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Communities: parochial, passionate, committed and ignored

Communities demand our attention. They are the local experts. They are passionate and often parochial. They care about their patch and they are there for the long haul - well after the practitioners have moved on. One of the great challenges in heritage practice - and in many areas of public policy - is developing the skills and resources needed to work with communities.

Incorporating community involvement in the heritage mainstream is proving to be a challenge. Working with communities is still on the fringe. It is rare and undervalued, and everyone thinks they have the skills to do it: few actually do. In fact, heritage practitioners who have specialised in community involvement are often working at the cutting-edge of practice. The community involvement methods we use in heritage practice are often more innovative than those used within the broader framework of local area planning.

Why involve the community?

Working with communities is not just a technical task. It is about values - personal and shared - and therefore about ethics. Donald Pergluti states it well when he declares two bold reasons for seeking community participation:

1 It is ethical: in a democratic society, those whose livelihoods, environments and lives are at stake should be consulted and involved in the decisions that affect them directly.

2 It is pragmatic: support for programs and policies often depends on people’s willingness to assist the process, and if planners do not involve citizens, citizens will involve themselves.

From these two points, a framework of principles and practices can be outlined.

Ethics

Ethics translate values into actions. Ethics are situationally determined and highly specific - the right action in one situation may be wrong in another. The driving force behind ethics is to do the right thing all the time, not necessarily the same thing all the time. Ethics are stated behaviourally and set boundaries for appropriate behaviour. For example, some broad ethical positions that may influence our behaviour when working with communities could be as simple as ‘avoid harming others’ and ‘be accountable for your actions’.

Ethics are important. The ethical base of community involvement processes needs to be aligned with those of the participants (including your own). Preferably, these ‘ethics’ should be stated up-front so that they can be challenged if necessary. And, it should be expected that these ethics and therefore the agreed principles of community involvement could vary from community to community.

The question of ethics and the ways they underpin community processes is most easily seen when working in cross-cultural situations. When working in
cultural settings very different from our own, we are able to see the need to adapt our assumptions and practices. Two quick examples:

• The Australian Archaeological Association has developed a Code of Ethics which details the principles and conduct of its members in relation to Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. Among other things, this document acknowledges the indigenous ownership of cultural heritage knowledge and the primacy of the importance of heritage places to indigenous people. In heritage work, and in wider areas of interaction with indigenous communities, we accept that the most appropriate process and outcomes have to be worked through with the communities themselves.

• At the recent ICOMOS and AusHeritage conference, ‘Australian Heritage Professionals Working in Asia’, the point was repeatedly made that, when working in Asian societies, we need to look carefully at how to best apply our professional practice to the needs, values and capacities of the community.

Public Policy

Public policy is a useful way to spell out ethical positions. For example, in some recent work for the City of Adelaide, Wendy Sarkissian and Angela Hazebroek have developed an 11-point Communication and Consultation Charter (adopted 12/10/98).

When the City of Adelaide communicates with you, consults with you, or does both, we will:
1 be clear about the subject and the purpose of our contact with you
2 use clear and suitable language
3 use different methods for different situations
4 use processes that are open and accountable
5 listen with an open mind and treat you with respect
6 allow sufficient time and a range of ways for you to respond
7 identify those who are likely to be affected and talk with them
8 always give a contact name and number
9 have fair and clear conflict resolution and complaints processes
10 tell you what happened and why
11 continue to learn to improve our approach.

Embedded in the Charter is a strong ethical position related to democracy and active citizenship. Each of the eleven principles flows from these positions.

Pragmatics

There are many pragmatic reasons for community involvement. For example:

• Communities know a lot – whether it is from traditional knowledge and information handed down from generation to generation, or from long association with an area, or from their own research.
Community aspirations and needs are important in formulating policy and taking action. Open community-based processes mean that aspirations and needs can be discussed, different perspectives and conflicts can be revealed, and possibly resolved.

To build support for a public policy or action - or at least find out that there is no support.

Create wider community awareness - involving people is a good way of developing their knowledge and understanding, and of sharing information more widely throughout a community.

Building shared ownership - involving people can help build shared ownership of a project or its outcomes, an important task when people have been disempowered.

Discover and discuss conflict - difference and conflicting views and values need to be talked about if an agreed position is to be found.

Assessing the social significance of heritage places - this is the only point here directly relevant to heritage practice. Clearly, understanding the full heritage significance of a place will require some interaction with associated communities to determine its social value.

Climbing Arnstein’s ladder

Most community involvement models are based on the idea that government is running the show, and that it is up to government to decide how, when and why to involve the community.

Thirty years ago, Sherry Arnstein wrote a classic article that proposed a ‘ladder of participation’, placing citizen control at the top of the ladder and manipulation at the bottom. It presents a bleak but realistic picture of the degree to which power is shared in community involvement processes. Its ethical base is again that of participatory democracy, but most of the ladder reflects little or no active participation (beyond the ballot box anyway).

**Arnstein's Ladder of Participation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
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<tr>
<td>Citizen control</td>
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<tr>
<td>Delegated power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partnership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Consultation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Informing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Therapy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manipulation</td>
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Climbing Arnstein’s ladder is hard work. There are many snakes down which to slide! For example:

- lack of support from government for the whole idea
• cynicism from communities when their past contributions have been ignored
• lack of resources, time and skills. A simpler version has been developed by Melbourne Water. It is perhaps more realistic than Arnstein’s ladder because it recognises that government is unlikely to go higher than Arnstein’s ‘partnership’ or ‘delegation’ rungs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of involvement in decision-making</th>
<th>Influence of the community</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Collaborate</td>
<td>Jointly agreeing to the decision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interact</td>
<td>Having an influence over the decision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listen to and advise</td>
<td>Being heard before the decision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inform</td>
<td>Knowledge about the decision</td>
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Another version of this diagram (above) illustrates the link between the degree of community influence desired and the stage at which involvement should start.

These tools can assist in the design of community involvement processes, and as a basis to review outcomes against goals. It is worth emphasising that these steps or stages do not have hard and clear boundaries – more like points on a sliding scale. Also, in our experience of working with communities, processes that start out with an intention to ‘inform’, can lead to processes to ‘listen and advise’, ‘interact’ or even ‘collaborate’ in response to community reaction. Community responses can sometimes reveal the need to think again, reconsider, take a step back, and – while this may initially feel like things are ‘going off the rails’ – it can lead to better and more sustainable outcomes.

If our commitment is to participatory democracy, then in our practice we need to climb Arnstein’s ladder – and match our practices to our ethics. While we believe this is true for most processes that have outcomes which could affect people, it is probably even more important when applied to cultural heritage practices. This is because the nature of our work inevitably involves the creative, technical and social expressions of groups of people or their ancestors, and so is inextricably bound up in the aspirations, beliefs and knowledge of communities.

**Snakes & ladders: stories from recent projects**

Much of our work is with communities. The types of projects that illustrate the various processes are outlined below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inform</th>
<th>Communication programs. For example, major construction works for Melbourne Water; leaflets; advertisements; media; signs; Community Information Days.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Listen to and advise</td>
<td>Creating Heritage Guidelines for Local Communities.</td>
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Meetings with Historical Societies and other interest groups to review draft materials. Exhibiting planning scheme proposals to protect heritage places. Informing property owners that their property is being considered for heritage listing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interact</th>
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<tr>
<td>Workshops of all kinds and most social value assessments. Recent heritage examples include Port Arthur focus groups, RFA community heritage workshops, Upper Mersey project on cultural values of natural areas, social value assessment of Ingleburn Defence Site and Footscray Drill Hall.</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Collaborate</th>
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<tr>
<td>Typically more complex, interactive processes. Recent heritage examples include Lake Condah Mission Management Plan, East Gippsland Community Heritage Plan, Ziebells Farmhouse Precinct Conservation Management Plan and Masterplan.</td>
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Many common themes and issues emerge from this work, including:

- control and letting go
- holding the space
- bending with the wind
- giving back
- communities doing it for themselves.

**Control and letting go**

Much of what happens once a community involvement process has started is inevitably ‘open for negotiation’. Although governments at all levels often want to limit the scope of community involvement to the ‘issue at hand’, this isn’t always necessary, appropriate or a good strategy for success. Nor does it always work! It may be necessary to start with the issues that are important to the community, and then work toward the issues important to the practitioner or organisation initiating the process.

At a community heritage workshop in northern New South Wales, Chris Johnston found herself in front of an angry crowd (a not uncommon experience!). They were sceptical about the state government’s reasons for calling the workshop. But worse, they felt let down by promises to consult on forest management that had not eventuated. The group had planned to yell for a while and then walk out, to announce to the waiting media that the whole process was a sham.

There had been no warning of these issues, and the department had sent along an officer with little experience in public consultation. As the workshop started, he was drawn into defending the department – defending the indefensible is never a good approach. He was doing his best to keep control of the meeting, but that was not achievable.
The alternative was to give control to the whole meeting, allowing those present to take responsibility for its shape and content. Over several hours this enabled the issues to be clearly articulated, and some possible solutions worked through. The planned walk-out was revealed over lunch, and by then everyone was committed to staying to make sure the issues and solutions were accurately recorded for communication back to the department.

The outcome, after negotiation with the department and the community, was a series of workshops to address the real issues of concern – the scope of the proposed forest resource and significance studies. These workshops were frank and fruitful, marked by a new sense of trust in the process and those facilitating it.

Control in community involvement processes is illusory. Those present decide who holds the power. At the very least they can walk out, leaving you without a community to consult. By recognising that participation is freely chosen, control becomes irrelevant.

**Holding the space**

In many community involvement projects, the most important task for the facilitator is to open a space within which people can share ideas and work together. Creating a safe space sounds simple but can be quite complex.

For example, we are currently working with an indigenous community on a management plan for a heritage place on land that they own. Preparation of the plan was sought by the community some time ago, and it has finally achieved government funding. We have been contracted by the government, not the community, but our commitment (openly stated to our client) is to get a community-agreed plan and implementation process.

We saw the main problem as being how to get all of the key Elders together. There is considerable conflict within the community about the past management of this place, and there are other more pressing issues for the community to deal with. Separate meetings were tried, but had limited success. Finally, a newsletter to all community members was sent out as a way of disseminating a simple message about the management plan as widely as possible. The response was mixed, but mostly positive. In a second newsletter, an open meeting was called, and received a good response. People unexpectedly came together to give us a clear direction.

What had changed? Objectively, for us as outsiders, nothing appeared different. None of the conflicts had been resolved. But somehow, a space for fruitful discussions emerged. The situation was assisted by a willingness on the part of the commissioning agency to allow the timeline for the project to take its own course. But there are sometimes forces at work in communities that we, as outsiders, cannot be privy to.
Conflict is common in most communities, and it is important to be able to create spaces and processes in which people who usually oppose each other can work together and find common ground.

Loggers and environmentalists have worked together at the community heritage workshops as part of the Regional Forest Agreement work. That this workshop framework has created a space in which mutual interests emerge instead of conflict has been a welcome surprise.

However, sometimes the spaces that we find safe, are less so for some members of the community. In our work in the Upper Mersey valley (Tasmania) we proposed meetings in the public hall. That was fine for some people, as it was clearly 'their place'. But for others, a kitchen table meeting was better. The fishermen insisted the meetings be held while out fishing at night. It turned out to be an excuse for a party, but once the ice was broken the next meeting was able to happen in a more usual fashion.

**Bending with the wind**

Most government processes start with a lot of non-negotiables. It is about limiting the influence of the community and ensuring that government keeps control. And it is one of the most common snakes to infest Arnstein's ladder.

Sometimes, clear non-negotiables are very helpful in focusing discussion on what is possible. For example, consultation with indigenous communities in Victoria’s north-east for the Regional Forest Agreement (RFA) started with a fundamental non-negotiable – ‘that the RFA will be developed’.

On occasion, however, clinging to what seem to be non-negotiables can stop the process. A workshop with Aboriginal communities was organised to discuss a site prediction model and its use in forest management processes. Although some early consultation meetings had been held, it became clear at the workshop that the RFA process, and what was and was not negotiable within it was not well understood by the participants. There was little basis for discussing the detail of the workshop agenda, and it was essentially abandoned. The government representatives quickly recognised that their agenda for the workshop was not right, and that the process could not move as quickly as originally planned. The workshop then became an issues identification session, with the community representatives deciding when next to meet and what to work through.

The process that emerged was more organic than originally envisaged, shaped by the emerging views of the indigenous communities. Each meeting shaped the subsequent meeting, and the community had some direction over how the process unfolded. As is often the case, there were many issues that indigenous communities wanted to raise that were outside the scope of the RFA.

The solution that emerged was to create an Aboriginal Community Liaison
Committee that would allow indigenous communities to raise issues of concern regarding Aboriginal sites protection on many areas of public land – not just State Forests.

This project is still being completed, and its outcomes are relatively modest, with many unresolved issues still on the table. However, there is room for some cautious optimism that the closer relationship and more regular communication between Aboriginal communities and public land managers can lead to better management outcomes for all concerned. Essentially, this project demonstrates that a community can change the intended outcome, achieving a better result for all parties. And the Commonwealth government representatives have already applied what they have learnt from this work in their negotiations with indigenous communities in other Victorian regions.

**Giving back**

The heritage field is full of discoverers. We seem to all like being the one who discovered a place, who first assessed its significance, and who was responsible for its listing.

But the places we keep discovering are not ours to discover. Often we find out about them through someone else – someone who has decided to trust us with information about their precious place.

East Gippsland Shire, with NEGP support, has initiated a project designed to take the results of the community heritage workshops (East Gippsland RFA) back to the community as the basis for a community heritage plan for the Shire.

Because of the size of the Shire and the remoteness of many communities, it is very important that local people be resourced to address heritage issues locally – from identification through to management. The project involves training and support for people in selected local areas – as pilots for extending the approach across the whole Shire. Each case study has a paid local co-ordinator, and expert advice is available from consultants. There is funding for costs such as travel and copying, and access to Shire facilities including office space and computer/internet access. In this way, local heritage studies will be undertaken for the first time in Omeo, Lakes Entrance and Mallacoota.

**Communities doing it for themselves**

The Australian Heritage Commission has taken a giant leap forward in its free publication *Protecting local heritage places: a guide for communities*. It combines the usual heritage processes of identifying, listing, protecting and managing heritage places with a ‘do-it-yourself’ guide to getting organised, involving others, planning your attack, and finding support. Even the whole process of heritage place management – illustrated throughout the guide – starts with ‘information, interests and involvement’. The guide was developed through an extensive national
consultation process, demonstrating the benefits of seeking ideas from those actively involved at a grass-roots level. One of the gaps in the Guide is advice on taking urgent action when a place is threatened - either the bulldozer at the gate, a threatening process or a relentless planning process – leading to potential doom for the place. These issues arise commonly for community groups. Time will tell how well this guide meets the needs of its audience. As the first of its kind in Australia, it is certainly addressing an important need.

**Lessons for the learning**

There is a lot to be learned each time you work with a community. It is a bit tough and often very confronting. You are out there with your stated values and ethics, open to be judged and found wanting. What are the most important lessons?

- To be trusted, you have to be willing to trust in others.
- Control is an illusion.
- Be true to yourself and your own values.
- Honesty is essential.
- Make all the non-negotiables clear at the start, and then be prepared to negotiate them.
- Don't presume that your process will or should limit people's direct/political actions.
- Be flexible - go with the flow.
- Respect people’s rights.
- Be prepared to commit yourself.
- Don’t treat people like a tap – able to be turned off or on at your whim.
- Resource the community so members can participate - even travel money helps.
- All community involvement methods have strength and weaknesses - use them wisely.
- Build your own skills constantly.

Or, if you want to have a disaster on your hands, we recommend:

- Neglect key stakeholders.
- Ignore issues that are important to the community.
- Make the timelines impossibly short.
- Provide information that is unintelligible to those you want to understand it.
- Create false expectations by being unclear about the extent of community input that is possible.
- Behave defensively or secretly.
- Squeeze every bit of goodwill out of participants but give nothing back.

The revised Burra Charter at last recognises that those with a special association with a place should be able to participate in the conservation, interpretation and management of that place. This is a small step really, but an important one nevertheless. The next challenge is to develop guidelines for community involvement in heritage practice, and to adequately resource this work.