CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN TOURISM AND WATERFRONT DEVELOPMENT:
THE CASE OF MANADO WATERFRONT DEVELOPMENT

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ABSTRACT

Waterfront development is acknowledged as being significant to urban tourism and, ideally, public participation should be required in the development program. This study aims to examine why and how community participation might contribute to good practice for the planning and decision-making processes for resource and environmental management, especially for long-term waterfront development. Principles for the engagement of multi stakeholders in planning are reviewed and evaluated in the context of tourism and waterfront development in Manado, North Sulawesi, Indonesia. The principles of local participation are assessed in a situation in which there is tension between the achievement of socio-economic benefits and the protection of environmental quality. This research involved a mixed methods approach, combining quantitative and qualitative research techniques. Fieldwork comprising questionnaire surveys, interviews and on-site observations were used to provide evidences of waterfront development in Manado and public participation process that preceded it. This study result shows that waterfronts have multiple uses of tourism and therefore are likely to be of interest to and involve a variety of stakeholders. If the interests of various groups are to be incorporated into development plans, leading to greater support for them, then public participation should occur and, ideally, partnerships among stakeholders should be established.

Keywords: public participation, community participation, local participation, citizen participation, tourism, waterfront development, image of waterfront, good practice management, environmental management.

INTRODUCTION

Waterfront development in Manado has massively expanded the economic opportunities that are ugently required in less-developed countries. However, such develement is occurring at the coast of adequate environmental protection. The study provides evidence that there was substantial support for the development and positioning of Manado as tourism destination. Manado was positioned as a waterfront city for it has a long coastline and the business centre has evolved in close proximity to the sea. In congruence with stakeholders' perceptions of Manado Waterfront Development (MWD), tourism was expected to be the leading sector within the region and was considered to have an important role in city development. The respondents saw the Manado waterfront as being a key component of tourism. Thus, through urban tourism planning, MWD was expected to be the focus of public activities in support of tourism and community development. The aim for Manado to be a tourism destination was predicated upon the role

of tourism in MWD. This vision was recognized by local community and governments at all levels. However, the high priority of the city government to use tourism as a stimulus of regional development, through MWD, was blurred by the lack of detailed guidelines for implementation. MWD has greatly influenced the coastal areas and environmental modification is unavoidable.

Successful local participation practices can enhance awareness which, in turn, can be used to increase the support of various stakeholders and, thereby, enhance benefit-sharing. Greater involvement of local residents in Manado Waterfront Development (MWD) would be expected to enhance their contributions to a broad range of development issues such as tourism development, environment protection, social stability and the economy, leading in the direction of sustainability. This is relevant to the main purposes of MWD which is to create socio-economic advantages both for city residents and the region in which the city is located. MWD has greatly influenced the coastal areas and environmental modification is unavoidable. However, in the case of Manado, waterfront development is being achieved at considerable environmental costs. In a developing country which places economic gains as a priority, the tangible benefits appear to exceed the apparent costs in the short term. However, for the long term, the maintenance of environmental quality is very important.

LITERATURE REVIEWS

Community Participation

In a large and growing body of literature, the terms local participation, community participation, public participation and citizen participation are used interchangeably. These terms refer to the involvement or participation of the local community or citizens in the planning process, decision-making process and the formulation and implementation of projects and programs that affect them.

Table 1
Typology of Participation

Typology	Characteristics of each type
1. Manipulative participation	Participation is simply a pretence: 'People' have representatives on officials boards, but they are unelected and have no power
2. Passive participation	People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened: involves unilateral announcements by project management without any listening to people's responses; information shared belongs only to external professionals.
3. Participation by consultation	People participate by being consulted or by answering questions: external agents define problems and information-gathering processes, and so control analysis; process does not concede any share in decision making; professionals under no obligation to account for people's views.
4. Participation for material incentives	People participate by contributing resources (e.g. labour) in return for food, cash or other material incentive: farmers may provide fields and labour but are not involved in testing or the process of learning; this is commonly called participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging technologies or practices when the incentives end.
5. Functional participation	Participation seen by external agencies as a means to achieve project goals, especially reduced costs: people may participate by forming groups to meet project objectives; involvement may be interactive and involve shared decision-making, but tends to arise only after major decision have already been made by external agents; at worst, local people may still only be co-opted to serve external goals.
6. Interactive participation	People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and strengthening of local institutions: participation is seen as a right, not just the means to achieve project goals; the process involves interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and use systemic and structured

		learning processes. As groups take control of local decisions and determine how available resources are used, so they have a stake in maintaining structures and practices.
7.	Self-mobilization	People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems: they develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over resource use; self-mobilization can spread if governments and NGOs provide and enabling framework of support. Self-mobilization may or may not challenge existing distributions of wealth and power

Source: Adapted from Pretty (1995: 3)

Pretty's typology (1995) described seven levels of local participation, ranging from manipulative involvement, where virtually all power and control rest externally with other groups, to self-mobilization, where residents act to change systems by taking initiatives independently of external institutions. Table 2 shows different degrees of involvement by externals and local residents, including the power relationship between them. Pretty (1995) presented two broad interpretations of local participation. First, levels one to five allow all power and control over the development to be in the hands of people outside the community and, in these situations, most major decisions have been made before they are taken to the community. Second, at the last two levels there is full participation in which the local residents have power and control over the development of proposed initiatives. Pretty's model emphasizes that in the five first types, external organizations and agencies dominate and play important roles and that local resident are not involved.

Collin (2000) pointed out that participation develops an individual's capacities for practical reasoning, as well as the kind of mutual respect entailed in the very possibility of discourse. Soen (1981) drew attention to citizen or community participation as a necessary precondition to the successful implementation of any renewal or rehabilitation project. In another study, Di Domenico and Di Domenico (2007) argued that residents' participation was a critical part of multi stakeholders approach practices in the case of heritage and urban renewal in Dundee, Scotland. They provided in-depth analysis of multi stakeholder approach for the central waterfront development that involved public participation through the City Centre Community Council and other city centre associations and events. Their research was based on information obtained from interviews with various Dundee city centre residents and government officials and through a search of the literature which included the local and national press.

Tourism

Tourism has been defined as "the temporary movement of people to destinations outside their normal places of work and residence, the activities undertaken during their stay in those destination, and the facilities created to cater to their needs" (Mathieson and Wall, 1982:1). Tourism is also described as an inherently spatial concept with various overlapping dimensions (such as economic, environmental and social) and, as such, it is best viewed from a broad perspective (Wall, 2003). Debates have also emerged on whether or not tourism is an industry (Smith, 1988; 1994, Leiper, 1979; 1983, Davidson, 2005). However, tourism is certainly as a huge phenomenon involving millions of people who spend massive amounts of money. It is a growth industry in numbers and spending and is extending into the most remote parts of the world. It is a major element of the economy in many countries. As one of the world's largest industries, it is increasingly promoted as an engine for development and poverty alleviation (Litchfield, 1988; Tepelus, 2006).

Tourism generates employment and income for residents of destination areas and is often perceived as a means of heritage and environmental preservation, and a stimulus

for the creation of infrastructure, inter-cultural communication and even political stability (Andriotis, 2005, Ioannides, 1995; Squire, 1996). While tourism has demonstrated potential for creating jobs to benefit destination communities and, less clearly, environmental protection, there are a number of conditions under which these potentials can be used more effectively. Successful tourism development is best achieved with collaboration of all stakeholders, including governments and intergovernmental bodies, the private sector, related industries, destination communities and NGOs. A major goal for tourism development should be to increase the utilization of tourism resources whilst protecting the natural environment and cultural heritage, improving economic well-being and maintaining the social and cultural integrity of destinations.

Waterfront

In spite of arguable and provocative issues on the waterfront development throughout the city planning literature, there has been very few and unclear definitions of waterfront. Limited academic scholar gives comprehensive boundaries of what waterfront is. McGovern (2008) points out that the waterfront in Philadelphia was situated at the edge of center city and adjacent to a refurbished historic district to serve as a center of commerce, tourism, and recreation. Specific element of the waterfront is its nature which encourages the vision for it provides unique characteristics for urban development (Malone, 1996). Waterfront development is explained that it has been an investment in a time that gives the expansion of finance capital and global economy (Amin and Thrift, 1992).

Regardless the imprecise of the definition of waterfront, the history of waterfront development is well documented and available throughout the academic literature. For the last 200 years, waterside locations have been used for port facilities, manufacturing industry, boat building, repair and maintenance, drainage and sewage-treatment plants (Craig-Smith, 1995). In 1970s, urban regeneration of waterfront areas emerged as an area of the academic study in North America as contribution that made by architects, planners and urban geographers. Ten years later, the political scientists, geographers and economists fostered this area of study in Europe (Hoyle, Pinder and Husain, 1988 in Craig-Smith, 1995). Contribution to waterfront development literature has also emerged from Australia (Bradbourne, 1989) that traced the international nature of the waterfront revitalization processes. Redevelopment of waterfront areas in the United States began in the late 1950s under the Urban Renewal Program. In United Kingdom, the waterfront development has been undertaken by the Urban Development Corporations (UDGs) or other development agencies that encouraged the market that leading to the policies as the agenda for development acceleration.

Interestingly, Wrenn (1983:9) claimed that urban waterfront in North America have historically suffered from a lack of vision and management in their adaptations to successive demands for new functions because waterfront development and growth has been disjointed and incremental characterized by a web of loosely related decisions and actions by dozens of political jurisdictions and hundreds of entrepreneur. Craig-Smith and Fagence (1995) points to some of the ways of how have the waterfront developments been established in the developed countries. First, after World War II, communities all over the western countries posed their attention to renewal economic recovery and growth including the reclamation of waterfronts for public access and considered as important to quality of life. Second, the Waterfront development in developed countries has also incorporated with

the ports which become the central point for development such as Liverpool (England), Richmond (Virginia) and Brisbane (Australia). These places have to revitalize areas for their waterfront due to changes in global transportation technology and local market. Since then, waterfront renewal and redevelopment has engaged the interest of planners, politicians and the public and in fact all waterside developments seem to have some common challenges. It is believed that in such cases, the mixed-use approach for promoting the unique characteristics of each city and its community has been identified to be one of the most powerful tools of maintaining and enhancing waterfront areas especially those in urban settings.

Image of Waterfront

The waterfront has been a vital point for many American cities for redevelopment activity in the last few decades presenting residential towers and townhouses, hotels, shopping complexes, performing arts centers, museums, aquariums, stadiums, marinas and casinos that have multiplied on the edge of urban rivers, lakes, bays and oceans (McGovern, 2008). While many scholars have failed to give a positive image that incorporated the leisure-related activities to the waterfront, Fagence (1995:153) maintains constructive and motivational images for waterfront development such as to (1) breathe new life into areas which were formally derelict; (2) provide development opportunities which were not bound by commercial practices and physical plants which had become obsolete because of technological change; (3) create an ambience suited to modern development and real estate practice and encourage investment; (4) provide circumstances of competitive advantages; (5) entice the public back to the waterfront by providing facilities and amenities which captured their interest; (6) rehabilitate a build fabric which had become derelict to restore it to productive use and to foster conservation. Kawasaki, et al. (1995:119) suggest the images of waterfront cities by applying the semantic differential method which was adopted to achieve responses to the emotional meaning of the three waterside areas in Japan. This approach gives opportunities to the respondents having their words in the 25 pairs of items representing their ideas. The emotional meanings of the waterside area were presented which was ranged from romantic to realistic and from weak to strong images.

Regardless the arguments and adjustment of the various reasons for waterfront development, it is evident that waterfront development on one hand has been judge as a trigger factor which harms the environment and on the other hand it has become a commercial and promotional tools for public authority and business operators to attract and strengthen investment opportunities along and surrounding the waterfront. Ironically, waterfront development is sometimes executed with a little or without multi-stakeholder involvement from the planning to decision making processes.

METHODOLOGY

This research involved a mixed methods approach, combining quantitative and qualitative research techniques. Fieldwork comprising questionnaire surveys, interviews and on-site observations were used to provide evidences of waterfront development in Manado. The questionnaire surveys were coded and analyzed using The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). It was used to calculate descriptive statistics, such as frequencies and means; to generate cross-tabulations; and to prepare graphs. Likert scales

were used in the questionnaire, with possible scores from 1 to 3, and 1 to 5, to generate numerical indicators of the level of importance that respondents attached to their responses. Interviews were conducted to ascertain the involvement of the respondents and how they assess the impacts of Manado Waterfront Development (MWD). This is crucial to get first-hand information about the process of MWD. Observational data were also recorded for this research and was used to document the physical setting and the developments that had occurred up to the time that the study was undertaken. The research question is explored through a case study of Manado, North Sulawesi, Indonesia. Case studies are a qualitative strategy through which the researcher explores in-depth a program, event, activity, process, or one or more individuals. The case(s) are bounded by time and activity and the researcher collects detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time (Cresswell, 2009). The advantage of a case study approach is that it permits a particular case to be explored in depth. However, there is no guarantee that a particular case is typical and this limits the extent to which findings can be generalized to other cases.

This research focuses on the case of waterfront development in Manado, Indonesia, which has been planned since 1991. The study examines the MWD program, process and the people involved in the project. City governments of Manado have introduced waterfront development to the public over a period of almost two decades. Since 1992, a vision has existed to establish Manado as a waterfront city to attract tourists and visitors to the area. As a part of that program, the city government declared the vision for Manado to become a world-class tourism city in 2010. The city development program was reinforced by the achievement of the green and clean city award in 2002 and 2007 from the central government.

Selection of the Study Site and Justification

For development purposes, Manado waterfront has been divided into three clusters that are to be developed consecutively: clusters A, cluster B and cluster C (Figure 1). Cluster A was selected as the site for this study because it is a location that is undergoing massive land reclamation in an area that has important tourism resources in Manado. However, for the study purposes, cluster A was selected as the study area. This site was selected due to the high level of use by the local community as described in the Manado Tourism Plan Document (2007). The Boulevard area has become the primary zone for shopping and local recreation and provides access, through the port, to the offshore islands, including Bunaken National Park. There are many buildings that are used for trade and business purposes. The spatial distributions of tourism, commercial and residential land uses overlap as can be seen in the development plan (Site Planning of Developers, 2003). The area exists in the middle of the city or Central Business District (CBD) with a high level of use and a wide variety of uses by and for the local community. Furthermore, changes in waterfront uses to date have primarily taken place in cluster A. One of the fishers said during an interview that the area was the place where the family made a living a few years ago but it has now developed rapidly (personal communication, 20 June 2011). Consequently, massive environmental impacts have arisen as economic and social benefits have been sought from Manado waterfront development. The study site within cluster A covers Manado Harbour as the border with cluster C in the north, the Manado Boulevard area, the Manado Convention Centre (MCC) and the Manado Fresh Mart as the border zone

to cluster B in the south. Division of Manado Waterfront into Cluster A, Cluster B and Cluster C is shown on the map on figure 1.

One hundred respondents filled in the questionnaire and returned it either directly or by mail using an attached envelope. Data management and analysis were performed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The research results from questionnaire will now be described
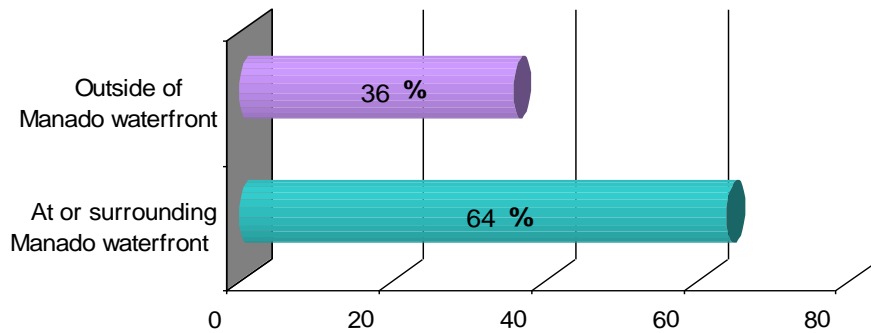

Figure 1
**Cluster A, B and C of Manado Waterfront**

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Characteristics of the Respondents

Respondents were categorized on the basis of their place of residence (Figure 2). Approximately two thirds (64%) lived at or in the surroundings of MWD and (36%) lived outside of MWD and its surroundings. Figure 3 shows respondents' characteristics based upon their employment: the majority were industry personal (65%) and the remainder were academics (17%), government officials (11%), NGO personnel (4%) and others (3%). Thus, the majority of responses came from employees in industry and business operators at and surrounding the Manado waterfront for they were mostly available during the times the survey was undertaken.

Figure 2
Places of Residence of the Respondents
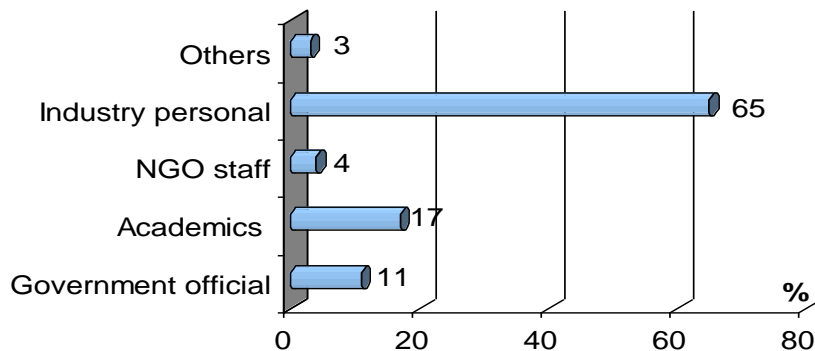
Figure 3
Respondents' Professional Characteristics

As local people, respondents may be expected to have had good local knowledge and experience of MWD for they could witness the MWD development process as it was occurring in proximity to their daily activities. Most would have observed the development from the beginning until the time that they completed the questionnaire. For this reason, their contributions were likely to have been valid, reliable and accurate.

Residents' Perceptions of MWD

Respondents were asked about their knowledge of MWD and how it was determined that Manado has the potential to be a waterfront city and tourist destination. Most (83%) respondents had knowledge of the development in advance of it occurring and only 17% was not informed about the program prior to the start of construction. Thus the intention to further develop the Manado waterfront was widely known: MWD had caught public attention. Manado City Government set the goal of becoming a world-class international tourism city by 2010 and this message was advertised in various media to introduce it to both residents and visitors. The respondents were very enthusiastic about the potential of Manado to become a prominent waterfront city as well as a tourist destination. Thus, it is

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evident that there was substantial support for the development and positioning of Manado as tourism destination.

Figure 4 presents respondents' assessments of the significance of the Manado waterfront as a resource. A particularly large proportion of respondents (85%) recognized the importance of MWD for coastal resources and land management. environmental protection (82%), wider job and business opportunities (80%), tourism and leisure (74%) and as an attraction for tourism and recreation (67%). Thus, it is clear that the waterfront was widely recognized as being a rich resource with the potential to be used for a variety of sometimes incompatible purposes. For example, the values for environmental protection and, at the same time, as a base for the acquisition of economic benefits were both acknowledged by most respondents.
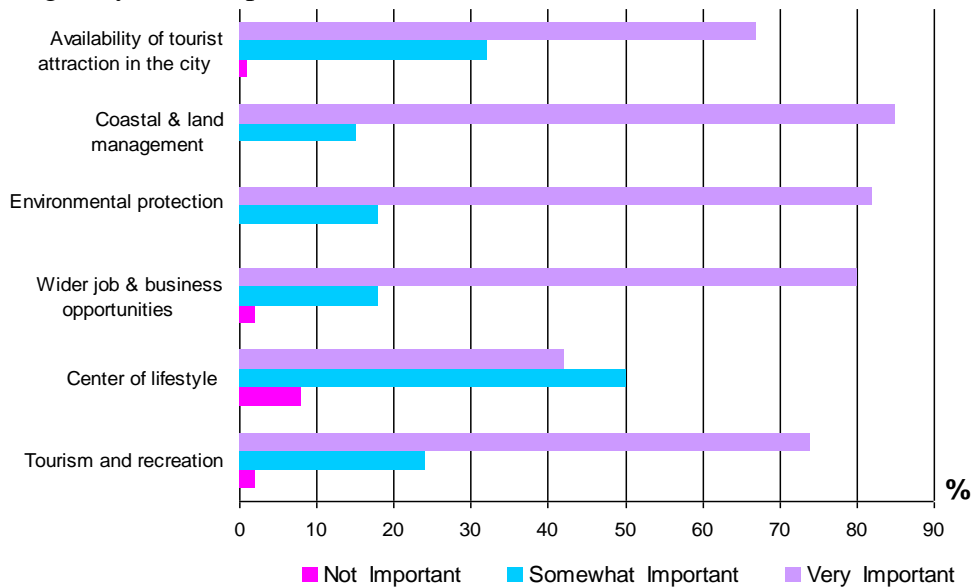
Figure 4
Significance of the Manado Waterfront as a Resource

Public' Engagement in MWD

To gauge stakeholders' ideas of the importance of both direct and indirect participation in the MWD project, a question was asked concerning the importance of issues as reasons for participating. Table 2 shows that the most important issue was the quality of tourism planning for Manado city (89%). Concerns about branding (81%) and cost of MWD (81%) were also of considerable importance, as was the related topics of Manado's reputation as a tourist (78%) and waterfront (71%) city. Table 2 again provides strong evidence that MWD and its role in tourism was widely perceived as an essential part of the city's tourism planning and development. Developing an image for branding and marketing purposes through MWD was regarded as important because Manado does not have a strong image as a tourism destination, with the possible exception of the niche dive market.

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Table 2
Importance of Issues as Reasons to Participate

Importance of issues as reasons to participate	Not Important %	Somewhat important %	Very important %	Total %
Image for brand building	1	18	81	100
Reputation as a tourist city	0	22	78	100
Quality of tourism plan for Manado	0	11	89	100
Prestige of Manado as waterfront city	1	28	71	100
Cost of MWD	2	17	81	100
Accessibility to MWD plan & development	2	24	74	100
Others	0	0	9	9

Source: Survey (2011)

Types of Involvement and Nature of Contribution

Although direct participation of the respondents in the MWD project was restricted to about a third of informants, the data show that a substantial minority of members of the public had participated in meetings of stakeholders and informal meetings, as well as public consultations, meetings with consultants, workshops and discussions. Respondents may have been involved in more than one way. Thus, the data in Table 3 include multiple responses how to test the reliability & validity. In fact, those who were involved tended to be involved in multiple ways and usually judged their involvement to be very significant.

Table 3
Kinds of Involvement and Nature of Contribution

Kinds of meeting and nature of contribution	Not Significant	Somewhat Significant	Very Significant	Total
Informal meeting	7	5	21	33
Multi stakeholders meeting	8	6	22	36
Public consultation	7	5	17	29
Consultant meeting	8	4	17	29
Workshop	9	7	16	32
Others	0	2	0	2

Source: Survey (2011)

All forms of meeting were identified as being very significant. Multi-stakeholder meetings, followed by informal meetings, were mentioned most frequently. The information suggests the importance of multi-stakeholder meetings, particularly as they were often linked to informal discussions. Together, they enabled people of a variety of backgrounds to share their ideas in both formal and informal situations.

Result from the Interview

Consistency and Motivations for Community Participation

It is identified and categorized different ways in which interviewees defined MWD, it engagement and how they might be affected by the project. Analyses of the interviewees'

accounts of consistency and motivation suggest to what extent multi stakeholder participation occurred in MWD. Their views were intimately bound up with their conceptions of the benefits of MWD both to the local community and regional development. The participants were motivated to participate to: support Manado as a waterfront city and tourist destination, enhance expertise and work experience, pursue incentives from MWD as a member of a company, support city development, environmental protection and marine conservation. Motivations to participate in the MWD team and the consistency of being in the team were assessed. These motivations are described further below.

Some of the participants gave strong responses toward MWD. They reveal and support the government policy to develop Manado as a waterfront city, tourist destination and as an important aspect of city development. However, because Manado has already drawn public attention from various parties as a tourist destination and there is support from city development authorities and the community to emphasize tourism as a development priority:

"As a resident who lives at the Manado waterfront, I need to make sure how my land is used by the public and therefore I was willing to … as the government official told me that this is for a better Manado future … I give that with compensation from the business person supported by government" Group D: Community forum members.

Other interviewees from a different group reinforced the previous opinion on the need to support city development and indicated an urgent need for MWD for both local and regional development. Income generated as a result of MWD will benefit city development in general. Thus, Manado waterfront designers and urban planners are required to design the city as a venue worthy of world-class tourism and leisure activities both for foreign visitors and local residents. However, it is evident that trade and business as well as housing in the downtown have become priorities. Manado has a reputation and strong image for its waterfront does not mean that it is exempt from challenges. Although MWD has been well recognized, other interviewees in the same group argued that significant problems have emerged, such as infrastructure and tourism product supply for international markets. It was suggested that there is a need for tourism product diversification on the waterfront and enhanced tourist facilities. Also, it is becoming more urgent to prepare the human resources in tourism that will be needed. Infrastructure should be improved and waterfront landscaping and beautification should be undertaken. Thus, Manado was considered to have high potential but crucial problems that need to be addressed.

MWD was criticized for lack of attention to the environmental impacts of the project and this was a motivation to get involved in the project team. One academic participant pointed out the need for supporting environmental protection and marine conservation within the area. A critical motivation to participate in the MWD team was to ensure that environmental and marine conservation would be taken care of. However, some of the team members were not consistently and continuously able to take part to voice their criticisms of MWD activities. With respect to consistency, the former leader of the EIA team resigned from the project development team because it was argued that implementation was not based on the project proposal and the EIA document. According to this informant, aspects of the project were changed during the implementation to cater to individual interests:

"I guess this is my choice and I am very selective when I get involved in any project… I quit the MWD team when I realized that it was no more showing consistency with the

development principles - the reclamation should not be expanded just to meet developer needs and wants… So I quit the job… The ideal is that we have to support environmental protection and marine conservation, including the fishermen who have lived in the reclamation area for years… I disagreed with other team members so I stopped my involvement in the team" Group B: Academics.

While there were disagreements about the project, there were positive responses from interviewees from different groups who appreciated being involved in the team as a personal achievement and contributor to a positive job performance. Enhancing work experience and strengthening expertise are acknowledged as personal benefits. However, it appeared that most of the staff had been with the project for only 6 months. This shows that continuity and inconsistency in the MWD project are high. This appears to be a challenge and constraint for multi stakeholders approach implementation in the MWD due to frequent personnel changes and lack of continuing evaluation of project outcomes. In term of consistency of and motivations for participation, while tourism has always been a major aspect of MWD, it appears that no individual has had full responsibility for the entire MWD project. The MWD project team has changed over time and this has resulted in many problems in the field. This may be due, in part, to city governmental changes that occur every four years. Although the city government has tended to be pro-active in facilitating the MWD project, key actors in MWD have changed and this has reduced continuity and increased the likelihood of conflicts. Thus, the stages of MWD have not been controlled throughout the duration project by the same team and personnel. This may have occurred because of the unavailability of the appointed persons. Some team members had ideas that were contrary to the development process and to what had been planned in the document in the first place. The project activities were mostly controlled by developers supported by government and this has been perceived as one of the major issues of MWD. Regardless, MWD is widely considered as being an important part of the city development program, especially for tourism.

CONCLUSION

Waterfront Development is the focus of trade and business, as well as tourism and recreational activities for residents and visitors in Manado, Indonesia. It is being harnessed and will be the key element in the image of the city. The importance of the initiative demands that all residents should have an opportunity to participate in making the decisions which will greatly influence their future. Public participation is an important part of the planning of any development. Therefore, the community should be able to take part in the making of decisions that will affect their lives. Involving them in decisions is also an excellent strategy to gain high support from the public. However, there has been a wide range of problems regarding the decision-making process in the MWD project. Developers and city government were dominant in the whole process of MWD and the involvement of other stakeholders and community participation was limited and essentially ignored. Environmentalists, NGO spokespersons and local residents are very critical of the policies for land reclamation within Manado Bay. Fishermen are probably the most visible disadvantaged group. Although they were engaged in the feasibility study for the Manado waterfront project, they were in fact marginalized and it became difficult for them to fish for their living. This problem has not been resolved satisfactorily. For this reason, community members do not believe that their opinions will affect the decision-making

processes. Community members, including local residents surrounding MWD, feel unsure about how fully they have been consulted and what their influence on the project might have been. Resident participation in decision making did not occur because the community was not engaged in the planning stage. In addition, any public discussion that has occurred has been self-initiated and has developed informally. A partnership arrangement was used in the meetings for the initial planning of MWD. It was used to promote discussion and negotiation to enhance the acceptability of MWD and how it should be initiated. However, this partnership was not maintained during the project development process. Appropriate stakeholders were not included in the permanent team to ensure that environmental, social, cultural and economic aspects were incorporated into an overall strategy for MWD. Although participation, collaboration, integration and partnership have been discussed in the literature for many years, they are not well applied in planning many development projects.

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