainty that others within the council understood her role. Interestingly, that community worker in Townsville was designated to residential development projects that operated through teams also comprising engineers and town planners. All others said the physical and administrative planners in their councils shared an ignorance of the detail of community work. They perceived that others saw the essence of their role as generating welfare program funding into council and ‘helping the needy’. Community workers felt that others did not understand their anticipatory role, their potential to contribute to land-use planning or the guiding philosophy informing their work.
The different practitioner perspectives already mentioned in relation to community workers and environmental planners were cited by the Director of the Community and Cultural Services Department in Townsville City Council as a cause for misunderstanding of the community work role by others in council more generally:

There is a general lack of understanding of what community work is because of its association with welfare in its traditions. They see it still as the helping role but even the professions with some understanding get frustrated because we are scientific but we are never definite. We can talk overview, directions, and philosophy but we might say 95% of people say this but another 5% say something else.

In spite of being a larger, established department in Townsville, these issues of the community work role being misunderstood prevailed. A similar experience emanates from the Community Development Section in Mackay which like Townsville had been established for about 20 years. The following quote from the community worker illustrates ignorance of the potential for community workers to perform a planning role:

...they are using consultant engineers to do the strategic plan. We could have done that quite well. We have the skills and the networks. They employ an organisation that is based in Brisbane for God's sake. I have had a lot of community people ask me how they can input into the strategic plan. (Community Development Worker, Mackay City Council).

Community work according to other planning practitioners

The community workers' sense that others had a limited understanding of the ideological framework guiding their work was accurate. When asked about the role of the community workers, respondents from all councils were able to identify a number of tasks, mostly in very general terms and mostly reactive tasks (tables 5.4 to 5.6). Reactive roles were most often mentioned without probing. Some probing was required before most anticipatory roles were identified. Responses from each council are discussed below.

The CEO in Townsville was most aware of the community work role. He identified community workers' tasks in three of the four reactive task categories and four of six anticipatory work areas. The environmental planner had a comprehensive idea of the community workers' anticipatory role but no sense of their reactive tasks. The land-use planner and engineer had the most limited understanding of the community work role identifying only two tasks from each category. While the administrator had a detailed knowledge of actual community work projects, the Deputy Mayor, land use, environmental planner, and engineer all had a far less comprehensive understanding.
Table 5.4 Respondent perceptions of the community work role in Townsville

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environmental Planner</th>
<th>Land use Planner</th>
<th>CEO</th>
<th>Elected Member</th>
<th>Engineer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reactive Planning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• provide child care services</td>
<td>• manage services</td>
<td>• recreation</td>
<td>• manage welfare services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• management tasks</td>
<td>• auspice services ie recreation, cultural, child-care</td>
<td>• public complaints</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anticipatory Planning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• strategic planning</td>
<td>• identify community needs</td>
<td>• submit for program funding</td>
<td>• urban development</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• infra-structure planning</td>
<td>• plan welfare services</td>
<td>• urban development</td>
<td>• housing policy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• community consultation</td>
<td>• comment on development proposals with significant social impacts</td>
<td>• infrastructure planning</td>
<td>• community consultation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• develop new welfare services with community</td>
<td>• collate demographics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• affordable housing policy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

◊ = probe required before task being identified
◆ = probe was not required prior to task being identified

All respondents were aware of the anticipatory tasks of the community worker working on urban planning projects. This suggests her role was more integrated with other council departments than the roles of her counterparts. The worker confirmed this to be so, indicating that the urban development projects she worked on had structures that brought together other sections of council, creating a mechanism to provide an opportunity for clarification of practitioner roles.
Mackay

Overall, respondents in Mackay were more aware of the reactive than the anticipatory role of the community workers (table 5.5).

Table 5.5  Respondent perceptions of the community work role in Mackay

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environmental Planner</th>
<th>Town Planner</th>
<th>Administrator</th>
<th>Elected Member</th>
<th>Engineer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reactive Planning</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✷ detect social problems in community</td>
<td>✷ facilitate development of new welfare services</td>
<td>✷ child-care &amp; youth services</td>
<td>✷ public complaints</td>
<td>✷ needs assessment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✷ facilitate community meetings</td>
<td>✷ auspicing</td>
<td>✷ manage community centres</td>
<td>✷ manage community centres</td>
<td>✷ liaison between council and community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✷ support for disadvantaged</td>
<td>✷ assess community needs</td>
<td>✷ support community</td>
<td>✷</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✷ public complaints</td>
<td>✷ project evaluation</td>
<td>✷ groups ie child-care, youth, multi-cultural</td>
<td>✷</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Anticipatory Planning</strong></td>
<td>✷ urban development</td>
<td>✷ politicise community groups to take action</td>
<td>✷ submit for program funding</td>
<td>✷ community consultation policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✷ strategic planning</td>
<td>✷ community consultation policy</td>
<td>✷ urban development</td>
<td>✷ community consultation</td>
<td>✷ community consultation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✷ community consultation</td>
<td>✷ community consultation</td>
<td>✷</td>
<td>✷</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

= probe required prior to task being identified

= probe was not required prior to task being identified

Almost all respondents identified community consultation as a function of community workers. Three of the five also said community workers engaged in urban planning because they recollected that they had a role in the early stages of the BBC program in Mackay. They failed to recognise the community, strategic and departmental planning role of the community workers. Only one respondent mentioned that community workers provided support to community groups to establish new welfare programs.
Douglas

In Douglas, respondents had more idea about the community workers’ reactive roles, although no-one mentioned their actual role in public policy or preparation of social need assessment (table 5.6).

Table 5.6 Respondent perceptions of the community work role in Douglas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environmental Planner</th>
<th>Town Planner</th>
<th>Elected Member</th>
<th>Engineer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reactive Planning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● manage facilities ie child-care</td>
<td>● establish child-care centre</td>
<td>● support Aboriginal community</td>
<td>● support Aboriginal community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● community liaison</td>
<td>● support Aboriginal community</td>
<td>● Aboriginal housing</td>
<td>● help the needy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● Aboriginal housing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anticipatory Planning</td>
<td>● submit for program funding</td>
<td>● community consultation</td>
<td>● submit for program funding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● collate demographics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● planning social infrastructure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● tourism strategy</td>
<td>● regional planning</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

◊ = probe required prior to task being identified
● = probe was not required prior to task being identified

The Mayor was most able to talk about community work projects and anticipatory tasks. The environmental planner, town planner and engineer had a very limited knowledge of the community workers’ roles. Their general understanding was that they provided social welfare support and facilities. All participants were aware that the community workers had attracted funds to the council and appeared more impressed by their fund-raising talent than by their actual work processes or achievements.

Across the three councils administrators and elected members had a greater knowledge than town planners, engineers or environmental planners about the role of community workers. Respondents all identified that much of the community workers’ time was spent in the community but they did not articulate the importance of the relationship
between being in the community and facilitating public involvement in planning and policy activities of their councils. For example, as opposed to community workers' concept of mobilising citizens in decision-making about the future of their communities, an elected member alluded to community workers as pacifiers of the public in times of potential conflict:

They're a group that are very supportive to me. People come and see me about their problems, it could be the neighbourhood centre that's having problems. I don't know exactly what their problem is but I get one of them (community development workers) to go out and talk to them (Mayor, Mackay City Council).

He was not the only respondent to view community participation as a political gatekeeping function. The Deputy Mayor in Townsville considered:

That ability to interact with public does show a lot of skills. I realise that by the time they get to us, the public are often at the end of their tether with whatever their problem is. The community services area are very cluey with dealing with that.

The perception that community workers were working with citizens to pacify them or identify problems was more common in Douglas and Mackay than in Townsville. In addition, Townsville respondents had experience of a community worker being involved in urban planning. In contrast, Douglas and Mackay community work involvement in design for social infrastructure including community centres, schools and child care facilities, health and shopping facilities was considered by a number of respondents to be inappropriate. Town planners situated in the Councils' planning departments were seen as the most appropriate practitioners to carry out such tasks.

The general lack of understanding of the full range of anticipatory community work tasks helps to explain why consultants assumed to be social planning experts undertake social impact assessments and formal community consultation programs for the councils. The community workers all agreed that they had the skills to undertake those tasks but were not asked to do so. Why was this the case in Townsville where there was a history, albeit recent, of community work involvement in urban planning? All respondents were aware of that role which was more integrated with other council departments than the roles of her counterparts.

It is difficult to say with absolute certainty that because this worker's tasks involved obvious technical skill that those skills were more valued by others than the reactive tasks. It is also not possible to assume that community workers engaged in integrated
land-use planning will have as much influence as the physical planners as the two have traditionally been separated in council corporate structures (Speilman and Granville 1994). This of course, was also the case in Townsville. There was no indication that the worker had equal decision-making power in the team. Essentially, she was one token socially-oriented planner in a team of physical planners. The example was cited above of a physical planner challenging her participatory approach. As a member of a team with physical planners, the worker was probably powerless to challenge the model adopted by the physical planners.

It is also not possible to be sure that others were more aware about what this worker did because she was working with other departments and therefore more visible or because her tasks involved obvious technical skill. Take for example, the recent Townsville case of Magnetic Quays (Sinclair et al. 1995). State and local government commissioned an EIA to assess the potential impacts of the re-development of the jetty and a large residential and commercial development at Nelly Bay on Magnetic Island. A group of engineers was appointed to undertake the EIA consultancy. The original consultancy proposal did not incorporate SIA at all and it was subsequently imposed on the consultants by the co-ordinating group from the responsible State government agencies. The eventual SIA was given secondary status in the process illustrated through the comparatively small resource allocation in the overall EIA (Sinclair et al. 1995).

Where councils hire social planning consultants to undertake an SIA, the community workers should be integrally involved in setting the terms of reference, selecting consultants, ensuring adequate process and reviewing documentation. Where this does not occur, the distance between community workers and land-use planners is maintained. It can also result in community workers being confined to the reactive role. They tend to be called in to deal with the consequences of poorly planned development and facilities after, rather than before problems have begun to emerge, an issue raised by community workers in Douglas and Mackay.

A study conducted in local government authorities in Perth with planners from different disciplines derived similar findings (Fenton 1991). Firstly, physical planners such as engineers and land-use planners, misunderstood the community work role. The study also found that the social research conducted in the community was less valued than
expert technical knowledge. Fenton (1991) concluded that all professions involved in his study, including the community workers themselves, had a responsibility for improving communications which would result in roles being clarified and the functions of community workers being more appropriately integrated with local area-planning (Fenton 1991).

Summary
This chapter has illustrated the roles and practice ideology of the seven community workers. A feature that distinguished community work among local government work areas in the three councils was the articulated link between community work practice and its guiding philosophy, informed by social justice principles and specific professional ethics. The strong emphasis given by the community workers to citizen participation rather than technical processes or tangible planning outcomes distinguished them from physical planners and contributed to their exclusion from broader planning processes.

Community workers were facilitating community involvement in planning; seeking citizen opinions and conveying community aspirations to the councils. They were developing new community services and facilities and assisting in maintenance of those already existing. They were also linking grass roots experiences to the broader policy process. Only one of the seven workers had a direct role in land-use planning activities. The seven community workers were engaged in predominantly people-based, reactive tasks and minimally in land-use planning functions in spite of the broader role proposed in the Queensland Social Planning Guidelines (Menzies et al. 1995) which integrates the two. Physical planners were more likely than community workers to distinguish between social planning and community work than to consider a blending of the two. If community work encompassed only the anticipatory tasks and concentrated on only the technical social development matters without the value base of social welfare it would be a very different practice.

The suggestion made by some study respondents that the interactive skills of community workers are used for political purposes to pacify discontented citizens is contrary to that proposed by community workers who are more concerned to mobilise citizen decision-
making power. The seven community workers did not adopt purely technical planning approaches. However, their interactive community-centred style was untested in relationship to land-use planning where they had little experience and few expressed aspirations. The questions remaining are not only whether community work can be better integrated but whether physical planners will accept that community work can embrace the skills of what they consider to be social planning.

Marginalisation of community workers within the councils' organisational structures was a further constraint to their integration. In Townsville, with a delegated department and director, community workers' involvement in land-use planning was increasing. In Douglas and Mackay, a role for community workers in land-use and environmental planning had not developed. The Community and Cultural Services Department in Townsville City Council had made some significant advances with the advantage of time. Having departmental status and consequently more decision-making power than Douglas and Mackay, the Townsville department had begun to promote its role in local area planning, but not without resistance from the land-use planners. Even with greater equity in the council's corporate structure, the council was still organised according to the traditional functional departments. According to McVicar and Reynolds (1992) it is not uncommon for planners to have a narrow professional perspective and few opportunities to broaden their understanding within compartmentalised local government planning structures.

Community workers knew their role was unclear to other council departments and that better integration in local area planning functions was needed. The biggest impediments were integrating community work and the physical planners in the three councils due to lack of role definition and the reluctance of town planners to accept that community workers actually have a role to play in local area planning. This will remain as a barrier to integration while land-use or urban planners continue to contend they themselves have all the knowledge and skills required to assume the anticipatory community work roles without the community workers. Issues of conflicting interdisciplinary perspectives are taken up again in chapter eight.
A significant contribution of community work to local government has been that it has complemented the work of town planners and engineers by encouraging adoption of social justice strategies based on a well developed social science analysis of human oppression in relation to class, racial and gender-based discrimination. There is no evidence that community work has yet extended that analysis to the interdependence of humans and the non-human environment. Judging by the draft Social Planning Guidelines for Queensland Local Government in 1995, neither has the social planning model, even though environmental degradation may be the ultimate human problem. Social welfare is primarily concerned to ensure that ending social oppression, poverty and discrimination remains on the political agenda. As community work begins to link up with land-use planning in Queensland local government authorities, it is critical to question whether its relatively low status will improve.
Beyond the three R’s: The emerging field of environmental planning

Chapter Six
This chapter is concerned with the environmental planners in each of the councils. Early sections of this chapter profile the three environmental planners in the context of the councils where they were employed. Their role is then described, and finally the chapter considers the factors that impede or facilitate integration of the environmental planning role into local area planning activities.

Why environmental planning?
In the form of the three R’s—roads, rates and rubbish environmental management has been a fundamental role of local government in Australia for over 100 years. The three R’s become central environmental issues when considered in relation to the following:

- transport is one of the biggest single sources of the greenhouse gases predicted to produce climatic change;
- taxes on users and producers are the most frequently proposed suggestions for reducing environmental pollutants of all types; and
- the reduction and safe disposal of wastes is a priority issue for environmental policy makers at global, federal and state levels (Brown et al. 1992a, p. 13).

In the introduction, I distinguished environmental planning from environmental management. The significant difference being that environmental planners engage in strategic planning tasks aimed at environmental protection in addition to management tasks such as regulating and monitoring pollution control levels (Graham 1992). In this thesis, I am specifically interested in environmental planning because of the links that such a definition of environmental planning allows with land-use planning, a fundamental role of local government. However, it is important to acknowledge that the terms environmental management and environmental planning have been used interchangeably. With reference to coastal protection, Brown and Burke (1993) used environmental managers as a unifying term for those in the environmental protection work area whether they were bureaucrats or scientists. They were all, according to Brown and Burke (1993), managing aspects of coastal protection. Graham (1992) researched the environmental management role of local government. He also amalgamated environmental health officers and environmental planners in one category—environmental managers. Both definitions recognised that those in the environmental protection work area must maintain an interest not only in the environment but in social, economic and cultural factors. They also acknowledged the intricate association between environmental protection and planning at the three levels.
of government and at the regional level. Day (1988) referred to environmental planners as an emerging profession with concern that land-use planning systems integrate environmental protection principles and strategies. He suggested some strategies environmental planners could adopt. They included raising awareness about finite natural resources, increasing the public sector, decreasing wages to boost employment and reduce excessive consumption levels, and co-operative approaches to economics and land taxes (Day 1988).

Three environmental planners

The three environmental planners participating in the study had different backgrounds (table 4.1), worked in different organisational structures and adopted quite different approaches to environmental planning. Below I discuss the particular characteristics of the environmental planners.

Mackay

Environmental planning was a function within the Health Section of the Community Services Department of the Mackay City Council. The organisational structure of the department was explained in chapters three and five. Like Community Development, Health and Refuse, and Disposal were each one of twelve sections within the Community Services Department. Environmental Planning was further buried in these two sections without independent status.

The environmental planner at Mackay City Council, the only male among the three, had been employed for a longer period in total than the environmental planners in Townsville and Douglas, but had only been involved in environmental protection duties for a few months at the time of interviews in 1995. He had been employed as an Environmental Health Officer for seven years. With the introduction of the Queensland Environmental Protection Act (1994), environmental protection duties had become the focus of his role, although the title of the position remained unchanged when the role was expanded.
The environmental planner in Mackay had completed a graduate Diploma in Management since graduating as a Health Surveyor in 1978. He defended the appropriateness of environmental planning tasks being undertaken by Environmental Health Officers by pointing out that much of the information required to implement the *Environmental Protection Act (1994)* (a central focus of his environmental planning work) had been included in The Environmental Health Officer course he completed at Queensland University of Technology in 1978. Throughout his working life he had worked in local government. His role had been predominantly concerned with inspecting commercial and industrial health standards but he had become involved in pollution and waste management issues including recycling programs.

**Douglas**

In Douglas, the environmental planner, officially titled *Planning Officer*, had taken up a position which was new in the council only seven months prior to the interviews. Although employed as a planner, she was selected for the position specifically because she had environmental planning qualifications (1991) as well as an urban planning degree (1993) (Town Planner, Douglas Shire Council). She had worked as a surveyor and town planner in Brisbane for approximately twelve months before taking the position at Douglas Shire Council in 1994.

The land-use planner in Douglas carried out some environmental planning tasks prior to employing a qualified environmental planner, but the environmental planner in Douglas was largely integrated with land-use planning from the outset. According to the land-use planner:

> You must have some environmental experience. I have, but I am not qualified. That is why we employed someone who has qualifications as an environmental planner as well as a second degree in land-use planning.... The lines are blurred now. You cannot just say, I am a land use planner and not an environmental planner. They really do cross over (Town Planner, Douglas Shire Council).

The specialised knowledge of environmental planning was sought independently of the requirement for the council to implement new environmental planning legislation. The legislation (discussed below) appeared to cause little concern in Douglas, according to the land-use planner who considered the council to have been implementing the requirements of the legislation before it was introduced. In fact, he suggested Douglas
Shire Council could have contributed to the development of the legislation given their experience and innovation in environmental protection.

Even though the council was committed to environmental protection, the environmental planner had little organisational status. The position was situated in the Planning Section, one of seven sections within the Department of Corporate and Development Services. The Council's Deputy CEO at the time of interviews, had overall responsibility, as the chairperson of the Environmental Protection and Planning Committee. In Douglas Shire Council, Health Officers located in the Engineering Department conducted the regulatory environmental management functions. A recent addition to the Engineering Department was a Cassowary Protection Officer who worked in a special species preservation project, suggesting that the Engineering Department was not confined to dealing only with environmental issues of a regulatory nature. It also assumed an environmental protection role.

The environmental planner did not, unless specifically requested, attend her departmental committee meeting. Her ideas and issues were taken to the Development and Planning Committee meeting of the Council by her senior officer, the town planner. He was not represented as a director but was encouraged to attend and contribute to the monthly committee meeting. All seven councillors formed the committee with staff present in the capacity of advisers to the committee. Staff did not have voting rights on the committee.

The environmental planner therefore depended upon the town planner to argue the case for environmental protection policy and project funding at committee meetings where those decisions were made. Under the existing circumstances, the town planner was very aware of environmental issues and supportive of the environmental planner's proposals. In addition, the Shire's Planning Scheme, as discussed in chapter three, enforced environmental planning priorities. In the absence of these favourable conditions, one could imagine the environmental planner in a powerless position. If there was not an environmentally aware town planner or if the council was in favour of development over environmental protection, the situation could change. Even with an ecologically sustainable orientation to the planning scheme, project by project decisions can reflect the values of the actual decision-makers (Carley and Bustelo 1984; Craig, 1989).
The environmental planner had very little ability within the given organisational structure to influence policy at that level.

Townsville

The Manager of Environmental Planning Services in Townsville City Council was one of three environmental planning positions in the Council. Environmental planning positions had been established in Townsville since the early 1980s. The council had one environmental planner until 1994 when two additional positions were created. The environmental planning position in the Townsville City Council was the first appointment the environmental planner involved in this study had taken up after graduating with an Environmental Science Degree from Griffith University in 1986. The Townsville respondent had been working in the position for six years. She therefore had more experience as an environmental planner in the field than her counterparts in Mackay and Douglas.

The first environmental practitioner, titled Environment Officer was employed in the Health Department of the Council. Until then, Townsville City Council employed Environmental Health Officers but was one of the first councils in Queensland to create a position which overtly incorporated environmental planning functions (pers. comm., LGAQ officer 1997). When this initial environmental planning position was created in Townsville it was largely concerned with pollution and waste management- referred to by the current environmental planner as brown issues as opposed to natural resource management or green issues. This first position in Townsville City Council was distinguished from a purely brown issues position because a significant duty within the position was to establish environmental community education programs. One memorable example was the 100, 000 Trees For Townsville Campaign in the early 1980s where the council involved the community in large-scale re-vegetation projects throughout the city.

According to the environmental planner, in those early days, a large component of the environmental planning position was responding to environmental problems:

...we would get involved in re-vegetation projects and fix a few things up. And that was basically about all we could achieve because once you get yourself into that role you spend your whole day putting out fires with no planning focus whatsoever (Manager of Environmental Planning Services, Townsville City Council).
In her opinion, even though that first environmental planning position was intended to bring to the council the environmental protection perspective, the damage control approach was kept alive by other council officers. Referrals to the environmental planner mostly related to environmental problems rather than involving her in forward planning. They often took the form of a request for assistance:

...someone is pouring oil down a drain, or down the sewer system. And up until now we have become involved in a lot of things we didn't really have to. But that is all part of the learning curve. While you are there you can then explain why the problem occurs, then they take it on next (Manager of Environmental Planning Services, Townsville City Council).

In 1995, Environmental Planning Services became an official program within the Council’s Health and Environmental Services Department. At the time of interviews, Environmental Planning Services employed a manager and two additional environmental planners with the position name, Environmental Planning Officer.

The introduction of environmental planning to Townsville City Council coincided with increasing local government awareness of ecological sustainability and prior to legislative changes to local government’s environmental planning role. However, the Director of Corporate Services considered legislation to have increased the council’s environmental planning accountability because it rendered the council liable if environmental duties and standards set down in the Acts were not met. In each of the councils, particular circumstances constrained effective integration of environmental protection functions while others facilitated them. These factors are discussed in a later section of this chapter. Now, however the profiles of the environmental planners are further elaborated.

**Educational background**

Although the various definitions of environmental planning and environmental management to which I have referred above endorse the interdisciplinary nature of environmental planning, all three environmental planners had science qualifications. The environmental science courses undertaken by the Townsville and Douglas respondents included a small number of units related to social issues and to public participation but were substantially focused upon physical sciences (Griffith University 1988; 1992). The Diploma in Town Planning course from which the environmental planner in Douglas graduated, placed greater emphasis on public participation and social issues as they relate to urban planning (Queensland University of Technology 1992).
The three environmental planners qualified for membership to the Environmental Institute of Australia (the EIA), the professional body in Australia representing environmental practitioners. The institute allows two categories of members—those with accredited degrees and those with five or more years of functional environmental experience. The following functions qualify as functional experience:

- socio-economic and environmental assessment
- planning documentation
- operations and design
- education
- research
- legislation

(The EIA n.d.).

**Environmental planning values**

In its statement of professional objectives, the EIA recognised that environmental practitioners have a responsibility to change environmental consciousness. The objectives were stated as follows:

- facilitate interaction among environmental professionals;
- promote environmental knowledge and awareness;
- advance ethical and competent environmental practice

(The EIA, n.d.).

In relation to what is regarded by the EIA as ethical professional conduct (Appendix 12), there are definite parallels with the ethics of the community welfare professions. Both identify the importance of protecting intrinsic qualities. Interdisciplinary collaboration is also stressed by both.

However, the educational programs through which the three environmental planners acquired their qualifications contrast with those of the community workers because the environmental planning curriculum emphasised scientific knowledge and technical skill (Griffith University 1988; 1992). The social welfare educational background of the community workers who had completed formal training was situated within an explicit ideological framework (University of Queensland 1975). Technical skills were also taught in the educational programs undertaken by the community workers but they were always associated with social justice values (University of Queensland 1975).
paid minimal attention to environmental ethics and environmental politics in comparison to the weighting of technical knowledge and skills in the program (Griffith University, 1988; 1992). Similarly, a recent study of the ethical component in Australian planning courses found that the courses devoted very little attention to ethical considerations compared to time spent on development of technical knowledge and skills (Sarkissian, 1996).

The EIA ethical code asserted that environmental planners should work collaboratively with workers from other disciplines (The EIA, n.d.). This may be difficult where other disciplines do not subscribe to an interdisciplinary approach. For example, in local government where environmental planners could be expected to work closely with town planners, there may be a conflicting professional approach. The professional code of ethics for town planners does not morally commit town planners to collaborating with members of other disciplines (RAPI 1995), nor does it enforce upon members of the Royal Australian Institute of Planners (RAPI) an ethical obligation to environmental protection. The environmental protection responsibility of town or urban planners according to the code of ethics is expressed in five ambiguous words:

...conservation of high quality environments (RAPI 1995:2).

The words are ambiguous because neither the term environment nor high quality is defined. A recent study found that town planning courses in Australia generally failed to challenge the economically-informed land-use planning model because they did not incorporate environmental ethics whereby the environment had an intrinsic value, not just a market value (Sarkissian 1996).

While the overall aim of the RAPI code of ethics is for town planning to promote aesthetic, economic and social development of regions, cities and towns (RAPI 1995, p.2), that of the EIA is more concerned with intrinsic values and with processes in addition to planning outcomes. Therefore, according to these professional constructions, environmental planning is the most significant discipline in local government representing non-human interests. In its concern with the environment, this role should not however be considered as apart from the interests of human well-being. References to environmental planning, and management invariably acknowledge that environmental planning aims to consolidate social well-being.
In the following discussion of the three environmental planners' roles, I aim to demonstrate more about how these professional attributes relate to what they do in the councils and the ways in which their positions and environmental planning tasks are perceived. Firstly, I examine the broader context of environmental planning in local government.

**Environmental planning in local government**

As emphasised at the outset of this chapter, environmental management has always been an important function of local government in Australia. Environmental Health Officers have been established in councils, usually in the health department or its equivalent, for many years. The environmental planning role which emerged during the 1980s is a more recent addition to councils, much newer than community work. Environmental planning in local government appears to be associated with the burgeoning awareness in local government of ecological sustainability as discussed in the introduction and chapter one.

The international and national ecological sustainability policy focus has enhanced local government's awareness of environmental protection issues in communities. It has been difficult however, to acquire information detailing the beginnings of environmental planning in local government in Australia. This is so in part because neither the ALGA nor the LGAQ hold relevant records documenting the earliest environmental planner positions in councils. The other reason is that many councils focused on repair of environmental damage (Brisbane City Council 1990) and were without resources to employ specialised environmental planners. Therefore, they have assumed environmental planning functions by expanding the role of existing staff such as health inspectors, land-use planners, and engineers (pers. comm., officers from LGAQ and ALGA 1997). Consequently, very little information has been documented regarding environmental planning per se, in local government in Australia. The report, *The Role Of Local Government In Environmental Management* produced by Graham (1992) for the ALGA is therefore an important resource to this study. Not that it tracks the emergence of environmental planning in local government, specifically. But it does illustrate that issues of environmental protection had become important enough for the report to be commissioned by the national local government association.
Changing responsibilities

In Queensland, there has also been an association between the introduction of environmental planning to local government authorities and Commonwealth and state legislation including the *Commonwealth Environmental Protection (Impact of Proposals) Act* (1974) which was amended in 1992 to include the Species Protection legislation, *Queensland Local Government (Planning and Environment) Act*, (1990), the *Queensland Environmental Protection Act* (1994), and the *Queensland Nature Conservation Act* (1992). The requirements for Queensland local government authorities to assume environmental responsibilities in addition to the traditional management/maintenance roles were significantly expanded through the introduction of these four pieces of legislation. The legislation required local government authorities to:

- adopt a strategic planning approach towards their local environment;
- identify and protect sensitive local environments;
- link environmental protection to their planning schemes and development assessment procedures.

The inspectorial role of councils whereby business and industry licences are approved and pollution emissions are monitored remained important under the *Queensland Environmental Protection Act* (1994). In addition, that legislation shifted responsibility from state to local government for maintaining environmental standards in relation to water, air, noise and waste pollution.

Councils must attain the environmental standards set out in the *Queensland Environmental Protection Act* (1994), while ensuring they also meet the requirements of the *Queensland Nature Conservation Act* (1992), *Queensland Beach Protection Act* (1968), and the *Queensland Fisheries Act* (1994). The legislation changed the environmental role of local government authorities because they must adopt a planning approach towards environmental protection and they are accountable for doing so. Previously, the environmental management role of local government was more specifically linked to their service provision functions and state government agencies
took greater responsibility for assessing environmental standards, particularly with regard to conservation.

**Information needs**

Brown et al. (1992a) suggested that as a consequence of ecological sustainability awareness, local government had begun to treat the environmental planning role as a step specifically in the direction of planning for locally sustainable development but still required much information in order to carry out the role effectively. Local government officers were still unclear about the environmental protection in 1991 with a significant number not considering themselves to have a high level of environmental planning responsibility (Zehner 1991). Of 671 local government planners participating in a New South Wales study, only five per cent considered responsibility for planning environmental changes to rest with local government (Zehner 1991).

The findings of the Brown et al. (1992a) study of the environmental information needs of local government confirmed that environmental managers had inadequate information. Of particular interest to this study of environmental planners and community workers in councils, was that the majority of respondents in the Brown et al. (1992a) study considered that interdisciplinary co-ordination needed to be enhanced to improve the environmental management performance of councils. Indeed, a significant study recommendation was that more information was required about communication channels for consultation on environmental planning in councils (Brown et al. 1992a, p. 126).

Brown et al.'s study also found that environmental management priorities and information needs varied greatly between disciplines and council departments. For example, community workers considered recreation areas as a high priority environmental issue while for town planners it was not as important and it was less important again to environmental planners. The study participants reported that:

> ...removing the barriers to communication and education within and across the various local government departments was more important for improving environmental management than further technical information (Brown et al. 1992a, p. 53).
A further study of coastal managers in 1993 revealed that they also needed to develop improved information sources and channels, particularly outside their own organisation. Information channels were underdeveloped between environmental managers and providers of information on social issues. Indeed, information on social issues was not a high priority for environmental managers (Brown and Burke 1993).

With environmental planning being so new in local government and a yet small body of knowledge pertaining specifically to the local government context, it is not surprising that environmental planners are still gathering important information. The field is still evolving (Brown et al. 1992a). The evolving roles of the environmental planners in Townsville, Douglas and Mackay Councils are discussed below.

The roles of the three environmental planners

During initial interviews, the three environmental planners were asked to describe their roles. They were also asked whether there were tasks they considered they should be undertaking but were not. In order to analyse the roles of the three environmental planners in the councils, the distinction between environmental planning and environmental management tasks must again be emphasised. As signalled in the introduction, I use the term environmental planner to designate a local government officer employed to engage roles and functions pertaining to ensuring long term protection of the natural environment, not necessarily as opposed to environmental management, but at least in addition to it.

Like the community work roles considered in the previous chapter, the roles of the environmental planners take both a reactive and an anticipatory form. Minnery (1991) researched possible local government responses to the greenhouse effect and proposed that local government address environmental issues such as greenhouse on both levels. I tend to agree with Brown et al. (1992a) that local government needs to respond to many environmental issues on both levels because so many environmental problems are already well established. Also, like the community workers, by having involvement at both levels, environmental planners can frame policy taking account of experience.
The distinction I wish to make is that the primary environmental planning role develops strategies to *prevent* environmental problems. To illustrate the distinction between environmental planning and management tasks, in table 6.1 I have listed environmental tasks which Graham (1992) recommended local government should undertake and separated them into two types—*planning* and *management*. The two sets of tasks need to be viewed as complementary because there will always be a great deal of association between them. Maintenance of an adequate, clean water supply and of waste disposal systems for instance, will have long-term and far-reaching environmental and social benefits.

During interviews, the environmental planners confirmed that there was a distinction between the two sets of tasks. They were undertaking several of the management tasks but were still developing their role in the planning tasks. In part, this was due to the importance the councils placed on traditional environmental management functions. It was also attributable to the fact that the councils were in transition to the strategic planning role having been focused for so long on service provision.

**Table 6.1 Environmental tasks of local government**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Management Tasks</th>
<th>Planning Tasks</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Pollution control and monitoring</td>
<td>• Coastal management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Tree planting/re-vegetation</td>
<td>• Flora and fauna protection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Recycling</td>
<td>• Energy management</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Solid and liquid waste management</td>
<td>• Natural area enhancement/</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Bushfire management</td>
<td>protection</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Urban improvement</td>
<td>• Environmental impact assessment</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Traffic calming</td>
<td>• Catchment management</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Urban preservation</td>
<td>• Wetlands management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Involvement in federal/state programs such as Landcare</td>
<td>• Environmental education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• local conservation strategies</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Graham 1992, pp. 12-18

**The roles of the environmental planners**

Box 6.1 summarises the planning and management tasks assumed by the environmental planners. The roles are discussed below according to each council.
Box 6.1 Tasks assumed by environmental planners in Townsville, Douglas and Mackay

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environmental management tasks</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Townsville</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• pollution control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• waste management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• re-vegetation projects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Douglas</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• answer inquires at the planning counter and phone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mackay</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• refuse disposal- tips, composting and industrial recycling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• licensing of premises</td>
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<tr>
<td>• liquid waste management</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environmental planning tasks</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Townsville</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• develop a natural resource register which identifies significant sites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• link natural resource register to planning scheme to inform the development assessment process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• develop amendments to the town plan which have a environmental protection focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• coastal management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• catchment management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• wetlands management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• provide advice within council on environmental legislation including the <em>Local Government, (Planning and Environment) Act</em>, <em>The Nature Conservation Act</em>, <em>The Fisheries Act</em>, <em>the Qld. Environment Protection Act</em>, <em>the Beach Protection Act</em>, <em>Contaminated Land Act</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Douglas</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Enforce the <em>Planning and Environment Act</em>, <em>The Nature Conservation Act</em>,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Planning with Wet Tropics Authority/giving technical advice on Daintree Rescue Program/camping areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Town planning consent for applications with a view to potential environmental impacts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mackay</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• enforce the EPA especially in relation to industrial &amp; residential developments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• enforce the <em>Contaminated Land Act</em>, inform other departments in council about what is required of them under the EPA especially in relation to corporate liability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• review departmental operations and bring them into line with the EPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• planning to put forward the idea of developing an environmental policy for the whole council</td>
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Townsville
The broad functions of environmental planning in Townsville were separated by the environmental planner into natural resource management, environmental protection (in accordance with the *Queensland Environmental Protection Act, 1994*), and integrated environmental management. She claimed that natural resource management included planning for the protection of particular catchments and coastal areas. Integrated environmental management ensured that the council's planning directions were compatible with the objectives of the environmental planning section and with expectations of local citizens.

According to the environmental planner in Townsville, the significant environmental planning issues in the city were many:

We need to protect the wetlands or we will lose them. They are looked at as a drainage problem. We have the port and the airport located in strategic positions. Both are surrounded by important wetlands and both require industry and development to be linked with them so we could lose them. There is the south-bank area and the ephemeral wetlands along Ingham road and in the Southern land that we've taken on, that we are not even aware of yet. There is our woodlands which are slowly going as well. ... We have to manage the whole catchment on Magnetic Island and we may need to limit population. We have to ask how sustainable it is given that the area of developable land is so small, not much water, waste disposal is so crucial and the developable areas are the only remaining lowland woodlands on the island (Manager, Environmental Planning Services, Townsville City Council).

When asked about her vision for the Townsville area the environmental planner alluded to the shift from a focus on purely growth-oriented development to sustainable development:

I would like it to be a very good balance of development and keeping the natural assets and that takes a lot of planning. The balance has to be managed with a conscious decision about which areas should be protected and which should be developed.... (Manager, Environmental Planning Services, Townsville City Council).

Policy development and integration of environmental protection within the planning scheme were strategies the Townsville environmental planner pursued as a means towards realising those aspirations. Development of a natural resource register to complement the planning scheme was underway. This entailed identifying and collating a list of natural assets and significant environmental sites requiring conservation within Townsville City. The environmental planner intended that when complete the register would act as "...a framework to make decisions within and it will also provide little flags to indicate where further investigations are required".
The environmental planner acknowledged that policy development of this nature could be subject to some resistance from within the council:

There is no consensus yet about which areas we will save as our natural heritage. There is nothing about it in our current plan.... Population limits on Magnetic Island would really make sense but there are a lot of barriers to that. It would mean changes to the planning scheme and those decisions have not been made yet. It is hard to convince people that it is absolutely necessary. We have to put the indicators into a policy... We have some very real issues that we are trying to get through this year- policies on vegetation protection; wild-life corridors; and biogeographical regional planning, but we cannot do that on our own. We need the planning scheme to give it force. (Manager, Environmental Planning Services, Townsville City Council).

When discussing the importance of linking environmental protection to policy development, the environmental planner did not identify a role for the community. Democratic planning usually engages community participation (Arnstein 1969; Craig and Fowler 1985; Taylor et al. 1990) but she considered policy formulation to take priority over community projects:

We've identified some areas where we need community participation... we can't continue on with re-vegetation projects and resource them. With two people on the ground you can't resource it. So in order to keep those up we're going to have to bring in the community. For example, trying to set up a little landcare group out at Louisa Creek. To do that properly, is really resource intensive so we've put it on the back-burner (Manager Environmental Planning Services, Townsville City Council).

Statements such as these reflect the environmental planner's perception that the community, as volunteer workers, be delegated practical tasks rather than assist in policy development. That public participation approach generally aims to placate the public (Arnstein 1969) by showing them an established policy. It does not indicate support for a model where the public would be centrally involved in drafting the policy. Such a model does little by way of distributing decision-making power among the various local communities of interest, nor does it recognise the pool of environmental expertise within the Townsville community, noted in chapter two. If the council were not genuinely committed to ecological sustainability then it may well have been in its interest to keep the voluntary experts at arms length by limiting their ability to influence local planning direction.

**Mackay**

The role of planning for environmental protection was still very new in Mackay and such work was the responsibility of one of nine Environmental Health Officers. The environmental planning function in Mackay City Council was directly related to the requirements of the EPA (box 6.1). The environmental planner claimed that he had been
asked to interpret the EPA legislation and advise the council on changes required in order to meet its requirements. In doing so he had:

...compared (his ideas) with what they do down south in Brisbane and other councils. The interpretations of the legislation and how they are implementing it, is virtually uniform throughout the State (Environmental Health Officer, Mackay City Council).

The environmental planner contended that he was the sole council officer assuming responsibility for environmental planning tasks. However, those duties were an addendum to responsibilities of monitoring the council’s regulatory environmental health functions including waste management, recycling and pollution control (box 6.1). Given his responsibility for both sets of tasks, the Environmental Health Officer in Mackay felt that it was really too soon to call himself an environmental planner in the sense that the Council had not formally created a position specifically designated environmental planner.

The environmental protection role in Mackay was still in its infant stage in 1996. As in Townsville, the environmental planner in Mackay said he would like to introduce a model whereby a commitment to preservation of the environment was essentially informing the whole council, and particularly, the land-use and development planning system. The environmental planner envisaged that the integrated environmental planning approach would be introduced in Mackay City Council incrementally whereby the Council’s environmental management system would improve every year to increase the ‘environmental friendliness’ of the Council’s operations.

His hope for Mackay City in the future was that:

...it would retain some of it’s rural character, some of the sugar cane fields. I’d hate to see us just expand as a huge urban landscape. I would rather see the expansion be managed- save some of the productive land for sugar and for tourist area buffer zones, retain the Great Barrier Reef tourism aspects, mangroves and other areas of natural vegetation that are of interest. Because a lot of this area has been denuded of natural vegetation for sugar cane, there are no great tracks of natural vegetation left. We should look at our city quite carefully and manage approvals and zoning. At the moment it just seems that we started off with the city area and its blossoming out... Instead of Mackay just being a mega-urban area, perhaps just keep it as netted suburbs with populations surrounded by sugar cane and the natural landscape (Environmental Health Officer, Mackay City Council).

His suggestion for meeting those goals centred upon establishing an environmental management system within the council that would eventuate in all council work areas integrating environmental protection strategies.
As a health inspector, he spent much time in the community. His view of public involvement in environmental planning was broader than that of the respondent in Townsville. In Mackay, the environmental planner engaged with citizens as part of his daily environmental management work. He said, ‘There is not one day goes past that I don’t talk to at least a dozen people on the phone, at the counter or actually out in the field dealing with them face to face’. Dealing with public complaints and inquiries in the inspectorial role meant the study participant in Mackay had considered ways of dealing with conflicting interests between the council and citizens.

The environmental planner acknowledged that it was difficult for the council to serve all community interests, particularly inevitable competing interests. Claiming that the Mackay City Council needed to establish a considered approach to public involvement, he proposed that the council determine possible project problems and issues relating to project proposals and invite public consultation. In his view, consultation would be limited to non-technical project issues. For example, he was working on a proposal for revitalisation of an extant rubbish tip in Bucasia and said:

I am quite au fait with having a public meeting to explain to them (interested citizens), or ask them what they would like to see there when we have finished with the tip. However, I would not really want them to tell the council how to run the business. (Environmental Health Officer, Mackay City Council).

Technical environmental planning considerations, in his opinion, remained strictly within the domain of the experts. According to the environmental planner’s public participation model, citizens could make a contribution by commenting on issues like keeping dust and noise down to a minimum. He acknowledged that ‘...the public might come up with things we have not thought of... and that is good because you get that extra feedback from the public’ (Environmental Health Officer, Mackay City Council).

In contrast to the environmental planner in Townsville, he preferred early community involvement to avoid conflict emerging following decisions that citizens find unacceptable. His main concern about public involvement was that small vocal minority groups engage in community consultations and that defining the community and ensuring representative consultation was difficult. A further idea he expressed for enhancing citizen involvement was environmental education in schools, public forums and campaigns, and industry groups as part of the environmental planning role.
Douglas

The environmental planner in Douglas Shire Council had been employed for only seven months at the time of interviewing and was involved predominantly in natural and urban environmental planning tasks. She considered legislation was important in guiding her work. In particular, the *Queensland Local Government (Planning and Environment Act) (1990)*, and the *Nature Conservation Act (1992)* set out a number of requirements which created work for the environmental planner in Douglas. She was also guided by her own professional philosophy which she articulated as follows:

Basically, it is the liveability of a development and the idea of irreversibility. If any development is irreversible or is going to have a really bad effect, that's what I try to avoid. It needs to be responsible. If people want to sub-divide in an area that's near but not in a national park and the impact of their sub-division is too much for such valuable land, we try and avoid detrimental effects. When you go through a three year course in environmental science you come out with a higher level of expectation about the environment and how it's handled than other people (Planning Officer, Douglas Shire Council).

In Douglas, being accommodated within the town planning section and having land-use planning qualifications, the environmental planner also undertook general land-use planning tasks but with ecological sustainability in mind. She assessed development proposals from the perspective of:

...making sure they are livable. Because 80% of the Shire is National Park or World Heritage Area, anything that's in, or adjoins World Heritage Area or a National Park is a designated environment which means there are a whole lot of other requirements we have to be aware of (Planning Officer, Douglas Shire Council).

She estimated that approximately thirty-five per cent of her time was consumed by land-use planning work, sixty in implementing new projects, and only five per cent was oriented towards policy development. Her approach to her work carefully integrated land-use and environmental planning and ecological sustainability:

On a micro level, really, it is to be able to say this house or block of units will be livable for the people who live there and other people in the street. At the macro level we don't want a residential development to have effects, say on the Great Barrier Reef or let feral animals into National Parks. It's all about ensuring you maintain a livable place. Not just for residents but for all life forms. It is about ensuring the natural environment is maintained for the benefit of the residents and also for the benefit of the natural environment. (Planning Officer, Douglas Shire Council).

In implementing her role, the environmental planner in Douglas adopted an expert approach, showing little regard for citizen involvement in environmental or local area planning. She said that the council needed to consult the public when 'they (citizens) get up in arms about a particular issue'. Otherwise, she believed it was most appropriate to seek the advice of citizens as required in relation to planning issues.
The environmental planner in Douglas felt it was important that the council served all the various interests in the community. Therefore, in her view the council was obliged to ‘...provide organised community groups with information if they requested it’.

Where conflict did arise between the council and the community she suggested, ‘...there needs to be an adjudicator to shut people up when they get on their high horse’. She said the community rather than the council should take responsibility for providing information about local area planning and when asked did not support the idea that informing citizens how their comments during consultation actually influenced final project or policy decisions was a measure of genuine public participation. Rather her response was:

If people want to know how their ideas were used in policy or planning they can go to council meetings or read minutes. To tell people how their ideas were used is a bit ideological (Planning Officer, Douglas Shire Council).

This notion of citizen involvement in environmental planning certainly limits potential for partnership-style planning because there is no commitment to increase community awareness or power.

Comparing the roles of the three environmental planners

To summarise, environmental planning was evolving differently in each of the councils, with Townsville having a longer history of employing a specialist environmental planner. The environmental planners from all three councils undertook both planning and management tasks to differing degrees. In Douglas, with a town plan focused on environmental protection, the environmental planner was supported by policy to undertake a planning role. The position was also reinforced because her work was linked to the local area planning system from the outset and welcomed by the town planner. These conditions did not exist in Townsville or Mackay as I shall discuss below. The longer term of employment of an environmental planner in Townsville meant planning tasks were becoming more evident. In Mackay, the environmental planner had barely established the very new environmental planning role. Because he continued to perform as an Environmental Health Officer as well as assuming planning duties, he undertook substantially more management tasks than the respondents in Douglas and Townsville.
All three considered environmental protection to be a priority when they spoke of their aspirations for their community and all had a sense of the strategies they could introduce to influence ecological sustainability in the local area. The intrinsic value of the non-human environment was explicit in those strategies even though the strategies were, in some respects different in the three areas. Development of explicit council environmental protection policy took priority at the time in Townsville. Land-use planning that is sensitive to environmental preservation was important in Douglas. Developing a sense within council of the actual environmental planning role and heightening council awareness of environmental values were the most pressing issues for the environmental planner in Mackay. By comparison, all three acknowledged a strong relationship between environmental and land-use planning. They also agreed that environmental planning required greater appreciation and involvement from other sections of their councils.

The value of involving citizens in environmental planning was not as clearly articulated by the environmental planners as the notion of valuing the non-human environment. Their approaches to public participation, in contrast to that of the community workers in chapter five, maintained the planner as the expert. When asked about involvement of the community in their own work, the three environmental planners identified a limited number of environmental tasks in which the community could participate but had limited experience of involving citizens in their projects and limited knowledge about involving citizens in policy development. The environmental planner in Mackay had given a greater degree of consideration to citizen participation than his counterparts. He demonstrated a willingness to engage the public in decision-making (although with limits) and an awareness of some of the complexities associated with citizen involvement. The issue of citizen participation in planning is discussed again in detail in chapter seven.

Perceptions of environmental planning

The previous section outlined the roles of the three environmental planners and the approach they took to their work. In this section, the views other council officers held about environmental planning are explored. They are considered in terms of the environmental tasks assumed by the council according to participants perceptions, not
solely focussed initially on the environmental planners per se. I have looked at the data in this way because there is a strong indication from the data that environmental tasks are shared among different sections of the councils and are not exclusively performed by environmental planners. Indeed, environmental considerations, whether they take the form of management or planning tasks have some effect on most planning areas within local government authorities.

The twenty-one research participants involved in round two interviews were presented with the list of environmental tasks for local government developed by Graham (1992) (table 6.1) but without the tasks broken down into planning and management categories. They were asked three questions in relation to the list:

- Which of these tasks does your council currently perform?
- Who is currently responsible for executing the task?
- Who should be involved in carrying out the task?

Their responses are presented in tables 6.2 to 6.4 which indicate by number of respondents, how many respondents considered each work area to have responsibility for each of the environmental tasks currently (A), and secondly, which work areas they thought should be involved (B). With reference to tables 6.2 to 6.4, I discuss responses to each of the three questions.

The other category includes environmental health officers, health inspectors, building inspectors and staff of parks and gardens sections of the councils. It should also be noted that respondents often perceived multiple people to be responsible for particular tasks. Although the 'other' category only includes departments or sections within the councils, a number of respondents identified involvement of state government departments in some tasks. These included coastal management, flora and fauna protection, energy management, EIA, and bush fire management- predominantly environmental planning activities.
Table 6.2 Responsibility for environmental planning tasks in Townsville

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tasks</th>
<th>Response according to respondent work area</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community Worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
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<td>strategies</td>
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<tr>
<td>energy management</td>
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<tr>
<td>natural area enhancement/protection</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>environmental impact assessment</td>
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<tr>
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<td>wetlands management</td>
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<td>environmental education</td>
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<tr>
<td>pollution control</td>
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<td>tree planting</td>
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<tr>
<td>recycling</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>bushfire management</td>
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<tr>
<td>urban improvement</td>
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Total Respondents: 9
Table 6.3 Responsibility for environmental planning tasks in Mackay

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tasks</th>
<th>Community Worker</th>
<th>Environment Planner</th>
<th>Land-use Planner</th>
<th>Environmental Planner</th>
<th>Administrator</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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Total Respondents: 6
There was some disagreement between respondents in each council about who actually carried out the tasks. This could be explained by either a lack of understanding of roles as they were changing, or it may simply reflect the shared nature of many of the environmental tasks. Environmental tasks are certainly broad and it is not difficult to see that a number of the tasks could fit appropriately into the role of one or more work areas within the councils.

Environmental tasks undertaken in the three councils

All three councils were considered by respondents overall to be engaged in most of the eighteen environmental tasks, but there were some exceptions. The only tasks not undertaken across the three councils, according to respondents, were EIA in Townsville and Douglas for which they contracted specialist consultants as required, and in Douglas bush fire management was considered to be a state government role.

Within each council many of the tasks were seen to be the responsibility of not only environmental planners but were shared across a number of council work areas. In Townsville, all tasks were considered by all respondents to be the responsibility of more than one work area within the council. However, eight respondents agreed that environmental planners were primarily responsible for devising local environmental strategies and energy management, two of the planning functions identified in the environmental planner's description of her role. Seven of the nine Townsville respondents perceived that coastal, wetlands and catchment management and flora and fauna protection were tasks undertaken by the environmental planners. Overall, most study participants in Townsville were aware that the environmental planner undertook five of the seven planning tasks the environmental planner had specified as part of her role and all of the management tasks. The management tasks were perceived as being shared among council departments more so than planning tasks.

Again, because the planning role was new in Mackay, all respondents were aware that the environmental planner took responsibility for recycling and waste management, a role he had assumed for longer than any of the environmental planning tasks. By comparison, few related the planning tasks with the environmental planner. They were more often viewed as part of the land-use planner's role. The environmental planner
was considered overall to have some involvement in five of the nine planning tasks and five of the nine management tasks. The land-use planner was viewed as being substantially responsible for devising local conservation strategies, natural area enhancement and protection.

The environmental planner in Douglas was considered by other respondents to undertake seven of the nine planning tasks, all except EIA and energy management. In terms of environmental management tasks, she was viewed as engaging in only three of nine areas: pollution control, recycling and waste management. Again in Douglas, the land-use planner was considered to assume greater responsibility for environmental planning tasks, in this case for every task.

In all three areas, the environmental planning tasks were generally seen to be shared by the environmental and land-use planner suggesting that these tasks constitute a significant area of overlap in their roles. The areas where there was greatest overlap in Townsville were energy management, catchment management, and environmental education. In Mackay, they included development of local conservation strategies and wetlands management. The overlap in Douglas occurred in the areas of coastal management, flora and fauna protection and environmental education.

Once again, interpretation of this data must take into consideration the differing length of time each council had employed an environmental planner and the local area and prevailing organisational conditions. A number of respondents in Douglas and Mackay may not have been fully aware of the responsibilities or tasks undertaken by their relatively new environmental planners. In Douglas, the land-use planner had taken responsibility for most of the planning tasks prior to employment of the environmental planner and was no doubt still associated with those roles by his colleagues. In Townsville and Mackay, the land-use planners were viewed by other respondents as having a role in both management and planning tasks but unlike the land-use planner in Douglas, they did not highlight those tasks when describing their own role during interviews. Rather, they concentrated on describing their role in relation to development assessment-related tasks.
The environmental-land-use planning boundaries

The data in tables 6.2 to 6.4 illustrates that many environmental tasks were shared within each of the councils and that the greatest area of overlap was between the environmental and land-use planners. Study participants identified the overlap in their current situation but also considered environmental and land-use planners would both take increased responsibility for environmental planning tasks in the future. Not one respondent suggested either environmental or land-use planners reduce their involvement in environmental planning tasks. If such a suggestion was to be made it could have been expected to emanate from Townsville where there were three environmental planners and where the discipline was increasingly a formal part of the council structure. That was not the case. In Townsville, like Douglas and Mackay, respondents believed both land-use and environmental planners should increase their involvement in environmental planning. This perception reflected that the land-use planning role is involved in determining the viability of development proposals including assessment of the extent to which environmental areas are compromised in favour of new development.

Comments offered by study participants also highlighted that there were some tensions between the two disciplines when it came to delegation of environmental tasks. When asked to describe their role, land-use planners in Townsville and Mackay talked about development assessment but when asked about specific environmental tasks they were and should be involved in, all three saw themselves as performing a significant environmental role. For example, the land-use planner in Douglas continued his interest in both planning and management tasks after employing an environmental planner but respected and regularly called upon her specialist knowledge and skills.

The land-use planner in Mackay was unwilling to acknowledge the growing involvement of the environmental planner in planning tasks. In the following passage he distinguishes clearly between planning and management tasks and who he considers appropriate to perform them:

...the Environmental Health Office is really about environmental monitoring rather than environmental planning...... It is all about monitoring whether things are causing pollution rather than saying, 'Well, okay, this is a wetlands area, it should be set aside and preserved as a wilderness area.' That really belongs in this department, Planning and Development.... That'll be the next thing I'll be looking at - probably in the next budget, making provisions for an environmental planner within this department. I think there is a niche in here for an environmental planner to provide that day to day input into the development of an assessment
and approval process so that the council can't be seen as neglecting the environment in their decision-making process. I would accept the responsibility for that. Sometimes I go outside and get consultant's expertise on particular projects. I see that person having a much broader academic background than environmental health officers. I think that's a misused term, environmental health officer - that's all about inspection. It just reinforces that role. But I am quite happy for them to struggle with the new EPA. I don't even pretend to understand it (Director of Planning and Development Services, Mackay).

While the land-use planner denied that the environmental planner had the necessary training in planning skills, he suggested the environmental planner should take responsibility for the council’s implementation of EPA provisions. Many of the EPA requirements fall into the planning, not only the management category and many have significant implications for land-use planning. The land-use planner questioned the ability of the environmental planner to undertake environmental planning duties with environmental health qualifications, suggesting an environmental planner would have specialist qualifications. However, the environmental planner had attended a number of specialist training programs and claimed he was gaining new environmental planning knowledge and skill on the job. He certainly expressed a commitment to environmental protection very clearly during interviews. One then wonders whether the land-use planner had very fixed ideas about planners requiring specialist tertiary qualifications or if being the only senior planner in the council, he is simply possessive of ‘planning’ per se. Comments from the environmental planner did, in fact imply there was some competition for the evolving role:

We have been going at this now for nearly six months and one of the things I have not had time to do yet, is to sit down with the planning people. There are a lot of issues that I am addressing now from an environmental protection point of view which overlap with planning matters and we need to have a uniform or common approach to them. I wonder whether it creates some rivalries or jealousies that we are encroaching upon their area. I do not see it as that. I see it as a new area that is evolving and that we work on together. The Act will affect both of us in the way we do things. I am not trying to take work off the planners, and I do not expect them to take work off me (Environmental Health Officer, Mackay).

In Townsville, where the environmental planners had specialist tertiary environmental planning qualifications, the land-use planner still wished to maintain seniority in the planning decision-making process. She viewed her role as follows:

...to use the best judgement to decide who should be involved in a development approval process. If I have forgotten someone they need to say, 'I need to be involved'. I'll say, 'Yes, no worries'. Sometimes things that say environment on them go to that area first. That is a misunderstanding. They are actually reporting to us not the other way around. I would never separate strategic planning from environmental planning. I do not know how you can separate those things (Director of Planning and Development Services, Townsville City Council).

The corporate plan for Townsville certainly did not indicate that the environmental planners were accountable in this way to the land-use planners. If environmental
planners must ask to be involved in Townsville, we must ask would the land-use planner simply take responsibility for environmental tasks and how would the environmental planner know about new environmental planning projects? Even though far more established in Townsville, the environmental planning role appeared to remain subordinated to land-use planning. Areas of overlap had not been fully negotiated. I am not suggesting there should not be overlap. Just by looking at the breadth of environmental tasks in table 6.1 and box 6.1 it is evident that they have interest for every other planning area in the councils. It does appear however, that collaborative interdisciplinary working structures are lacking. One might then look to the community workers with their well-established skills in facilitating participation for suggestions of how to improve interdisciplinary collaboration.

**The environmental tasks assumed by community workers**

Community workers in the three councils were perceived to have the least involvement in environmental tasks of all local government work areas. It is understandable that they would assume less responsibility for the technical management tasks but arguably could be involved in a number of the planning tasks (Graham 1992; Dale 1995a, Dale and Lane 1995b; Menzies et al. 1995). Menzies et al. (1995) in a report prepared for the LGAQ suggested it was appropriate for community workers to perform roles associated with developing local conservation strategies, SIA, community education, urban preservation and improvement, and traffic calming. Community workers’ skills in facilitating public participation would surely also be applicable in relation to almost all of the eighteen environmental tasks listed in table 6.1.

In spite of such recommendations from the LGAQ prepared by a working group which included the Mayor of Mackay City Council, community workers were not involved in any environmental tasks in Mackay and had limited knowledge of environmental planning within the council:

> Well, there is an Environment Section. Just what their role is, I'm not quite sure. It is certainly not environmental impact stuff, but basically their role is making sure that oil is not being spilt into drains and that type of stuff. I don't know, we don't have a lot to do with them and there is not a lot of connection (Community Welfare Worker, Mackay City Council).

Community workers were viewed as limited to environmental education and landcare in Douglas. With a larger number in Townsville, community workers were perceived as being engaged in more environmental tasks than in Mackay and Douglas. They had
some part in eleven of the eighteen environmental tasks. It should be noted however, that most of the responses indicating the involvement of community workers in environmental tasks were made by community workers themselves. Their role in environmental tasks was not really an established or recognised one in any of the case studies. Possibly community workers had difficulty taking a lead role in facilitating interdisciplinary collaboration in the councils because they have such low status and minimal power within the organisations.

Whether community workers should be involved in environmental tasks is quite a different story. In Mackay and Townsville there was much support from across disciplines for community workers being more involved than they presently were in environmental tasks. There was less of a sense among respondents in Douglas of community workers assuming environmental tasks, except for pollution control and monitoring. When asked whether they thought community workers should be involved in environmental tasks, respondents in Townsville and Mackay especially agreed that they should have a role in the tasks suggested by Menzies et al. (1995), mentioned above. How they could actually increase their involvement was a more difficult question for respondents. Across councils and work areas study participants concluded the corporate structure of the councils was not conducive because they were stuck in the traditional compartmentalised model.

Involvement of elected members in environmental tasks
As the decision-making structures within the three councils placed ultimate power with councillors, I noted the extent to which elected members identified environmental protection in their aspirations for their local areas. The four elected members involved in the study were asked the following questions:

♦ **Question A:** What do you consider to be the most important roles of local government?

♦ **Question B:** What would you like this city to look like in 25-50 years from now?

♦ **Question C:** What do you see as responsible development for this area?
The three questions did not specifically ask about the value each respondent would place on environmental protection. Together the responses to the questions do give some indication of the prominence each of the elected members gave to environmental protection when not specifically probed but when responding to open ended questions about the council’s role and the future of the local area in a very general sense (boxes 6.2 to 6.5).

**Box 6.2  Ecological sustainability perspective of elected member: Townsville**

**QUESTION A**
local government should be the pivotal planners. ... visionary work...

**QUESTION B**
Greener with more water features. The intense heat is the big negative, long, hot summers with little rain so we need environmental controls like those we have established now. Not to develop at any cost and spoil the lifestyle.

**QUESTION C**
Balanced or sustainable development. My criticism of the very small environmental movement in Townsville is that they are very singly focused. When you try to discuss the broader issues of environmental control such as employment and lifestyle and aesthetics. They say look after the environment and that will follow. I don't believe that's true.

**Box 6.3  Ecological sustainability perspective of elected member: Mackay**

**QUESTION A**
With the new planning Act it is a responsibility of council to see that there is a need for the development that's taking place, not development for development's sake. We have to be very conscious of the preservation of prime agricultural land. We have to identify the very environmental areas- the sensitive ones, or the delicate areas that need to be preserved. I think we have to identify them very quickly so that people know where they can develop and what they can do. ...There is no doubt that one of the important issues is their road hierarchy. We have to know what is needed to make it a good quality of life. ...also, it is getting to the social aspect where... communities have the proper recreation facilities, but also the meeting places.

**QUESTION B**
Developed to an extent, not just for the sake of development but in a way that is going to retain the natural beauty and lifestyle but to develop with industries that produce employment.

**QUESTION C**
Manufacturing, tourism and expansion in industrial servicing areas such as the coal industry.
Box 6.4a  Ecological sustainability perspective of elected member: Douglas

**QUESTION A**
The main concern is that development fits within the boundaries of what you are trying to do for the Shire. You do not want a massive industry coming into your Shire. ...we would not allow any that did not complement the Shire, the environment we live in.

**QUESTION B**
I do not want it to change. I think it should stay the way it is with the bit of development that is going on.

**QUESTION C**
The Council's stand is that we do not want high rise buildings. We must keep the cane industry going so we cannot use cane land. The urban growth will cut into some of that cane land. We have to keep going. You just can't stop development. It must go on. I think it has to be controlled. There are no new types of industry coming into the area and right now I cannot envisage any. We have fisherman at Port Douglas, a small cattle industry in the Daintree, a small pineapple industry but no major new industries will develop to my knowledge.

All but one of the four councillors identified both the economy and the environment in considering the most important roles of local government. The Deputy Mayor in Townsville claimed the most important role as representing the aspirations of the community.

When asked about their personal aspirations for the area, the environment appeared to be of concern to all elected members. However, responses to Question C revealed differences in interpretation of *development*. Even so, elected members in Townsville and Mackay viewed development that is both economically and ecologically sustainable as a difficult balance for local government to strike. Thus, a verbal philosophical commitment to ecological sustainability will not necessarily manifest itself in policy or practice when placed in the hands of political decision-makers. Indeed, potential conflict was signalled by the Deputy Mayor in Townsville if the economic/environmental see-saw moved too far in the direction of the environment. The Mayor in Douglas feared the consequences of it moving too far in the economic direction.
Box 6.4b  Ecological sustainability perspective of elected member: Douglas

**QUESTION A**
Integrated planning. In terms of looking after the roads and drains and garbage, the traditional roles. ...the new challenges for local government, which I think are the more important things, the issues of integrated planning, environment and health services.

**QUESTION B**
The protected areas still protected as they are now and the unprotected areas still producing if the land is still productive or repaired if needed. Compact urban settlements and rural areas with a total population no greater than 20,000. Just a bigger population, preserving the qualities that are here now and recognise the deficiencies and try to fix them up. There would have to be a population capacity as part of that scenario.

**QUESTION C**
We are getting there but at the moment there are all sorts of deficiencies. The amount of infrastructure and recreational protected area that is needed to support the community is not taken into the formula nor are most of the social impacts that come with a rapidly growing population. Nor are the long term economic issues taken into account in any great depth. Certainly not in a sustainable way. The concept of sustainability needs to become a reality. I suppose there is some integration in that we know which areas will be for tourism and which are for housing and how people will travel to and from work. The missing bits are knowing the social impacts of tourism and rapid population growth, how much infrastructure and what are the capacities of the natural environment to carry those tourists.

Study respondents other than elected members considered elected members as being very peripherally involved in hands-on environmental tasks and engaged in tasks with a broad, policy focus such as landcare, urban preservation and environmental education. During the first round of interviews, Douglas respondents indicated that the Mayor was very much involved in environmental matters and this is not accurately reflected in boxes 6.4 and 6.5 with data from the second interview. This can be explained by the fact that the Mayor was preoccupied with the construction and advocacy of local environmental policy rather than performing hands-on environmental tasks. According to the research participants in Townsville and Mackay their administrators did not play a direct role in environmental tasks either.

It can be concluded that respondents were generally aware of the environmental tasks conducted within the councils. But how did they value the contribution of the three environmental planners to the councils' overall local area planning role? They generally perceived that the tasks of environmental planning could be performed by practitioners from a range of local government work areas. By way of responding to that issue, in the
following two sections of this chapter I will concentrate on the factors which facilitated and impeded integration of environmental planners in the three councils by reflecting, to a large extent, upon information presented so far in this chapter.

**Factors which facilitate integration of environmental planners**

Integration of environmental planning within the land-use and policy arenas of the three councils was facilitated by five particular determinants. Each is discussed below.

**Environmental protection legislation**

The introduction of environmental protection legislation at each of the three levels of government had increased the environmental planning role of the three councils. It had not only resulted in the councils undertaking a greater number of environmental tasks but had created a public expectation of local government authorities in relation to their newer strategic planning role (Graham 1992). In terms of environmental management, all councils participating in this study still regarded the traditional service provision functions as very important but the newer planning role was the significant challenge they agreed they were all facing.

The legislation had facilitated the increasing status of environmental planning in Townsville, apparent through a specialist environmental planning section with a manager being established. The employment of two additional environmental planners also coincided with the introduction of the legislation. In Mackay, the legislation was the catalyst to establishing an environmental planning role as evidenced through that role being formally attached to the Environmental Health Officer position. According to the land-use planner in Douglas, the legislation had nothing to do with the council creating the planning officer position through which they sought a formally qualified environmental planner but the position did also coincide with the introduction of the legislation. The importance of the legislation is that councils face penalties if the conditions stipulated in the Acts (outlined above) are not met. It is therefore, obviously in the interest of the councils to ensure they have the expertise within their councils to meet the requirements of the environmental protection legislation.
Local area strategic planning goals

The mission statements of each of the three councils were examined in chapters two and three. Below I note the significance each affords within its mission statement to the natural environment. Given that environmental protection can restrain economic growth, the long held belief of some local government councillors and officers that development is progress and we cannot stand in the way of it has been illustrated previously. The strategic plans for Townsville and Mackay reflected this sentiment.

The Strategic plan for Douglas Shire emphasised nurturing all aspects of the natural environment. This was central to the council's mission. The principles of ecological sustainability were firmly lodged within the Shire's mission. The plan emphasised aspirations to care for the environment 'on a sustainable basis for this and future generations' and to ensure 'the survival of viable populations of endangered species, including the cassowary, in their natural habitat' (Douglas Shire Council 1995, p. 6). Douglas Shire Council recognised the interdependence of the human and non-human population in its plan.

The missions of Mackay and Townsville Councils did not link directly to attributes of the natural environment. The primary charge in both councils was to maintain economic prosperity and human well-being. In Mackay this took the form of lifestyle choices and community security (Mackay City Council 1995, p. 8). Townsville City was striving toward choices for citizen comfort and enjoyment (Townsville City Council 1995). Protection of the environment did not share priority in the plans with economic advancement. The mission statements of the three councils were all produced in 1995 at a time when awareness of ecological sustainability was growing in local government authorities (Brown et al. 1992a; 1992b). Apart from in Douglas, they were broad people-based visions where environmental protection was not an explicitly stated goal.

Community support

It is important to acknowledge that the existing Douglas Shire Planning Scheme would not exist if its intent had not had community support. There are a number of significant contributing factors that led to an ecologically sustainable strategic plan in Douglas. Firstly, the character of the Shire was based on the expansive protected environmental
area, much of which was too difficult to develop. Secondly, in a council of independents, the Mayor had been elected in two terms on an environmental protection policy platform in which he had stressed an intention to limit population growth in the Shire according to environmental carrying capacity. In addition, he had gained electoral support from the majority of voters to maintain the natural attributes of a large undeveloped section of the Shire to the north of the Daintree River (figure 2.7). In that area, development options for private land-owners were restricted through the Development Control Plan (Brannock Humphreys 1994).

**Awareness of specialist environmental planning functions**

With the three environmental planners being employed under different circumstances, for different periods of time and with different qualifications, all conditions were certainly not equal to draw comparisons between the three councils in relation to the level of awareness other practitioners had of the roles of environmental planners. Environmental planners were themselves able to articulate certain conditions that accelerated awareness of their role. In Townsville and Douglas, one such condition was organisational structures (which are discussed separately below). A second factor was an acceptance from other practitioners that the environmental planner offered specialist skills. The environmental planner in Douglas considered that the land-use planner and the Mayor shared her environmental preservation views. Indeed, the land-use planner's vision for the Shire's future was that it should be:

...much the same with the physical elements still in their natural state and vegetated without evidence of human habitation. Water courses and rivers clean and largely untouched. I'd like to see our urban areas compact and succinct with clear demarcation between urban and rural areas... (Town Planner, Douglas Shire Council).

The Mayor was equally able to demonstrate an understanding of the environmental planning role. When he was asked about what the role might incorporate he responded:

...identify areas of high environmental value and note the 'no go' areas. ...I think that town planning within local government is a restrictive sort of science. Planning has become much broader, not just straight land use planning. We look at waste management and economic strategies and long term plans, transport corridors and it's much more complete. ...We should be replacing town planning with integrated planning and then the roles of community workers and environmental planners would become relevant.... For instance, we have no way of measuring the impact of growth in population in this Shire. Things like where will our waste go and how much air pollution will be created? None of those issues ever get stressed in planning. Yet the social side and environmental side should really come in. Until you get a different ethos in planning, their role will always be peripheral (Mayor, Douglas Shire Council).
According to the environmental planner in Townsville, with time, other council officers were beginning to appreciate the specialist skills. The example of inappropriate referrals in Townsville when the environment officer was first employed revealed that even once a specialist position was established, the council needed time to learn about the new environmental planning role and how to most effectively incorporate it into the existing structures and functions of the council. While it was important to the environmental planner in Townsville that others were clear about her role, she also stressed the importance of all council departments sharing in the work of environmental planning as a way of appreciating the importance of environmental protection.

Organisational structure

Inclusion of environmental planning in the decision-making structures varied between the three councils but involvement of environmental planners remained extremely limited. In Townsville, although Environmental Planning Services had become an identifiable council program with a manager, it did not have a director who was represented in the major council decision-making forums such as the Executive Strategic, Business Unit (ESBU) as discussed in chapter one. The Strategic Planning Team (SPT) had been recently formed at the time of interviews. The environmental planner expected the SPT to considerably advance communication across disciplines and to increase input from environmental planners to local area planning:

Integration appears to have been facilitated in Douglas by locating the environmental planner in the land-use planning program of the council from the outset. This meant her position had been comprehensively linked to the Council’s broader planning role unlike the environmental planners in Townsville and Mackay who started out quite separate from the planning department.

Impediments to integrating environmental planning in the three councils

Particular conditions that constrained effective inclusion of the environmental planners in the planning work of the three councils are evident through the three case studies. Several of the factors that facilitated their integration also act as impediments.
Organisational structures and strategic directions

In the previous section certain organisational structures that assist integration of environmental planning were cited. Organisational structures can also be viewed as a major impediment to integration because the environmental planners possess little official decision-making power. Apart from the growing range of environmental responsibilities that had been delegated from state to local government without commensurate resources, the environmental planners suggested that most constraints upon environmental planning emanated from within their councils. All three positions were restricted in terms of not having power to influence decisions about council policy. The environmental planners saw their lack of power in decision-making forums to be an issue of needing to overcome traditional local government structures and hierarchies. This was particularly an issue because without a senior officer or director responsible for environmental planning, they were disadvantaged when it came to bidding for resources.

Engineers in the three places were allocated a substantial proportion of council resources. One engineer remarked, 'You just can't buy cheap roads'. According to many respondents there was a long-established relationship between decision-making power within the councils and the substantial proportion of the budget allocated to the engineering departments. It was also easy for the engineers and the elected members to argue that the three R’s were priority services which the community valued highly and had come to expect:

> It has been the culture of local government that the engineers are supreme and it's always a battle to bring what are seen as soft options into the work stream. It also happens because engineering has a mega budget and they will not tolerate a suggestion that their budget will be reduced. ... that's probably the biggest problem, that they don't even have the awareness. Engineering should only be just one arm of the planning process (Deputy Mayor, Townsville City Council).

In Townsville, the only one of the three places where funds were allocated specifically for environmental planning, there was pressure to prove they were going into a worthwhile cause. Participants from other work areas did not report the same sense of having to prove their worth to maintain their budget allocation. Resources were a restriction for all of the environmental planners but they also spoke of internal council structures as an impediment. In Mackay, the environmental planner was frustrated with the corporate structure which he considered to be an 'illogical organisation of council functions'. The organisational structure was not viewed as a problem in Douglas by the environmental planner but the environmental perspective of councillors was. In a council where all
councillors attended all committee meetings, they were the ultimate decision-makers in all cases. At the time of interviewing there was a perception that the values of the council were changing:

...the political climate is changing direction and the power base is moving. From the point of view of the power base I don’t care either way. It’s the issue of planning and the majority of the council do not see the importance of planning. Within their view they would be far more concerned that a man’s home is his castle. He should have minimum interference with his daily activities. Planning then, obviously ends up way down the spectrum (Town Planner, Douglas Shire Council).

There was some concern in Douglas that if the power base of the Council of seven independents did shift, the ecologically sustainable strategic planning approach could be lost. In the 1997 local government elections those fears were allayed when the Mayor was re-elected for a second term and the Deputy Mayor who led the ‘conservative faction’ was not re-elected.

The issue of values is important. All of the environmental planners expressed a desire to have environmental protection articulated in policy so that the values of individuals would be less of a determining factor. All three environmental planners emphasised that in the absence of their council having written environmental policies, ecological sustainability initiatives depended upon the willingness of individual councillors to incorporate environmental protection policies into long term strategic plans. They expressed frustration with a three year planning time-frame linked to elections. Without a commitment written into environmental protection policy they felt they were locked into a project by project planning style which allowed the values of individuals, rather than a plan, to determine the future of the local environment.

In Mackay, the environmental planner said the project by project approach resulted in land-use being equated with new housing development to the detriment of giving serious consideration to ‘conservation of natural heritage’. Even in Townsville with a SPT supposedly placing environmental planning on an equal footing with other council sections, the recommendations of the SPT had to be considered by the ESBU and then by the council for a final decision regarding policy development and the future of project proposals.
Without a formal structure to integrate environmental planning expertise in Mackay, the environmental planner reported to the Chief Environmental Health Officer who in turn reported to the Director of the Community Services Department of which the Environmental Health Program was a part. The Department had twelve diverse sections and 148 staff. The Director participated in the Executive Officers Group in the Council (which was equivalent to the ESBU in Townsville) who made recommendations for deliberation by the Council. The environmental planner was not as optimistic about the ability of this structure to enhance the status of environmental planning as his counterpart in Townsville was about the SPT. He commented that:

The councillors should have more contact with the staff themselves. The director cannot know everything. At times at meetings they ask questions of the director and he just has not got a clue what to say. I do not blame him for that. He cannot be Einstein. I think in a way that red tape does tie us up quite a bit. I believe one of the big problems with this council is they have to delegate a lot more. They employ professional staff, pay them pretty big money. They have to learn to trust them and be able to delegate responsibilities and duties to them so they can do their job to the best of their abilities. In this big organisation it is unreasonable that they expect five or six directors to make virtually all the decisions (Environmental Health Officer, Mackay City Council).

The SPT may assist environmental planning aims in Townsville but ultimately environmental planners in both Mackay and Townsville wanted to see a planning scheme that emphasised environmental planning strategies. The Douglas Planning Scheme pushed environmental planning to the forefront, but in Mackay and Townsville, environmental protection strategies were not explicit in the town planning schemes. There was general agreement amongst respondents in all councils that the environmental planning role of the council would be closely associated with land-use planning.

Although Douglas Shire Council had made a commitment to environmental protection and the environmental planning role had a high level of support from the land-use planner and the Mayor, it has been illustrated that the environmental planner had very little decision-making power to influence council policy.

Townsville City Council had a more bureaucratic structure than Douglas or Mackay, providing departments with some autonomy to run their programs, yet Environmental Planning Services was still a program within a department rather than a department in its own right. Environmental planners in Townsville were still on the third rung of the decision-making ladder. The environmental planner held out hope that the new SPT would provide an avenue for absorption of environmental planning issues into council
plans. In Douglas and Mackay, at the time of interviewing there were no formal decision-making structures existing within the councils to facilitate integration of environmental planning issues. Environmental Planning expertise was being filtered to the councils via senior staff.

Awareness of specialist environmental planning functions

Being so new in the three councils, the environmental planners were still striving for recognition of their role in environmental management, let alone in the more amorphous arena of environmental planning. The management role was fairly well understood because it was established prior to employment of environmental planners. The non-service oriented planning aspect of the role was still gathering momentum. For example, the environmental planners were given a very limited role in relation to the Building Better Cities Projects in Townsville and Mackay. The environmental planner in Townsville summed up her experience in relation to BBC which was very similar to that described by her counterpart in Mackay. They were asked to be involved in contaminated land issues but not the strategic planning activity associated with urban renewal.

The three environmental planners shared a concern that there was a lack of recognition from other council officers of their specialist knowledge. In Townsville, the environmental planner said this had led to a high staff turnover in the environmental planning program since its inception with four or five Environmental Planning Officers in as many years. She hoped the SPT would enable exchange of interdisciplinary ideas and expertise. In Douglas, the environmental planner considered the small council size conducive to such information sharing. The environmental planner in Mackay on the other hand, perceived that integration of environmental planning was restricted because the council was so large and inter-departmental communication was difficult.

Summary

The aim of this chapter has been to illustrate the roles of three environmental planners, not only as it was described by them but also in terms of how it was perceived by others. It has also been important to consider the ways in which the council structures include environmental planning in the broader scheme of local area planning. The discussion of issues which facilitate and impede integration of environmental planning in the three
councils which concludes this chapter brings together many themes from earlier sections in the chapter.

The environmental planners had high expectations for attainment of ecological sustainability through incorporation of environmental protection measures in council plans. However, across the three councils there was a perception that not only formalised plans, but individual decision-makers were also powerful in determining the future of the local environment irrespective of plans.

Participation has also been an important issue in this chapter. Although the differences between the three places and the three environmental planners is acknowledged, the environmental planners were all struggling for recognition. They considered recognition should take the form of inclusion of environmental planners in policy decision-making. Their technical environmental management role seemed to be more readily accepted and understood in the councils than the strategic environmental planning tasks. Yet ironically, apart from the environmental planner in Mackay, where environmental planning had least recognition, they had given little consideration to the democratic rights of citizens to be involved in environmental planning.

The constraints must be viewed in light of the newness of environmental planning as a local government work area in its own right. Townsville had a longer history of employing environmental planners than Douglas and Mackay. Consequently, some status had been afforded to environmental planning in Townsville in the form of program standing with specific budget allocation and additional staff. Compared to the situation in Douglas and Mackay, these material advantages in Townsville appeared to make little difference to the extent to which the environmental planners could pursue environmental planning tasks that actually ensured environmental protection.

The roles of community workers and environmental planners in the three councils have now been considered in detail. It has been demonstrated that there was little by way of a conscious connection made between the planning objectives and strategies of the environmental planners and the community workers, a necessary association for attainment of ecologically sustainable local area planning. Chapter seven looks at
integrated planning as defined by study participants, beginning a discussion about the factors impeding integrated planning in the three case studies. Chapter eight continues to analyse the constraints by considering specific difficulties the community workers and environmental planners experienced.
Integrated planning: What does it mean? Who participates?

Chapter Seven
This chapter has two sections. Initially, I consider meanings study participants assigned to integrated planning compared to the ILAP interpretation. The emphases study participants placed on ecological sustainability and involvement of community workers and environmental planners are discussed. In the second section, I explore the issues associated with study participants from different work areas integrating citizens in the local area planning process.

Integrated planning in the context of the three councils
It will be useful to recap on integration in the context of ILAP as discussed in chapter one before considering what integrated planning means to study participants. In ILAP, integration pertained to the structures in which collaborative planning relationships could be harnessed between citizens, all council departments, other councils in the region, state and commonwealth governments. The three key components of ILAP are integrated strategic planning, organisational reform and improved inter-governmental relations. As explained in chapter one, councils participating in ILAP pilot projects failed to embrace all three components of the model, instead they embraced only one or two (Purdon 1995).

Councils participating in the pilot program reported a number of impediments to integration. In particular, organisational structures and the different perspectives of practitioners from the range of work areas hindered their integrated planning efforts (Ballarat City Council 1994; Lang 1994; Hazebroek 1994). The evaluation of the council-based BBC projects also suggested that planning disciplines had some difficulty working cooperatively (Hundloe and McDonald 1997). As part of my inquiry into integration of community workers and environmental planners, I asked study participants, What does the term integrated planning mean to you? The question aimed to establish how their understandings compared with ILAP and the extent to which they encompassed the idea of ecological sustainability and its principles.

Study participants define integrated planning
Study participants were asked what they understood by the term integrated planning
during round two interviews. The meanings assigned to *integrated planning* by study participants are summarised in tables 7.1 to 7.3. In presenting their responses I am concerned not only with whether they identified the main concerns of integrated planning set down through ILAP, but also the extent to which community work, environmental planning and ecological sustainability feature in their definitions of integrated planning. As discussed previously, community work and environmental planning are specifically recognised as part of the new strategic planning role of local government. Given that these work areas have been shown to have fairly low status in the councils (chapters five and six), one would expect respondents to have demonstrated support for integrated planning by acknowledging the need to incorporate the knowledge and skills of community workers and environmental planners more comprehensively.

**The broad objectives of integrated planning**

*Strategic plan development and collating interdisciplinary information*

The majority of study respondents considered collating information from different planning disciplines and strategic plan development to be central objectives of integrated planning (table 7.1). Only six respondents, two community workers and the Director of Corporate Services in Townsville, the mayor and land-use planner in Douglas, and the community worker in Mackay, identified both as integrated planning objectives. Those who related integrated planning to strategic plan development but not collating information from different work areas included the land-use planner in Townsville, the engineer in Douglas, and the land-use planner, CEO and engineer in Mackay.

When talking about their understanding of integrated planning, thirteen of the twenty-one respondents participating in round two interviews explained integrated planning in terms of an approach which takes into account issues from a range of work areas including those that were internal and some that were external to their councils. Only seven study participants actually incorporated the idea of the different disciplines working collaboratively. They included four community workers from across the three councils, the environmental planners from Townsville and Mackay, and the administrative planner from Townsville.
Table 7.1 The broad objectives of integrated planning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main Objective of Integrated Planning</th>
<th>Townsville</th>
<th>Douglas</th>
<th>Mackay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A strategic plan that provides a vision for the future of the area</td>
<td>CW, CW, AP, LP</td>
<td>LP, EM, E</td>
<td>LP, CW, E, AP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collating information from interdisciplinary work areas of councils</td>
<td>CW, CW, AP, EP, EM, CW</td>
<td>CW, EP, LP, EM</td>
<td>CW, EP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecological Sustainability</td>
<td>EP</td>
<td>EM</td>
<td>EP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social issues including health, housing, access and equity</td>
<td>E, AP, CW</td>
<td>CW, EP, LP, EM</td>
<td>AP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adequate social and physical infrastructure</td>
<td>AP, LP</td>
<td>EM</td>
<td>LP, AP, E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development control</td>
<td>LP</td>
<td>LP, EM</td>
<td>LP, EM, E, EP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key:  
AP = administrative planner, CW = community worker, E = engineer,  
EM = elected member, EP = environmental planner, LP = land-use planner

Integrated Planning: A Product or a Process?

While some study participants saw the aim of integrated planning as collecting information from a range of work areas, community workers and environmental planners represented the only work areas across the three councils to consistently regard integrated planning as a collaborative process (table 7.2).

Table 7.2 Interdisciplinarity within integrated planning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main Objective of Integrated Planning</th>
<th>Townsville</th>
<th>Douglas</th>
<th>Mackay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interdisciplinary collaboration</td>
<td>CW, CW, AP, EP</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td>CW, EP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key:  
AP = administrative planner, CW = community worker, E = engineer,  
EM = elected member, EP = environmental planner, LP = land-use planner

Ecological sustainability and social issues

Five study participants, including the environmental planners in Douglas and Mackay, the Director of Corporate Services in Townsville, and the land-use planner and Mayor in Douglas specifically identified the environment as an integrated planning issue. Only
three respondents, the environmental planners in Townsville and Mackay, and the Mayor in Douglas actually identified ecological sustainability as a main concern of integrated planning. The environment was not specifically referred to by any of the community workers when they were asked about their concept of integrated planning (table 7.1).

As ecological sustainability encompasses environmental and social principles, it could be expected that respondents who viewed ecological sustainability as an important concern of integrated planning might also identify the importance of social issues. In fact, this was only so in the case of the mayor in Douglas. However, of those who identified the environment (not specifically ecological sustainability) as an integrated planning issue, the Director of Corporate Services in Townsville and the environmental and land use planners in Douglas also thought social issues were important integrated planning considerations.

Development control
According to seven respondents, four of whom were from Mackay, and five of whom represented physical planning disciplines, the main concern of integrated planning was associated with development control in the sense that they thought their council would gain greater control over the direction and detail of new development in their local area through integrated planning (table 7.1). However, development control was more narrowly defined by the land-use planners in Townsville and Mackay and the engineer and mayor from Mackay. They all emphasised that the goal of development control was to ensure adequate levels of physical or social infrastructure in new developments.
To the mayor in Douglas, the term development control meant something quite different. It referred not to regulation and maintenance of certain standards but to restraining development and population growth in order to sustain the existing human and non-human communities in Douglas Shire.

Participants in integrated planning
While discussing what integrated planning meant to them, a number of respondents specifically identified work areas that should be involved in integrated planning (table 7.3). Indeed, the definitions of integrated planning offered by study participants were more focused on who would be involved than on the kinds of processes that would be
required. One exception was the community worker in Townsville, who was working on the local Building Better Cities and Urban Renewal development projects:

It is a way of thinking, a way of approaching a problem. It takes time and understanding of how other areas work and think. It takes a long time to work out how to work together (Community Project Officer, Townsville City Council).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7.3 Participants in integrated planning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Participants in Integrated Planning</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Townsville</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal council work areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CW, CW, AP, EP, EM, CW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other levels of government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CW, EM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E, CW, EP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Councillors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E, CW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Douglas</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CW, EP, LP, E, EM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mackay</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CW, EP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key:  
AP = administrative planner, CW = community worker, E = engineer,  
EM = elected member, EP = environmental planner, LP = land-use planner

From outside their council, four study participants mentioned other levels of government (table 7.3). Seven respondents, included the community, which generally referred to citizens and private enterprise. Respondents emphasised involvement of internal council areas rather than external participants (table 7.3). Brown and Burke’s (1993) study of coastal managers also found that local government employees were more likely to seek information from within rather than externally to the council.

Community involvement in integrated planning
As public participation is incorporated within both ecological sustainability (UNCED 1992) and the ILAP model (Sansom 1994; ALGA 1993a, 1993b), I explored the issue in some detail with study respondents.

Principles that guide community involvement in local area planning
I asked study participants about their views on eight principles for effective public participation in the planning process (Appendix 13). The principles were drawn from a number of sources including Roughley and Scherl (1992); Social Impact Unit (1990); Taylor et al. (1989); Blahna and Yonts-Šhepard (1989); Ross 1990). Study participants
responses are summarised in tables 7.4 to 7.7. Discussion of the eight principles with respondents stimulated comment about whether respondents agreed with the principles (table 7.4) and about the public involvement methods they actually adopted (tables 7.5 and 7.6). In addition to responses to the eight principles, using NUDIST, all interview transcripts were searched for references to community, public, involvement and participation. The results of the searches are incorporated into tables 7.5 and 7.6.

Most study participants agreed that the eight principles should inform community consultation on local planning and development projects. Discussion which arose in relation to the issue of representation suggested several respondents had some difficulty with how to set up a representative structure. This issue is discussed below in the section which looks specifically at difficulties in employing participatory techniques.

The idea of mediation as part of the public participation process was alien to several respondents except community workers. Study participants including the three land-use planners generally considered it to be the council's role to resolve conflicts by making final decisions. As they were not used to a model where citizens had decision-making power, they could not understand the potential for citizens to be so integrally involved in development outcomes. The environmental planner in Douglas, for example was perplexed that mediation be considered as part of the planning process. She said it would only need to occur following a bad decision. Even then, she insisted, an adjudicator rather than a mediator would be more appropriate to placate angry citizens. This issue of mediation led in several interviews to a discussion about whether the council had the expertise to facilitate different community opinions without actually taking control of the decision-making process. The engineer in Townsville said it was a good idea to consult all interested parties as long as they didn’t all have to be listened to. The community workers considered mediation was important but acknowledged that it was a time consuming process of dealing with conflict. One community worker in Townsville said conflict was not encouraged because it could damage the council politically.
### Table 7.4 Public participation principles adopted by study participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Public Participation Principles</th>
<th>Townsville</th>
<th>Douglas</th>
<th>Mackay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public consultation programs should be adequately resourced.</td>
<td>E, CW, CW, CW, AP,</td>
<td>CW, LP, EM</td>
<td>EM, CW, E, EP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CW, LP, EM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public consultation programs should be specifically designed for each development project.</td>
<td>CW, CW, CW, E, AP,</td>
<td>CW, E, LP, EM</td>
<td>LP, EM, CW, E, EP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EP, LP, EM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public consultation should be conducted from the beginning of the planning process and continued</td>
<td>CW, CW, CW, CW, E,</td>
<td>CW, LP</td>
<td>LP, EM, CW, E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>throughout.</td>
<td>AP, LP, EM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public consultation should involve a representative sample of all interested citizens, groups</td>
<td>CW, CW, AP, LP, EM</td>
<td>CW, E</td>
<td>LP, EM, CW, E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and organisations.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information provided to the public should be comprehensive, balanced and accurate. Draft</td>
<td>CW, CW, CW, CW, E,</td>
<td>CW, E, EP, LP, EM</td>
<td>LP, EM, CW, E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>documents should be easy to read and understand to enable all interested parties to respond.</td>
<td>AP, LP, EM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultation methods should include a range of techniques such as meetings, seminars,</td>
<td>CW, CW, CW, CW, E,</td>
<td>CW, E, LP, EM</td>
<td>LP, EM, CW, E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>workshops, tours, etc.</td>
<td>AP, LP, EM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public consultation programs should include processes, such as mediation for dealing with</td>
<td>CW, CW, CW, CW, E,</td>
<td>CW, EM, EM</td>
<td>CW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contentious issues as required.</td>
<td>AP, LP, EM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Councils should provide feedback to the community on how their comments/ideas were used in</td>
<td>CW, CW, CW, CW, E,</td>
<td>CW, EM</td>
<td>CW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final plans or policies.</td>
<td>AP, LP, EM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key:** AP = administrative planner, CW = community worker, E = engineer, EM = elected member, EP = environmental planner, LP = land-use planner

Another principle where there was disagreement based on political considerations was that of providing feedback to citizens on how their ideas influenced final plans. This principle had limited support from study participants. In all areas respondents commented that the principle was idealistic because it was resource intensive. The environmental planner in Douglas thought it preposterous that the council explain their decisions to the public. She considered that they should attend council meetings if they wanted information. Because the councils did not adopt a genuinely participatory planning model, a number of respondents assumed that the democratic process was adequate in providing accountability to the public. The elected member in Townsville said the community elected the council to make decisions for them because they
(citizens) did not want to make decisions about local planning themselves. These mixed ideas about community involvement can be understood as either participation or consultation. The distinguishing features of these two approaches to citizen involvement are considered below.

**Genuine citizen participation or community consultation?**

At the heart of the new Labor administration in Queensland in 1989 was a professed commitment to increased accountability and public involvement in governmental decision-making processes (Wear 1993). The framework for citizen participation was outlined in a government document titled *Consultation: A Resource Document For the Queensland Public Sector* (1993). In the document, consultation was defined as:

...an open and accountable process where individuals and groups have a formal opportunity to influence the outcomes of a policy or decision making process. Through this formal opportunity, governments provide the community with a forum for participation in decision making, thereby promoting co-operative partnerships and more accountable public administration (Queensland Office of Cabinet 1993, p. iii).

Inherent imbalances of power and influence in the liberal democratic state were not addressed in the framework. Questions of civil rights and citizenship were largely glossed over (Hil and Roughley 1997). The consultation principles outlined in the document reflected a style of citizen involvement in which little of the power to make decisions is vested in citizens. Co-operative partnership is characterised by involving citizens in the initial stages of policy development or project planning. It is also reflected through provision of resources to enhance the ability of citizens to participate (CYPLUS 1993; Social Impact Unit 1990; Arnstein 1969).

According to the idealised liberal-democratic view of law reform, public participation is crucial to the active involvement of citizens in the decision-making process (Arnstein 1969). For Arnstein, genuine public participation *equals* citizen power. It is the redistribution of power that enables the 'have-not' citizens, invariably excluded from the political and economic domains, to be included in decision-making processes. Participation as opposed to consultation is thus made up of three main components:

- a commitment on the part of decision makers to share power, information and resources in a way which demonstrates that public participation is an integral part of the planning and decision-making process (Roughley and Scherl 1992; Social Impact Unit 1990);
Chapter Seven  
Integrated Planning: What does it Mean and Who Participates?  

- information exchange and negotiation between interested parties in the decision-making process from the outset of planning and all the way through (Hil and Roughley 1997; Blahna and Yonts-Shepard 1989; Ross 1990);
- recognition that citizens have local knowledge and skills which contribute positively to local planning (Social Impact Unit 1990; Ross 1990; Berger 1977).

According to Craig and Fowler (1985, p. 22), public participation may involve a high degree of power or no power at all and can be assessed on this basis. They assert that:

It is only by establishing precisely how decisions or kinds of decisions are reached that one can assess the actual participation and the degree of realism of those who aspire to increase it.

Like the consultation guidelines, The Queensland Local Government Act (1993) subscribes to consultation as opposed to genuine participation. When developing or amending corporate, strategic and land-use plans, the Act requires councils to 'consult the public'.

The Act specifies the following consultation procedures:
- a notice published in a newspaper and on display in the council’s public offices providing details of the proposal, inviting public submissions and specifying the length of the consultation period (usually 21 days)
- the relevant document or plan displayed in a conspicuous place in the council
- citizens must be able to purchase a copy of the document at the same cost as that of production
- councils must seriously consider submissions from citizens, objecting to the proposal (Queensland Local Government Act, 1993s476.(1)).

Consultation in this form represented the attempt throughout the state towards more democratic processes. However, it did not equal participation because local authorities were not required to involve the public from the outset of policy development and in preparation of draft policies and plans. In addition, there was not a stated requirement for local authorities to account to citizens by demonstrating to the public how their comments influenced the final policy. The legislation still allowed local authorities to restrict public involvement to a one-way consultation process. As opposed to genuine public participation, consultation is more aptly defined as:

...an activity by which the individual, group or organisation provides an opportunity for individuals or representatives of groups to make an input into the policy or decision-making process of the initiator (Stanbury and Fulton 1987).
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The extent to which citizens actually become involved in the planning process is frequently limited by consultation methods such as technical, lengthy draft reports available upon public request and requiring responses in the form of a formal, written submission (Taylor et al. 1990).

Although liberal idealists view public involvement as an essential feature of the democratic state, the realities of class and power differentials ensure that attempts to include citizens in the decision-making process are rendered problematic. According to Arnstein (1969) and Midgley (1986), the process of consultation in most liberal-democratic systems tends to be token and exclusive. At worst, consultation is seen merely as manipulation of the powerless by the powerful, a contrived substitute for real involvement in policy making processes. Consequently, while the State may celebrate the apparent inclusion of ordinary citizens in the business of government, its real purpose may be to neutralise claims of exclusion and marginalisation by the powerless (Hil and Roughley 1997).

The methods employed by study participants to involve citizens in local area planning are summarised in tables 7.5 and 7.6. The councils did not have a public participation policy as such. A community worker in Mackay had developed community consultation guidelines for the council that reflected a genuine participatory approach. At the time of interviews, the council had not adopted the guidelines as policy. The councils had ad hoc consultation approaches rather than organised public involvement models. This was apparent in their approaches to introducing corporate, strategic and land-use plans as discussed in chapter three. Most often, in the three case studies, the public was invited to comment on draft plans in accordance with the local government legislation. The consultation models were most often characterised by public involvement being introduced at the discretion of the council as initiator of plans and policies.

Respondents in the three councils highlighted the fact that the difference between local government and the other spheres of government in Australia was that councillors and local government officers live in the community where they work. They move through the community as citizens; they read local newspapers and attend meetings, hold membership on local management boards. They insisted that all of these forms of
contact with the community enhanced their awareness about community issues and aspirations. However, those experiences did not amount to a process of genuine public participation where citizens had real power to work in partnership with the councils. Very few study participants other than community workers recognised the difference between these informal arrangements and genuine public involvement.

The actual community involvement techniques and strategies adopted by study participants discussed below indicate that the three councils had not engaged genuine public participation processes. A number of the eight principles would therefore have been quite challenging given their existing processes were more consultative than participatory.

Community involvement techniques employed in the councils

Study participants were employing a number of techniques for community involvement in local planning. I consider them in the two categories- participation and consultation. Examples in table 7.5 highlight participatory techniques and strategies study respondents employed for involving the public in planning activity. The consultation methods they said they employed are listed in table 7.6, reinforcing the findings presented in chapters five and six that community workers had a more detailed understanding of participatory methods than study participants from other work areas. The methods employed by community workers aimed to enhance relationships between citizens and councils, to increase citizen power in influencing local planning decisions. For example, community workers talked about listening to people and accepting different views.

All other disciplines employed technical methods like surveys or education programs that can be organised from behind an office desk. They did not involve the same level of interaction with citizens or aim to increase citizen power to the same extent as the methods adopted by community workers.
Table 7.5  Public participation techniques and strategies employed by study participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Public Participation Techniques and Strategies</th>
<th>Townsville</th>
<th>Douglas</th>
<th>Mackay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>respect the right of all people to take control of their life. Recognise and accept the different views among the many communities in the local area.</td>
<td>CW, CW, CW</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td>CW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>provide written information about planning processes &amp; regulations including citizen rights and obligations in simple language that is accessible to everyone.</td>
<td>EP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>develop community consultation guidelines.</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>invite community representatives as well as all interested people to take part in planning &amp; consultation.</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assist community groups to develop and take ownership of programs.</td>
<td>CW, CW, CW, CW</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td>CW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consult from outset of development of a new town plan.</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td>LP</td>
<td>EP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public education programs.</td>
<td>LP</td>
<td>EP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assist in development of community pressure groups.</td>
<td>LP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>establish neighbourhood centres and encourage them to hold public meetings re local issues.</td>
<td>LP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allow a reasonable amount of time for citizens to respond to council proposals.</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liaise/ facilitate dialogue between citizens and council.</td>
<td>CW, CW, CW</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>advocate to council on behalf of citizens particularly disadvantaged groups such as indigenous people.</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>listen to citizens.</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>provide services as a way of establishing ongoing communication channels.</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make council buildings comfortable and accessible to citizens.</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>surveys</td>
<td>CW, AP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>focus groups</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>newsletters</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seek local knowledge from citizens to assist in project development.</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td></td>
<td>EP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key:  AP = administrative planner, CW = community worker, E = engineer, EM = elected member, EP = environmental planner, LP = land-use planner
### Table 7.6  Consultation techniques and strategies employed by study participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consultation Techniques and Strategies</th>
<th>Townsville</th>
<th>Douglas</th>
<th>Mackay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>membership on local community management boards and attendance at public meetings.</td>
<td>CW, CW, CW</td>
<td>EM, CW</td>
<td>EM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>street walking at night to observe local problems eg youth homelessness.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>EM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appoint community representatives to council advisory meetings</td>
<td>EM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>staffed community-based council shop-front to provide information to citizens about specific developments.</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ward meetings and project-based public meetings</td>
<td>AP, CW, CW, CW</td>
<td>LP, EP, EM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make sure the community can see something happening.</td>
<td>EP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>provide access to information for citizens as they request it and have a forum to hear grievances.</td>
<td>EP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>publicise council decisions</td>
<td>EP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>invite public comment on draft plans and respond to public comment.</td>
<td>EP, E, AP, EM</td>
<td>EM</td>
<td>LP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>draft town plan on public display with colour lift-out of draft plan in local paper.</td>
<td>LP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meetings to assist public understanding &amp; appreciation of draft plans.</td>
<td>EM, LP.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transform social needs studies into plans.</td>
<td>LP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>council &amp; committee meetings open to public and make decisions of council meetings public.</td>
<td>EM</td>
<td></td>
<td>EM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opportunity to democratically elect local government as representatives of citizens.</td>
<td>EM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public appeals processes.</td>
<td>EM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>only consult public on big development projects which may have environmental impacts.</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td>EP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talk to citizens who have complaints and refer them to community workers.</td>
<td>EM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talk to citizens who have complaints and refer them to community workers</td>
<td>AP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key:**  
- AP = administrative planner, CW = community worker, E = engineer,  
- EM = elected member, EP = environmental planner, LP = land-use planner
The ideas proposed by the town planner in Mackay certainly reflected his knowledge of processes which politicise the public and through which they may gain power. Developing community pressure groups and focus groups requires making contact with citizens. He claimed, as did many other study participants that both were community work rather than land-use planner roles. The land-use planner in Douglas recognised that public involvement should be introduced early in the planning process because he had failed to do so in the development of the planning scheme. In his opinion, conflict and public confusion had arisen because the public were involved too late in the process. Elected members tended to attend public meetings which also place them among community members and expose them directly to community issues. However, their methods were not aimed to ensure that citizen views and aspirations were visible in local development and change. Rather, the consultative methods maintained power with the council because the councils sought public opinion, not necessarily involvement.

**Difficulties in employing participatory techniques and strategies**

ILAP and EIA as integrated planning models advocate that the community should be partners in the planning process. Each council was grappling with much ambivalence, with questions about how to include citizens in local planning. For a number of study participants there was even a prior question- should citizens be involved in planning at all beyond the regulated requirements on local authorities stipulated through the *Queensland Local Government Act* (1993).

Different work areas within the three councils took a different approach to public participation. The diversity limited the extent to which citizen involvement was an integrated component of their planning approach. Community workers had limited involvement in land-use planning but unlike respondents from other work areas they were explicit in their commitment to participatory strategies. The distinct approach of community workers could also act as an impediment to their inclusion in land-use planning activities and decisions where elected members and practitioners from other work areas do not subscribe to participation of citizens in making decisions about local area planning. Study participants identified a number of difficulties with the participatory approach to citizen involvement (table 7.7).
Table 7.7  Difficulties experienced with involving the public in local planning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Difficulty</th>
<th>Townsville</th>
<th>Douglas</th>
<th>Mackay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>resource intensive/ time consuming</td>
<td>EP, EM, E, AP</td>
<td>LP, E</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>difficult to consult all citizens</td>
<td>CW, CW, AP</td>
<td>CW, E</td>
<td>EP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>difficult to reach community consensus</td>
<td>CW, LP, EM, AP</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>EP, EM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lack of a formal community involvement policy/procedure in council</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td>CW, EM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expert knowledge, not community ideas should inform local planning</td>
<td>E, AP</td>
<td>CW, EP, EM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lack of political support for public participation/ political manipulation of citizens</td>
<td>CW, LP, E, AP</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>citizens do not have adequate information to participate</td>
<td>LP</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>citizen apathy</td>
<td>LP, AP</td>
<td></td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>some community interests cannot be measured</td>
<td>LP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key: AP = administrative planner, CW = community worker, E = engineer, EM = elected member, EP = environmental planner, LP = land-use planner

The problems they encountered were both of a political and of a practical nature. Some were attributed to the councils and others to the public. The most commonly identified concerns were:

- inadequate resources to undertake serious public participation programs which were viewed as very time consuming;
- the difficulties of consulting all citizens and then, them reaching consensus;
- lack of political support from within the council for genuine public participation.

The majority of study participants viewed the participatory approach as inappropriate. Firstly, they considered that ‘professional’ planners, not citizens, had the planning expertise. Secondly, participatory techniques required too much time. The engineer in Townsville, for example, said it was frustrating when public involvement resulted in practitioners having to do things over and over again to fit in with different groups who were being consulted.
Across the councils, respondents from several work areas mused over how to contact all citizens and how to balance their differing views, aspirations for the area and expectations of the council. Several respondents considered that the politicised and vocal few dominated public meetings, submission processes and other consultation forums. As one response to that problem, the administrative planner in Townsville suggested that regular, simply-worded surveys should be sent to all citizens to ensure that everyone could have a say. The same technique had been used in Mackay as part of the process of developing its new town plan but surveys were not a formalised regular public involvement tool in either council. They tended to be associated with one-off projects. In each council, at least one respondent commented that their council needed a formalised public involvement policy and knowledge of procedures and skills to implement it.

The source of difficulties community workers experienced in relation to public participation generally emanated from the council rather than citizens (table 7.7). While a number of physical planners said most people didn’t want to be consulted anyhow and dismissed token consultative methods as a result of public apathy, the community workers had a different view about the source of constraints to public involvement. They saw council policy making procedures to be inaccessible to the public even where council and committee meetings were open to the public. Manipulation of citizens in the guise of public involvement was a concern of one community worker. She commented that instead of canvassing broad community opinion ‘Council cultivates articulate community groups/citizens and uses them to promote preferred council lines’ (Community Development Worker, Mackay).

Community workers in both Townsville and Douglas also considered there to be a lack of commitment by the council and other practitioners to genuine citizen involvement because they preferred an ‘expert’ planning model. According to the community worker in Douglas, one reason for low levels of citizen involvement in public consultation was that citizens were aware when decisions had already been made and did not want to waste their time with token consultation processes.
Several study participants expected that community workers who were largely working in and with the community, should provide regular feedback to the council regarding public views and grievances. The channels by which they should do this however, had not been formalised. The environmental planners supported the planner as technical expert model with limited citizen involvement. They did not make the link between public involvement and democratic citizenship that was articulated by community workers. Community workers acted as facilitators to assist community groups to establish their goals. The environmental planners established projects such as re-vegetation and then recruited community members as volunteers to operationalise the projects. Relationships between local conservation councils and local authorities in Townsville and Mackay (such an organisation did not exist in Douglas) were adversarial rather than co-operative. The environmental planners did not attend conservation group meetings or have established relationships with them. Where community workers provided practical assistance for fledgling community groups to direct programs, environmental planners maintained autonomy of environmental projects within the council.

Summary

This chapter has illustrated that the councils were still grappling with the idea of integrated planning. Respondents had not attended ILAP training programs. In Douglas, they had not even received ILAP documents that had been available to other councils one year earlier. At the early stage of thinking about integrated planning, study participants were enthusiastic about potential benefits to be derived from the model. They also had quite contrasting ideas about the main concerns and participants in integrated planning. Respondents' notions of public involvement in planning also varied as did the methods they employed. During interviews, I gained a sense that respondents had not discussed integrated planning within councils at any depth. With the exception of Townsville, the councils had not formally adopted an integrated planning structure.

Given that integrated planning was a new concept in the three councils, my intention was to explore study participants' perceptions of integrated planning not to evaluate their performance. Although what I have documented are no more than respondents'
perceptions, they do indicate the extent to which community work and environmental planning are factored in as issues for integrated planning. The also illustrate the ideas of participants as to whether or not an integrated approach would be a collaborative, interdisciplinary model. The data presented above supports the conclusions of the two previous chapters: that the participatory approach adopted by community workers is not naturally associated with integrated planning by all other disciplines; and that environmental and social issues are not at the forefront of planning concerns of other work areas in the councils.
Impediments to integrated planning

Chapter Eight
Previous chapters have uncovered a number of factors that constrain effective involvement of community workers and environmental planners in local area planning in the three councils. It is the aim of this chapter is to draw together an analysis of those impediments. They are considered on three levels: external, internal and interdisciplinary— as they were identified in the case studies.

Constraints to integrated planning

Under these three headings, I consider the issues of integrating community workers and environmental planners in response to two questions asked of study respondents during the round two interviews:

- *Does this council adopt an integrated planning approach?*
- *Do you think there are any barriers that would prevent integrated planning working effectively in this council?*

In addition, I have integrated data pertaining to constraints which emerged at other times and in response to other questions during interviews. The data was generated using NUDIST and searching interview transcripts for the word *constraints* and synonyms including: problem, difficult, hard, impediment, barrier, problem.

Research data indicates that the councils were beginning to think about integrated planning but had not put formal structures or education programs in place to facilitate such an approach. The strategic planning team in Townsville (discussed below) was the one exception. Study participants had mixed responses when asked whether integrated planning could work effectively in their councils. Most felt their councils were beginning to grasp integrated planning ideas but that adoption of the process was a long way off. Engineers and land-use planners all considered that their councils functioned in an integrated way already. No doubt, the engineers were well resourced, party to planning decisions and not struggling for recognition like the community workers and environmental planners. Across the three councils community workers and environmental planners said integrated planning was not a priority of their elected councillors. They all felt marginalised within the existing arrangements. However, three elected members were the only respondents other than community workers and

Plate 14 (Previous page)  'Blue grass and pink granite' from Townsville Mall
Alan Nelson, 1992
environmental planners to realise that greater involvement of community workers was required before integrated planning could become a reality.

**External constraints to integrated planning**

External constraints to integrated planning most commonly and frequently referred to by study participants included inter-governmental relations and a predominant focus in public policy on economic efficiency. Each is discussed below.

**Inter-government relations**

The relationships between the three spheres of government were viewed by study participants in the three councils as inequitable in terms of decision and policy-making processes and funding arrangements. As previously discussed, ILAP was developed because councils were restrained with little legislative authority; isolated from State and Commonwealth government policy-making forums and had insufficient resources from other spheres of government to facilitate policy development (Graham 1992; Purdon and Graham 1992; ALGA 1990). In spite of these difficulties, ILAP was founded on the premise that councils were well placed to plan across the range of community interests.

A significant barrier to councils establishing an integrated approach was the unclear and overlapping roles of the three spheres of government. While ILAP advocates that local government authorities identify community-based issues and respond to them, councils are bound by state and federal budget priorities and programs. Many Commonwealth policies and programs have been targeted on the basis of centrally identified problems. It has often been intended that they be implemented regionally but they are frequently not responsive to specific local conditions - the social, environmental and economic factors which vary between regions, and again, between different communities within regions (Purdon and Graham 1992).

Local government also has the unenviable task of unravelling contradictions that arise between policy areas and at state and Commonwealth levels. For example, social welfare policies that exist beside individualistic economic policies encompass social justice principles. Social justice comprises four elements:
• fairness in the distribution of economic resources;
• equal, effective and comprehensive civil, legal and industrial rights for all;
• fair and equal access to services;
• and the opportunity to participate fully in personal development, community life and decision-making

Environmental policies which importune environmental protection to ensure against destruction of species, eco-systems and depletion of natural resources on which humans depend, exist beside industry policies that have far-reaching detrimental impacts on the environment. Local government is responsible for interpreting state and Commonwealth policies to ensure their relevance in responding to the present and future needs of their own area and electorate (Briggs 1992).

In a state as large and disparate as Queensland, state government policy can be unresponsive to local issues. The State role in development entails provision of physical and social infrastructure and associated services, such as health, education, community services, public housing, public transport and law enforcement. The states also provide both capital and recurrent funding to local government. In Queensland, like most other Australian states, the state government is responsible for broad planning guidelines including location and release of future urban areas. They also have the main responsibility for co-ordinating residential development with the provision of infrastructure (Purdon and Graham 1992, p. 37). In addition, the states have an important role in formulating the legislative framework for residential, commercial and industrial development and environmental protection.

The three participating councils, like most local governments, were responsible for land-use planning, human services planning, economic planning, environmental planning and traffic and transport planning. Land use plans guide the regulation of development and protection of human and non-human communities. Such regulations include approval of developments, sub-division of land and building regulations. In the area of human services, the councils planned for, provided and managed a range of community services such as child care, senior citizens centres, libraries and youth services.
Economic planning relates to improving the economic potential of a given area in terms of industry and employment. Most common examples of environmental management within local government include recycling and waste management programs. The private sector has an important influence on local development because it makes the majority of investment decisions:

It has been estimated that the private sector is responsible for approximately 50 per cent of development expenditure, although its level of influence in setting the direction of development is significantly greater (Purdon and Graham 1992, pp. 38-39).

There are few examples of program agreements between the three spheres of government in Australia with equal partnership (Purdon and Graham 1992). The problems of overlapping roles arises where all three spheres of government or even two of the three, have responsibility for planning or providing services or facilities in one particular area. Even though study respondents felt planning was becoming a more co-operative activity, several were concerned that local policies may not always be in concert with the others and would remain at risk of being overridden in line with the ideology of the government elect. Although the States and the Commonwealth develop policies independently of each other, they do have formalised structures for developing policy together. Local government has been considered the poor cousin that is expected to implement policy it has not had a hand in devising, whether it is relevant in their areas or not (Purdon and Graham 1992).

In addition to lack of involvement in policy development, funding arrangements for local government have curtailed its potential for holistic planning (ALGA 1990, 1992; Purdon and Graham 1992). Local government derives a significant proportion of its revenue from the states and the Commonwealth (Lang 1991). Because the funding is often linked to specific programs aimed at meeting broad, rather than local needs, and with individual funding guidelines, administration can be difficult and time consuming. In addition, these funds are not always guaranteed to continue beyond an initial funding period, making it difficult for local government, in the absence of financial certainty, to make long term plans (Purdon and Graham 1992).
Resource allocation is of increasing concern to local government as a greater level of responsibility is being devolved to councils from state governments without commensurate resources to enable councils to assume the additional roles effectively (Graham 1992; Purdon and Graham 1992; ALGA 1990). As a result, study respondents in the three councils were particularly concerned that their resources were being stretched beyond their limit. They perceived the situation as unfair and contributing to tension between levels of government. Often, with the broadened role, community expectations of local government were heightened, according to study respondents in the three areas, but local government remain under-resourced to fully assume the new responsibilities (Purdon and Graham 1992).

**A predominant focus in public policy on economic efficiency**

In chapter three, the fears study participants held about national economic policy direction including privatisation, corporatisation and competition policy were discussed. Such policies make integration more difficult by imposing competition as a major local government strategy and profit as the overriding goal. Neither are compatible with the aims of integrated planning according to ILAP and ElA, nor are they in concert with the values of community work or environmental planning as I illustrated in chapters five and six.

During initial interviews, several study participants talked about the new local government direction forcing a choice between the traditional role of service provision and the emerging strategic planning role. As a result, in the subsequent interviews I asked study participants whether it was more important for local government to be a service provider or a strategic local area planner. All saw both to be important and three respondents thought planning should in fact take account of service provision. Another explained how the two were interdependent:

> If you are providing services, you are providing real services on the ground and getting a very genuine understanding of planning issues. Local governments have always provided basic services. I do not think that should necessarily change but it is about what other people can do as well or better and working out where service provision might jeopardise the planning role of an organisation that has the role of the broad focus and bringing different things together. To an extent service provision can really help that too. We would be poor if we did not have our services. I think our understanding and our ability to plan and comment would be greatly reduced. I do not think we get that real information when we are solely looking at things on paper (Manager, Community and Cultural Services, Townsville City Council).
The answers to the questions were however, not entirely at the discretion of each council or even the ALGA. Should the national economic policy direction continue towards privatisation of public assets for example, local government will have little opportunity to adopt an opposing local policy (Sansom 1997).

The question of privatisation was prevalent in the minds of study participants as they pondered whether local government could assume a broad planning role while continuing to be an essential service provider. Although not specifically asked about privatisation or competition policy several respondents from across councils and work areas expressed scepticism at the proposition of privatising or contracting out traditional service provision functions of local government. None of the study participants who mentioned these policies did so in a positive light. Their concerns included loss of local employment and council jobs:

In western Queensland the only employment in the town is provided by the local council and the council makes the town. If they had to compete they could not and competition policy would see the death of a lot of western towns. ...We employ about 500 people here. It is beneficial employment to our city. We could get contract people in to do the road-work and the office work and we would have a higher unemployment rate in this area. Council employees always had secure employment but now they have to show they can compete with private industry and performance standards and everything (Mayor, Mackay City Council).

Participants voiced concerns not only about potential for social disadvantage in a financial sense but also in the sense of loss of social capital in the wake of such policies:

In our shire, if we let private works take over completely, if we had a disaster, we would have no council to back it up. No men there to get in and do the job (Engineer, Douglas Shire Council).

A Townsville respondent feared the role of governance would be compromised by privatisation and competition policy:

Child-care is an example of a service that has been privatised and it is not that good. There has to be a value base to it all. The essence of good governance needs to be worked out first and then we can work out what we should and should not hive off (Manager, Community and Cultural Services, Townsville City Council).

Other concerns included increased service prices and decreased service standards over which the councils would have limited control from a distance with services being contracted out to private companies.
Chapter Eight

Internal constraints to integrated planning

Organisational structure

At the organisational level, study participants identified a number of constraints to integration. Compartmentalised corporate structure with directors predominantly making decisions was the most commonly identified impediment to integration within each of the three councils. Communication between staff at different levels of seniority as well as staff across work areas was hampered by the organisational structure, according to respondents. The approach was seen to perpetuate a hierarchical rather than participatory decision-making style. In Mackay, the marginalised community worker and environmental planner both considered that integrated planning could only be effective if power was shared and the expertise of all staff from different work areas was taken into account.

The tendency for some directors in Mackay to prioritise 'protection of their own turf' was viewed by the community worker and the environmental planner as a competitive approach and incompatible with integrated planning. In all three councils study participants commented that the process of competing at the council budget table also facilitated a spirit of competition, not co-operation between departments. The Deputy Mayor in Townsville said an important process in establishing a more integrated planning approach in the council would be to overcome a compartmentalised structure and a culture in which engineers were dominant. She said engineers attracted the lion's share of council resources and consequently dominated planning decision-making. Integrated planning was also seen to require a substantial commitment of time and resources which one participant thought could provide an excuse for councils to opt out of integrated planning.

In chapter three I discussed how in all three areas, the corporate plan, supposed to overcome the rigid hierarchical council structures, had been developed by those at the top of the traditional local government hierarchy. The particular interests of councillors and directors of physical planning departments therefore took primacy in the eventual written plan.
The majority of research participants referred to strategic, corporate and land-use plans as though they set council procedures and policies in concrete. Therefore, they were important to each work area as they explained their status and role in decision-making. When community workers in Townsville, Mackay and Douglas spoke of the future of their community, not one of them gave the impression that they were powerful in influencing it. All referred to planning or to 'a plan' which would determine the future. The community services director in Townsville was the only community worker in the study to have been involved in the corporate planning process. None of the community workers had been involved in development of strategic and land-use plans, nor did they express any regret at not having been involved. I asked them whether they considered they would have had a role to play in development of the plans and all agreed that they could have made a substantial contribution but were not given the opportunity.

The environmental planners in Townsville and Douglas were confident that they could influence the development of strategic and land-use plans. The status of the worker in Townsville gave her the authority and confidence to contribute to plan development. The desired outcomes of the environmental planner in Douglas were supported by the Mayor and the Town Planner. In any case, they were already instilled in the planning scheme. Without organisational status and support of this type, the environmental planner in Mackay, realised he could only marginally influence land-use planning. However, none of the environmental planners were involved in the development of their council's strategic or land use plans. In Douglas, the plan was developed prior to the employment of the environmental planner. In Mackay, the plans were in the process of being developed by consultants at the time of my interviews but there was no formalised structure in place to facilitate the input of the environmental planner. *Living Today for Tomorrow: An Environmental Conservation Strategy for Townsville* (1992) was developed by the environmental planner but remained unconnected in a formal way to the council's published plans.

The corporate models which had evolved in each of the councils (figures 3.1 to 3.3) had done very little to facilitate an integrated, interdisciplinary planning process. The strict hierarchical structure remained in place in all three councils. In Mackay and Douglas, community workers and environmental planners continued to be on the periphery of the
councils' decision-making structures. With only one exception, they did not have directorial representation or departmental status. In addition, as I have previously noted, without a profitable product to market, the value of the work of community workers and environmental planners in the councils was difficult for the traditional council decision-makers to rationalise.

**Decision-making processes**

The corporate plans of the three councils provided little by way of explaining the processes by which decisions were made. Previous chapters have documented study participants' comments that indicate hierarchical rather than participatory models prevailed in the three councils. Within the council structures, community workers and environmental planners had less power to influence policy and planning decisions than other practitioners with a physical planning focus. Even in Townsville where structures had been established to facilitate a more co-operative and integrated approach to planning decision-making, inter-departmental power struggles were apparent. The Strategic Planning Team (SPT) paid lip service to interdisciplinary coordination but final decisions were made at a higher level relegating the SPT to an advisory position.

A study respondent in Douglas suggested that the power struggles in Douglas Shire Council were motivated by conflicting ideologies about local development more than by interdisciplinary differences. One faction of the council favoured a strategic planning approach while the other was in support of land owners' rights to develop as they saw fit on their property. In Townsville, party political affiliation was another factor respondents considered to influence the ideology of the council. In chapter three for instance, I cited the example of a community worker who believed that the Labor council in Townsville supported state and Federal policies which at times compromised the importance of local issues.

Whether or not a local government represents a mainstream political party, its ideological persuasion, even in the broader institutional framework, will continue to act as either a constraint to integration of community work and environmental planning, or as an advocate for one or both of them. The three case study contexts demonstrated this
very well. In particular, they demonstrated that internal alliances are significant in influencing decision-making.

In Douglas, the Mayor and Town planner were instrumental in implanting an environmental protection perspective in plans and policies. This was not the case in Townsville or Mackay where elected members were more concerned with economic development than environmental protection. The Mayor in Douglas worked closely with the town planner who worked directly with the environmental planner. Town planners in Mackay and Townsville worked closely with elected members but not with environmental planners. Community workers in Douglas and Mackay were quite isolated from decision-making processes in their councils. In Townsville, even with departmental status, community workers had not formed alliances within the council to increase their decision-making power, yet informal structures were obviously significant influences upon policy decisions.

Respondents in all three places also talked about the tendency for councillors to circumvent formal organisational decision-making procedures, by ‘doing deals’ directly with developers. The issue of councillors privately meeting developers prior to lodgement of development approval applications was regarded as a way of skirting scrutiny by community workers and environmental planners on potentially contentious development proposals. Clearly, the internal processes of decision-making in the three councils did not apportion power equally among departments or work areas. Community workers were perhaps in the least powerful position being physically isolated from other work areas and with fewer relationships directly with the councils’ power brokers. Environmental planners also had little organisational status. In addition, environmental protection was not always politically supported in Townsville and Mackay where the councils focused on growth and development. Informal relationships however, have been seen to be a factor which can influence the decision-making process and planning outcomes.
Interdisciplinary constraints to integrated planning

One useful way of looking at different planning approaches is to view them as political or technical. Craig (1990), who describes the two approaches with respect to SIA, presented the two approaches as being essentially opposed and as such a discernible inhibitor to interdisciplinary planning. The characteristics of the two approaches are summarised in box 8.1. This dichotomy is particularly relevant in this study because it assists in explaining the otherness of the community workers who are alone in their councils in working from a political orientation.

The political approach is influenced by theories of participatory democracy as explained earlier and emphasises a developmental process that centrally involves politicising citizens and empowering them to engage in making planning decisions. The technical model is primarily focussed on outcomes of expert planning approaches that are more precise and frequently quantifiable. The political orientation engenders support for participation, diversity and intrinsic value. It is much more difficult to associate the technical model with those values because it depends upon 'objective', scientific evidence in preference to public knowledge, experience and opinion. The technical model also frequently looks to technological solutions rather than socially-driven outcomes which are deemed by the public to be socially useful.

While the planning dichotomy helps to explain why the community workers, working from a political orientation, are a bit like square pegs in round holes in their councils, it doesn't contribute as much in the quest for knowledge about why the environmental planners who adopt a technical approach, are still not fully integrated into collaborative planning partnerships in the three councils. In all three instances considered, the environmental planners had been in the councils for a shorter period than had the community workers (although the environmental planner in Mackay had worked in the council for some years, he had assumed environmental planning function for only a few months). It is probable that because environmental planning is a recent addition to local government, its acceptance into forums where planning decisions are made is impeded, in the early stages, by a lack of understanding on the part of other council planners of the specialist knowledge and skills of environmental planners. For three important reasons it is likely that acceptance of environmental planning will occur.
Box 8.1  A methodological planning dichotomy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Technical Approach (product oriented)</th>
<th>Political Approach (process oriented)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Emphasis on the product rather than the process of SIA;</td>
<td>• Emphasis on community development &amp; the decision-making process (process instead of product);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Influenced by positivist approach to social and democratic theory;</td>
<td>• Influenced by critical social theories &amp; developmental democratic theory;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Decision-making process is portrayed as being objective;</td>
<td>• Decision-making process is portrayed as being value-laden and political in character;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Experts have predominant role in decision-making with little role/ power for citizens. Citizens are seen as consumers rather than as capable of exerting ethical concerns about the environment;</td>
<td>• Experts and scientific evidence are perceived to have some importance but the ultimate determinant of policy is seen as value choice. Democratic citizen participation is seen as the only rational and equitable way of making this choice;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Adopts the rationale of the industrial market society with an emphasis on maximising the quantity of commodities and efficiency in the production process. Environmental management is seen as a necessary part of this process;</td>
<td>• Adopts a critical view of industrial market society with growth imperatives. Focuses on alternative economic and social strategies which may evolve less exploitative values towards the environment;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• A faith in technology as a means of curing environmental problems. Scientific evidence is seen as being objective and determinative;</td>
<td>• Technology is rejected by a few, but emphasis is on socially useful and socially directed technology;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Issues in the decision-making process are primarily identified as project specific (low level) and often relate to design and mitigation of environmental effects. Broader policy issues are rarely raised or debated. The primary focus is on SIA methods rather than ends or purposes.</td>
<td>• Issues in the decision-making process tend to be identified as higher level planning issues such as project need and alternatives as well as broad social strategies;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Conflict over social values is seen as the reality in environmental controversies and demands are made for them to be debated and determined in a democratic manner.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Craig 1990, p. 25
Firstly, environmental protection was viewed by several respondents as an important public issue, and therefore a serious political consideration for councils. Secondly, councils are bound by legislation (including Queensland Environmental Protection Act, 1994; and Queensland Nature Conservation Act, 1992) to perform an environmental planning and management role and face severe penalties for failing to conform to the legislation. Thirdly, because environmental planning falls within the technical approach to planning, it can be anticipated that other technical planners will share an understanding of the overall ontological foundations of environmental planning; they speak the same language.

Even though there is cause to be optimistic that slow induction, in the early days of environmental planning into local government planning teams, will continue, there is an important factor which separates environmental planning from the other physical planning fields. A significant aim of environmental planning is to protect the environment, which can and does compromise some proposals for local development. Respondents in this study have highlighted the fact that inclusion of environmental planning has been restricted due to a perceived lack of knowledge and/or commitment to ecological sustainability by other council staff and elected members. In Douglas, even with policies based upon ecological sustainability principles, the environmental planner had to justify environmental protection measures to councillors who found it difficult to accept when it limited private land-use options for citizens. In Townsville and Mackay, this issue was exacerbated by an absence of ecological sustainability policy and resources to support their role in implementing ecological sustainability strategies.

The environmental protection emphasis running through environmental planning does distinguish it from other physical planning fields because it does not have an economic development aim. This also suggests that its classification into the technical planning orientation is not really so clear cut. Land-use planning and engineering can be safely categorised as technical, but the concept of preserving the non-human environment, the preoccupation of environmental planning, does not sit conveniently on one side of the traditional political continuum (Eckersley 1992) or of Craig's (1990) methodological dichotomy as both rest upon a distributive paradigm. It is separated from other physical
planning fields because unlike land, it is difficult to place a dollar value on the environment (Diesendorf and Hamilton 1997; Harvey 1996).

This issue of valuing the environment does arise in relation to contentious development proposals and such cases become entwined in political decisions for councils that are often unable to conclude which option equally pleases conservationists and supporters of development that promises to enhance local economic opportunity (see for example the case of Magnetic Quays in Sinclair et al. 1996).

The discursive constraints faced by community workers were in many ways similar to those of the environmental planners, but arguably, will be more difficult to overcome. The community workers took a predominantly political planning approach and were not able to find the common ground that environmental planners shared with land-use planners and engineers in their councils. This was further compounded by community workers being physically isolated from planning and environment work areas. Community workers in all three councils considered that community work was ostracised not simply because of ignorance on the part of others about their specialist knowledge and skills, but because those skills were different from those of practitioners concerned primarily with the physical environment, including those of environmental planners.

According to the community workers, it was difficult for other practitioners to incorporate their expertise into local area planning because it was informed by a different philosophy. The knowledge base of community workers emphasised intrinsic values, such as issues of access and equity for disadvantaged citizens, and on processes of community involvement rather than seeking a tangible end product. One community worker in Townsville suggested that community work challenged the council’s relationship with the community, their ways of making policies and of allocating resources. Another said community work was not valued because it was concerned with issues of quality rather than quantity.

When planning a road, for example, the processes and resources required can be anticipated with some certainty. With a road or a bridge or a rubbish recycling program,
a council can actually show its constituents how their money was spent. The access and equity outcomes of community work are different. They are not visible or felt by all citizens. Benefits community work is able to realise for disadvantaged citizens are generally paid for by rate payers, not all of whom are disadvantaged and not all of whom will appreciate their own role in contributing to general social well-being in the community.

The politically-oriented processes of community work were also a little obscure for many practitioners from other work areas, even the environmental planners, to fully appreciate, as discussed in chapters five and six. It has been noted that town planners and engineers in local government have, in the past, proceeded without a great deal of knowledge about human behaviour in an empirical sense (Graham 1992). Because they do not produce as many tangible products as other planners, and as their work processes often require flexibility and long time frames, the contribution of community work in councils in Western Australia was found to be less valued than technical planning by representatives from other local government work areas (Fenton 1991).

In Townsville where a community worker was working on urban development projects and could be associated by others with a tangible product, other planners were more able to talk about the role with a level of understanding than when they were asked about community work roles that were not associated directly with urban development projects. Generally, other planners were unable to articulate an understanding of how community workers can contribute in the overall local government planning process. For example, study respondents other than community workers were unable to articulate a detailed understanding of community workers' research roles or their roles in facilitating community involvement in projects and planning decisions. In Mackay and Douglas, study participants initially identified the community work role with the concrete services they provided such as child-care centres and community centres.

The community worker engaged in the Building Better Cities Project in Townsville was a member of an interdisciplinary planning team. Town planners and engineers were thus exposed to the knowledge and skills community work and the contribution they could make to a planning project. That project provided the only case among the three
councils where a community worker was working on an urban development project in a structured way with practitioners from different council work areas. The community worker involved in that project talked about the resistance of some of the physical planners in the team to public participation strategies she proposed. She was therefore consciously engaging in a process of educating other members of the planning team about the benefits of involving the public in decisions despite their concerns about the importance of 'expert knowledge' and the time delays public involvement imposed.

Even though the national evaluation of the BBC Program found that disciplinary boundaries inhibited an effective integrated approach in BBC projects, this case illustrates that in Townsville certain benefits were associated with the project. It is unknown whether the interdisciplinary team structure led to all participants having equal power to influence outcomes, but it did provide an effective venue for raising awareness among practitioners from physical planning areas of the community work role and the contributions community workers can make to urban planning.

In Townsville, with a presence established over many years and with departmental status, community workers had started to volunteer themselves both as participants and as project coordinators for urban planning ventures. There was little evidence, particularly in Mackay or Douglas, of community workers putting forward their own case for inclusion in the planning process or even generating an enhanced awareness of the contribution they were able to make. From those two towns the community workers voiced frustration and were appearing somewhat forlorn, even defeated on the issue of involvement in planning of new development. Even in Townsville, community workers had not established a clear role in urban planning. There remained some resistance to their involvement from the Director of Planning and Development in Townsville as I noted in chapter five. She commented that with community workers co-ordinating such projects, disciplinary boundaries were being stretched and becoming blurred. She argued, and quite rightly so, that land-use planners also had an important contribution to make to social considerations in land-use planning but failed to acknowledge the specialist qualifications, knowledge and skills community workers could bring to the planning of new development or when and how she might call upon those attributes.
Summary

The constraints to integrated planning considered in this chapter represent a lack of participation on several levels and conflicting discursive approaches to local area planning. Local government was prevented from participating fully in the processes of policy making with the Commonwealth and the states. The policies made by the other spheres of government had a very real impact on the day to day business of local authorities and how they conduct it. The structural changes being imposed on councils as a result of national policies such as privatisation and national competition policy were seen to have the potential to fundamentally transform the relationship between local authorities and their communities, raising questions about the nature of governance. In spite of these factors the organisational structure of councils in Douglas, Mackay and Townsville remained hierarchical, uncertain about how to involve the public in planning and compartmentalised according to disciplinary functions. Discordant discourses between physical planning practitioners and community workers form a barrier to interdisciplinary integration and community workers whose values seem most harmonious with ecological sustainability are struggling to be accepted in the councils’ essential planning forums.

As significant and insurmountable as these constraints to integrated planning may seem it is most important to remember that in Douglas, Mackay and Townsville Councils integrated planning was a new model that had not been formally applied in the councils. It was still at an introductory stage and practitioners were still exploring its possibilities for application to practical planning. At this early stage there must be an opportunity to recognise the potential for confronting these obstacles and transforming them into possibilities. Chapter nine concentrates on ways to overcome the constraints to integrated planning discussed in the this and the previous chapter.
With head, heart and land: A conceptual framework for ecocentric local area planning

Chapter Nine
In accordance with the aims of this study as set out in the introduction, the roles of community workers and environmental planners in Townsville, Douglas and Mackay were explained in chapters five and six. These roles were set in the geographic, socio-cultural and political contexts of the three areas, and in their local government authorities, as set out in earlier chapters. In these ways, this thesis has concentrated on issues that arise in the councils in relation to community workers and environmental planners contributing ecologically sustainable planning principles and practices. This exploration of worker roles and council structures has uncovered that there exist a range of barriers to integration of community workers and environmental planners in environmentally aware local area planning. The remaining task of this thesis, therefore, is to present ideas that will expand ILAP, the existing integrated planning model for local government authorities, in a way that emphasises the value of community workers and environmental planners in contributing to ecological sustainability.

My aim in this chapter is to offer a rationale for an ecocentric approach to local area planning. I present a conceptual framework for ecologically sustainable local area planning to provide for inclusion of community workers and environmental planners on three interrelated levels—head, heart and land. This framework seeks to address the impediments to involvement of community workers and environmental planners experienced by those in the case studies, and to seize upon the opportunities and potentialities the case studies have revealed.

Rationale for expanding ILAP

As I have noted in relation to the case studies and EIA projects, it is frequently difficult both for policy makers and local government practitioners to reconcile social and environmental considerations in the planning process because they are prone to become competing forces. This tendency has been well illustrated in the examples where public conflict arose in relation to proposed developments on Magnetic Island and environmental protection in Douglas Shire. If ecological sustainability is to become a reality, common ground must be identified because ecological sustainability encompasses the interdependence of both human well-being and environmental protection.
The ILAP model has offered a framework for taking into account the many local area planning issues, and structures to include the various planning practitioners. However, because the model has not offered a theoretical framework that can adequately address issues of different practitioner epistemologies and methods as explained in chapter eight, further development of a conceptual framework for integrated planning is required. ILAP can be advanced as an ecologically sustainable planning approach by being conceptualised within a framework where the interdependence of people and non-human nature is clearly recognised. The aim of such a theoretical framework must be to facilitate practical ways to overcome segregation of multi-disciplinary planning practitioners. It needs to focus on both the values of ecological sustainability and on planning processes. ILAP has emphasised planning structures and integrated plans. The conceptual framework I present in this chapter advances ILAP, because using ecocentric values to inform integrated planning, it enables practitioners with diverse perspectives to move beyond existing barriers to integrated planning.

Advancing involvement of community workers and environmental planners
The planning practitioners involved in this study brought to local area planning different ways of understanding problems, different visions, different values, knowledge, goals and methods. The case studies identified social and environmental practitioners in the councils as relatively powerless in influencing planning decisions. Ecologically sustainable local area planning will benefit greatly from their increased influence in the planning process because they offer a perspective with values that move beyond instrumental profit or efficiency-based market and contemporary corporate values. Intrinsic worth, participation and acceptance of diversity are three such values that are consonant with ecological sustainability.

Locating the social/environmental balance in planning
Although their circumstances were different, the three councils in this study were struggling with the balance that ecological sustainability commands. An ecological sustainability-focused planning scheme in Douglas Shire did not address emerging problems of under-supply of affordable housing or social elitism. Environmental protection strategies must be developed with attention to potential local and global social consequences, not only local environmental conservation or local economic
growth goals. Townsville and Mackay, with an eye to economic advancement may be headed for the trap which Gorz (1980) referred to as 'the poverty of affluence'. Neither Mackay nor Townsville had adopted explicit ecologically sustainable environmental protection strategies. In chapter two, I illustrated that potentially environmentally destructive development was planned in both areas. The current generation may enjoy the affluence associated with that development but will the next generation be poor as a result of diminished resources and poor environmental quality? In other words, as the populations of the respective areas increase, will the planned urban and industrial development in these areas promise employment and a clean safe healthy environment in the long term? The tensions between social and environmental planning objectives can be addressed through the framework presented below with its ecocentric guiding philosophy. Ecocentrism is defined and discussed after I outline the model.

A framework for ecologically sustainable local area planning

Figure 9.1 presents the head, heart and land framework for ecologically sustainable local area planning. Viewed from the outside inwards, the external dimension represents the local government area. This part of the framework encompasses the diverse characteristics of the local area. The three case studies have illustrated that environmental, social, cultural, economic, historical and demographic factors contribute to making the ecological sustainability consideration of each place different.

Inside the local area sits the local government authority and its multi-disciplinary planners who consider the particular features of the local area when formulating plans. The multi-disciplinary planners are within one dimension in this framework. This conceptualisation is intentional to address the problem of disciplinary components as depicted in the ILAP model (figure 1.1). A significant issue addressed through this framework, therefore, is the process toward better multi-disciplinary integration. The actual processes for integration are the subject of the next layer of the framework.

Ecocentric planning values inform this integrated planning process. Land represents all of non-human nature. The theoretical considerations for ecologically sustainable local area planning are drawn from this dimension of the framework.
Figure 9.1 Ecologically sustainable local area planning
Head refers to the knowledge, values, skills and strategies of local government planning practitioners and to the institutional and organisational structures in which they work. The heart is concerned with issues of inclusiveness and willingness to acknowledge and commit to removing existing barriers that restrict the involvement of community workers and environmental planners. It is the interaction among the three dimensions and the consequent wholeness that provides a distinct advance to integrated local area planning knowledge.

The open-endedness of the diagram represents local area planning as an activity that is able to be connected to other local areas, regions and larger environmental, social and political entities. If ‘act locally, think globally’ is a serious strategy of ecological sustainability, local area planning is not, and should not be, a closed circuit.

The diagram depicts a style of interaction between local government planning practitioners that equally facilitates the contribution of social and environmental planning concerns and those of other local government practitioners. The ILAP model (figure 1.1) proposed that a range of local government practitioners participate in local area planning. This framework focuses on the philosophy to guide collaboration about local area planning among the participants.

Aims of the Framework

This head, heart and land framework for ecologically sustainable local area planning specifically aims to provide:

- A theoretical foundation for interdisciplinary planning based on a shared understanding of the interdependence of the human and non-human environment. Given this concept, integrated planning becomes a process of sharing the knowledge, skills and strategies specific to the different participating practitioners;
- A model of local government organisation that is defined primarily by people and their expertise in both planning and knowing the local area, its history, culture and its limits. This perspective challenges contemporary local government that is moving towards a minimum number of functional departments (chapter three) whose directors make policy decisions but do not necessarily incorporate the expertise of the staff in their departments in planning decisions, as was the case in the three councils.
This study has illustrated that community workers and environmental planners were marginalised and becoming increasingly invisible within that model. The model did not enhance their involvement in local area planning:

- A mechanism to facilitate acceptance on the part of multi-disciplinary local government practitioners, different ways of knowing and doing, and demonstrating respect for the range of planning contributions to achieve an inclusive planning approach.

- Enough flexibility to recognise the different social, environmental and economic circumstances of diverse Australian local government authorities. Any framework for local area planning must also be adaptable enough to accommodate different geographical areas, diverse organisational structures and distinct ecological sustainability issues. For example, a regional city like Townsville has very different environmental and economic circumstances to a place like Douglas with a unique extensive area of protected environment that is also its major economic drawcard.

The ecocentric tenets of the framework

Ecocentrism overtly recognises the interdependence of people and the environment. According to the ecocentric perspective the world is:

...an intrinsically dynamic, interconnected web of relations in which there are no absolutely discrete entities and no absolute dividing lines between the living and the non-living, the animate and the inanimate, or the human and the non-human (Eckersley 1992, p. 49).

The ecocentric perspective discerns that loss of nature and natural resources will result in a different kind of human struggle; a struggle for health, safety, and ultimately, physical survival, not simply an economically determined quality of life. We can strive to halt human practices that are destroying nature but must ultimately be concerned with ecological emancipation, not solely human survival (Bookchin, 1991).

Based on a philosophy of the relatedness of all organisms with their environment, the practical ideas of ecocentrism which can inform policy and planning practice are those of a just and sustainable society and include:

- land-use according to environmental carrying capacity;
- frugality (or voluntary simplicity);
- dwelling in place;
Chapter Nine  

With Head, Heart and Land

- cultural and biological diversity;
- local autonomy;
- decentralisation;
- soft energy paths;
- appropriate technology;
- rehabilitation of degraded environments, and
- bio-regionalism

(Fox 1984, p. 195).

Ecocentrism has been criticised as being anti-humanist and potentially unjust where the benefits of environmental conservation are not equally shared by oppressed and disadvantaged people (noted in Eckersley 1992). Although ecocentric philosophers are quick to argue that this is not so (Fox 1990), the fundamental preoccupation of ecocentric theory has been to advocate an end to arrogant domination of nature by humans. By the same token, theories of human oppression have generally ignored non-human nature (Eckersley 1992). In my view, the important contribution of ecocentrism according to the above definition, is that it is explicitly inclusive of both humans and non-humans.

Below I explain how the characteristics of ecocentrism provide conceptual keys to advancing ecologically sustainable local area planning. The case studies illuminated a lack of recognition on the part of practitioners that inadequate attention was being given to the dynamic relationship of interdependence among humans and the non-human environment. The theoretical insights provided through ecocentrism assist in addressing the challenge of conceptualising people and the environment more inclusively. The inherent values of ecocentrism are discussed more fully as I explain the three components of the model, land, head and heart.

Problems the ecocentric framework seeks to overcome

The three case studies have illustrated a number of factors that result in both environmental planning and community work being peripheral to local area planning. Impediments to these two work areas influencing local plans arose for a number of
reasons including: the lack of organisational status/power of community workers and environmental planners, the dominance of the economic growth imperative and lack of engagement with the reasons for people and non-human nature being tense relations. Each of these issues is now considered further.

The low status of community workers and environmental planners
Segregation of the community workers and environmental planners served to limit their involvement in strategic and land-use planning. Planning models that satisfy both ecological sustainability and development aspirations will therefore be difficult to establish while community workers and environmental planners are segregated and marginalised. In the three councils practitioners were segregated according to three sets of functions: bio-physical issues, social issues, and land-use concerns. Land-use planners were responsible for decisions about development and economic growth to a larger extent than the others. In Douglas, the environmental planner played a significant role in development assessment. This was not the case in Townsville or Mackay. Community workers in the three councils were all at arm’s length from contributing to decisions about local area plans or development proposals.

Decision-makers in the councils had little appreciation of those key community work and environmental planning values which are difficult to express in dollars terms. The problem was exacerbated because the managerialist paradigm informing the new corporate models for local government (chapter three) was pre-occupied with efficiency which translates as doing more with less. The notion that people and the non-human environment have an intrinsic worth is difficult to express in these profit-focused efficiency terms. Town planning on the other hand, has long been linked to the market because it is so closely associated with economic growth-oriented development (Birkeland 1991; Pickvance 1982). The significant objectives of community work and environmental planning, recognising intrinsic worth of people and the environment, are therefore difficult to place within the organisational ideologies and the structures of the councils.

The most vocal advocates of ecological sustainability, the environmental planners, were pursuing environmental protection through council policy and formal plans as they had
limited roles in final decisions about development proposals. It has been noted however, that environmental planners in Townsville and Mackay were gaining acceptance because they provided a statutory function. Therefore, their organisational status was increasing as a result of their legislative legitimacy. The requirements of new legislation (chapter six) meant the councils relied upon the environmental protection knowledge and skills of environmental planners to avoid penalty.

The status of the community workers was not increasing in the councils as it was for environmental planners. The aims of community work remained difficult to articulate in the efficiency-based corporate cultures of the councils. Even in the comprehensive planning scheme of Douglas Shire Council, where ecology strategies were clearly spelled out, social objectives were opaque and lacked plans for action. The natural environment was a major economic drawcard in Douglas and so had an instrumental value. Affordable housing on the other hand, would represent a cost rather than a pecuniary profit. There is not a great deal of calculable financial gain in providing a planning perspective and associated social services aimed at increasing social equality.

The economic growth imperative

Endurable levels of consumption that recognise that land, water and all life forms are finite, can conflict with development that supports economic growth objectives and cannot be endured in the long term. While this may appear obvious, the policy interpretation of ecological sustainability frequently circumvents the possibility that development and ecological sustainability are at times incompatible in practice. As shown in the Australian Senate Committee debate cited in chapter one, resistance to promoting ecological sustainability is at times maintained in case it restricts economic opportunity. In the current economic climate it is difficult for policy-makers and planners to recognise the intrinsic value of people and non-human nature because the ultimate aim is profit. Senator Hill, Minister for the Environment illustrated this point when he refused to apply the adjective ecologically before sustainable in an environmental policy document. The ILAP model simply did not address these tensions between economic and environmental concerns that are increasingly apparent within the local government planning system.
Tensions between development aimed at economic growth and ecological sustainability were also apparent in study respondents' definitions of integrated planning and their aspirations for the future of their area (chapter seven). Study participants in Townsville and Mackay gave in-principal support to ecological sustainability. They advocated a controlled approach to development but were grappling with the means by which to control development in order to establish an ecologically sustainable approach.

The strategic plans for land-use in Townsville and Mackay failed to identify instances of development where the precautionary principle would prevail. Instead, individual development proposals seemed to be assessed on their economic and environmental merits. It is difficult to see that the existing strategic plans in Townsville and Mackay would prevent environmentally harmful development if the same development promised significant economic gain. In Douglas, the strategic plan was more explicit about environmental protection measures within the Shire. However, a planning scheme is not ultimately autonomous of politics and the political persuasions of individual decision-makers. If the council was pro-development, rather than pro-environmental conservation, as it was at the time of interviews, population limits and development restrictions may be open to challenge leading to greater support for development and less support for environmental protection. Could the ecologically sustainable planning scheme then uphold the current environmental protection interpretation? International and national environmental protection classifications would still limit development in protected areas but growth could advance at a much faster rate than that envisaged by the current Mayor and Town Planner in the council. With democratically elected councils, there are few safeguards that could be put in place to overcome this problem.

Study respondents in Douglas were implementing development control policies but some were still questioning how to balance environmental protection with quality of life factors and citizen rights. The Deputy Mayor, for example, considered that mains power and sewerage were basic rights of residents living on the northern side of the Daintree River. The Council's strategic plan classified the area as one to be conserved (chapter six). As an ecological sustainability measure, the area plan did not include mains power and sewerage. The Mayor of Douglas Shire indicated residence was taken up by those in that area in the knowledge that the council did not intend to connect water, sewage...
and power. He was concerned that supply of power and water to the area would lead to an increase in development proposals. If demand increased and development crept into protected areas, over time, he felt it would become difficult to consistently impose limits. This indicates his awareness that at times decisions about ecological sustainability and development must be black and white because of the dominant and pervasive nature of development. After all, ecological sustainability aims to ensure that future generations have the same range of options and resources that we have today through prevention of environmental degradation. The subjective views of a different council in years to come will conceivably take a different position on this issue. They may decide that the rights of residents are more important than the essentialist environmental protection view of the current council.

Accepting interdependence
The general statements of ESD philosophy, as discussed in chapter one, do not provide a sufficient theoretical basis for local area planning that aims to achieve ecological sustainability. ESD therefore lacks guidance for practical localised planning decisions. As interdependence of people and the environment is often not explained, but simply presumed in ESD principles, ESD fails to provide practical guidance as to when a council should choose to limit development by imposing environmental protection controls. There are obviously situations where development can be modified to produce the least amount of environmental damage but this is not always the case. Burdge (1987) argued in relation to social impact assessment, that there are occasions where the no development option is the only option that will insure against harmful social and environmental development outcomes. Social and environmental concerns can result in lost economic growth opportunities for councils. Councils want the best long term outcomes for their communities but that is always tempered by their aspirations for re-election. Again, ecological sustainability is susceptible to the political process. And councils are only elected for three terms. If majority voice of the voting community wants growth more than it wants environmental protection, it would be likely that a council would follow an economic growth path. In any case, historically economic growth and local development have been the benchmarks of success for a local government authority.
These conditions that sustain conflict between economic and ecological concerns also impede collaborative multi-disciplinary planning. The human - non-human nexus confounded respondents in this study. The rise of housing-related social inequality in Douglas resulted because the council acknowledged the intrinsic value of the environment through environmental protection policies in its strategic land-use plan, but gave insufficient attention to social implications of such policies. The planning process should be more aware of the interdependence between people and the environment. It must ensure that policies aimed at the well-being of the non-human environment do not create hardship for people and vice versa. This is indeed a complex task which surely requires multi-disciplinary expertise. The trouble really begins with the often too difficult task of combining the separate sets of ideas formulated inside different knowledge and value systems. This issue was noted through specific examples in previous chapters.

Given this summary of the difficulties the head, heart and land framework seeks to address, below each dimension of the framework is explained. An ecocentric approach fosters the notion of interdependence in relation to each the three components of the ecologically sustainable local area planning framework.

**Land**

As one of three conceptual components of the ecologically sustainable local area planning framework, land encompasses three key ecocentric values: interdependence, intrinsic value and diversity. These values create a conceptual bridge by which I have been able to connect social and environmental considerations and apply them to the local government context given data that was derived from the three case studies. This philosophical dimension of the framework represents the most significant advance this framework makes on ILAP. Some of the organisational structures and planning strategies advocated in the ILAP model could still be applied with guidance from this conceptual framework. With practitioners linking this theoretical framework to their practice, the problems with ILAP, as identified through its evaluation (Purdon 1995), could be addressed.
Interdependence

Ecocentric philosophy begins with unity rather than dualism (Devall 1980), assuming that all entities are constituted by their relationships (Naess 1982). Ecocentric thought challenges the common view of humans as central and dominant in the web of life. Ecocentric theorists question the anthropocentric belief that:

...there is a clear and morally relevant dividing line between humankind and the rest of nature, that humankind is the only or principle source of value and meaning in the world and that nonhuman nature has therefore no other purpose but to serve humankind (Eckersley 1992, p. 51).

Given this definition, the ecocentric perspective locates human-centredness as a serious obstacle to a truly ecologically sustainable society.

Models for environmentalism are sometimes categorised into shallow and deep ecology.

The division between the two is captured by Fox:

The lesson of ecology is that we do share one another's fate in the shallow sense since we all share the fate of the earth. The message of deep ecology is that we ought to care as deeply and as compassionately as possible about that fate - not because it affects us but because it is us (Fox 1984, p. 200).

The ecocentric perspective can logically accommodate multi-disciplinary planning practitioners because it provides a theoretical explanation of ecological interdependence by recognising and respecting the importance of all the various parts, which together form the whole. In spite of the difficulties of translating ecocentrism into policy (Eckersley 1992) or models for planning (Birkeland 1991), practical responses to ecologically sustainable local area planning are readily encompassed within an ecocentric perspective. For example, Korten's (1990) principles for Making it to The Twenty-First Century; justice, sustainability and inclusiveness, are consonant with ecocentrism as are the head, heart and hand and community development models for creating alternative visions (Ife 1995; Shields 1993; Nozick 1992; Kelly and Sewell 1988). This is so because all recognise intrinsic value. Here, the head, heart and land are interacting components forming the whole as illustrated in figure 9.1.

To theorise the environmental crisis, ecocentric philosophy adapts key concepts of social analysis such as domination and oppression. The crisis refers not only to the present rapid rate of destruction to the natural environment but also to the inability of models based within a technological, capitalist regime to deal with problems of unsustainable population growth (Erlich and Erlich 1990), water pollution and scarcity.

**Intrinsic value**

Within ecocentrism, people and non-human nature are interdependent within one ecological system. Thus, ecocentrism encompasses the components of ecological sustainability. Ecocentrism offers a conceptual framework for the broad nature of interdisciplinary planning; the relationships and interdependencies among planning considerations and practitioners. Accepting the ecocentric analysis, the head, heart and land framework (figure 9.1) views each local area as a system (and of course it is not an entity unto itself but also part of other, larger ecological and social systems). The conceptual framework here expands upon the findings in chapters five and six that the community workers and environmental planners each brought to the local government authorities values different from those of other practitioners. The common element between community workers and environmental planners was that both recognised intrinsic value which is difficult to anticipate and assess among the usual quantitative planning criteria and within a fragmented organisational model. The difference between community workers and environmental planners and participants in this study from other work areas was that other participants did not question the rationalist, utilitarian land-use planning framework. They did not question unrestrained growth in terms of the social or environmental problems that might result. They simply assumed that economic growth was good because it contributed to prosperity - an instrumental view of planning reflecting little appreciation of ecological sustainability.

While engineers, land-use planners and administrators were in privileged decision-making positions in the councils, it was difficult for community workers and environmental planners to argue for mitigation measures or the no development option on the basis of intrinsic value in relation to local area plans. An argument based on intrinsic value can be too easily dismissed as emotive when compared to the so-called
hard facts delivered in a positivist mode. Decision-makers often feel more comfortable justifying their development decisions with scientific evidence (Taylor et al. 1990; Hindmarsh et al. 1988).

A promise of a stated number of jobs to be created by the proposed zinc smelter in Townsville, (chapter two) for example, is able to be presented as fact and to offer short-term gratification to citizens. In a community with high unemployment, people may be less swayed by arguments that loss of bio-diversity as a development outcome will have long-term effects that could be disastrous for the health of current and future residents. Equally, it seemed difficult in Douglas Shire in 1983 to convince authorities that tourism development resulting in loss of an environment which is culturally significant to an indigenous community, could result in contravention of human rights and that the loss is as significant to those people as job creation is to others in the same community (chapter two).

The head, heart and land framework presents possibilities for increasing involvement of community work and environmental planning in local area planning. From an ecocentric perspective, community work and environmental planning become integral parts of an interactive system. Without a balance between the concerns of social and environmental issues and other aspects of the local area, the system will not work efficiently and eventually the system will collapse.

**Diversity**

Recognition and acceptance of difference is a central feature of ecocentrism. Noske (1989, p.150) insisted:

...there is a sense in which we cannot know the Other (whether it be other species, other cultures, the other sex or even each other) however, we must remind ourselves that other meanings exist even if we may be extremely limited in our understanding of them.

Making the same point about pluralism Fox (1990, p. 21) asserted that:

...to say that humans cannot be non-anthropocentric is like saying that a male cannot be non-sexist or that a white person cannot be non-racist because they can only perceive the world as male or white subjects.

Heterogeneity must be recognised and legitimised as it is experienced and expressed through divergent experiences, cultures and discourses. Participatory democracy is a
means towards justice and greater equality (Mouffe 1993; Young 1990). Mouffe (1993) claims that the key to true democracy is necessarily pluralistic and is dependent upon antagonism:

Once we accept the necessity of the political and the impossibility of a world without antagonism, what needs to be envisaged is how it is possible under those conditions to create or maintain a pluralistic, democratic order. Such an order is based on a distinction between ‘enemy’ and ‘adversary’. It requires that, within the context of the political community, the opponent should be considered not as an enemy to be destroyed, but as an adversary whose existence is legitimate and must be tolerated (Mouffe, 1993:4)

Re-establishment of the lost connection between politics and ethics is seen by Mouffe (1993) to be an important component of progressive change. In her view, that change will be manifested through civic communities bound by ethico-political values and where hostile power struggles can be diverted into the process of radical democratic expression. Mouffe’s (1993) idea of radical democratic citizenship replaces rationalism, individualism and universalism with an articulation of different democratic struggles.

...key concepts of liberalism such as rights, liberty, and citizenship, are claimed today by the discourse of possessive individualism, which stands in the way of a chain of democratic equivalences (Mouffe, 1993:19).

Rights, liberty and citizenship should not be discarded but, rather, recognised as discursively constructed, plural and entangled with power relations (Mouffe, 1993). A common sense among the different struggles is required to achieve democratic equivalence (Mouffe, 1993). Diversity as advocated by Mouffe (1993) encompasses the principles which will assist interdisciplinary planning in local government if expanded to include non-human nature and the principles of ecocentrism.

Findings of this study suggest that community work was the least integrated work area in the three councils and that this was so because community work was different. Non-acceptance of that difference was manifested in the marginalisation of community work in all aspects of the organisational structures of the councils. Community workers were physically isolated and, with the exception of Townsville, without formal decision-making power. In addition, they were not included in development assessment, strategic local area planning or the informal alliances that influenced planning decisions (chapter eight).
The particular difference between community workers in the three councils and study participants from other work areas was that the community workers alone assumed a participatory work approach. Environmental planners shared with the community workers the aim of upholding intrinsic worth, but saw it as being operationalised by experts through formal land-use planning systems. The integral association of those systems with the market and the 'top-down' expert planning style was not questioned by the environmental planners. The community workers were not as confident as the environmental planners that they could assert influence through the planning system. Theirs was a more democratic, 'bottom-up' process of working with the community to increase citizen power, and the quality of local services.

A further difference between community work and other work areas was that community workers were not viewed by respondents from other work areas as having technical ability that could be useful in local area planning. Several participants considered community work as helping people in need or distress but few recognised them to have a role in anticipatory tasks including development assessment and strategic land-use planning.

In relation to the case studies, there are two possible explanations for exclusion of community work from the planning process. The first is that the political model adopted by community workers aimed to increase citizen involvement in planning and thus threatened the entrenched expert planning model. The second is that respondents from work areas other than community work valued the community workers not as planners but as counsellors or pacifiers of disconcerted citizens who were unhappy with council decisions, plans or processes. Instead of enhancing the power of citizens in the local government system, the community workers were expected by some of their colleagues to smooth the path to operationalising their expert plans and controversial development proposals.

The ecocentric planning framework legitimises the approach of the community workers because it is participatory and upholds intrinsic value and diversity. Within the framework community workers would be key planning practitioners. Informed by their values and working models they could facilitate more inclusive organisational structures
and approaches to local area planning. Within a planning structure where practitioners from different backgrounds and areas of interest are prepared to accept each other’s differences and value each others’ particular expertise, they could learn from each other and integrate the maximum range of knowledge and skills. However, the anthropocentric predilection of community workers would need to be challenged in order to recognise interdependence as a central guiding value of the framework.

Developing ecocentric organisational structures and planning approaches will be a matter of multi-disciplinary practitioners debating the values of ecocentrism and reflecting on them in relation to their own values, practices and aspirations for the future of their area. Without a commitment on the part of practitioners to the values of ecocentrism and the principles of ecological sustainability, the framework cannot be developed into practical planning strategies or organisational structures. These further practical dimensions of the model are discussed further in the two following sections.

HEADING

The head component of the ecocentric local area planning framework represents the potential contribution of knowledge, skills and strategies of environmental planning and community work to local area planning.

The knowledge bases of community work and environmental planning emerge from different epistemological paradigms as noted in chapters six, seven and eight. ILAP did not identify how these diversities would manifest or how they could create a barrier to collaborative planning. The case studies illustrated that they are significant obstacles to inclusion, particularly of community workers in the planning process. Here, I elaborate ways that this issue can be overcome in order that a more integrated planning approach can proceed. In this head dimension of the framework, the particular knowledge bases of community workers and environmental planners are discussed prior to explaining how the ecocentric perspective, with a commitment to accepting diversity, could assist in removing the forces of segregation between the various local government practitioners.
The knowledge base of community work

The knowledge base of community work was founded on an understanding of human interactions, in contrast to that of environmental and town planners and engineers in the three councils, with a substantially technical, ‘scientific’ epistemology. Community workers viewed society as a dynamic entity constituted of people and the many types of interactions constantly taking place between them. As one of the community workers said, their work often results in more than one conclusion and more than one planning alternative. They accept that people within the local area have different aspirations and needs. Community work plans were often imprecise and multi-faceted. They were indicative of the many communities of identity or common interest co-existing within one area.

This community work epistemology results in work which is dominated by processes. It is not one that is preoccupied with tangible planning outcomes or measurements of the technical approach outlined in Craig’s (1990) planning dichotomy in chapter eight. One of the most significant contributions community workers made was to provide education and information to citizens to assist them in becoming aware of their rights and how to defend them. To the council, they bring the perspective of each of the many communities within the local area and their particular aspirations. A depth of understanding about these different community issues is accessed through interaction between the community workers and citizens. As the community worker in Mackay said, ‘it’s in the cups of tea that so much work gets done’ (chapter five).

Community workers not only augmented local area planning with information about the quality of life experience in terms of levels of affordable housing, public transport or disability access structures, they conveyed to councils information about actual experiences of people living in the local government area, particularly the lived experiences of disadvantage. Based on the lived experiences of citizens, community workers made recommendations to the councils for policies and programs to improve social opportunity and to alleviate disadvantage.

This goal of social welfare takes a number of forms in social policy as indicated in table 9.1.
Table 9.1 Models of welfare policy: needs, rights and distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Residual Welfare/Public Assistance</th>
<th>Industrial Achievement Performance</th>
<th>Institutional Redistributive</th>
<th>Structural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assumptions</td>
<td>needs are individual and private</td>
<td>risks to individuals are accepted</td>
<td>no single cause of problems</td>
<td>individual and social needs are a product of economic and political power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about the causes</td>
<td>to be met by normal structures of</td>
<td>as necessary costs of operating a</td>
<td>needs are universal as people</td>
<td>relations and existing pre-conditions eg structural inequality, powerlessness,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of need, rights &amp;</td>
<td>family, market and charity;</td>
<td>industrial and highly technological</td>
<td>are interdependent; social</td>
<td>systematic discrimination;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>responsibilities</td>
<td>when private mechanisms break</td>
<td>society, and these risks/costs</td>
<td>and individual beings.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for meeting them.</td>
<td>down, public welfare through the</td>
<td>should be compensated;</td>
<td>welfare services are normal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>private market ie. user pays;</td>
<td>social services are a necessary</td>
<td>“first line” functions of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>social problems are result of</td>
<td>part of any modern economy eg.</td>
<td>modern industrial society;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>individual deviance;</td>
<td>the state does have an important</td>
<td>providing services on a</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>government should distinguish</td>
<td>role to play;</td>
<td>blame the victim basis</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>between deserving and non-</td>
<td>productive behaviour should be</td>
<td>will fail and is stigmatising;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>deserving;</td>
<td>rewarded and needs should be met</td>
<td>maldistribution of resources:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>welfare state is expensive and a</td>
<td>on the basis of deserts: merit,</td>
<td>inefficiency and inequity of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>burden on the economy - creates</td>
<td>work performance and behaviour</td>
<td>market and charity;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>public dependency;</td>
<td>(maintain work ethic): wage</td>
<td>citizenship rights of access</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>economic growth and privatisation</td>
<td>earners welfare, fiscal and</td>
<td>to social services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>best guarantors of public welfare.</td>
<td>occupational welfare;</td>
<td>devoid of moralising</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redistribution</td>
<td>minimal benefits - selective,</td>
<td>Necessary but minimal compensation</td>
<td>universality: vertical and</td>
<td>To those according to their needs, from those according to their resources;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>targeted, vertical.</td>
<td>for dis-welfare through contributory</td>
<td>horizontal equity.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ideology and</td>
<td>Conservative (individualist)</td>
<td>insurance.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key Values</td>
<td>individualism</td>
<td>competition</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>liberty</td>
<td>freedom from restraint</td>
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<td></td>
<td>inequality</td>
<td>equality of opportunity</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>justice</td>
<td>accept status quo</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Liberal</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social Democratic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Socialist (Collectivist)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source Adapted from Riches 1993
Social policy is generally considered to be either conservative or radical. The conservative models are linked to consensus theories that promote a functionalist, anti-collectivist view that asserts social organisation should be based on the survival of the fittest. The radical perspective applies a structuralist analysis of domination and oppression. In relation to power and ownership, these radical social welfare policy models assert the importance of social conflict as a catalyst for structural change. Maintaining the structural change emphasis of Marx's analysis of human oppression, feminist theory and 'New Internationalism' movements have contributed deeper insights into the politics of difference.

The political orientation of the three councils was aligned with the conservative social welfare policy models. This helps to explain why other council officers had a limited understanding of community work knowledge and values. No doubt, it also contributed to community workers being marginalised. The head, heart and land framework addresses marginalisation of community workers because their values and knowledge are central if the ecocentric framework is to be successful. Their perspective will be instrumental in assisting multi-disciplinary groups of practitioners to link ecocentric values to planning practice.

In taking pride of place in the collaborative multi-disciplinary planning structure, the community workers will need to reconcile how these models for welfare provision with their emphasis on material distribution, fit with intrinsic value. This may be a difficult call given the contemporary economic paradigm that traverses all echelons of government. This dilemma around intrinsic value was apparent in the transition of feminist philosophy to public policy. I provide a brief discussion of this and then argue that a clue to overcoming the problem lies within the knowledge base of the environmental planners.

The feminist movement has influenced public policy towards a recognition of the unequal status of women in society. As a result, policies have been developed which propose affirmative action to address gender inequality in many aspects of social life. Translation of feminism into policy is a good example of how institutional ideology can effect these intentions. The feminist articulation heightened social consciousness about
the causes and consequences of ignoring the significantly different experiences and needs of women and men. Recognition of the rights of women in the political sphere has resulted in increased personal and social choices for women aimed to make the rights of women and men more equal. Feminism falls within the structural change model of social welfare, that claims to recognise intrinsic value, participation and diversity. In spite of its position on the social welfare policy spectrum, feminist policy has been largely framed within the distributive paradigm, seeking as a priority in the project for women’s equality, improved economic status for women. Often women’s rights have been associated with a goal of expanding opportunities for increased participation of women in the waged labour force (Pixley 1993; Bryson 1992; Sawer 1990). There has not always been as strong an assertion in the feminist policy platform about the value of unpaid labour which has a significant but non-monetary value (Cox 1995).

The experience of translating feminist principles into public policy demonstrates that with the best intentions to seek equal opportunity and access to social well-being for women, it is difficult to work outside the dominant instrumental rationality of modern society. The Queensland local government social planning guidelines, (Menzies et al. 1995) that imply technical social planning supersedes community development is also a manifestation of the influence of the dominant economic paradigm that predominantly recognises tangible outcomes. Community workers within the ecocentric local area planning framework would need to remain aware of just how easy it is to view social well-being as a product of economic conditions and to allow other circumstances such as the rights of citizens to live free of discrimination, polluted air and water, and in just communities where all citizens have opportunities, access and the right to participate, to become secondary considerations. After all, it is easier to rationalise material social services and provision, because the short gains are often more visible than the longer process of changing attitudes and detrimental social and environmental behaviours.

New managerialism represents a great challenge to community workers in their plight to acknowledge intrinsic value as it becomes difficult in existing corporate structures to prove their efficiency without material outcomes that can be translated into dollars. A good example of this point is that councils now view citizens as customers. How can
the participatory democratic community work model be reconciled with this top-down approach when the role of governance has been traded for that of a profit-oriented business (Ernst et al. 1998; Mahony 1997)? Changing the terminology from community workers to social planners may create the same dilemma and it may be the first step away from the values which have historically guided community work.

The pressure to transform community work into a more technical and utilitarian practice is already evident in social welfare curricula. The community work content in social welfare courses is either being reduced or slipping off the curriculum of many university courses altogether. The courses are again emphasising individual therapy approaches which concentrate the cause of social problems in the realm of the personal rather than the political (Dixon and Hoatson 1997). Ironically, a new wave of social welfare texts argue that community work has never been more relevant (Ife, 1995, 1997; Ernst 1996). As global communities form, community work can be relevant both at the local and the global level (Ife 1997).

As privatisation of government services escalates in the late 1990s, Ernst (1996) also predicts community work will be as important as it has ever been, particularly as it will be undertaken by the community sector for the community re-establishing broad opportunities for social change to be led by community action. Community workers in local government historically worked closely with the community social welfare sector. In fact, community workers who participated in this study said they are frequently seen as part of it because they are not removed like state and federal officers.

The head dimension of the framework supports community worker involvement in the local area planning process as contributors of both social welfare knowledge and technical skills. Technical planners will gain a great deal from learning about community work approaches such as public participation skills, and how they can contribute to ecologically sustainable planning. The framework capitalises on opportunities for an exchange of knowledge between community workers and other practitioners. It is the community workers and environmental planners who together bring to councils a collection of knowledge based on values that are compatible with ecocentrism.
The knowledge base of environmental planning

Approaches to environmentalism (table 9.2), like social welfare models, are founded upon different assumptions and values. The different approaches to environmental management have been viewed on a continuum ranging from anthropocentric to ecocentric (Eckersley 1992). Anthropocentric models rely on technology and technical expertise to manage the environment as a human commodity.

The environmental planners in the three case studies were more involved in influencing the planning scheme and less focused upon problems than the community workers. Although environmental planners dealt with environmental degradation which had begun to occur, they were striving for policy to protect sensitive local environments. The environmental planners’ knowledge base was technical and bio-physical. They were able to be more precise about which forest should be protected, for example and why, listing endangered flora and fauna as a justification for their proposition. Where an area was degraded, they were usually able to propose the exact methods and materials required to respond to the problem (chapter six). Physical planners were able to understand the technical approach of environmental planners. Therefore, they could call upon their knowledge and skills and utilise them in the planning process. Even so, they called on them selectively. The three environmental planners were also gaining acceptance from administrators because they could provide a utilitarian environmental management function. They could protect the councils from liability in the light of new rigorous environmental legislation pertaining to local government.

Environmental planners could consequently increase their status in the councils by exploiting this aspect of their knowledge base and compromising on the more ecocentric dimensions of environmental management so as not to appear as unduly green and limiting local area development. But as Bookchin (1991, p. 314) so eloquently declared:

A purely technical orientation toward organic gardening, solar, wind energy devices, aquaculture, holistic health and the like would still retain the incubus of instrumental rationality that threatens our very capacity to develop an ecological sensibility. An environmentalistic technocracy is hierarchy draped in green garments; hence it is all the more insidious because it is camouflaged in the colour of ecology.
## Table 9.2 Models of environmentalism

### ANTHROPOCENTRIC

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<thead>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assumptions about Humans</td>
<td>seeks greatest good for greatest number; waste reduction and human management of the natural environment to ensure maximum yield of natural resources.</td>
<td>Emphasises human well-being, health amenity, recreation; critical of unrestrained economic growth. Encourages ecologically benign technology lifestyles, global social equality based on social justice principles, interdependence of humans and nature; protect nature through environmental management/policies.</td>
<td>humans can live alongside nature; nature is necessary for human recreation and relaxation in large preserved areas of natural environment enhance quality of human life.</td>
<td>Humans should not discriminate by caring for one species at the cost of another; all species have a right to live without suffering or pain; moral rights for humans and animals alike.</td>
<td>women in reproductive role and as nurturers are logically closer to nature; women are closer to nature because of shared experience of domination and oppression; human/nature interdependence.</td>
<td>humans are one part of the whole ecological system; human/nature interdependence; humans need to develop a consciousness of themselves as one part in the whole ecological world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assumptions about Nature</td>
<td>nature should be managed by humans so resources last as long as possible; natural resources are utilities of capitalist consumer society</td>
<td></td>
<td>aesthetic and spiritual appreciation of wilderness; preservation of natural areas; species diversification and protection.</td>
<td>Emphasis on sentient beings rather than all non-human species; prohibit hunting and slaughter of all sentient beings.</td>
<td>seeks mutualistic relationships to overcome sense of non-humans as 'other'; seeks to end oppression of nature.</td>
<td>seeks to protect nature, and as nurturers are closer to nature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key Values</td>
<td>Management</td>
<td>Human Welfare</td>
<td>Environmental Protection</td>
<td>Animal Rights</td>
<td>Emancipation</td>
<td>Emancipation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>human enjoyment, conservation, accept status quo</td>
<td>social justice, conservation, interdependence</td>
<td>nature conservation, bio-diversity, human survival, interdependence</td>
<td>animal survival, animal justice</td>
<td>interdependence, inclusiveness, bio-diversity, justice, equality</td>
<td>interdependence, inclusiveness, bio-diversity, justice, equality</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted From Eckersley 1992
Models of environmentalism are difficult to conceptualise along a traditional political continuum because they are not focussed on material distribution (Eckersley 1992). Attempts to translate an ecological imperative into public policy emanated from the green political parties established in West Germany in the early 1960s. Their aim was conservation of the natural environment through policies which challenged destructive patterns of production and growth. Contemporary green political parties tend to favour a combined approach to sustainable development where there is an important role for the state as well as a collective community management approach (Eckersley 1992).

In collaboration with community workers and other local government practitioners in the ecocentric framework, the significant contribution of environmental planners would be to further explore a planning approach aimed at heightening public awareness about the nature of human/non-human interdependence. With the community becoming more aware of ecocentric values, there would be a greater chance for enhanced public awareness that human survival and protection of non-human nature are inseparable. An important aspect of this work would be to educate colleagues and citizens about interdependence. Community workers would lend their expertise in the development of participatory planning approaches involving citizens.

While ecocentric policies such as limiting population growth can pose a threat to peoples’ notion of freedom, this thesis has demonstrated that such policies generate an ecocentric debate and stimulate awareness about interdependence and intrinsic value. The six local government practitioners I interviewed in Douglas were seriously contemplating the nature of the relationship between people and the environment and its significance for local area planning. Although above I have argued that the population control policy in Douglas led to some unanticipated social impacts, it was certainly an important catalyst for stimulating among practitioners: consideration of interdependence and tensions between achieving social and environmental local planning objectives; debate about these issues among practitioners and within the broader community.

Every study participant interviewed from Douglas Shire Council was working very strenuously on a personal and professional level, through the planning challenges resulting from the council’s environmental carrying capacity policy. In particular, this
concept confronted the traditional economic growth orientation of local government. The policy exposed the fact that ecologically sustainable development was perceived as creating real restraint for local citizens and developers. Some study participants, and some Douglas citizens (apparent through local newspapers and objections to the draft planning scheme) were struggling with the idea of human restraint, especially as it affected private land-owners.

The head dimension of the framework supports a discussion among practitioners about ecocentric values. The case in Douglas indicates that limiting population growth according to environmental carrying capacity is an extremely useful proposition to stimulate multi-disciplinary debate and discussion on a philosophical level. The proposition links a practical planning strategy to a theoretical perspective. It is therefore a good scenario for planning practitioners to explore in relation to their own area. The other ecocentric strategies listed above would be equally to workshop with a focus on not only practical ecocentric planning responses but also the values that inform them and their feasibility in a particular local government area. This process of sharing multi-disciplinary knowledge and skill in response to specific ecocentric strategies is a major feature of this framework. Responses to the environmental crisis to date have been reluctant to acknowledge the fundamental interdependence between people and nature (Diesendorf and Hamilton 1997). An hierarchical rather than egalitarian relationship has been maintained (Devall 1980). The exchange and amalgamation of multi-disciplinary knowledge and skill is an important feature of the framework. It must however be accompanied with knowledge and skill in organisational issues.

The organisational context
Throughout this thesis I have argued that local government authorities are restricted by state and federal policies and particularly the new managerialist economic and corporate approach. The councils in the three case studies had remodelled their corporate structures in line with the 1993 Queensland local government legislation, placing a few directors in superior positions. I have indicated the disproportionate status and power of local government officers as an impediment to ecologically sustainable planning.
The head dimension of the head, heart and land framework must encompass strategies to address these organisational barriers. The first of those strategies is to unleash the knowledge and skills of the community workers and environmental planners so they have more influence on planning outcomes. With a multi-disciplinary planning team planning according to ecocentric values, the organisational change would come from the bottom up. The framework would promote the multi-disciplinary team of practitioners as those who ultimately design the planning scheme and assess development proposals. Community workers would contribute their knowledge about and skills in orchestrating a bottom-up approach. After all, the directors who are all powerful in the current models depend on the foot-work prepared by the various practitioners.

The second strategy would be for the multi-disciplinary team to engage the community more integrally in the planning process. The aim of increasing citizen participation in planning would be to enhance public awareness of ecocentric values, to give them some ownership over the future of their place and to increase their political power by enhancing their knowledge of the planning system. Again, community workers are well versed in the principles of public participation and skilled in its implementation. However, such a strategy should not result in the community workers being the only practitioners working directly with citizens. With a sharing of public participation skills, other practitioners and citizens alike would benefit from ongoing information exchanges.

This framework challenges practitioners to be creative in their interpretation of policy. The three councils here had not been particularly creative in interpreting corporate planning policy. On the other hand, Douglas Shire Council was very creative in preparing a planning scheme that moved beyond the perceived restrictions of new managerialism. Douglas Shire developed a local area plan that was appropriate to local conditions rather than to the tenets of Queensland’s economic policy position. The head dimension of the framework invites creative interpretation of corporate structures by practitioners.

As I have noted previously, the ILAP model proposed multi-disciplinary input to local area plans but has not given adequate attention to developing a conceptual framework
that allows for the different approaches of multi-disciplinary practitioners involved in the local area planning process. In a nutshell, fifteen instrumental local area concerns informed the ILAP model (chapter one, figure 1.1). ILAP also proposed that multi-disciplinary practitioners be drawn from the highly bureaucratically structured councils into one planning team. Within this team, according to ILAP, expertise about these fifteen local area concerns could be synthesised into a plan for the local area. As a consequence, all community planning considerations would be addressed in the plan. Alongside the council planning team, ILAP advised establishment of co-operative inter-governmental and regional relationships.

The head, heart and land framework expands this aspect of ILAP by proposing that establishing planning values is a prior consideration to developing a planning structure. Even if all planning areas are included in the structure, there is little benefit in a planning structure where disciplinary differences result in competition, ongoing conflict or particular practitioners being ostracised because they are perceived as different. The chances of building an integrated planning team would be enhanced by giving practitioners from different work areas an opportunity to discuss their planning values and how they apply them in practice. A constructive team building process is more likely to enhance practitioners' knowledge of the contribution others can make. As practitioners learn about what each can offer, they are in a better position to understand and acknowledge the diverse expertise among local government practitioners.

HEART

Finally, but by no means least, heart in the ecocentric ecologically sustainable local area planning framework represents willingness on the part of local government practitioners to accept ecocentric principles and to work towards inclusiveness characterised by participation and discourse. Community workers are skilled in facilitating participatory consultation and therefore well placed to assist the knowledge sharing process. Accepting that practitioners engaged in local area planning contribute a range of complementary knowledge and skills of equal value will require dismantling existing hierarchies and long-established disciplinary segregation. As Graham (1992, p. 33) warned, planning which integrates environmental protection will depend to a large
extent on the attitudes of planners and practice models at all spheres of government and ‘...reform will be a matter of changing attitudes as it will be a matter of structural reform or spending more money’.

The transition to ecocentrically-informed local area planning in Townsville, Mackay and Douglas would, no doubt, be a slow process. Acceptance of the ecocentric principles depicted in the framework (figure 9.1) presents a number of challenges to long-standing organisational cultures and practitioner beliefs. To begin with, the framework would require practitioners to be willing to look critically at the philosophy of their own practice in relation to ecological sustainability and be prepared to change long-held beliefs and ideas in some cases. For instance, the land-use planners would need to accept that there is an integral relationship between development, the market value of land and loss of significant natural environments. They would be challenged to accept that there is not only an association of human well-being and economic development but also of environmental protection and human well-being. Likewise, community workers may have to reassess their concept of human need by realising that high levels of wants-based consumption are linked to irreversible environmental destruction.

Secondly, in a political climate that imposes competition, practitioners would need to value the common goals of local area planning over personal advancement. Personal advancement was a strong motivational force in the hierarchical councils where only directors really had decision-making power. The model in which a director represents up to twelve practitioner groups, such as that in Douglas and Mackay, with whom he/she rarely consults, is not inclusive. The process in the councils whereby functional departments separately planned their annual projects and submitted for funds accordingly was not inclusive. It served to reinforce hierarchies with those who have the biggest budget being the most influential in planning decisions, as reported by study participants in Douglas and Townsville. If planning practitioners including community workers and environmental planners are to participate fully in local area planning, other practitioners will have to be prepared to listen to, and understand the knowledge and value-base informing their practice. This will involve acknowledging and re-
Chapter Nine

With Head, Heart and Land

conceptualising the relative sources and positions of power currently held by practitioners.

The power relationships between practitioners, the organisation and decision-making processes will all have to be considered in the light of the head, heart and land framework with its ecocentric principles. It is most useful in this context to view power as exercised rather than possessed, not primarily repressive but productive, and as coming from the bottom up (Sawicki 1991, p. 220). This notion of power assists in thinking in terms of 'becoming, rather than being' (Harvey 1990, p. 359). Local government practitioners could thus develop a sense of their own power, not only in terms of the size of their allocation of council resources but also as, '...dispositions, manoeuvres, tactics, techniques, functionings that one should decipher in a network of relations constantly in tension, in activity (Foucault 1979, p. 26).

Relationships between the three spheres of government have historically seen local government as marginal. Power, structures and relationships at the institutional level also require review. Such a review is beyond the scope of this study. It is an area with a long research history and ongoing tensions. The downward pressure on councils from their national body and from other spheres of government to corporatise and become increasingly oriented toward profit is undeniably great. Individual councils can still influence the overall direction of their organisation if they have a well articulated local area plan and accompanying policies based on general principles to guide the local area into the future.

The three councils that were the focus of this study illustrated this well. In particular, Douglas Shire Council had approached ecological sustainability with an embrace that Townsville and Mackay had not considered. In Douglas, the policy to limit local population according to environmental carrying capacity is useful in illustrating that national and state policies do not have to bind all local government authorities into uniform structures with one type of ideological approach to planning. The case illustrates that councils do have the power to enact distinct planning policies which have a significant local effect. In Douglas, a creative policy approach was possible not only because the council debated community-based issues philosophically but also because of
the huge protected area within the Shire, the sense of place that created and the economic benefits it was beginning to realise. The head, heart and land framework facilitates creative approaches because it opens up discussion at the philosophical level.

Douglas Shire Council provided a propitious and unique exemplar of a council engaging discussion on the relative benefits and disadvantages of ecologically sustainable local area policies and plans. Every study participant interviewed from Douglas Shire Council was working very strenuously on a personal and professional level, through the planning challenges resulting from the council’s environmental carrying capacity or limits to population growth policy. In particular, this concept confronted the traditional economic growth orientation of Douglas Shire Council and local government more generally. The policy exposed the fact that ecologically sustainable development was perceived as creating real restraint for local citizens and developers. Some study participants, and some Douglas citizens were still unable to reconcile the notion of human restraint. Yet, when the issue was analysed more closely, their biggest issue was that the economic growth capacity of private land owners would be compromised by the policy, not that the policy would eventuate in social disadvantage of a qualitative nature. I have argued previously that the environmental carrying capacity policy adopted by Douglas Shire Council has met with some challenges in meeting both the social and environmental requirements of ecological sustainability, as it has not sufficiently insured social justice. However, the policy has been an effective catalyst to local debates about the interdependence of the human and non-human dimensions of Douglas Shire. Debates among study participants in Douglas centred upon ecocentric principles. Certainly, that had not started to occur in Mackay and Townsville where the economic growth imperative had not been challenged by an environmental protection policy that restricted growth. Within the head, heart and land framework this fundamental tension is the area for primary consideration by planning practitioners at the very outset of strategic local area planning. The framework is also applicable to project by project assessment. With an interdisciplinary group of practitioners committed to ecocentric principles, a cooperative approach would provide support for all practitioners to maintain the philosophical framework for ecological sustainability. This could only occur once practitioners had an opportunity to reflect on the framework and to discuss and debate it in detail.
There is an intrinsic conflict between development aimed solely at economic growth and ecological sustainability. Together, environmental planners and community workers can expose such conflicts and can question their councils' economic policies to ensure they embrace ecological sustainability values. After all, one thing social and environmental planners have in common from the outset is that the professional goals of neither can be attained while the economic growth imperative primarily informs the policies and actions of their councils.

Summary
The ecocentric local area planning framework presented in this chapter aims to expand ILAP by offering a conceptual framework for integrated planning in local government authorities. The case studies illustrated that ecological sustainability in land-use planning was difficult to address while community work and environmental planning, as central ecological sustainability components, were kept at arms-length from the planning process. The framework proposed here advocates a planning approach that is inclusive, participatory, discursive and recognises the diverse knowledge and skills of all local government practitioners. The framework aims to integrate community workers and environmental planners so they are able to contribute in a meaningful and constructive way to the local area planning process.
Conclusion

When this research began, I believed that the Townsville, Douglas and Mackay Councils would provide fertile ground for exploring the research concerns and meeting the study objectives. The thesis is concluded here with reflection on what these case studies have contributed in meeting the study objectives and suggestions for further research.

Ecological sustainability-oriented planning is necessarily multi-disciplinary and cannot be conceptualised through a single theoretical perspective. It incorporates the range of methodologies of participating practitioners. The conceptual framework to guide integrated local area planning presented in chapter nine acknowledges disciplinary differences and the potential for the particular areas of knowledge and skills of multi-disciplinary planners to genuinely influence ecologically sustainable local area planning.

The head, heart and land framework draws on the planning values of the practitioners who participated in the study in proposing a process-oriented approach that transcends the traditional council structures which separated practitioners according to council functions. To overcome constraints to effective involvement of community workers and environmental planners, not only structural change, but a philosophical exchange among practitioners has been proposed.

Study objectives revisited

The major objectives of this research were: to explore the roles of community workers and environmental planners in the three councils; to observe the kinds of contributions they made to ecologically sustainable development; to identify hindrances to their full involvement, and propose possibilities to shift obstacles that prevented their effective integration in local planning.

To address these objectives, the study explained the roles of the community workers and the environmental planners and perceptions other local government practitioners held of their roles. I analysed emerging issues on a number of interrelated levels including the institutional, organisational and disciplinary practitioner dimensions. In adopting a case
Conclusion

study methodology, the situations I have described in Townsville, Douglas and Mackay are specific to those places. The geographical, cultural, economic, social and environmental characteristics of each case study are in some way unique. The range of particularities among the three has provided a rich source of data and grounds for comparison. The experiences of these three case studies, particularly because they are so diverse, will have interest and educative value for other local government authorities.

Community work and environmental planning roles
As an established practitioner group with organisational status equal to that of traditional local government practitioner groups, community workers in Townsville carried out a role characterised by reactive and anticipatory tasks. The role essentially concerned identifying local welfare service needs and corresponding service and facility development. Community work sections of the Mackay and Douglas Councils did not have organisational status equivalent to their counterparts in Townsville, but their day to day work activities were similar. Community workers interviewed from the three councils did not have an established role in land-use planning or ecological sustainability initiatives of their councils. Although the community workers agreed with contemporary policy that stressed the important contribution community workers can make to local area planning, their colleagues from other work areas did not view them as having an integral planning role. Practitioners from other work areas in the councils had a limited understanding of the community work role as it existed, but could see potential for it to expand when they were presented in interviews with specific prompts.

Environmental planners, being a practitioner group to more recently join the councils, were also working towards increasing their organisational status in the councils. The three environmental planners in this study consistently advocated that implementation of environmental policy in the councils would enhance their positions in their organisations.

The environmental planners carried out a range of tasks that included devising responses to and strategies for overcoming environmental problems in their areas to establishing new environmental protection and enhancement projects. Like the community workers, the environmental planners in Townsville and Mackay were only marginally involved in
the land-use planning and development approval decisions of their councils. In Douglas, the environmental planner was unhindered by that problem on two counts. She had both town and environmental planning qualifications, was an accepted member of the town planning department from the outset and generally integrated the two. Her work also reflected an environmental protection emphasis more so than problem-solving because environmental protection was a primary concern of her council, given its special geographical circumstances.

**Working Approaches**

Unique to community workers was the participatory and political approach they consciously applied to their work. According to the community workers, their philosophical approach was not adequately understood by many of their colleagues, including environmental planners, who generally adopted a more technical 'expert' style. This has been a significant finding in this study that has informed the head, heart and land, ecocentric conceptual framework. A further important study finding emanating from the philosophical approach of both community workers and environmental planners has been the emphasis both groups placed on intrinsic value.

**Impediments and possibilities as major research findings**

Analysis of a range of qualitative data collected through interviews, documents and observation has generated detailed information about the factors that impede involvement of community workers and environmental planners in local area planning. Many of these factors existing at the institutional, organisational and practitioner levels were common in the three councils. These factors were discussed at length in chapters five, six, seven and eight.

At the institutional level, the dominant economic paradigm promotes unrestrained economic growth-oriented development which is at odds with ecological sustainability as discussed at length in chapter one. The organisational obstacles affecting integration of community workers and environmental planners included isolation of practitioner groups from each other and from planning decision-making forums. These structures inhibited practitioners developing a clear understanding of each others' roles, knowledge, skills and potentials. Practitioners did not have a clear understanding of
community work and environmental planning roles in terms of how they could contribute either to the planning process or ecological sustainability.

The practitioners were informed by different beliefs about the role of local government in local area planning, what methods should be applied, and what outcomes were sought. Definite tension was apparent among practitioners in relation to whether planning outcomes should be primarily economic or prioritise environmental protection. There were few opportunities for the interviewees from different local government work areas to exchange their views on these matters. Certainly they had not been encouraged to do so as part of the process of developing strategic, land-use or corporate plans.

In response to these impediments, the head, heart and land framework proposes that councils have potential to develop area specific, ecologically sustainable planning schemes as illustrated by Douglas Shire Council. Councils do not have to unquestioningly accept the rhetoric of national and state policy but have an opportunity to interpret it so it becomes relevant in the local context.

The head, heart and land framework also presents possibilities to remove organisational barriers to effective inclusion of community workers and environmental planners. It proposes the formation of a bottom-up decision-making structure based on the political approach and utilising technical expertise. The framework proposes a multi-disciplinary team built on information about ecocentrism and a commitment to ecocentric principles including human - non-human interdependence, intrinsic value, participation and diversity. Through exposure of practitioners to the knowledge and skill each discipline has to offer to ecologically sustainable planning a more collaborative approach incorporating community workers and environmental planners can be established. Planning processes proposed through the framework will enhance practitioners' understandings of each other's strengths and attributes in order that the range of knowledge and skill amongst practitioners can be maximised to inform local area planning. The framework will ensure more integral involvement of community workers and environmental planners because it is built upon principles such as participation, intrinsic value, diversity and inclusiveness which inform the community work approach and interdependence which informs the environmental planners. This approach builds
Conclusion

on the ILAP model because it not only offers a theoretical ecological basis for collaborative planning but it suggests how ecocentric principles for ecological sustainability can be expressed as practical planning strategies.

Implications for further research

Through presentation of the head, heart and land framework, I propose that community workers and environmental planners will become integral contributors to an ecological sustainability-oriented local area planning process, and important facilitators in the development of the framework. It will be necessary, once they are in practice, to test these processes, evaluate their effectiveness and continually build upon them on the path to ecological sustainability.

In addition to these suggestions for further research on this topic, this thesis has identified other important research opportunities that will potentially contribute to the future development of ecologically sustainable local area planning. The focus on three north Queensland councils has offered the basis for comparison between different types of areas as well as between different local government structures. Potential exists to consider the findings of this study in the context of other kinds of councils and areas, such as urban and metropolitan areas in other parts of Australia as well as across nations.

Townsville, Douglas and Mackay have each illustrated particular ecological sustainability issues and specific responses to them. In particular, the issue of applying population limits according to environmental carrying capacity to the planning scheme is one worthy of further research. Population limits is one ecological sustainability strategy suggested from within ecocentric philosophy, but given early signs in Douglas that it may be associated with negative social impacts, what effect will such a response have when it is applied in a place like Townsville that does not have an area with eighty-five per cent protected environment as its greatest asset?

Another area for further research identified through this study, is the question of what effect large-scale loss of public service administration, such as the situation in Townsville, will have on local area ecological sustainability plans. The situation in
Conclusion

Townsville illustrated a regional centre replacing those lost public service jobs with positions in development and maintenance of heavy industry that is potentially environmentally damaging and therefore, also a threat to human-well-being on a number of levels. Surely, the knowledge and skills of both community workers and environmental planners are integral to better understanding these complex issues.

The head, heart and land framework offers a possibility to extend the involvement of community workers and environmental planners in the councils through a values-based process of developing a philosophical and practical basis for ecologically sustainable planning in local government authorities. Very little work has emerged to date on ecocentric planning methods, specifically. I believe the seeds are sown here for further development to proceed in this field, especially as research across professional disciplines is becoming more common. The ecocentric conceptual framework offers potential for a more holistic approach which is essential if ecological sustainability is a genuine concern of the councils.
### Appendix One

**Endangered animal and marine species in Douglas Shire**

A. Rare, threatened, poorly known and special interest vertebrates of QNPWS wet tropics tablelands management area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genus</th>
<th>Species</th>
<th>Common Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anomalopus</td>
<td>gowi</td>
<td>Atherton Antechinus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antechinus</td>
<td>godmani</td>
<td>Great-billed Heron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ardea</td>
<td>sumatrana</td>
<td>Brushtailed Bettong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartleia</td>
<td>jigguru</td>
<td>Loggerhead Turtle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bettongia</td>
<td>tropica</td>
<td>Southern Cassowary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caretta</td>
<td>caretta</td>
<td>Green Turtle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casuarius</td>
<td>casuarius</td>
<td>Zitting Cisticola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chelonia</td>
<td>mydas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cisticola</td>
<td>junicidus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cophixalis</td>
<td>bombiens</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cophixalis</td>
<td>concinnus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cophixalis</td>
<td>neglectus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ctenous</td>
<td>hypatia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ctenosus</td>
<td>monticola</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ctenotus</td>
<td>zebrilla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyrotodactylus</td>
<td>louisianidenis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dasyurus</td>
<td>maculatus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delma</td>
<td>mitella</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dendrolagus</td>
<td>lulumholtzi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Egerina</td>
<td>rugosa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Erythropiochris</td>
<td>radiatus</td>
<td>Red Goshawk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erythura</td>
<td>gouldiae</td>
<td>Gouldian Finch</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hamirostra</td>
<td>malanosternon</td>
<td>Black-breasted Buzzard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hydrophis</td>
<td>pacificus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hypsiprymnodon</td>
<td>moschatus</td>
<td>Musky Rat-kangaroo</td>
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<td>Lagorchestes</td>
<td>conspicillatus</td>
<td>Spectacled Hare-wallaby</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lerista</td>
<td>ameles</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>revelata</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litoria</td>
<td>rhecola</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lophoictinia</td>
<td>isura</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lygisaurus</td>
<td>roccoco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macroderma</td>
<td>gigas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melanotaenia</td>
<td>eachamenis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melithreptus</td>
<td>gularis</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melomys</td>
<td>hadourus</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mesembriomys</td>
<td>gouldii</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murina</td>
<td>florium</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natator</td>
<td>depressus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neochmia</td>
<td>ruficudua (clarescens)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nettapus</td>
<td>coromandelianus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orcaella</td>
<td>brevirostris</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ornithorhynchus</td>
<td>anatinus</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petrophassa</td>
<td>scripta</td>
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<td>Petrophassa</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Common Name</td>
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<td>Phascolarctos</td>
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<td>Koala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pingalla</td>
<td>gilberti</td>
<td>Gilbert's Grunter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poephila</td>
<td>personata</td>
<td>Masked Finch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pogonomys</td>
<td>mollipilosus</td>
<td>Prewinkle-tailed Rat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psephotus</td>
<td>chrysopothygius</td>
<td>Golden-shouldered parrot</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rhinolophus</td>
<td>philippiness</td>
<td>Large-eared Horshoed bat</td>
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<td>Rostratula</td>
<td>benghalensis</td>
<td>Australian Painted Snipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simoselaps</td>
<td>warro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sphenomorphus</td>
<td>miobergi</td>
<td>Little Tern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sterma</td>
<td>albifrons (sinensis)</td>
<td>Short-beaked Echidra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tachyglossus</td>
<td>aculeatus</td>
<td>Radjah Shelduck</td>
</tr>
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<td>Tadoma</td>
<td>radjah</td>
<td>Northern Sheathtail-bat</td>
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<td>Taphosous</td>
<td>australis</td>
<td>Sharp-nosed day Frog</td>
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<td>Taudactylus</td>
<td>actuatostris</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taudactylus</td>
<td>rheophilus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turmix</td>
<td>olivei</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tyto</td>
<td>capensis (longimembris)</td>
<td>Eastern Grass Owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyto</td>
<td>novaehollandiae</td>
<td>Masked Owl</td>
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</table>

Source: Brannock Humphreys 1994, appendices to Douglas Shire planning scheme, strategic planning study.
### Appendix One

#### B. Rare, threatened, poorly known and special interest plants of QNPWS wet tropics tablelands management area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genus</th>
<th>Species</th>
<th>No. Counted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agava Cordyline</td>
<td>Truncosa (L.) A.Chev.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aisleu Crispiloba</td>
<td>Dispersum (S.Moore) Steenis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anaca Buchanania</td>
<td>Mangoides F.Muell.</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Annon Haplostichanthusp. Q1</td>
<td>Froggattia (F.Muell.) Jessup</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annon Pseudoavaria</td>
<td>Orophea Domin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Apocy Alyxia</td>
<td>Densivestita C.White</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apocy Parsonisia</td>
<td>Brasii B.L.Burt</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arace Pothis</td>
<td>Pachyphyilla Xrause</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arace Rhaphidophora</td>
<td>Macdowallia (F.Muell.) F.Muell</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arali Aralia</td>
<td>Willmottia (F.Muell.) Philipso</td>
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Total count over all records = 238

Source: Brannock Humphreys 1994, appendices to Douglas Shire planning scheme, strategic planning study.
Appendix Two

Appendix Two

Summary of Native Title Claims in Douglas, Townsville and Mackay

Register of Native Title Claims

Date Lodged: 11 November 1994       Date Accepted: 19 September 1995
Status: Mediation commenced 19 June 1996
Description of Persons Claimed to Hold Native Title: The Yirrganydji people

Area Covered
Local Government Area/s: Cairns City Council, Douglas Shire Council
Location: Areas of Far North Queensland, being parcels of land in and around Cairns and north to Port Douglas and areas offshore from Port Douglas in the north to False Cape in the south.

Description: Land waters reefs and islands extending from Skeleton Creek in the south, east following the spur of the Nisbet Range to False Cape and west to Crystal Cascades and extending north following the Macalister Range to Packer's Creek north to Port Douglas and south to False Cape and including Low Isles, Double Island, Admiralty Island, Redden's Island. Michaelmas Reef and Cay, Oyster Reef, Upolu Cay, Hastings Reef, Wentworth Reef. Egmont Reef, Satellite Reef and Batt Reef in respect of which the native title of the Yirrganydji people has not been extinguished. The application includes the following lots: Solander / Salisbury.

Details of Native Title Rights and Interests Possessed Under Traditional Laws and Customs:

1. The Native Title rights and interests possessed under the traditional laws and customs observed by the Applicant and other persons with whom the Applicant claims to hold Native Title are that the Applicant and the persons with whom the Applicant claims to hold the title and the ancestors of the Applicant and the persons with whom the Applicant claims to hold the title have from time immemorial and for all living memory and recorded history, possessed occupied used and enjoyed the whole of the lands and waters. They have during that that resided upon the lands, taken their sustenance from the land and protected the land from degradation in accordance with Yirrganydji customs. The rights and interests they have exercised have included:

   a) The right to take wildlife including dugong, turtle, fish, seagull eggs clam meat, wallaby, flying fox and bandicoot and other wildlife from the area.
   b) The right to visit, occupy, reside upon and construct dwellings and other structures upon all parts of the area at will for the purpose of conducting ceremonies, social intercourse and the taking of flora and fauna, and for any other purpose, as they deem appropriate from time to time.
   c) The right to collect foods from the land and waters.
   d) The right to collect things such as timber, stones, ochre, resin, grass, shells and corals from the land and waters to make things such as ornaments weapons, tools and vessels, for personal use or for the purpose of trade.
   e) The right to gain and transfer knowledge concerning the traditional lands and waters to other Yirrganydji peoples.
   f) The care and custody of the lands and waters.
   g) The right to prohibit any activity in the area which would be inconsistent with the exercise of the rights set forth in sub-paragraphs a, b, c, d, e and f of this paragraph.
   h) The right to develop and make such adaptions and changes to the distribution and implementation of responsibilities, laws, lores and customs as Yirrganydji peoples deem appropriate and will from time to time publicly negotiate through dispute, challenge and debate.
   i) The right and ability for the Yirrganydji peoples to, where they deem appropriate negotiate joint-management arrangements with non-indigenous agencies joint-management arrangements with non-indigenous agencies and authorities to assist the future care, protection and controlled use of those lands and waters.
Provided always that these rights shall not be construed so as to limit the right of the Yirrganydji peoples to possess, use occupy and enjoy the whole of the lands and waters the subject of this Application.

2. The physical connection of the Applicant and those other persons with whom the Applicant claims hold Native Title to the areas include:

a) The continued residence within the mainland areas contained within the mainland areas depicted upon the maps set forth in Schedule 1.

b) The continued performance of the rights and interests they have continued to enjoy by virtue of the traditional laws and customs of the Yirrganydji peoples including those as set forth in Paragraph A9(1) above in respect of all of the lands and waters the subject of this Application.

c) The continued custody of and care for all of the lands and waters the subject of this Application in the same manner as their ancestors have done since time immemorial.

d) The continued performance of traditional dances and songs relating to all of the lands and waters the subject of this Application.

Register of Native Title Claims

Date Lodged: 11 November 1994  Date Accepted: 19 September 1995
Status: Mediation commenced 29 March 1996
Description of Persons Claimed to Hold Native Title: The Yirrganydji people

Area Covered
Local Government Area/s: Cook Shire Council, Douglas Shire Council
Location: On the eastern side of Cape York Peninsula in Far North Queensland, stretching from Walsh Bay south to Port Douglas.

Register of Native Title Claims

Date Lodged: 10 April 1995 Date Accepted: 21 September 1995
Status: Mediation commenced 18 June 1996
Description of Persons Claimed to Hold Native Title: The Yirrganydji people

Area Covered
Local Government Area/s: Cairns City Council, Douglas Shire Council, Mareeba Shire Council, Mulgrave Shire Council
Location: An area of timber reserve to the west of the Captain Cook Highway between Cairns and Port Douglas to the crest of the MacAlister Range.

Description: All that land located in the County of Nares Parish of Dulanban in the State of Queensland extending from Buchan's Point in the South to a point located between Pebble Beach and Yule Point in the North, and West to the crest of the MacAlister Range.

Register of Native Title Claims

Date Registered: 18 February 1998
Status: Not yet accepted

Area Covered
Local Government Area/s: Burdekin Shire Council, Townsville City Council
Location: Designed allotment 1 of section 15 in the vicinity of the town of Cungulla, waters of Bowling Green Bay.

Description: Designed allotment 1 of section 15 in the vicinity of the town of Cungulla, parish of Abbot'sford. Waters of Bowling Green Bay (from the Lighthouse - at Cape Ferguson as it was formerly known or Cape Cleveland as it is now referred to - in the north to the mouth of Barratta Creek in the South) and its Tributaries. Called, by the Applicant and his Tribe
(family), "The Beach", "The Hut", "The Creek", "The Beach Hut", "Big Beach" or "The Haughton".

Land and/or Waters: Land and Waters

Details of Native Title Rights and Interests Possessed Under Traditional Laws and Customs:
1. The applicant, and the applicants ancestors (namely, William Leslie Tait, Shirley Elizabeth Tait, Roger and Beryl McLennan, Peter "pop" Tait and others) have maintained a connection to the area covered by the application by living on (and practising erosion control of coastal zone within and adjacent to) the land at "Big Beach", moving about anywhere on the land or waters of Bowling Green Bay (BGB) and hunting, fishing and gathering food (eg. local bush turkey, wild duck, fish, crabs, squid, prawns, oysters and other seafood) from the land and waters of BGB. These activities were (for at least the last 70 years and/or three generations) and still are traditional customary activities which most of the applicant's tribe/family group practice (or have been in the habit of practising) ceremoniously-most often annually during the seasonal wet at the time of the new calendar year but also at other times of any year.

2. The applicant claims to own traditional rights and interests in all varieties of seafood and other native flora and fauna previously fished, farmed, gathered or hunted (not commercially but for consumption and/or storage for consumption on or near the site of capture or the land at big Beach which is covered by this application) by the applicant and members of his tribe/family in a traditional hunter and gatherer fashion (as has been common practice amongst the applicants tribe/family for generations-indeed most of these activities are traditional state and national pastimes).

3. Under the traditional laws and customs laid down by the Queensland state Government the applicant claims to have the right to use the land covered by the claim for "seaside residential" purposes.

4. As is customary the applicant still travels to Big Beach to reside, fish, hunt, gather and practice erosion control of the coastal zone (by "direct seeding" and other methods) - these activities usually occur at, but are not confined to, the time of the annual wet season. Due to the "(allegedly illegal" removal of the applicant's dwellings at Big Beach some of the catch has had to be stored at sites far removed from BGB.

5. The applicant was living off native food gathered within BGB and was residing permanently at the site, at Big Beach, until the dwellings at the site were "(allegedly illegally" damaged and consequently rendered uninhabitable and beyond repair-apparently this was done by the local volunteer fire brigade under the questionable authority of a contract struck with the Queensland Department of Natural Resources.

Draft Determination Sought:
The applicant asks the Tribunal to (if the applicant's application is unopposed) determine that:

1. The applicant's tribe's/family's original tenure, that was granted by the Queensland government over "THE HUT" site should be acknowledged as still valid;

2. The applicant's tribe's/family's right to use the land (that is the land covered by the permit to occupy that was granted to the applicant's parents-namely, William Leslie Tait and Shirley Elizabeth Tait-by the Queensland Government, AS STILL VALID;

3. The Queensland Government should be directed to restore, in full, the applicant's tribe's/family's right to use the land (mentioned above in section 2) for "seaside residential";

4. The Queensland Government should be directed to grant, via official channels, appropriate tenure (over the land mentioned above in section 2, that is, "THE HUT" site) to the applicant;

5. The applicant's tribe's/family's "(allegedly illegally" removed improvements (which previously existed on the land mentioned above in section 2, that is, "THE HUT" site) should be restored, by the authority or authorities that gave directions for them to be removed, at least to their previous condition;

6. The authority or authorities mentioned above in section 5 should reimburse all and any members of the applicant's tribe/family for any financial, physical or emotional damage which was caused by the removal of the improvements mentioned above in section 5;

7. The Queensland Government (and any other person or authority involved) should reimburse all and any members of the applicant's tribe/family for any financial, physical or emotional damage which came about as a result of the applicant's tribe/family being "(allegedly illegally" forced from the land (mentioned above in section 2) at "THE HUT" site and their (the applicant's tribe/family) being "(allegedly illegally" intimidated in the "(allegedly illegally process used to
cancel the tenure over "THE HUT" site which the Queensland Government had previously
granted to the applicant's parents (namely William Leslie Tait and Shirley Elizabeth Tait).

8. The applicant's traditional interests in the flora and fauna of Bowling Green Bay and the
applicant's traditional and customary rights to hunt, fish, store, consume and share (amongst the
local community) the catch of any native flora and fauna of Bowling Green Bay Should Be
acknowledged and recognised by law as legitimate native title interests and rights.

Register of Native Title Claims

Date Registered: 1 September 1997
Status: Not yet accepted
Description of Persons Claimed to Hold Native Title: The applicants apply on their own behalf and on
behalf of the WirilYuwiburra, Jangga, Birria, Ngaro and Gia People.

Area Covered:
Local Government Area/s: Belyando Shire Council, Bowen Shire Council, Broadsound Shire Council,
Burdekin Shire Council, Charters Towers City Council, Dalrymple Shire Council, Mackay City Council,
Mirani Shire Council, Nebo Shire Council, Sarina Shire Council, Whitsunday Shire Council.

Location: The application is located between Mackay and Townsville on the coast, west to Charters
Towers in Central Queensland.

Description: We are claiming to hold Native Title to all;
♦ all "Unallocated" Crown Land,
♦ all Stock Routes wider than 300 metres,
♦ all National Parks,
♦ all State Forest and Timber Reserves,
♦ all Camping Reserves, and Recreational Sites,
♦ all land Reserved for Aboriginal Purposes,
♦ all waterways, natural lakes, creeks and river beds included within the following tenure as claimed.

Land and/or Waters: Land and Waters
Details of Native Title Rights and Interests Possessed Under Traditional Laws and Customs:
The WirilYuwiburra/Birra/Jangga People claim that the said Native Title Rights are exclusive to ourselves
according to aboriginal custom and tradition but are subject to valid interests issued by the Crown and a
right to exclude therefrom or accept "WirilYuwiburra/Birra/Jangga people". We wish to exercise our
rights arising from traditional use and custom on land where Native Title has not been validly
extinguished. Our Native Title rights include, the right:
♦ of (territorial rights) possession, reside on, have access to, occupy, gather or meet, recreate, carry out
custodianship, to be buried in, for all land claimed.
♦ to exclude others, or limit access by persons, to areas, sites or places that have a special cultural
significance to our people,
♦ to hunt, gather and fish for our traditional foods and gather items for trading and bartering,
♦ to undertake spiritual and cultural (ceremonial) activities,
♦ to protect and manage our sites and places of significance and our environment and keep our land free
from alien domestic animals and feral flora and fauna.
♦ for economic purposes, being the right to utilise resources and at times to restrict economic usage of
resources;
♦ to hold and pass on knowledge about; our land, our language and our cultural heritage, included our
sites and places of significance,
♦ to identify with and to bestow our rights on to our descendants and other as agreed to by our people.
♦ to undertake all, cultural, social and economic activities as determined by our people.
### Summary of public service positions lost in Townsville at February 1998

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<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>620</strong></td>
<td><strong>2552</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Does not include cuts to James Cook University (more than 100 jobs to date) or the impact of Federal funding cuts on State and Local Government employment.

* Potential loss of up to 200 civilian jobs pending the outcome of “Market Testing” (ie contracting out) exercises being conducted in 1998 and 1999.
Dear .......,

As a PhD student enrolled at James Cook University, I am interested in researching social impact assessment and its usefulness or otherwise to planners in Local Government. This topic is of importance and interest to me as I have worked as a community and welfare worker in Townsville over the last ten years. I have worked closely with the Council and perceive local government to be a most significant structure in community and regional planning.

The study proposes to work with planners from all disciplines to research the use of, and reactions to social impact assessment as an integrated planning model. The research would involve in-depth work with two to three North Queensland councils. At this stage Townsville and Mackay, Charters Towers and Douglas Councils have been approached to be involved in the study. These Councils have been chosen because they all currently manage local growth and aspects of sensitive physical environments. I am particularly interested in exploring development projects within each Council area where the model has been used as well as projects where the model might have been used but was not.

The aim of the study would not be to evaluate Council's performance but to ascertain perceptions of planners about how useful the model actually is. In addition, the study is interested in developing a greater depth of understanding about planner's planning philosophies and the nature of their day to day work activities. The research would span a period of approximately eighteen months and would probably involve about 7-8 council officers in two or three interviews over that time. A further aim of the study is to adopt a two way information exchange. That is, I would like to be able to provide any information that I may have to research participants if they are interested and consider it to be useful.

I would hope that the research will be of benefit to Local Government, to planners and, in particular, to the Councils involved in the study. I have attached a summary of the research aims and the proposed methodology for your interest and would like to make an appointment to meet with you and perhaps some of your officers with a view to discussing the proposed study in greater detail and seeking consent to undertake the study.

Yours faithfully,

May 24th, 1995
Appendix 5

Research participant consent form

A NORTH QUEENSLAND PERSPECTIVE ON INTEGRATED PLANNING MODELS AND RELATED ISSUES FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT

A PhD Research Study
Being undertaken by Leanne Roughley

consent to participate in research

I……………………………………………. state that I hold the position of ……………….. at the …………………………………………………………. Council, am over 18 years of age, and agree to participate in a program of research by Leanne Roughley of James Cook University North Queensland through the Departments of Social Work and Community Welfare and Tropical Environmental Studies and Geography.

Purpose of the project
The purpose of the research is to study the planning methods and philosophies of local government officers in three north Queensland local government authorities (Douglas Shire, Mackay City and Townsville City, especially in relation to the integration of social and environmental concerns into planning practice.

Research Procedures
The procedures to be used to collect information include analysing council documents made available by council officers, tape recorded interviews and researcher observations. These study methods will not cause harm to study participants. These study procedures have been explained to me and I have been assured that the information collected will be used to provide information to Leanne Roughley for PhD research material.

I acknowledge that Leanne Roughley has explained the study purpose and procedure to me and that she will provide feedback on study findings to me and to my council after each of the three stages of the study. Leanne has also explained to me that I may withdraw from participation in the study at any time and she has offered to answer any questions which I may ask about the study procedures. In addition, Leanne has explained that she cannot guarantee my anonymity or confidentiality of my interview material because the study is very small. However, she has agreed to allow me to read each interview transcript prior to using it as study data. Leanne has also assured me that evaluation of my work performance is not an objective of the study.

I freely and voluntarily agree to take part in this study.

Signed:…………………………………………..Study Participant

Date:……………………………………………….
Appendix 6

Summary research proposal

Topic: Integrated planning in local government in north Queensland: a socio-environmental perspective

Researcher: Leanne Roughley  
PhD Student/ Lecturer in the Department of Social Work and Community Welfare at James Cook University, North Queensland  
Phone: (077) 814212 or 757750  
Fax: (077) 795435 or 757750

Research Supervisors:  
Dr. Tony McMahon  
Lecturer in the Department of Social Work and Community Welfare, James Cook University  
Phone: (077) 815523

Mr. Peter Valentine  
Senior lecturer in the Department of Geography and Tropical Environmental Studies, James Cook University  
Phone: (077) 814441
The study
The study will involve Townsville, Mackay, and Douglas Local Government Authorities from a range of professional disciplines including community workers, elected members, environmental planners, land-use planners, administrators and engineers (approximately six planners from each council).

The study is centrally concerned with how social and environmental considerations are integrated by the Local Governments when planning local development, whether it be residential, commercial or industrial. The research aims to use the three case studies of councils with quite different circumstances to provide an in-depth exploration and analysis of the relationships between corporate structures, professional values and integrated planning. The research inquires about respondents' working philosophies and models, their ideas and experiences in integrated planning and their perceptions of constraints to operationalising a more integrated planning approach. The study is situated in local government because it is the level of government closest to the community with most knowledge of the local environment - not only the physical environment but the history of the place and the people and its economic trends and needs.

Study aims
The literature indicates that local government in Australia has an important, even central role in planning for community/regional development. It is a level of government often disadvantaged at the bottom echelon of a three tier government system. As such, communities often place high and increasing expectations on local government while resources and policy decision-making arrangements remain inadequate. As a result of these findings, the objectives of this study include:

♦ To develop an understanding of how community workers and environmental planners are involved in local area planning in Townsville, Douglas and Mackay Councils;
♦ To explore ways in which community development and environmental planning have been integrated into the planning structures of the three councils and obstruction to their integration;
♦ To use information emanating from the study to further inform the development of integrated planning models in local government.

The Research Process
Time-frame
The time frame for the study is approximately 4 years, beginning in May 1995. It is anticipated that each research participant will be interviewed on two occasions over a period of approximately eighteen months. Interview times will be negotiated with consenting participants following council consent for the study to proceed. It is anticipated that the thesis will be completed in 1998-1999.

Approach
The study is concerned with finding out about the research participants' early experiences of integrating community work and environmental planning. It is primarily interested in what, where and how questions rather than attempting to measure through questions which ask how many or how much. To ensure that such an approach is ethical and purposeful to participants, the process is very open and participatory.

Full transcripts of all individual interviews will be sent to study respondents to enable them to add or remove any comments they are unhappy with prior to them being used as study data. If respondents desire, they may also be guaranteed that any direct quotes not be used without their expressed permission. All study participants will be required to sign a form giving consent to participate in the study.

It is important that research participants and the participating councils derive some benefits from the study. These benefits may take the form of some aspects of professional development through enhanced knowledge and awareness of own practises and constraints. This often occurs when time is made available to reflect on own/council's role and activities.

The Three Stages of the Proposed Study
Stage One
• Seek consent from each of the councils for involvement in the study;
• Visit and familiarise with study areas and participants and confirm agreement to participate in the study;
• Discuss the proposed study aims and process with potential participants;
Appendix Six

• Collect documents from each council including:
  corporate plan
  town planning scheme and strategic plans
  maps of region
  demographic information
  social plans
  environmental plans
  annual reports
  relevant project plans and reports
  participants written job descriptions

Begin document analysis

• Review and revise study methodology to include participants suggestions.

Stage Two

• Two tape-recorded in-depth interviews of approximately two hours duration with each participant by appointment (following the signing of an informed consent form by each respondent);
• The interview format will be fairly informal, guided by a semi-structured interview schedule;
• Questions in the first interview will relate to research participants’:
  • current role
  • working models
  • relationship with community workers and environmental planners
  • constraints to integrating community work and environmental planning
  • opinions about local development, and
  • the role of local government, more generally.

In the second interview questions will be more specifically about the tasks of community workers and environmental planners and research participants’ perceptions of those roles in each of the councils.

Stage Three

A third research stage may eventuate dependent upon the researcher securing funding. This stage would take the form of a weekend workshop involving all research participants. The workshop would aim to facilitate feedback of research findings to participants, validation of stage 2 study findings and an opportunity for information sharing amongst study participants.

Data analysis

The study will be largely of a qualitative nature aimed at understanding the information and issues which emerge and not at evaluating councils or individual study respondents. It will not aim to be a study which is representative of all local government authorities. Data collected throughout the study including interview transcripts and council documents will be analysed through a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis program, NUDIST.

Use of data

Once each round of interviews has been completed, the tapes will be transcribed and then destroyed unless participants wish to retain them. The hard and floppy disk copies of transcripts will be retained by the researcher in a locked place for a period of not more than eighteen months after successful completion of the PhD thesis. All of these records will then be destroyed.

Because there are so few study participants, the study hopes to achieve depth rather than breadth of information. However, with so few study participants complete anonymity of respondents cannot be assured. In a descriptive study with such a small number of respondents it is almost impossible to guarantee anonymity and confidentiality.

Ethical concerns associated with the methodology

The study methods selected are respectful of study participants and the authorities they work within. Therefore an open and participatory approach will be used at all stages of the study. It is envisaged that all parties participating in the study should take some benefit from it. The researcher perceives the benefits to be as follows:
Benefits for participating councils/study respondents

• Some aspects of professional development through enhanced knowledge and awareness of own practices and constraints;

• Study findings and conclusions may have implications for developing a better understanding of how useful integrated planning models are and why. Such findings could have implications for influencing policy, resourcing levels required to undertake quality integrated planning or even for development of appropriate strategic/landuse/development planning models;

• If participating councils would like to see other benefits through involvement in the study, the researcher would be happy to discuss these.

Benefits for broader community/government

• Potentially, the study findings will convey detailed information about planning philosophies and practices within the three councils participating in the study. That information will potentially be useful to other councils, the Queensland and Australian Local Government Associations and to State and Federal Government, to inform some aspects of future policy development;

• The study will reflect issues relating to the integration of social and environmental concerns at local government level and this information may be useful to groups and organisations/institutions concerned with social and environmental issues and aspects of development.

Adequate debriefing and feedback

The study methodology embraces principles of participation which includes open two-way discussion regarding the research process and findings. The aim of such a methodology includes provision of information to informants to allow an educational component for research participants, so that something is given as well as taken by the researcher.

Full transcripts of all individual interviews will be sent to study respondents to enable them to add or remove any comments they are unhappy with prior to them being used as study data. If respondents desire they may also be guaranteed that any direct quotes not be used without their expressed permission.

The researcher will provide feedback on findings to all respondents prior to the commencement of each of the three stages of the study as appropriate and as requested by participants.
Appendix Seven

Interview schedule No. 1

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE NO. 1

May 1995

Part A: Participant Information

a. How long have you worked here?

b. What is your actual title?

c. Where did you work before here?

d. Educational/training background (where and when)?

e. Age

f. Gender

Part B: Role of Participant in Current Position in Council

a. Can you describe your role here - what you actually do on a daily basis?

b. What percentage of time do you spend on the different aspects of the role?
   possible prompts
   • new projects
   • ongoing projects
   • maintenance tasks
   • administration and or management tasks
   • community leadership
   • policy formulation

c. Can you talk about your role or the tasks you undertook in relation to an integrated planning project like BBC or urban renewal?
Do you think you/your department could have been involved in any other or different ways?

\[d.\] With whom do you work most closely on a daily basis?

\[e.\] What sorts of things do you work on together?

\[f.\] Would you say there are particular models, professional philosophies or personal beliefs that have an influence on the way you work?

\[g.\] In your daily work, are there any constraints to being able to put these preferred ways of working into practice?

\[h.\] Do you have any ideas about how those difficulties could be overcome?

possible prompts:
- internal/external decision-making processes
- level of government
- training
- structural arrangements

\[i.\] Is there any legislation that you must be aware of and work within in your current position?

\[j.\] Are there any particular policies that guide your work?

**Part C: Roles of Community Workers and Environmental Planners**

*This section will address other kinds of planners i.e. community workers will not be asked about the role of community workers but rather, how they think the role of community workers is perceived by other council officers.*

**The Community Workers**

\[a.\] Can you talk about the role of the community workers in this council?

\[b.\] Did she/he have any involvement in a BBC or urban renewal project?
c. Do you think she/he could have been involved in any additional or different ways?

---

d. Do you think there are any constraints that make it difficult in any way to work more closely with the community worker/s?

---

e. Do you have any ideas about how these difficulties could be overcome?

---

The Environmental Planner/s

a. Can you talk about the role of the environmental planners at this council?

---

b. Did she/he have any involvement in a BBC or urban renewal project?

---

c. Do you think she/he could have been involved in any additional or different ways?

---

d. Do you think there are any constraints that make it difficult in any way to work more closely with the environmental planners?

---

e. Do you have any ideas about how these difficulties could be overcome?

---

Part D  The Role of Local Government in Planning Development

a. Broadly, could you talk about what you see as the role and responsibilities of local government in planning for local development?

---

b. On the whole, do you think local government is able to perform that role effectively and efficiently?

---
Appendix Seven

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c. In your own opinion, what are the most important roles of local government and of this particular council?

d. And, what are the least important roles?

e. What sorts of things, if any, prevent local government from performing the most important roles as you see them, most effectively, in your opinion?

f. How would you like to see things change so local government could be most effective?

g. The final question is about how you see the respective roles of Federal, State and Local Governments in the planning of new development in this city/shire?
Appendix 8

Interview schedule No. 2

Part A: General Questions

a. If you were asked to describe this city to someone who had ever been here what would you say?

b. What would you like this City to look like in 25-50 years?

c. What do you see as responsible development for this area?

d. What does the term *integrated planning* mean to you?

e. Do you think integrated planning does/would work here, in this council? why/why not?

f. Is it more important for local government to be a service provider or a strategic local area planner?

g. Which services is it most important for this local government to provide and is that the same for all local government authorities?

h. What are the most important aspects of this local area that council needs to be planning for and is that the same for all local authorities?
Part B The Preferred Planning Process

a. When planning new development within your local area (whether it be residential, commercial or industrial), do you consider it important that the development is based on long term, whole area, strategic plan?

b. When planning new development within your local area (whether it be residential, commercial or industrial), do you consider it important that there is technical information at hand?

c. When planning new development within your local area (whether it be residential, commercial or industrial), do you consider it important that there is an understanding about what the whole community really wants?

d. When planning new development within your local area (whether it be residential, commercial or industrial), do you consider it important that a checklist of potential environmental impacts is used?

e. When planning new development within your local area (whether it be residential, commercial or industrial), do you consider it important that a checklist of potential social impacts is consulted.

f. When planning new development within your local area (whether it be residential, commercial or industrial), do you consider it important that local residents retain individual freedoms to use their land as they wish?

g. When planning new development within your local area (whether it be residential, commercial or industrial), do you consider it important that that local government provide land-use controls and guidelines?

h. When planning new development within your local area (whether it be residential, commercial or industrial), do you consider it important that there is a coordinated effort between local government authorities and State and Federal Governments?

i. When planning new development within your local area (whether it be residential, commercial or industrial), do you consider it important that all planners (physical, economic, environmental, social) be involved in decision-making?
Appendix Eight

j. When planning new development within your local area (whether it be residential, commercial or industrial), do you consider it important that community workers be centrally involved in the initial planning process?

k. When planning new development within your local area (whether it be residential, commercial or industrial), do you consider it important that environmental planners be centrally involved in the initial planning process?

l. When planning new development within your local area (whether it be residential, commercial or industrial), do you consider it important that local government work in a coordinated way with other local authorities in the region.

Part C: Community Consultation

a. When planning new development within your local area do you consider it important that public consultation programs be resourced?

b. When planning new development within your local area do you consider it important that public consultation be conducted from the beginning of the planning process and continued all the way through?

c. When planning new development within your local area do you consider it important that public consultation involve a representative sample of all interested citizens, groups and organisations?

d. When planning new development within your local area do you consider it important that information provided to the public be comprehensive, balanced and accurate?

e. When planning new development within your local area do you consider it important that public participation programs include processes, such as mediation for dealing with contentious issues?

f. When planning new development within your local area do you consider it important that councils provide feedback to the community on how the public input was used in the planning process?
Part D: Professional Responsibilities

1. **Urban Improvement**
   (a) Who currently undertakes this task?
   - community worker
   - engineer
   - elected member/s
   - CEO
   - land use planner
   - environmental planner
   - other, please specify

   (b) Who should be involved?
   - community worker
   - engineer
   - elected member/s
   - CEO
   - land use planner
   - environmental planner
   - other, please specify

2. **Developing Local Conservation Strategies**
   (a) Who currently undertakes this task?
   - community worker
   - engineer
   - elected member/s
   - CEO
   - land use planner
   - environmental planner
   - other, please specify

   (b) Who should be involved?
   - community worker
   - engineer
   - elected member/s
   - CEO
   - land use planner
   - environmental planner
   - other, please specify

3. **Traffic Calming**
   (a) Who currently undertakes this task?
   - community worker
   - engineer
   - elected member/s
   - CEO
   - land use planner
   - environmental planner
   - other, please specify

   (b) Who should be involved?
   - community worker
   - engineer
   - elected member/s
   - CEO
   - land use planner
   - environmental planner
   - other, please specify
4. **Involvement in Federal/State Programs Such as Landcare**  
   
   (a) Who currently undertakes this task?  
   - community worker  
   - engineer  
   - elected member/s  
   - CEO  
   - land use planner  
   - environmental planner  
   - other, please specify.................................

   (b) Who should be involved?  
   - community worker  
   - engineer  
   - elected member/s  
   - CEO  
   - land use planner  
   - environmental planner  
   - other, please specify..........................................

5. **Pollution Control and Monitoring**  
   
   (a) Who currently undertakes this task?  
   - community worker  
   - engineer  
   - elected member/s  
   - CEO  
   - land use planner  
   - environmental planner  
   - other, please specify..........................................

   (b) Who should be involved?  
   - community worker  
   - engineer  
   - elected member/s  
   - CEO  
   - land use planner  
   - environmental planner  
   - other, please specify..........................................

6. **Develop Responses to Local Community Problems Such as Safety, Domestic Violence, Health Promotion, Environmental Protection and Transport.**  
   
   (a) Who currently undertakes this task?  
   - community worker  
   - engineer  
   - elected member/s  
   - CEO  
   - land use planner  
   - environmental planner  
   - other, please specify..........................................

   (b) Who should be involved?  
   - community worker  
   - engineer  
   - elected member/s  
   - CEO  
   - land use planner  
   - environmental planner  
   - other, please specify...........................................
7. **Heritage Protection**  
   *(a) Who currently undertakes this task?*  
   community worker  
   engineer  
   elected member/s  
   CEO  
   land use planner  
   environmental planner  
   other, please specify.............................................................................  

   *(b) Who should be involved?*  
   community worker  
   engineer  
   elected member/s  
   CEO  
   land use planner  
   environmental planner  
   other, please specify.............................................................................  

8. **Tree Planting**  
   *(a) Who currently undertakes this task?*  
   community worker  
   engineer  
   elected member/s  
   CEO  
   land use planner  
   environmental planner  
   other, please specify.............................................................................  

   *(b) Who should be involved?*  
   community worker  
   engineer  
   elected member/s  
   CEO  
   land use planner  
   environmental planner  
   other, please specify.............................................................................  

9. **Plan Community Facilities Such as Community Centres, Libraries, Ovals, Recreation Areas and Bike Paths.**  
   *(a) Who currently undertakes this task?*  
   community worker  
   engineer  
   elected member/s  
   CEO  
   land use planner  
   environmental planner  
   other, please specify.............................................................................  

   *(b) Who should be involved?*  
   community worker  
   engineer  
   elected member/s  
   CEO  
   land use planner  
   environmental planner  
   other, please specify.............................................................................
10. **Flora and Fauna Protection**

(a) Who currently undertakes this task?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

(b) Who should be involved?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

11. **Recycling**

(a) Who currently undertakes this task?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

(b) Who should be involved?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

12. **Preparation of Community Profiles**

(a) Who currently undertakes this task?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

(b) Who should be involved?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify
13. **Coastal Management**

(a) Who currently undertakes this task?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

(b) Who should be involved?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

14. **Preparation of Social Need Statements**

(a) Who currently undertakes this task?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

(b) Who should be involved?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

15. **Solid and Liquid Waste Management**

(a) Who currently undertakes this task?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

(b) Who should be involved?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify
### 16. Urban Preservation

(a) Who currently undertakes this task?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

(b) Who should be involved?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

### 17. Design of Community Consultation Programs

(a) Who currently undertakes this task?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

(b) Who should be involved?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

### 18. Energy Management

(a) Who currently undertakes this task?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

(b) Who should be involved?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify
19. **Natural Area Enhancement and Protection**

(a) Who currently undertakes this task?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

(b) Who should be involved?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

20. **Bushfire Management**

(a) Who currently undertakes this task?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

(b) Who should be involved?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

21. **Advise on social features in urban design such as safety, and access and equity considerations**

(a) Who currently undertakes this task?
- Community worker
- Engineer
- Elected Member/S
- CEO
- Land Use Planner
- Environmental Planner
- Other, Please Specify

(b) Who should be involved?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify
22. **Advise on the Possible Social Impacts of Local Development**

(a) Who currently undertakes this task?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

(b) Who should be involved?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

23. **Catchment Management**

(a) Who currently undertakes this task?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

(b) Who should be involved?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

24. **Wetlands Management**

(a) Who currently undertakes this task?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

(b) Who should be involved?
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify
25. *Environmental Education*

(a) **Who currently undertakes this task?**
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

(b) **Who should be involved?**
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

26. *Environmental Impact Assessment*

(a) **Who currently undertakes this task?**
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify

(b) **Who should be involved?**
- community worker
- engineer
- elected member/s
- CEO
- land use planner
- environmental planner
- other, please specify
Appendix 9

Codes of ethics of Australian social welfare professions

A. Extract from the Code of Ethics of the Australian Association of Social Workers

1. Preamble
Social work has its origins in a number of sources, humanitarianism, religious and philosophic. It exists to meet human needs arising from interpersonal and societal interactions and to develop human potential.

Social workers are dedicated to serve for the welfare and self-fulfilment of human beings as well as the societies in which they live. The achievement of social justice is thus co-equal with the attainment of fulfilment for the individual.

The social work profession takes as its clients, individuals, families, groups, organisations, communities and societies. In this document ‘client’ may mean any of these and may include those offering or providing service as well as the person or persons receiving service.

In following these goals social workers pursue the cultivation and disciplined use of knowledge regarding human and societal behaviours and the development of resources to meet individual, group, national and international needs and aspirations.

Social work is undertaken within the aspirations of The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN General Assembly December 10 1948) both in recognising its principles and promoting its observance.

In developing this Australian Code of Ethics direct reference has been made to the International Code of Ethics as adopted by the International Federation of Social Workers General Meeting, San Juan. Puerto Rico, July 10, 1976.

A code of ethics provides a set of standards by which the social work profession (or the social worker) can distinguish what is legitimate or acceptable behaviour within social work practice. Such a code identifies standards of practice which adequately reflect the value base of the profession and stress basic principles on which to make ethical decisions. It also provides a statement of these standards for those outside the profession to evaluate the social work service being offered.

This code is a guide to the conduct of members of the social work profession and will be the adjudication of issues in ethics.

2. Value statement
The social worker holds that:
♦ Every human being has a unique dignity irrespective of nationality, ethnicity, social and economic status, gender, sexual preference, age beliefs, or contribution to society.
♦ Regardless of its form each society has the obligation to pursue social justice, protect its members from harm and provide maximum benefits for all.
♦ Each individual has the right to self-fulfilment provided that the rights of others are not violated.
♦ Every social worker has the responsibility to devote objective and disciplined knowledge and skill to aid individuals, groups, communities and societies in their development and in the management of conflicts and their consequences.
Every social worker has a primary obligation to the objective of service, this taking precedence over personal interest, aims or views.

3. Principles of Practice

3.1 Commitment to social justice
The social worker will advocate for changes in policy, service delivery and social conditions which enhance the opportunities for those most vulnerable in the community.

3.2 Development of knowledge
The social worker will take responsibility for expanding, developing and using and disseminating knowledge for social work practice.

3.3 Relationship with employing organisation
The social worker will relate as a member of the social work profession to the employing organisation.

3.4 Confidentiality and privacy
The social worker will respect the privacy of clients and hold information obtained in the course of professional service in confidence, except where the law demands otherwise or there are ethical or moral reasons not to do so.

3.5 Client self-determination
The social worker will make every effort to foster maximum self-determination and social work responsibility on the part of clients.

3.6 Service
The social worker will give priority to the service obligation of the social work profession.

3.7 The integrity of the profession
The social worker will maintain and develop the purpose, principles and practice standards of the profession.

3.8 Competence and professional development
The social worker will maintain and strive to prove proficiency in professional practice.

3.9 Professional conduct
The social worker will maintain high standards of professional conduct.

B. Extract from the Code of Ethics of the Australian Institute of Welfare and Community Workers

1. Introduction

The welfare worker is a person who, through professional training, and field education, has the requisite values, attitudes, knowledge and skills to work autonomously, or with a team, in a social welfare agency or program intended to promote, relieve, or restore the social functioning of individuals, families, social groups or larger communities.

The welfare worker as a professional practitioner in the field of welfare and community work is concerned to promote the worth and well-being of all individuals regardless of racial origin, sex, age, or social status or other individual differences. The professional behaviour and practice of the welfare worker are aimed at maximising the human potential and worth of all persons of human dignity and well-being for all persons within the welfare worker's professional practice shall be considered improper and unacceptable to the welfare work profession. Welfare workers are concerned with issues of social justice and equity for clients including access to quality services and the opportunity for maximum client participation in service delivery.

2. Principles and ethics

2.1 Every human being, regardless of racial origin, age, sex, beliefs, and socio-economic status, has a right to maximise his/her potential providing it does not infringe upon rights of others.

2.2 Every society has an obligation to provide for and to deal equitably with all its members and to make extra disability or misfortune are disadvantaged.

2.3 The welfare worker in professional practice has an obligation to utilise all available skills and knowledge to promote the well-being of individuals, groups and communities.

2.4 The welfare worker has a professional obligation to give to clients all knowledge, information and skills which will assist clients and client groups realise their maximum human potential.

2.5 The welfare worker as a practitioner within complex social structures has an obligation to safeguard the human value of all persons encountered in practice.

3. Responsibility to clients and client groups

The welfare worker is placed in a unique relationship to other persons because of employment and profession. Obligations arise from that relationship—to safeguard the dignity of the client, to maintain the Integrity of the practitioner and to recognise the value and worth of all persons involved in the welfare work practice.

3.1 Confidentiality—The welfare worker shall regard all information concerning clients disclosed in the course of practice as confidential, except where:
(a) with the client’s permission referrals are to be made and other professional consultation is sought
(b) failure to disclose information would breach the terms of the welfare worker’s employment (such exemption must be notified to the client).

3.2 Accountability—In exercising certain powers and using information the welfare worker has an accountability to both the employing agency and to clients. However, special accountability to clients in preserving their dignity and autonomy is acknowledged.

3.3 Respect—The welfare worker has an obligation to treat clients with respect, to promote maximum self-worth and dignity, and to safeguard and promote the capacity for free choice by the client.
4. Responsibilities to colleagues
As a professional person the welfare worker can be expected to:

4.1 respect the practice skills, and conceptual abilities of colleagues;

4.2 provide loyalty and support to colleagues where this does not contradict the principles of this code of ethics;

4.3 share knowledge, skills and insights with colleagues;

4.4 bring to the attention of colleagues, unprofessional or unethically conduct, and if unresolved, to refer the matter to the appropriate professional bodies;

4.5 refrain from any personal behaviour which may damage the profession.

5. Responsibility to employees and employing organisations
The welfare worker is expected to have clarified prior to employment that agency policies and practices are likely to allow the application of the principles contained in this code of ethics.

As an employee of an organisation the welfare worker is expected to:

5.1 carry out the duties and responsibilities outlined in the terms of employment

5.2 assist in promoting the stated aims of the employing organisation in terms of policy, procedure and practice.

5.3 distinguish in public statements whether acting as an authorised spokesperson of the employer or in a private capacity.

5.4 use professionally approved channels to express criticism of employment practices which are detrimental to the profession.

5.5 be accountable to the employing organisation for the full discharge of duties except where such contradicts this code of ethics.

6. Responsibilities to the profession
As a member of a professional occupation a welfare worker is expected to:

6.1 maintain proper standards of practice, and uphold the principles and ethics of the code at all times.

6.2 maintain proper standards of knowledge, skill and leaning appropriate to professional development.

6.3 promote understanding of the role and skills of professional welfare work.

7. Responsibilities of the profession
The welfare work profession through the Australian Institute of Welfare Workers will contribute to the knowledge, attitudes and skills of practitioners and positively promote social well-being in the community.

By the application of sanctions, the Institute will move to protect individuals and communities against incompetent and unethical practices.

On advice from a State Branch of the Australian Institute of Welfare Workers, review of alleged incompetent and unethical practices will be conducted by the Board of Examiners which may recommend to the National Executive sanctions including removing eligibility for or membership of the Institute.

Source AIWCW, 1994
Appendix 10

Operational plans: Department of Community and Cultural Services Townsville City Council

A: Social Planning and Facilities

- Develop a social plan for Townsville;
- Facilitate provision of community services to families and other households, to enhance their ability to care for their members, including children, people with disabilities and elderly people;
- Support local community services and network groups and sponsor community groups where appropriate;
- Facilitate community development in order to increase the participation and access of all people in Townsville to the facilities, services, decision making and culture of community life;
- Develop profiles of communities in local areas, and communities of interest through consultation and needs analysis;
- Promote, provide and improve access to services, facilities, events and programs for residents who have a disability;
- Aim to address the issues and meet the specific needs of the different sectors of the community;
- Maintain a commitment to the process of reconciliation between the wider community and the aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

B: Cultural Planning and Facilities

- Encourage research into our cultural identity and foster its expression through opportunity and education;
- Prepare a cultural development plan and strategies which support the creative opportunities of local groups and individuals and enhances the quality of design of public space and buildings;
- Promote Townsville as an important centre of culture;
- Create an environment which encourages the participation of all residents in Council’s public libraries and cultural resources;
- Explore with the other spheres of government and major cultural organisations opportunities for Townsville’s involvement in national and state initiatives in arts and cultural development.
## C: Recreation Planning and Facilities

- Complete a recreation and open space strategy study of Townsville/Thuringowa;
- Complete development concept plans for parks and gardens;
- Complete detailed designs for parks and landscape features in accordance with the capital developments plan;
- Complete a street tree master plan for the City;
- Determine appropriate levels of service for all parks maintenance operations;
- Implement a range of procedures which will deliver assured standards of maintenance to the most efficient unit rate;
- Develop a five year capital developments plan which recognises available funding and Council’s various development strategies, including automated irrigation, playgrounds, botanic gardens, city beautification and greening projects;
- Promote the city as a viable venue for hosting major sporting and recreational events;
- Encourage new recreational opportunities and facilities for the community and raise participation levels in sport and recreation events;
- Manage the Council’s community centres, recreation services and grants programs;
- Liaise with the recreation and sporting organisations to assess needs and promote community co-operation.

Source: Townsville City Council Corporate Plan, 1995, pp. 12-19
## Appendix 11

### Corporate strategies: Department Community Services Mackay City Council

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Strategies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public Health</td>
<td>To enhance the city’s quality of life by promoting and maintaining acceptable health and safety standards, providing essential public health services and improving the general health of the community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment Monitoring</td>
<td>To ensure the quality of the city’s environment is maintained at a high standard, monitoring and controlling of pollution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waste Management</td>
<td>To operate a waste management system which meets high standards of environmental protection and community health and hygiene.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td>To provide amenities and an environment in which citizens are able to enjoy both active and passive recreation and to maintain an image of the city which is attractive to residents and visitors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libraries</td>
<td>To provide a quality library service catering for the recreational and informational needs of all sectors of the community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>To foster the development of cultural and artistic expression within the community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Facilities</td>
<td>To provide in conjunction with the community, infrastructure to meet identified social needs of all sectors of the community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Development</td>
<td>To work with people towards the improvement of their potential and the development of a more equitable, caring and supportive community.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Mackay City Council, 1995
Appendix 12

Extract from the Code of Ethics of the Environmental Institute of Australia

Development
The environmental practitioner, working in many facets of environmental, management, science, policy, education, industry and consultancy, is an essential contributor to the directions of our national lifestyle and the quality of our resource base.

Environmental practitioners often come from diverse backgrounds, having initially trained in disciplines such as planning, biophysical sciences, economics, geography, social science, engineering, law, agriculture, industrial technology and mining. Some have had specific training in environmental studies or natural resource base.

Many environmental practitioners are members of specialist professional associations which do not necessarily provide a strong environmental perspective. There are other practitioners who have learned their environmental management skills through direct field experience and are not affiliated with a specific organisation. The Environment Institute of Australia provides a professional ‘home’ for these diverse interests.

Environmental Practitioners require:
• recognition of their professional skills
• effective means of regular communication with receptive and informed colleagues
• participation in a interdisciplinary group to share professional knowledge and identify concerns
• professional development opportunities; services
• a forum for contributing to national policy discussion of interest to public and private sectors

• a focus for interrelating and monitoring local, national and global environmental management goals and achievements.

In response to these widely perceived needs, the Environment Institute was formed in November 1987.

Principle objectives
• facilitate interaction among environmental professionals
• promote environmental knowledge and awareness
• advance ethical and competent environmental practice.

Code of ethics and professional conduct
Under the rules of association of the Environment Institute of Australia, membership is contingent upon the member conforming with the letter and spirit of this Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct.

1. The member shall carry out his or hers professional activities, as far as possible, in accordance with the merging principles of sustainable development and the highest standards of environmental protection.

2. The member shall at all times place the integrity of the natural environment and the health, safety and welfare of the human community above any commitment to sectional or private interest.

3. The member shall be personally accountable for the validity of all data collected, analyses performed, or plans developed by the member, and for the scrutiny of all data collected, analyses
performed or plans developed under the member's direction...

4. The member shall actively discourage misrepresentation or misuse of work the member has performed, or that which was performed under the member's direction.

5. The member shall conduct professional activities, as far as possible, in an interdisciplinary manner and recognise the need to collaborate with suitably qualified persons in subject areas where the member is less experienced.

6. The member shall ensure the incorporation of environmental protection considerations from the earliest stages of project design or policy development.

7. The member shall not conduct professional activities in a manner involving dishonesty, fraud, deceit, bias or misrepresentation.

8. The member shall not advertise or present the members services in a manner that may bring discredit to the profession.

Institute Administration
National Council comprises Officers of the Executive and Counsellors representing each state and territory. Local activities occur through Divisions of the Institute.

Membership Categories and Eligibility

Member (MEIA)
- accredited degree plus minimum of two years professional experience in environmental practice; or,
- five or more years experience in functional areas** of environmental practice
- proven interest in functional areas** of environmental practice but not other qualified for membership
- retired from active practice and wish to retain involvement but not as full member.

Corporate Member
- companies, organisations, consultancies, agencies working in functional areas** of environmental practice and having achievements consistent with purposes of the institute
- director, principal or senior manager responsible for the environmental practice of the company or agency with credentials required for eligibility as a member of the Institute.

** Functional areas of environmental practice
- assessment (socio-economic and natural impacts)
- planning (including policy)
- documentation (preparation/processing/review)
- operations and design (techniques for reducing impacts, monitoring and enhancing the environment)
- education
- research
- legislation
Appendix 13

Principles to guide public involvement in planning

- Public participation programs should be adequately resourced (Taylor et al. 1989);

- Public participation programs must be specifically designed for each project (Social Impact Unit 1990 p. 7);

- Public participation should be conducted from the beginning of the planning process and continued all the way through (Berger 1977; Blahna and Yonts-Shepard, 1988; Ross 1990);

- A representative participatory population should be identified at the outset of planning and information generated through public participation should be representative of all citizens (Blahna and Yonts-Shepard 1988);

- The information content of the public participation program must be comprehensive, balanced and accurate;

- Personal, interactive forms of public participation should be included such as requests for written comments, meetings, conferences, seminars, workshops, tours, etc. These must take place prior to development of draft proposals (Blahna and Yonts-Shepard 1988);

- A clear statement of all parties involved in SIA, including government, development proponent/s and the community/citizens should be made publicly available (Roughley and Scherl 1992);

- Processes for dealing with contentious issues including mediation techniques should be devised in the early planning stages (Blahna and Yonts-Shepard 1988);

- Draft documents and reports should be generated which can be easily read, understood and responded to by the public (Roughley and Scherl 1992);

- Planning agencies should demonstrate how the public input was used in the planning process to ensure the public that their comments were heard and considered (Blahna and Yonts-shepard 1988).
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