WHANAKE

W H A N A K E

THE PACIFIC JOURNAL OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
VOLUME 1 MAY 2015

Cover design by Penny Thomson
penny.thomson@ihug.co.nz

Photograph by Dianna Fuemana

Navigation page by Caroline Wright
caroline@carter-wright.com

Contents

About Whanake

Whanake: The Pacific Journal of Community Development is a bi-annual ejournal for practitioners and academics who love community development. The journal mission is to serve as a crucible of democracy, where people come together to share their dreams and plan their common futures. It has refereed papers of 4000-6000 words, reviews, practice notes from the field, and opinion pieces. The journal provides space for posing questions, documenting emerging trends in research and practice, and sharing case studies and biographies.

Community development journals exist in the UK and USA but none have survived in this part of the world. We see this as a journal for Australasia with particular focus on the Pacific Islands. As such it reflects cultural diversity and is about the WE, not the I.

Editorial

by GAVIN RENNIE

**Founded at Unitec Institute of Technology,
Auckland, New Zealand, in 2015**

Editorial

Kia Ora Tatou,

The launch of this journal has excited past dreams. It feels like something we have needed for some time; a community development Journal - Pacific based - providing a platform for practioners, academics, students and communities to tell their stories and reflect on their practice.

For too long successful community development has been known only to those who have been part of it. Whilst there are no recipes for development work we can always learn from each other.

There has been writing and some excellent books too often accessed only by academics and students. Our aim is to move beyond the academy and make community development literature more accessible.

Community development has been seen in differing ways -our view is that it is focussed on process, something which Arthur Ashe referred to as a journey not a destination, in which the doing is often more important than the outcome.

As a teacher I challenge students who wish to do community development work to understand that they will become active participants in the lives and struggles of the communities in which they work.

We are speaking of a process which leads to transformational social change, with a vision of how things might be. Therefore we will take sides... The dominant discourse in Aotearoa New Zealand is neo liberal individualized capitalism. Our discourse is different, one could argue counter hegemonic, in that it will have strong themes around social change and a commitment to those disadvantaged by the structures of society.

The Journal had its origins in a community development conference which was held at Unitec in February 2015. A report on the conference appears as part of this first edition.

The papers in this first edition were presented at that conference, represented here as opinion and practice pieces as well as five refereed papers. We have also included a film review and a report on the conference. In our minds this is not a hierarchy but ways of presenting information differently - hopefully what is here will resonate with a range of readers.

Fleur Toogood reflects on community led development with its emphasis on community of place. Maggie Buxton takes this discussion further and looks at mobile technology and its use in community work, something aspiring community workers need to be aware of.

Editorial

Helene Connor tells some of the story of Whāea Betty Wark whose community activism inspired and challenged Aucklanders in the 70's and 80's.

Alastair Russell reminds us that we are political beings and Denis O'Reilly examines the principles of community economic development using the lens of James K. Baxter to examine different types of poverty. Lindsay Jeffs explores community asset ownership and Shoichi Isogai and Jun Okamura tell a story of community development undertaken by the Japanese community in Auckland.

So in this inaugural issue we present theory, practice, case studies, ideas about the use of new technologies as tools for practice, and challenges to conventional funding.

This journal presents work which is in process and which we hope will be owned by our readers. We invite your comment, your critique and your suggestions as we collectively construct visions, tell alternative narratives, and work towards a more fair, just and equitable Aotearoa.

Kia Kaha

Gavin Rennie

GAVIN RENNIE is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Social Practice at Unitec Institute of Technology
Auckland, New Zealand
Contact: **grennie@unitec.ac.nz**

Participation, Partnerships and Pilots in Community Development Policy

by FLEUR M. TOOGOOD

Article

Participation, Partnerships and Pilots in Community Development Policy

by **FLEUR M. TOOGOOD**

ABSTRACT

This paper critically examines the current New Zealand government's policy of promoting local participation and 'partnerships' in community development and the provision of social services with particular consideration of three pilot programmes: 'Community-led Development' (Department of Internal Affairs); 'Social Sector Trials' and 'Make it Happen Te Hiku' (Ministry of Social Development). A review of New Zealand and international literature reveals that further research into the implications of this policy direction is required around the position of power in local leadership; the roles and relationships between local government and local service providers (both government and non-government); and public private partnerships in community development and social service provision. This paper asks how and why central government is directing 'community-led' development and questions government's commitment to building of capacity at a local level, a fundamental requirement of participative models. It also questions the focus on communities defined by place and considers implications of this policy direction for communities of interest and association.

INTRODUCTION

Using a social justice approach and with particular consideration of the effects of the uniquely New Zealand context, this paper considers the New Zealand government's current policy of promoting local participation and partnerships in community development and in the provision of social services. This policy direction has been trialled by government in three pilot programmes: 'Community-led Development' (Department of Internal Affairs); 'Social Sector Trials' and 'Make it Happen Te Hiku' (Ministry of Social Development). Analysis of these programmes raises a number of questions for consideration. While the rhetoric promotes local autonomy, where does the power really reside? What provision has been made for raising the capacity at the local level? With a focus on place based communities, what impacts may this have on communities of association?

In his maiden speech from the throne in 2008, Prime Minister John Key outlined his neoliberal approach:

> in pursuing [the] goal of economic growth my government (sic) will be guided by the principle of individual freedom and a belief in the capacity and right of individuals to shape and improve their own lives... my government (sic) will not seek to involve itself in decisions that are best made by New Zealanders within their own homes and their own communities (Key, 2008).

While the latter part of this quote may have been intended as an allusion to the out-going Clark government, and the rhetoric of the 'Nanny State', it set the scene for his approach, which in many ways though more liberal in focus, represents a continuation of the Third Way politics of the previous government, as defined by Giddens (1998). Key went on to position the role of civil society in the provision of social services:

> in all areas of social policy, my government will establish new relationships with the non-government and voluntary groups that are so important to the functioning of a healthy society.

By working more closely with these groups and turbo-charging their efforts, my government will tap into the resources, ideas and collective goodwill of New Zealand communities (Key, 2008).

Interestingly, with no general statement about social services in the two subsequent speeches from the throne, the role of community activity did not receive any attention (Key, 2011, 2014). However the Social Sector Trials, coupled with the two experimental community programmes Community-led Development and Make it happen Te Hiku, demonstrate central government's policy direction of pushing the provision of community development, and ultimately social service provision, out to civil society through the promotion of the principles of participation, partnership and tapping into the capacity of communities.

This paper follows an analysis of literature, taking a social justice approach, to the consideration of 'Community-Led Development' (CLD) by providing a critique of literature relating to the definition of and academic approaches to 'community', 'development' and the practice of 'community development' with a focus on the USA, the UK and NZ. This analysis led into consideration of literature relating to CLD itself, which was shown to be a very small body of work. A further analysis of literature relating to the UK's 'Big Society' has also provided insight into areas for consideration of the participative and partnership approach for the delivery of social services and community development.

COMMUNITY-LED DEVELOPMENT

A four-year pilot programme of Community-Led Development (CLD) in New Zealand began in 2011 following a review of community funding sponsored by the then Minister for Community and Voluntary Sector, Tariana Turia (Turia, 2011). This pilot involved five communities: Whirinaki, South Hokianga; Mt Roskill, Auckland; Mangakino, Waikato; Waitangirua/Cannons Creek, Porirua; and North East Valley, Dunedin. The evaluation report published following the third year of the trial announced that the trial had ceased in Waitangirua/Cannons Creek (DIA, 2015).

In her cabinet paper seeking redirection of $1.5m[1] Community Organisation Grants Scheme (COGS) funding to the pilot communities, Turia (2011a) defined CLD as 'typified by broad community engagement to identify shared issues and concerns, and to generate local solutions. The underpinning philosophy is one of community empowerment, and self determination' (p. 5). The pilot project was conducted 'to enable the [Department of Internal Affairs (DIA)] to assess whether the community-led development approach achieves sustainable outcomes for communities, hapu and iwi' (DIA, 2012, p. 1).

CLD is based on a community development model developed by the Tamarak Institute in Canada and American consultant Jim Diers, known for his work on urban regeneration in Seattle (DIA, 2012), which draws on principles of local leadership, decision making and action with a focus on building capacity and using existing community assets including partnership arrangements with government agencies, non-government organisations (NGOs) and the private sector. In New Zealand CLD is championed by the NGO Inspiring Communities (Torjman and Makhoul, 2012), and while they are involved with communities throughout New Zealand, and have been involved in the training and support of DIA staff involved in the project, they do not have direct involvement with communities in the government led pilot. At the outset of the project DIA staff were trained in the principles of CLD by Diers. Using the principles of action research (action and reflection cycles) DIA staff identified and established local leadership teams in each community and supported them to: identify an established local organisation that could manage the funding provided by the department, consult widely with the local community, identify a community vision and develop a community plan, develop a funding proposal to DIA, and implement the community plan with support from local partners (DIA, 2012).

Inspiring Communities (2010) describes CLD as having seven principles which promote: a focus on community of 'place', empowerment of 'local voice', a cross sectorial approach, strength and asset-based planning, collaborative local leadership, adaptability and demonstrable progress, and 'whole systems change' (p. 4). Highlighting the learning approach of its organisation, Inspiring Communities has produced reports and books and also publishes regular newsletters about the development of its programmes from experience in communities around New Zealand (Inspiring Communities, 2010, 2012, 2014a).

Its most recent, freely-available 'think-piece' (Inspiring Communities, 2012) provided a lead in to its book, *Learning by Doing*, which is promoted as a tool for communities wanting to use the CLD approach (Inspiring Communities, 2014b). This think piece raises some key messages around the positioning of CLD in New Zealand, and

---

[1] In addition to the $1.5m approved by cabinet from COGS funding a further $0.4m was redirected from Vote Community and Voluntary Sector 2011/12 (Turia, 2011b) and "in total $6.4m was allocated for community led development over 4 years" (DIA, 2012, p. 5).

what is required for the success of the approach, including system changes and awareness of 'broader political contexts', promotion of 'active citizenship', 'staunch peak bodies', the importance of the role of local government as well as business and skilled practitioners, and a tolerance for 'messy language and framing' (p. 1).

Celebrated outputs from the government-led CLD pilot include the cleaning up and replanting of local waterways and revival of a local Māori dialect; the development of community gardens, a community centre and a community shuttle service; the enhancement of neighbourhood cohesion with street parties; repair of a local marae (tribal meeting place); development of a skate park and an integrated approach to the attraction of tourists (DIA, 2013; 2015). 'Intangible outcomes' also recorded by three communities include 'a greater sense of community, greater community cohesion…and further development of leadership within each community' (DIA, 2015, p. 27).

MAKE IT HAPPEN TE HIKU

This project followed the signing of *Kia Tutahi: The Relationship Accord between the Communities of Aotearoa New Zealand and the Government of New Zealand* (DIA, 2011a), by Far North iwi (tribes) and government agency representatives in Kaitaia in 2011. The accord promotes the principles and commitments of the Treaty of Waitangi, and its tikanga (customs/beliefs) include promotion of inclusion, self-determination, partnership, trust and respect (DIA, 2011a). The principles and process for the Make it Happen programme were similar to that of CLD, however the Ministry of Social Development (MSD) and local government agencies had a far greater role in the community consultation, visioning and planning process. The 'Project Action Group' group for the Te Hiku project was made up of 'local service provider representatives' selected by MSD (MSD, 2014a). While not explicit in the online resources available about this programme it appears that, unlike the CLD project, funding for the Te Hiku project remained with MSD and various government agencies in the region. With the consultation and visioning process complete, MSD have developed outcome based plans using the Results Based Accountability (RBA) framework which is 'developed by Mark Friedman and…is being used throughout the United States, and in countries around the world, to produce measurable change in people's lives' (Fiscal Policy Studies Institute, 2015). Each outcome is presented with a list of 'partners' to be engaged in achieving the desired result (MSD, 2014a).

SOCIAL SECTOR TRIALS

MSD is coordinating a set of trials, due for completion in June 2015, in sixteen communities across New Zealand. Initially in six communities (Levin/Horowhenua, Gore District, Tokoroa/South Waikato, Kawerau, Taumaranui, Te Kuiti/Waitomo District) the Trials were extended out to a further ten (Kaikohe, Ranui, Waikato District, Rotorua, Whakatane, Gisborne, South Taranaki District, Wairarapa, Porirua, South Dunedin) in 2013. In these communities either a locally based NGO, or a 'committed individual' (a local civil servant), is coordinating an integrated approach to the delivery of social services to youth within their community: including managing partnership contracts and frontline delivery of services for young people aged between 13 – 18 years (eight of these communities are trialling the approach with a broader age range). A local advisory group, made up of staff from each social service agency in the area, provides support and guidance and ensures the coordination of services. Governance of the Trials is taken up by the Joint Venture Board (JVB) which is made up of Chief Executives from the five partner agencies: Ministries of Social Development, Justice, Health, Education, and Police (MSD, 2015).

An evaluation published in May 2013 (which resulted in the extension of the trial) reported that the trial was running very well in the six start-up communities with action plans in place and positive results reported (MSD, 2013). Action plans are now in place in all sixteen communities and the MSD website reports good progress.

In their discussion of the proposed reforms under the Social Sector Trials Hughes and Smart (2012) noted that while front-line staff seemed open to the changes, some central departmental staff expressed resistance to the changed delivery model. It will be interesting to see how this concern is reported in mid-2015 when the final evaluation takes place.

POPULATION AND COMMUNITY COHESION

The size and existing cohesion of communities in which the Social Sector trials and CLD pilot run must be acknowledged in any discussion of the success of the programmes and in particular in the promotion of a roll out of the approach.

By the end of the second year of the CLD pilot the smaller rural communities Whirinaki (approx. 400 residents), Mangakino (approx. 750 residents and a number of non-resident ratepayers) and North East Valley (approx. 4500 residents) had engaged a broad representation of their communities, created a community plan and were well down the track in various community projects. By the end of the third year all three smaller communities can cite a number of tangible and intangible positive outcomes towards realising the goals in their plans for their communities.

However, the three published formative reports of the implementation, and subsequent two years of the CLD pilot (DIA, 2012, 2013, 2015) tell a story of the difficulties in making progress in the two larger urban communities. Both Mt Roskill (approx. 60,000 residents) and Waitangirua/Cannons Creek (approx. 12,000 residents) were unable to meet DIA deadlines for the development of community plans in the first two years.

By the end of the third year Waitangirua/Cannons Creek had been removed from the pilot and Mt Roskill had just finalised their community plan at their first AGM (DIA, 2013, 2015). Population alone does not account for the lack of success in the Waitangirua/Cannons Creek pilot. Issues around governance and power in both of these larger communities are discussed below.

The difficulties in ensuring they held a broad community mandate were common in the two larger communities. Those involved in the Mt Roskill pilot acknowledged the challenges in keeping up the mostly volunteer steam required for broad community consultation (DIA, 2013, 2015). The year three evaluation highlights the need to provide the leadership group with skills and support to attract interest and engage with the wider community. Access to new approaches to community engagement, and learning through of the experiences of other CLD action in urban environments, may have been valuable for the Mt Roskill leadership team. For example, Diers promotes the idea of throwing community parties rather than holding meetings as the party atmosphere can create a positive environment to identify needs, find solutions and recruit participants for community projects in urban environments (Diers, personal communication 15 November, 2014). The CLD plan developed in Mt Roskill focuses on small scale projects and events to raise the profile of CLD in the community in 'a neighbourhood (or "street-by-street") approach' (DIA, 2015).

The MSD (2013) evaluation of the Social Sector Trials also warned that the successes in the six start up communities may in part be due to the existing networks and relationships between providers in small close-knit communities. It will be interesting to see how the Trials have progressed, what challenges have been faced and what lessons have been learned following the roll out to the urban areas of Gisborne, Porirua, Rotorua, Ranui (Auckland) and Dunedin South.

THE POSITION OF POWER

INVESTMENT APPROACH AND PARTNERSHIPS

The CLD pilot was born out of a review of funding for community organisations. The report *First principles review of Crown funded schemes: review and proposed approach* (DIA, 2011b) outlined the government's main driver for what was developed, over the following year, into the CLD pilot programme. That was, to develop a bulk funding model for the distribution of funds to community organisations in the hope of achieving more for less in community. It was proposed, in the 2011 report, that this could be achieved by adopting a 'community development approach to the *administration* of the Crown funds' and an 'an investment model for the *management* of the Crown funds' (emphasis added, p. 12). 'An investment model is complementary to a community development approach to funding, and offers several advantages including a focus on working collaboratively with a range of stakeholders to maximise the funding impact and use knowledge and other resources' (p. 12). That being said, as outlined above the CLD pilot has had significant government investment, and the latest CLD report confirms that 'in December 2014, it was decided that funding [will] now be available until June 2016' (DIA, 2015, p. 1).

As we have seen with changes to welfare (benefit) provision an 'investment approach' (MSD, 2014b) may be interpreted ultimately as a cut in funding. In the case of the Social Sector Trials and with the focus on the sustainability of CLD in the long run, government indicates a strong reliance on other sectors to increase their participation and funding (see for example DIA, 2011b; MSD, 2014b; DIA, 2015). 'Partnership' arrangements are to be embraced with caution according to critics. As Seddon, Billett and Clemans (2005) highlight, 'From a critical social science perspective there is much to commend the view that social partnerships are neo-liberal instruments of self-governance that assert and institutionalise an individualised political rationality while minimising the public cost of this work' (Power and Whitty, cited in Seddon et al., 2005, p. 568).

However, there is certainly value in the social capital that is created by the promotion of cross agency and cross sector collaboration in community development. In their Australian study Seddon et al. discovered that social partnerships can '[challenge] established practices and generate unconventional solutions to old problems' (p. 325). They also note that social partnerships are often 'oriented to the achievement of specific outcomes' (p. 570); such an orientation is evidenced by the output focus of the social sector trials, CLD pilot and the Te Hiku project (DIA, 2013; MSD, 2013, 2014a, 2014c).

This output focus must also balance the interests of all stakeholders. In her study of New Zealand partnerships between business and community organisations Louise Lee (2014) found that 'some community managers were sceptical of the ability of business-community partnerships to share the benefits equitably. Some

community managers raised questions as to who might be the main beneficiaries of partnership arrangements and challenged what were perceived as inconsistencies in business motives' (p. 33).

Whirinaki, Mangakino and North East Valley are considering how to ensure the sustainability of the CLD programmes to ensure action towards achievement of their community plans can continue. While Whirinaki is considering the development of a community social enterprise, Mangakino and North East Valley are focussing on developing stakeholder and partnership relations (DIA, 2015).

When partnerships and empowerment are promoted hand in hand there must be consideration and recognition of where the power ends up. Drawing on their study of the Haringey community in North London, Dillon and Fanning (2011) present a 'Lesson for the Big Society'. They found that under the previous Blair and Brown governments' New Deal for Communities programme, which was also a participatory based programme, a 'planning elite in the prosperous West of the borough' was more successful in engaging with the local authority and securing funds for development projects of their choosing than in the 'relatively deprived East', and,

> follow up research undertaken just over a decade later found for the most part disparities between the efficacy of community actors from the West and the East remained in place…the East of Haringey still contained some of the most deprived areas in Britain whose communities were still seemingly unable to effectively participate in planning debates (p. 8).

This example suggests that in the UK where under the 'Big Society' approach building development planning decisions are being given to 'communities', groups such as commercial developers may be well positioned to maximise their own interests in communities with low levels of community participation even though, it should be noted, planning decisions must be put out to local referenda (DCLG, 2014).

Individuals who are already marginalised by poverty and powerlessness will be left behind by the Big Society, where everything hangs on how much power is assumed by which groups and businesses, to do what, for whom and how (Coote, cited in Ledwith, 2011, pp. 25 - 26).

A valuable area for further research would be the nature of 'partnerships' in the New Zealand context. The English language rhetoric around the Treaty of Waitangi and the 'partnership' relationship between Māori and the Crown in the modern context, may suggest a unique understanding of the partnership arrangements for the provision of community development and social services in New Zealand.

GOVERNANCE

In all three government initiatives local level decision making, including allocation of funds, has been highlighted as a foundation principle (DIA, 2012; MSD, 2013; MSD, 2014a). However, the adoption of this principle gives rise to a number of areas for consideration around governance and financial accountability.

The 2013 evaluation of the six start up communities in the Social Sector Trials emphasises critical factors for the success of the trials. The position of power at a local level alongside the importance of high level support was a common theme and is highlighted by the connections made between front line staff and the trials' governance body:

> an on-going close and direct link between governance group (Ministers and JVB) and front line operational staff (Trial leads): regular, high quality meetings and information exchange between these two groups was seen as crucial to the operation of the Trials to date. Linked to this is the ability to escalate issues from an operational level to governance level to overcome blockages if they cannot be resolved locally (MSD, 2013, p.28).

Concerns around local service provider competition for resources are evident in the Social Sector Trials 2013 evaluation of those communities trialling the NGO driven model of local leadership. The connection with and influence of the government agency CEOs on the Joint Venture Board appears to have addressed these issues as the trial progressed (MSD, 2013). However, the question remains of how the JVB will cope with a rollout of the scheme to further communities. Or, how communities will succeed in managing these issues of local competition and conflict between service providers without the close connection and support from a central governance body available to engage in operational issues.

In the Year 3 Evaluation Report (DIA, 2015) of the CLD pilot concerns around governance were raised in all of the communities involved. In relation to the North East Valley pilot,

> it was found that the Executive, similar to the other three leadership groups, continue to struggle to understand what their role is as a governance body within the parameters of a CLD approach. Some

issues that have arisen are around the management of paid staff and the approval of projects and subsequent release of funds (p. 20).

Echoing the social sector trial evaluation (MSD, 2013), significant support from DIA staff was valued by the leadership groups in all of the CLD pilot communities (DIA, 2015). Though the CLD model includes local 'fund holders', financial control remains centralised in DIA, with communities required to apply for funding. Comment about frustration at the lack of understanding about the 'criteria used when making finding decisions' (p. 8) and the pace at which funding is approved suggests that bulk funding for CLD projects has not yet been handed to the CLD communities (DIA, 2015).

Concerns about the governance role of the leadership teams in the CLD pilot are explained as a consequence of lack of understanding of the roles and responsibilities of the leadership groups during the implementation phase of the pilot. DIA recommends that in order to ensure success of CLD ongoing training and development of the leadership groups is required (DIA, 2015).

The Year 2 Evaluation Report (DIA, 2013) on the CLD pilot suggested that in Waitangirua/Cannons Creek existing community leaders looked for the opportunity of government funding to address areas in which their organisations were already working. Rather than embracing the CLD processes of community decision making and empowerment, longstanding local politics and competition for resources between local organisations drove the leadership team until DIA stepped in, the majority of the leadership team stepped down, and DIA appointed a local coordinator to facilitate the engagement of the broader community (Inspiring Communities, 2014b; DIA, 2013; DIA, 2015). The year three evaluation of the pilot confirmed that the CLD approach had been abandoned in the Waitangirua/Cannons Creek community and within that community DIA is now 'beginning on developing a range of advisory services outside of CLD' (DIA, 2015, p. 3).

These trials/pilots raise a number of yet unanswered questions. In a modern democracy should an unelected group of 'community leaders' make decisions about government funding on behalf of the wider community? How does such a group show that they have a broad community mandate? Results from the Year 3 Evaluation of the CLD pilot (DIA, 2015) show that all communities struggled to ensure broad community involvement. This was especially true in the large urban communities of Mt Roskill and Waitangirua/Cannons Creek, and was also recognised as problematic in the smallest community involved in the pilot, Whirinaki (DIA, 2015). Following a social justice approach, it would seem that measures of community involvement must demonstrate representation of all sectors of a community.

If these trials or pilot programmes are extended across the country how will governance and financial accountability be managed? As shown above, centralised and high level decision making is sometimes required to facilitate collaboration at the local level. Will a body such as JVB, or at the very least departmental advisors be available to all communities implementing programmes such as the Trials, CLD and Make it Happen?

How successful will implementation be if governance remains centralised? Unless the roll out continues at such a rate that the level of support from the JVB, or the CLD departmental project team, is maintained at the trial levels, there is a risk communities will face similar challenges to do with governance, local competition for resources and potential conflicts of interest in leadership groups as those faced in Mt Roskill and Waitangirua/Cannons Creek in the CLD pilot.

Public money, like charitable funds, must be accounted for and any extension of financial authority to local social service agencies must be managed and audited appropriately. Local governance issues are being worked through in the trial communities. As communicated by several of those involved in the CLD trials definitions of the roles, responsibilities, systems and processes need to be established, communicated and embedded prior to the decentralisation of fund allocation and any roll out of these trial programmes (DIA, 2015).

THE ROLE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Peter McKinlay (2007) provides valuable insight into the role of the statutory sector in community development. Historically, in New Zealand provision of social services has been the domain of central government. The neoliberal reforms, beginning in the 1980s and continuing today, have seen an increase in partnership arrangements between state service and local providers. However, unlike in Britain, New Zealand local government had very little involvement in local social-service provision or community development. While community worker positions were created within local government structure from the 1970s, without institutional understanding or structural support for community development practice their impact was restricted (Rennie, personal communication, 29 September 2014).

In 2001 the Minister for Local Government Sandra Lee introduced the Local Government bill at the first reading:

> Mr speaker (sic) this bill, above all, is about 'empowerment'. Not as some might imagine, the empowerment of councils to exert greater influence and authority over their electors, but rather, empowering New Zealanders within their local communities to exercise greater control over their lives and over the environments in which they live (Lee 2001, cited in McKinlay, 2007, p. 494).

The Act passed in 2002 and required local governments to promote well-being, broken down into four well-beings: social, economic, environmental and cultural. The Act required processes '"to identify community outcomes". [However] there is little guidance on the nature of the process except that there must be opportunity for public input' (p.494) and council should seek the input of groups and organisations in a position to identify and promote outcomes (p.494). Performance measures for councils were altered to include public accountability measures which promoted a culture of consultation (Chia et al., 2011).

In 2012, at the time of the amalgamation of Auckland's 'supercity', changes to the Local Government Amendment Act altered the 'purpose of local government' to 'meet the current and future needs of communities for good-quality local infrastructure, local public services, and performance of regulatory functions in a way that is most cost-effective for households and businesses' (Local Government Amendment Act, cited in McKinlay, 2013, p.17). McKinlay (2013) discusses the growing international empirical research which suggests that problems such as

> inadequate housing, educational underachievement, family dysfunction (including child abuse), [and] substance abuse as examples - cannot be solved by relying solely on the traditional top-down interventions and strategies of central governments. Instead, there is now a recognition that issues of this type need a partnership approach able to tap into local knowledge, networks and support – resources local government is uniquely placed to provide (p. 12).

Numerous submissions to the select committee at the time of the changes to the Local Government Act opposed the removal of the four well-beings as the purpose of local government (see for example Chisholm, 2012). McKinlay (2013) acknowledges the widespread concern about these changes and highlights the importance of participatory democracy at a local level which requires local government to find new ways of involving local people in decision making. He suggests that 'this will be especially the case as councils inevitably become more involved in facilitating the effective design, targeting and delivery of significant social services' (p. 17).

McKinlay (2013) expresses caution in making an assumption that these legislative changes have removed local governments' requirement to consider community well-beings. That, he says, is a matter for the courts to test. He argues that despite the fact the changes were intended to narrow the scope of council activity, 'the term "local public services" with its implication that these are activities of benefit to the community which would not otherwise be provided, when carefully considered, suggests that community well-being remains part of the purpose of local government' (p. 18).

Loomis (2012) suggests that changes to the Act are 'likely to leave a large vacuum in citizen participation in planning and decision making' with the removal of structured consultation and monitoring requirements. Others have described the four well-beings as replaced by the four R's: Rubbish, rates, roads and rats (Social Development Partners, 2012).

Both North East Valley and Mangakino have received support from their local Council with support for the leadership teams and the provision funding for some of the community projects (DIA, 2015).

It appears that the issue of the position of power is unresolved. On the one hand the success of community driven projects is founded on the empowerment of those communities to identify need, find solutions and make decisions about allocation of resources. On the other hand, some level of government oversight is necessary to ensure that the needs of the most vulnerable are met. While there is little doubt that those working on the front line in community development and social service provision intend to meet the needs of those in their communities, adequate oversight is required and the published evaluations of these programmes suggest that central governance is required to support collaboration at a local level. This however returns us to the dichotomy of how 'community-led' programmes must actually be centrally governed.

COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT

CLD rhetoric suggests that the empowering of communities through the building of capacity will create an environment in which power can be locally based (Inspiring Communities, 2012; Turia, 2011a). Critics of the Big Society also acknowledge the value of a dialogue around encouraging an increase in community action, volunteerism, social entrepreneurism and social capital (Dillon and Fanning, 2013; Civil Exchange, 2013). As hallmarks of community

development practice (Ife, 2002; Chile, 2007a) the principles of capacity building, participation, community empowerment and self-determination draw on concepts made famous by theorists such as Paulo Freire (Ledwith, 2011) and Amayrta Sen (1999). There is little debate that empowerment of marginalised communities can lead to economic progress and equality (Dillon and Fanning, 2013).

However, the fact that the rhetoric is coupled with a dramatic cut in funding for the social sector results in a belief that those most marginalised will fall further behind (Ledwith, 2011). Community development practitioners promote participatory democracy, while acknowledging the importance of government provision of social services to those in need (Ledwith, 2001; L. Chile, personal communication, 23 October 2014).

'The "small state" is absolving its democratic responsibilities to the poorest in society by making austerity cuts in public services at the same time as making the poorest responsible for their own poverty' (Baird cited in Ledwith, 2011, p. 25).

No evidence was found in the review of government reports and cabinet papers published on departmental websites (DIA, 2012; DIA, 2013; MSD, 2013; MSD, 2014a; MSD, 2014c) that resources have been directed towards building capacity that would enhance broad local participation and contribution to community development activities. In the initial implementation phase of the CLD project a number of training programmes outlining the approach were run throughout the country however the focus was on developing the skills of MSD staff. Following their selection by MSD, the local leadership groups attended one off workshops outlining the CLD approach (DIA, 2012).

The Year Three Report of the CLD Project recognises the need for ongoing training and development for those driving the CLD in the communities, particularly in relation to roles and responsibilities, governance structures, decision making skills and understanding of the principles of CLD across the broader community. One on one interviews between DIA staff and the Mt Roskill leadership group were required to resolve internal communication and governance issues. This resulted in a far more focussed leadership team which recognised the need to continue development of community capacity and a focus on accessing members of the community with existing capabilities that would support the work involved in achieving the community goals as outlined in the long awaited community plan.

In the briefing notes to their incoming minister for the Department of Community and the Voluntary Sector, DIA promote the importance of building local capacity. 'Many community organisations need assistance with such matters as governance, strategic planning, volunteer management and sourcing funds. Considerable support is available to build capability and capacity, but there is no overview of its range or effectiveness' (DIA, 2014, p. 7).

If the CLD programme is rolled out beyond the communities involved in the pilot significant investment needs to be made in building the capacity of community leaders, particularly focusing on skills and techniques to ensure broad community engagement. This may best be done by taking examples from the consultation programme run by MSD and local social service providers in Northland as part of the Make It Happen Te Hiku programme, and the CLD programmes promoted by Inspiring Communities, possibly utilising local council networks and resources.

The literature in support of participative models promoting collaboratively functioning, empowered, self-determined communities is extensive. These approaches consistently place importance on investment in the capacity, and capability, of community members. What is required varies enormously across communities depending on the existing skills and experience within communities. Without resources to empower communities, self-determination cannot occur. It is essential that significant resource be available to communities embarking on CLD to ensure that communities have the skills and the necessary volunteer hours to make the approach work.

Loomis (2012) questions both government's commitment to empowering communities, and whether the CLD pilot will in fact lead to any wider adoption. The new Minister for Voluntary and Community Sector, Jo Goodhew, was briefed on the evaluation of the pilot in mid-December 2014 (DIA, 2014). At that time the decision was made to continue funding through until June 2016 (DIA, 2015). However, there is an indication that some of the CLD funding earmarked for the 2014/15 financial year has in fact been redirected to the recent government recognition of the place of social enterprise in social policy development (DIA, 2014).

PLACE-BASED FOCUS

Classical sociological theorists Marx, Durkheim and Weber discussed the development (or breaking down) of community in relation to place at a time of mass urbanisation and industrialisation (Bruhn, 2011; Bradshaw, 2009). In particular, they considered the differences between rural and urban life against the economic and social structures of the time. Tönnies, a contemporary of Durkheim and Weber, considered the difference between rural Gemeinschaft (community) and urban Gesellschaft (society/association) (Ridings, 2006; Berger, 1998; Bruhn, 2011; Bradshaw, 2009) and from his thinking, community theory followed through to the late twentieth century (Bruhn, 2011; Bradshaw, 2009).

Berger (1998) describes the difference between Tönnies' two concepts: 'Community is tradition; society is change. Community is feeling; society is rationality. Community is female; society is male. Community is warm and wet and intimate; society is cold and dry and formal. Community is love; society is, well, business' (p. 324).

Sociologists have continued to develop theories around modern urban communities in response to the conception of Gesellschaft (Bradshaw, 2008). Bradshaw (2008) considers place-based theory of community in a modern frame whereby communities of place have been replaced by those 'tied together by solidarity' (p. 5), but not in relation to labour like his predecessors. In what he calls a 'post place community' members find the connections described in Gemeinschaft through global networks of like-mindedness and interest.

Definitions of community relevant today, particularly in relation to community development, pay homage to the place-based roots of the study while acknowledging the modern conception of solidarity and sense of belonging found in the shared beliefs of cultural, ideological and political affiliations (Chile, 2007; Ife, 2002). Consideration of community in this way allows for the possibility of belonging to multiple communities (Bruhn, 2011) and finds a place for the modern lexicon of community, for example communities of association such as deaf-, refugee-, LGBT-communities and various online communities of interest.

One of the key principles of CLD is a focus on communities of place (Inspiring Communities, 2012; DIA, 2012). If national community development funding is largely directed to geographical communities, mechanisms must be in place to actively include and meet the needs of the outliers in communities of association. Government funding mechanisms for nationally led communities of association must remain in place to ensure minority communities are not forced to rely solely on charitable funding. This does not, however, mean that the participative and empowerment based approach of community development is not suited to such communities. However, when considering the development of communities of association it is especially important that government have oversight to ensure that New Zealand meets its obligations to the principles of human rights and social justice as outlined in the myriad of international conventions to which New Zealand has signed.

CONCLUSION

There is little doubt that communities are the best master of their own development. For this reason it is encouraging that government is promoting a policy of participative, collaboratively based community development. However, following a literature review this paper reports that very little peer reviewed research has been published on Community-led Development in New Zealand or internationally. Areas for further research and consideration in any roll out of the three trial programmes (CLD, Make it Happen Te Hiku and the Social Sector Trials) must address concerns around the position of power in such programmes, existing community relationships, governance and financial accountability. With a policy focus on communities of place, those communities based around interest, association and need must not be left behind. While promoting community decision making and action, government must provide the necessary resources (time and money) to ensure that whole communities are empowered to achieve self-determination and the best futures for themselves.

FLEUR TOOGOOD is a Teaching Assistant and Masters student in the
School of Social Sciences and Public Policy at
Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand

REFERENCES

Bradshaw, T. (2009) Setting the record straight: What is community? And what does it mean today? In SAGE key concepts series: Key concepts in community studies, accessed at: http://search.credoreference.com.ezproxy.aut.ac.nz

Berger, B. (1998) Disenchanting the concept of community. *Society,* **35**(2), 324-327. DOI 10.1007/BF02838157

Bruhn, J. (2011*) The Sociology of Community Connections* (2nd ed.) Springer, ebook. DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1633-9-2

Chia, Y. T., Lord, B., Craig, R., and Ball, A. (2011) Exploring a local council's change to an outcome measurement regime. *Journal of Accounting & Organizational Change,* **7**(4), 391 – 407. doi:10.1108/18325911111182321

Chile, L., ed. (2007) *Community Development Practice in New Zealand: Exploring Good Practice*. Auckland: AUT University.

Civil Exchange (2013) The Big Society Audit 2013, Executive Summary, acessed at: http://www.civilexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/THE-BIG-SOCIETY-AUDIT-2013-Executive-Summarywebversion.pdf

Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG), UK (2014). Policy: Giving people more control over what happens in their neighbourhood, acessed at: https://www.gov.uk/government/policies/giving-people-more-power-over-what-happens-in-their-neighbourhood

DIA (2011a) Kia Tutahi – Standing together: The relationship accord between the communities of Aotearoa New Zealand and the Government of New Zealand, acessed at: http://www.dia.govt.nz/KiaTutahi

DIA (2011b) First principles review of Crown funded schemes: review and proposed approach, acessed at: http://www.dia.govt.nz/pubforms.nsf/URL/First_principles_review_and_case_for_CDL_funding_model.pdf/$file/First_principles_review_and_case_for_CDL_funding_model.pdf

DIA (2012) Implementation of Community-led Development: Evaluation Report, acessed at: http://www.dia.govt.nz/Resource-material-Our-Policy-Advice-Areas-Community-led-Development

DIA (2013) Community-led Development: Year Two Evaluation Report, accessed at: http://www.dia.govt.nz/Resource-material-Our-Policy-Advice-Areas-Community-led-Development

DIA (2014) Briefing to the Incoming Minister Community and Voluntary Sector, acessed at: http://www.dia.govt.nz/diawebsite.nsf/wpg_URL/Resource-material-Briefings-to-Incoming-Ministers-Index

DIA (2015) Community-led Development: Year 3 Evaluation Report, acessed at: http://www.dia.govt.nz/diawebsite.nsf/wpg_URL/Resource-material-Our-Policy-Advice-Areas-Community-led-Development

Dillon, D. and Fanning, B. (2011) Lessons for the Big Society: Planning, Regeneration & the Politics of Community [EBL Version], acessed at: http://www.aut.eblib.com.au

Dillon, D. and Fanning, B. (2013) The Tottenham riots: the Big Society and the recurring neglect of community participation. *Community Development Journal,* **48**(4), 571–586. doi:10.1093/cdj/bss056

Fiscal Policy Studies Institute (2015) *What is results based accountability*, Fiscal Policy Studies Institute, accessed at: http://resultsaccountability.com (7 April 2015).

Giddens, A. (1998) *The Third Way: The renewal of Social Democracy*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Hughes, P. and Smart, J. (2012) You say you want a revolution: The next stage of public sector reform in New Zealand. *Policy Quarterly,* **8**(1), 3 – 8.

Inspiring Communities (2010) What we are learning: about community-led development in New Zealand, accessed at: ://inspiringcommunities.org.nz/learning-tools/what-we-are-learning-2010

Inspiring Communities (2012) CLD Think Piece 2012, accessed at: http://inspiringcommunities.org.nz/tools-resources-publications/cld-think-piece-2012

Inspiring Communities (2014a) Newsletters, accessed at: http://inspiringcommunities.org.nz/newsletters

Inspiring Communities (2014b) Learning by Doing, accessed at: http://inspiringcommunities.org.nz/tools-resources-inspiring-communities-publications/learning-doing

Key, J. (2008) Speech from the throne, accessed at: http://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/speech-throne

Key, J. (2011) Speech from the throne, accessed at: http://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/speech-throne-1

Key, J. (2014) Speech from the throne, accessed at: http://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/speech-throne-2

Ledwith, M. (2011) *Community Development: A Critical Approach*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Lee, L. (2011) Business-community partnerships: Understanding the nature of partnership, *Corporate Governance: The international journal of business in society,* **11**(1), 29 – 40. DOI:10.1108/14720701111108826

Loomis, T. (2012) Community-led Development in New Zealand: Dead End or New Opportunity?, accessed at: http://www.achievingsustainablecommunities.com

McKinlay, P. (2007) The challenge of democratic participation in the community development process. *Community Development Journal,* **41**(4), 92 – 505.

McKinlay, P. (2013) Rethinking local government for rural and provincial New Zealand – a new look at community governance, accessed at: http://www.mdl.co.nz/Resources/Local+government+reform.html

MSD (2013) Final Evaluation report: Social Sector Trials – Trialling New Approached to Social Sector Change, accessed at: https://www.msd.govt.nz/about-msd-and-our-work/work-programmes/initiatives/social-sector-trials/

MSD (2014a) Make it Happen Te Hiku: Community Action Plans for Outcomes Based Social Development, accessed at: http://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/newsroom/media-releases/2014/make-it-happen-report-april-2014.pdf

MSD (2014b) Investment approach refocuses entire welfare system, accessed at: http://www.msd.govt.nz/about-msd-and-our-work/newsroom/media-releases/2012/valuation-report.html

MSD (2015) Social Sector Trials. Retrieved from https://www.msd.govt.nz/about-msd-and-our-work/work-programmes/initiatives/social-sector-trials/

Seddon, T., Billett, S., and Clemans, A. (2005) Navigating Social Partnerships: Central Agencies-Local Networks, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, **26**(5), 567 – 584, accessed from http://www.jstor.org/stable/30036098.

Sen, A. (1999). *Development as Freedom.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Torjman, S. and Makhoul, A. (2012) Community-Led Development. Ottawa: Caledon Institute of Social Policy, accessed at: http://www.caledoninst.org/Publications/Detail/?ID=978.

Turia, T. (2011a) Cabinet Paper: Reprioritising COGS funding to Support Community-led Development, Department of Internal Affairs, accessed at: http://www.dia.govt.nz.

Turia,T. (2011b). Cabinet Paper: Progressing Implementing the Community-led Development Approach, accessed at: http://www.dia.govt.nz.

Financing Community Economic Development in New Zealand

by LINDSAY JEFFS

Founded at Unitec Institute of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand, in 2015

Article

Financing Community Economic Development in New Zealand

by LINDSAY JEFFS

ABSTRACT

Community economic development and social enterprise are growing fast across the globe in both developed and developing countries. They are major components of a new economics arising from the failure of traditional approaches to address the effects of complex and intractable social, economic and environmental problems. This paper examines how community economic development and social enterprise are currently financed in New Zealand. It suggests some alternative approaches and makes recommendations to stakeholders to reduce barriers, promote best practice and improve success factors. The initial discussion uses the findings of a comprehensive research process completed in 2014 by the New Zealand Community Economic Development Trust to understand the New Zealand context for community economic development and social enterprise. The discussion then outlines some alternative social finance approaches used in the UK, Canada, Ireland and Australia, and their potential use in New Zealand if certain barriers are removed and best practice models are used. The final section considers the potential for self-financing by the not-for-profit sector based on data collected by the author over a two-year period. Recommendations are made on how access to finance by community economic agencies can be improved, and the potentially 'game changing' impact of such access. The author of this paper has an extensive background as a practitioner and academic in the community economic development and social enterprise sectors, both within New Zealand and overseas.

INTRODUCTION

In 2014, the New Zealand Community Economic Development Trust (NZCED) was funded by the Lottery Community Sector Research Fund, with support from Unitec Institute of Technology, Auckland, to investigate community economic development and social enterprise in New Zealand. The subsequent report, *Community Economic Development: Understanding the New Zealand Context* (NZCED, 2014), was a result of the growing interest in New Zealand, since the mid-2000s, of the role that community or not-for-profit organisations can play in proactively addressing major social, economic and environmental problems facing humanity locally, nationally and internationally.

The report also built on work undertaken by NZCED (2010, 2011) and the Department of Internal Affairs (2011, 2012, 2013); the Ian Axford (NZ) Fellows Benedict (2010) and Kaplan (2013); academics Grant (2008), Kinsley and Grant (2010) and Simpson (2005); the funder Frykberg (2012), and practitioners Howard (2004), Hutchinson and the New Zealand Social Entrepreneur Fellowship (2001), Jeffs (2005, 2006a, 2006b), Saunders (2009), Sykes and Sykes (2011) and Trotman and Courtney (2008). The initial work demonstrated that whilst there was a growing international body of community economic development and social enterprise-related research coming out of Scotland, Wales, England, Ireland, Continental Europe, Canada, Australia and the USA, little work had been done in New Zealand. Consequently, there was little valid or reliable evidence to inform practitioners working at the community level. As a result, the NZCED decided to attempt to fill some of this knowledge gap. They commissioned Di Jennings to undertake a comprehensive research project, which included a literature review, five focus groups with acknowledged opinion leaders, interviews with ninety-seven community economic development and social enterprise practitioners plus seven case studies.

The subsequent NZCED (2014) report considered:

- the building blocks for community economic development,
- social enterprise operating practices,
- finance and investment options,
- capability building approaches,
- Maori, Pacific and Ethnic enterprises,
- employment issues,
- how impact was demonstrated, and
- the type of support and infrastructure required.

The report acknowledged that there are no universally accepted definitions for either community economic development or social enterprise but that they are related concepts best understood as continuums of activity. Community economic development was viewed as the broader concept being '... rooted in local communities, and embracing social enterprise, community asset ownership, community exchange initiatives (for example, complementary currencies and time banking), as well as small local social value-led businesses' (NZCED, 2014, p. 7).

Social enterprise was seen as an entity that '...operates in markets, but trades for the benefit of people and the planet. An 'asset lock' provides the defining element of a social enterprise as it marks the boundary with private enterprise' (NZCED, 2014, p. 7). Such an asset lock prevents the privatisation of profit or assets.

SOCIAL FINANCE CURRENTLY AVAILABLE IN NEW ZEALAND

Participants in the NZCED research project considered the lack of financial investment as the single biggest factor impeding community economic development and social enterprise.

When asked what sources of finance they had secured over the previous five years they reported the following:

- 61% from philanthropic organisations,
- 58% from individual donors,
- 32% from community foundations,
- 26% from commercial lenders,
- 22% from suppliers credit,
- 20% from a hire purchase or leasing company,
- 15% from social lender,
- 4% from commercial share issues, and
- 1% from community share issue.

While the above list suggests a broad range of social finance sources are available, some vital details were not reported:

- No distinction was made between grants, loans (soft or hard) or equity financing.
- No comment was made about what type of finance was provided from what source.
- No explanation was made about the reported high level of financing from community foundations given the extremely low number of such organisations in New Zealand.
- The types of security for loans required by lenders was not reported.
- The terms and conditions attached to the grants or loans were not mentioned.

However, there were several comments from participants stating that in New Zealand grant dependence is in-built into the social finance system.

When asked whether lack of available social finance was impeding development participants said the activities listed below were not being undertaken because of a lack of finance:

- 60% can't do research and development,
- 60% can't grow or expand,
- 53% can't develop tangible assets,
- 38% can't get into early stage trading (first two years), and
- 30% can't do business plan development.

Research participants indicated that it was also difficult to get the right kind of finance at the right time for the various phases of business development. Seed finance was identified as the most difficult form of social finance to procure, while it was acknowledged that scale and maturity helped access to finance.

Various international and local researchers support the participants' comments. For example, Rolo (2011) defines social finance in terms of organisational investment readiness and divides it into three categories - development finance (research and development, new project development and future planning); capital development (acquiring assets, refurbishment, new build and equipment) and working capital (early trading and monthly/seasonal turnover). Jeffs (2006a) adds an additional category of growth or expansion capital, while Burkett (2010) divides social enterprise business development into four phases: start-up, development, growth and maturity. Each phase requires specific forms of social finance. Burkett (2013) suggests that social finance (finance for social impact – demand focused) and social investment (capital that is pooled for the purposes of generating both social and financial returns – supply focused) should be considered separately.

In terms of the sources of social finance in New Zealand, the NZCED (2014) research report states that '...to grow and thrive, many social enterprises need access to social loans that are more affordable than commercial loans' (p. 60). 'Some participants said they avoided loans because they consider them to be too risky' (p. 61). 'A number of participants said that a loan does not fit with their values and philosophy' (p. 62). For some participants, taking a loan to progress an enterprise was a relatively new possibility, while others said that loans for social purposes should be more affordable than commercial loans and provide non-financial support in the form of organisational capacity building and performance measurement expertise in addition to financial support. Participants also noted that there are limited providers of social finance in New Zealand.

Participants' observations concur with those of researchers such as Jeffs (2006b) and Benedict (2010), who noted that the New Zealand social lending market was immature, with social lending being at a far lower level than in the US, UK, Canada, Ireland or other parts of Europe. Saunders (2009) considered that social lending in New Zealand would be a niche market, with only a small number of providers acting as social finance intermediaries who can raise capital for social enterprises from individuals, companies and charitable foundations. Today, the number of social finance providers is still extremely limited, and appears to be decreasing, as some providers have recently exited the market. Current providers include statutory trusts, community foundations, local authorities, commercial and community owned financial institutions as outlined below.

STATUTORY TRUSTS

Statutory trusts are set up by statute, and include community trusts, energy and port trusts. They are established from the proceeds of the sale of a public entity such as a trust bank, energy or port company, with the resultant funds invested for the public good and the income derived made available to communities in the form of grants or loans. The eleven community trusts are the largest grouping of the statutory trusts, but only two have loan funds and the others only distribute grants. The Canterbury Community Trust has a community loan pool of up to 4% of its investment portfolio. Loan terms can be up to ten years with an interest rate of 3%. They have also established a $2.5 million 'Social Enterprise Fund' which provides soft loans with capacity building assistance through NZ Business Mentors (Canterbury Community Trust, 2015). The Bay Trust also provides community loans (Bay Trust, 2015).

Other statutory trusts include gaming trusts, whose income is derived from the proceeds of gaming machines (pokies) and the Lotteries Grants Board which distributes funds from the NZ Lotteries Commission. They do not provide community loans.

COMMUNITY FOUNDATIONS

In New Zealand there are eleven community foundations who have the objective of 'improving' a specific geographic community by pooling the charitable gifts of donors to create a permanent endowment fund. The income gained from the investments is used to provide grants that support a wide range of community needs (NZ Community Foundations, 2015).

In New Zealand, all of the foundations are grant-makers. However, the Acorn Foundation in Tauranga and the Aoraki Foundation in Timaru have established Community Endowment Funds, which are formal agreements between the foundation and a particular charitable organisation. The endowment fund receives money directly from supporters through bequests or donations, and as the capital grows so do the annual distributions back to the charity (Acorn Foundation, 2015; Aoraki Foundation, 2015)

LOCAL AUTHORITIES

Many local councils in New Zealand provide not-for-profit organisations loan guarantees or loan facilities that are interest free for a period of time. These councils include Christchurch, Dunedin, Wellington, Auckland and New

Plymouth. Most of these guarantees or loans are for the purchase or maintenance of community facilities or for social housing providers (Christchurch City Council, 2015; Dunedin City Council, 2015; Wellington City Council, 2015; Auckland Council, 2015; New Plymouth District Council, 2015).

LOCAL AUTHORITIES

Many local councils in New Zealand provide not-for-profit organisations loan guarantees or loan facilities that are interest free for a period of time. These councils include Christchurch, Dunedin, Wellington, Auckland and New Plymouth. Most of these guarantees or loans are for the purchase or maintenance of community facilities or for social housing providers (Christchurch City Council, 2015; Dunedin City Council, 2015; Wellington City Council, 2015; Auckland Council, 2015; New Plymouth District Council, 2015).

COMMERCIAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

In New Zealand, commercial financial institutions such as banks, finance companies, leasing companies and firms offering supplier credit do not act as social lenders and are often more reluctant to lend to community development organisations and social enterprises than private sector firms. Jeffs (2006b) argues that New Zealand's financial institutions have extremely conservative lending practices; demand loan security in the form of property or personal guarantee and appear to view the third sector with suspicion due to their legal structures and *modus operandi* not fitting the usual business norm. However, investment capital is reportedly available from such sources '...so long as there is a guarantor or the organisation has a strong balance sheet. It is more about security than how well we are trading – especially since the global financial crisis' (NZCED, 2014, p. 66)

COMMUNITY OWNED FINANCE INSTITUTIONS

When compared to the social finance market overseas, New Zealand has a limited range of providers of community owned finance institutions, such as social banks, social loan funds, credit unions or faith-based funds.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT FINANCE INSTITUTIONS (CDFIS)

CDFIs do not exist in New Zealand. These specialist social enterprises support communities by providing affordable finance to those unable to access mainstream lenders. Overseas examples include the Centre for Self-Help USA and Co-operative and Community Finance UK. The nearest New Zealand equivalent to a CDFI was Prometheus Finance Ltd, which had been the main social lender in the country for several decades. The organisation was proposed by Saunders (2009) and Benedict (2010) to be the lead collaborative social finance intermediary in New Zealand. However, the *National Business Review* 23 December 2014 reported that 'Prometheus Finance, the Wellington-based finance company with a mandate for socially responsible lending, has called in receivers after failing to raise enough capital to support plans to scale up the business without breaching regulated capital requirements' (McBeth, 2014).

The remaining social lenders in New Zealand, such as the Lifewise Employment Regeneration Fund, Auckland or Just Dollars Trust, Christchurch provide very small loans to individuals or private businesses. These organisations are facing increased compliance costs imposed by the National government, and their continued existence is at stake.

No social investment banks such as the Big Society Bank, UK, the South Shore Bank, USA or social loan funds such as Shared Interest, UK exist in New Zealand.

CREDIT UNIONS

In New Zealand, unlike their overseas counterparts in Canada, the US, Wales and Ireland, credit unions do not lend to community development organisations or social enterprises. This is a result of the restrictions imposed on credit unions by their governing legislation (the Friendly Societies and Credit Union Act 1982), which limits credit unions to lend to individual members. They also cannot borrow to fund their loan programme like a bank, and must rely on the savings of their members to fund their loan pool.

Since the global financial crisis in 2009, credit unions in New Zealand have been subjected to significantly increased compliance costs. These additional burdens include regulation by the Reserve Bank, compliance with the Non-Bank Deposit Takers Act and, since 2012, additional levies to fund the Financial Markets Authority (FMA). As a result of the impact of these new requirements the micro-finance sector in New Zealand is in retreat. For example, the Awhi Credit Union, a case study in the NZCED report (NZCED, 2014) with branches in Rotorua, Opotiki and Gisborne serving over 2000 predominately Māori members decided to cease operations in October 2014. Its CEO, Rachael Mo, said, 'The organisation has been successfully owned and operated by the community for twenty-three years, but increased compliance costs were killing it' (Opotiki News, 2014). She advised that five years ago, compliance costs

were $20,000, but had skyrocketed to $70,000 in 2013 and were expected to be close to $100,000 in 2014, using up to 11% of gross revenue per annum.

FAITH-BASED SOCIAL SAVINGS AND INVESTMENT FUNDS

New Zealand, like most other Western countries, is home to several faith-based funds providing loan and financial services at a lower cost to church and community ministries. These would not normally be considered bankable due to insufficient equity or inadequate income sources to meet loan servicing costs. Such organisations have approval from the Reserve Bank, are registered with the Department of Internal Affairs (DIA), and are exempt from income tax. Depositors can receive market rate interest. Examples of these funds include Baptist Savings, Presbyterian Savings and Development Society, Catholic Development Fund and the Anglican Church Pension Board. Such funds now have to meet the requirements of the Non Bank Deposit Takers Act which means that they must have a Capital Adequacy Ratio of more than 10%. To meet this requirement, Baptist Savings have decided that '...all future loan requests will require the borrower to buy 5% of the value of the loan in non-redeemable shares... We will lend you the extra funds required to purchase the shares' (Baptist Savings, 2014). The extra loan will incur interest, but to offset the costs the borrower will be paid a dividend on the new shares equivalent to the interest charged. When the loan is repaid the shares remain as an investment for the borrower. The new legislation has also forced Baptist Savings ($90 million deposits) and the Presbyterian Savings and Development Society ($42 million deposits) to amalgamate.

ASSET TRANSFER

Asset transfer is a special form of social finance whereby the central and/or local government sells or transfers public assets to community ownership. A form of such transfers in New Zealand has been '[a]ssets returned to iwi through Treaty settlements [which] illustrates the concept of collective/community ownership. The development of iwi-based social enterprise development has increased following Treaty of Waitangi claim settlements' (New Zealand Business Council for Sustainable Development and Westpac, 2005).

Some council-owned assets have also been transferred to community organisations. For example, when the Auckland supercity was created, the ownership of surplus assets were sometimes transferred to a community organisation (NZCED, 2014).

ALTERNATIVE SOCIAL FINANCE AND SOCIAL INVESTMENT MODELS FOR NEW ZEALAND

Community economic development and social enterprises are major components of the 'new economics' movement arising from the failure of the neo-liberal economic model to address problems such as growing inequalities in health, wealth and opportunity; resource depletion, population growth, climate change and environmental degradation. Governments in many Western countries have prepared major reports on the role that community economic development and social enterprise can play in alleviating some of these problems (Department of Trade and Industry, 2002, 2003; Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, 2003; Department of Enterprise, Trade and Industry, 2004; Bernas and Reiner, 2011). All of these reports suggest that third sector organisations have a vital part to play in achieving societies' broader social, environmental and economic goals.

As a result, a number of governments have passed enabling legislation to support the sector, and have provided funding to establish various forms of social finance. In addition, the market has responded with new social finance tools which may include social loan funds, community sector banks, Community Development Finance Institutions (CDFI) and social impact bonds.

SOCIAL LOAN FUNDS

Social loan funds come from not-for-profit organisations established to offer loans and other financing services to social enterprises and other organisations pursing social or environmental goals. Such funds provide loans at below market rates, or longer loan terms or repayment holidays (capital payments not being due until the project is profitable). Social lenders such as Clann Credo, Ireland and Futurebuilders, England, also offer small grants as part of their investment packages.

COMMUNITY SECTOR BANKS

Community sector banks are specialist banks providing a wide range of financial services for not-for-profit organisations, for example, Charity Bank, Triodos Bank and Unity Trust Bank UK, Southbank USA, VanCity Canada and Community Sector Bank, Australia.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT FINANCE INSTITUTIONS (CDFI)

CDFIs are increasingly popular in the UK with sixty organisations being members of the Community Development Finance Association (Community Development Finance Association, 2015). Over 1,000 organisations belong to the CDFI Coalition in the USA (Community Wealth, 2015).

SOCIAL IMPACT BONDS

Social impact bonds are contracts with the public sector in which the public sector commits to paying for improved social outcomes. Investment is raised from socially-motivated investors who pay for a range of interventions to improve social outcomes. Such bonds are being used in the UK, the USA and Australia.

In New Zealand, the government has prepared a report on social bonds (DTI, 2011), and is now piloting social bonds with the Ministry of Health being the lead agency. The Ministry states that 'Social bonds are an innovative way for private and not-for-profit organisations to partner in delivering better social outcomes – and be rewarded by government' (Ministry of Health, 2015).

COMMUNITY SHARES

Community shares refer to the sale of shares in a community enterprise serving a particular community. Such enterprises can range from shops, pubs, community buildings, renewable energy projects, and local food schemes to social housing. The community investor can get their money back and may also receive interest or dividends on the money they invest. Such share offerings are becoming increasingly popular in the UK and Scotland (Community Shares UK, 2015; Community Shares Scotland, 2015). However, in New Zealand such share issues are subjected to the same regulations as those applying to large cooperatives such as Fonterra.

While all of the above tools could play a role in developing the social finance sector in New Zealand, they are medium to long-term solutions. The following approaches appear to offer the best short-term social finance alternatives:

Crowd-funding

Crowd-funding describes the process of pooling (generally over the internet) a large number of small contributions to fund a business, project or individual. Often the projects are arts and culture or sports-related, or provide other community good benefits. Most crowd-funding overseas and in New Zealand currently provide no promise of any benefit (financial or in-kind) to contributors. Consequently, this type of activity is not regulated by existing New Zealand security law. Examples of crowd-funding platforms in New Zealand include Givealittle, Boosted, Kickstarter and Spark My Potential.

More recently, equity-based crowd-funding, rather than donation funding, is starting to play an important role in small-scale capital raisings (maximum of $2 million over a twelve-month period), typically for a start-up enterprise looking to raise venture capital. Investors receive either company shares or other returns depending upon the success of the venture. Such activity is subject to regulation in New Zealand through the Securities Act and the Financial Markets Conduct Act. Oversight is provided by the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment and the Financial Markets Authority. PledgeMe is now a Financial Markets Authority licensed equity crowd-funder.

Although there are some excellent examples of successful crowd-funding for culture, art and heritage projects on the Ministry of Culture and Heritage and Creative New Zealand websites, no research appears to have been undertaken to verify the results from either the donor/investor or recipient perspectives.

Peer-to-peer lending

Peer-to-peer lending is the practice of lending money to unrelated individuals, or 'peers', without going through a traditional financial intermediary. The lending takes place online on peer-to-peer platforms. Most peer-to-peer loans are unsecured personal loans made to an individual rather than a company. Interest rates are set by lenders or are fixed by the intermediary company on the basis of an analysis of the borrower's credit. Lending intermediaries are normally for-profit businesses who generate revenue by collecting a one-time fee on funded loans from borrowers and by a loan servicing fee to investors (either a fixed amount annually or a percentage of the loan amount).

In New Zealand, peer-to-peer lending became practicable on 1 April 2014, when the relevant provisions of the Financial Markets Conduct Act 2013 came into force. The Act enables peer-to-peer lending services to be licensed. The first peer-to-peer licensed lending service is *Harmoney* which officially launched its service on 10 October 2014 ('Peer-Peer Lending', Wikipedia, 2015). In January 2015, Trade Me became one

of the owners of *Harmoney* and their newsletter claims that *Harmoney* can 'provide lower rates for borrowers and higher returns for lenders – a win-win for everyone' (Trade Me Newsletter, 2015).

Some writers are asking why not establish peer to peer lending from one non-profit to another non-profit (Next in Nonprofits, 2015). It is argued that charities who have healthy reserves could earn higher returns by investing in another non-profit, while also achieving a mission related benefit. The borrower may borrow at a lower cost and with more favourable terms, including a no-payment and no-interest period. Risk can be further mitigated by bringing in more than one lender to a deal.

Big Issue Invest, UK, is an example of a not-for-profit that has established a loan fund to lend to other not-for-profit organizations and disadvantaged individuals. Their website states that '[w]e are the social investment arm of *The Big Issue*. We help prevent poverty and create opportunity for communities by backing sustainable social enterprises, charities and ventures' (Big Issue Invest, 2015). It claims that £25.5 million has been lent to 310 organisations, directly benefitting 1.8 million people and creating 320 jobs.

In New Zealand, a form of peer-to-peer lending is practiced by some iwi authorities when they lend money to tribal members or ventures. For example, in 2005 the Ngāi Tahu Fund was established '...to ensure whānau have the ability to access resources to strengthen Ngāi Tahu cultural excellence through sustainability, innovation and tenacity' (Ngāi Tahu, 2015). Tribal members and groups of members can apply for funding for projects designed to meet specific cultural objectives. The Ngāi Tahu Fund has completed nineteen funding rounds, contributing over $7.6 million to Ngāi Tahu individuals, whānau, hapū and rūnanga throughout New Zealand. Benedict (2010) suggests that iwi invest a portion of their settlement dollars into a social lending fund that can be recycled and leveraged on behalf of the community.

As the above examples demonstrate, the limits to peer-to-peer lending are only those determined by the imagination of the parties involved. Such investment and lending has the potential to create a means for the sector to take control of its own future.

COMMUNITY CURRENCIES

Community currencies are locally created currencies, and are a means of providing an economic safety value. They were popular in the Great Depression, when many local authorities created their own currency. Due to the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, there has been a renewed interest in community currencies and councils such as Bristol, Brixton, Lewes, Totnes and Stroud Councils in the UK, Langenegg in Austria and Nantes in France have established their own currencies (Rogers, 2013).

In the 1980s Local Exchange Trading Systems (LETS) became an international movement with HANDS, Golden Bay (operating since 1989) being the most successful New Zealand example. Such systems ensure that wealth created by trading stays in the community. The world's oldest and most successful complementary currency system is the WIR Bank established in Switzerland in the 1930s as a means for Swiss businesses to trade with each other at a time when the economy was in crisis and there was an absence of credit. The system operates as a bookkeeping system for clearing local transactions and does not use any paper bills. The WIR bank lets its 62,000 members make deposits and payments in Swiss francs or WIR francs (Rogers, 2013; Kaminska, 2009).

The town of Ashhurst in New Zealand is planning a Business to Business (B2B) system with support from the Palmerston North City Council Communities Initiative Fund. Another variation of the WIR Bank system operating in New Zealand is the Waiheke Island credit card (Flexipay), which is a locally owned and operated business. The card is available only to local residents and can be used only at local retailers (including national supermarket, hardware and petrol retailers) (Flexipay, 2015).

In Christchurch, Project Lyttelton has created, in collaboration with the Lyttelton Harbour Information Centre and the Lyttelton Harbour Business Association, the Lyttelton Harbour Voucher. The vouchers, which can be spent at participating local businesses, are designed to strengthen the local economy and create awareness of the importance of buying locally to keep local businesses alive (Project Lyttelton, 2015). Meanwhile, the Elmwood Club in Christchurch is launching an Eftpos-based loyalty, gift and prepay programme, whereby the card holder receives an agreed fixed discount for purchases at participating retailers. The Club bills the retailers monthly for the full amount of the purchase and the value of the discount (Ecardz, 2014).

Local currencies are especially useful as a tool for community economic development, as they are designed to encourage local businesses, local jobs, local producers, local artists, community initiatives, charities and volunteers. They help to create strong networks to ensure that the community thrives even in a recession. Keeping the currency local helps to protect the community from speculators who are interested in investing only if they can make a profit.

TimeBanking

TimeBanking is a way of trading skills in a community using time rather than money as the measurement tool. For every hour participants 'deposit' in a Timebank, by giving practical help and support to others, they are able to 'withdraw' equivalent support. Everyone's time is of equal value, irrespective of what is being exchanged. Timebanking is growing in New Zealand and is being actively promoted by TimeBank Aotearoa. However, New Zealand's Inland Revenue Department has issued tax guidelines for TimeBank participants, which state that people cannot trade in the area that is their main income earner. While TimeBanking is not being used extensively by social enterprises, it is an important tool in community economic development as it reduces the need to raise cash providing 'in-kind' labour.

Barter Systems

Barter systems facilitate a trade-exchange network, which offers a means of conducting business that involves the exchange of goods and services. The networks can be international or national networks run by commercial firms such as Bartercard. In New Zealand, Bartercard has 7,000 member businesses, including some not-for-profit organisations trading over $200 million worth of goods and services outside the cash economy each year (Bartercard, 2015). Other barter systems provide free services such as Swap or Trade it. Barter networks can be locally or community owned and operate in the local area. Such systems expand the trading and buying options for community economic development agencies and social enterprises.

Community and Statutory Trusts Social Loan Funds

Jeffs (2006a) urged NZ's community trusts to commit 4% of their investment capital either as community loans, loan guarantors or to social loan providers However, only one trust has established such a set percentage, while another offers community loans. Why do other trusts not provide community loans? It cannot be argued that it is for financial reasons, as grants deplete the Trust's available investment funds and undermine the Trust's obligation to grow its capital corpus each year at the rate of inflation and population growth. It can be postulated that grants benefit the funder's stated objectives rather than the receivers; build financial, emotional and intellectual dependency; provide the grantmaker with a performance control mechanism through the required accountability reporting whilst supporting the notion of 'doing good'.

Pressure from the not-for-profit sector will be required if community and other statutory trusts are to develop community or social loan funds. If 4% of community trusts investment portfolios - similar to Canterbury Community Trust - were available for community loans, the combined funds would exceed $120 million.

Community Asset Ownership

Community asset ownership describes the ownership by community groups of physical assets providing benefit to local communities in perpetuity. Such assets help the community to build financial independence, leverage greater community benefit, build a more stable long-term future and reduce dependence on philanthropy (Burkett and Drew, 2007).

In New Zealand, some councils and the central government have in the past sold assets to the private sector in a manner that reinforced inequalities of wealth. The current National-led Government has signalled its intention to privatise more public assets in the future. The Prime Minister, John Key, in his 2015 State of the Nation speech revealed that the government intends to sell up to 2,000 state houses this year, with another 1,000 to 2,000 being sold to community housing providers in the following year (Otago Daily Times, 2015).

In the UK the transfer of land and buildings from public to community ownership has become an important part of community economic development. Over 150 local authorities in England alone are working to progress community asset plans (Wyler and Blond, 2010). The UK government has funded an external Asset Transfer Unit that is managed by Locality (a nationwide network of community-led organisations) to achieve its objectives of building bottom-up prosperity and resilient communities (Aiken, Cairns and Thake, 2008). It has also passed legislation (the UK Localism Act 2011) that gives local community groups the right to make a bid to buy a property that has a community use when it comes up for sale. In Scotland, the Community Empowerment Act allows communities with a population of less than 10,000 to apply to register an interest in land and the opportunity to buy that land when it comes up for sale.

A variation of asset transfer was outlined in the NZCED report where community organisations obtain a long-term lease of a council or government owned building at a reduced or 'peppercorn' rental or through an arrangement where the council owns the land and the community organisation the building.

In New Zealand, the localism and devolution agendas have not achieved the same levels of public awareness as in the UK and Europe as New Zealand has one of the most centralised systems of government in the OECD with

health, social services and education being delivered by central not local government. This degree of centralisation reduces the pressure on both central and local governments to adopt a community-owned asset approach and poses a challenge for the development of a community economic development movement that is fundamentally devolutionist in nature.

SOCIAL ENTERPRISE INVESTMENT FUND

Government-created funds such as social enterprise investment funds have become increasingly common in Western countries since the early 2000s and have made a significant difference to the sector (Bank of England, 2003).

Participants in the NZCED research were given a list of nine possible actions that central government could do to support community economic development, and asked to choose which would be most helpful. The development of a Social Enterprise Investment Fund was the third most popular choice behind an enabling, supportive and effective policy framework and adoption of social procurement policies. In the UK, the creation of Big Society Capital in 2012 was funded by a combination of dormant accounts in banks and building societies (£400 million) and commercial bank finance (£200 million) (Big Society, 2015). In Ireland, the central government passed legalisation in 2001 and 2005 to use the money from dormant accounts for social purposes. In New Zealand, the Inland Revenue Department receives the unclaimed money. In Scotland, the government created Social Investment Scotland, with a repayable loan pool of about £25 million.

SELF-FINANCING COLLECTIVE SOCIAL INVESTMENT FUND

New Zealand's current not-for-profit sector is dominated by organisations based on a charity model, rather than a trading or a self-help model. As a consequence, most organisations look for handouts, grants and donations (cash, bequests and in-kind). Their surplus funds are normally invested in term deposits with the major banks which in some cases lead on to the various causes which the not-for-profit exists to modify or eradicate. Others invest in fixed assets such as property or occasionally a share portfolio. As a result they are passive investors, and there is little evidence of any serious attempts to look for new solutions.

By contrast, in Scotland, when faced with the lack of suitable social finance, Community Business Scotland launched the Scottish Community Enterprise Investment Fund in 1990 by means of a share offer that raised over £0.5 million. After ten years in operation, the fund was passed on to the Charity Bank (Community Business Scotland, 2015).

Could such an approach be tried in New Zealand? As previously discussed, the community share model and public capital raising approaches face major legal, regulatory and financial difficulties. However, direct investment through placing some of their term deposits into a collective sector owned social investment loan fund could result in a sector owned and operated fund.

IS SUCH AN APPROACH FEASIBLE?

The following research was conducted over a two year period to test the feasibility of the concept. The sample was selected based on organisations whose staff members had attended the Financial Management module of Unitec's Graduate Diploma in Not-for-Profit Management in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin during 2013 or 2014. It is worth noting that the Graduate Diploma tends to attract students predominantly from small to medium-sized organisations with paid staff, rather than large organisations or citizen-based or voluntary organisations who deliver predominately social services. Community development, cultural, sports and professional agencies are also represented. The amount of each organisations' term investments was stated in the publically available financial statements.

The total sample was seventy-three agencies with thirty-three agencies from Auckland, eighteen from Christchurch, thirteen from Wellington and nine from Dunedin. However, to prevent distortion, four organisations with term deposits of greater than $7 million each were excluded from the sample as were seven organisations with no term deposits, reducing the sample to sixty-two organisations.

The sixty-two organisations together had term deposits of $27,268,000, or an average of $439,806 per organisation. The range of term deposits were as follows:

- Thirteen had term deposits greater than $1 million,
- Seven had term deposits between $500,000 to $1 million,
- Nine had term deposits between $200,000 to $500,000,
- Seventeen had term deposits between $100,000 to $200,000,
- Sixteen had term deposits under $100,000.

If these organisations placed just 10% of their term deposits with a community owned social investment fund or a peer-to-peer investment pool, then the initial capital pool would be in excess of $2.5 million. These not-for-profits would still receive interest on their investment, and would be directly contributing to civil society. If the number of groups participating was tenfold larger then the loan pool would exceed $25 million.[1]

Analysis of this small capital pool suggests that the idea is completely feasible. The pool could help the sector gain control over its destiny. Peter Quamby, a leading figure in establishing community banking in Australia states:

> It is from here that we can stop seeking permission to fulfil our mission [...] By gaining greater control over capital we can approach social issues differently – we can be far more creative in the way we approach issues such as social housing, indigenous enterprise, health, aged care and employment' (Quamby, 2004, cited in Jeffs, 2006).

All that is needed is the will to make it happen.

RECOMMENDATIONS

This paper suggests that the best ways to progress the social finance and investment agenda are that:

1. The not-for-profit sector establishes its own social investment fund.
2. The not-for-profit sector, through its peak bodies, establishes a crowd-funding platform similar to that established for the creative sector.
3. Some not-for-profit organisations trial peer-to-peer lending and report their experience back to the sector.
4. Local communities are encouraged to create their own community currency. A national not-for-profit sector credit card is investigated.
5. The New Zealand Government passes amendments to the Community Trust Act 1999 mandating all community trusts to commit 4% of their investment pool to the creation of a social investment fund.
6. The New Zealand Government, in partnership with local government, follows the lead of the UK and Scottish governments and passes legislation that supports the transfer of land and buildings from public to community ownership.
7. The New Zealand Government changes its current policy of money from dormant bank accounts or unclaimed life insurances being transferred to the Inland Revenue Department, and instead uses this money to establish a Social Enterprise Investment Fund.
8. The New Zealand Government instructs the Financial Markets Authority, the Reserve Bank and the Inland Revenue Department to remove the unnecessary restrictions that are preventing the growth of time banks, credit unions, locally owned cooperatives and social loan funds.

LINDSAY JEFFS is a Lecturer in the Department of Community
and Health Services at Unitec Institute of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand
Contact: ljassociates@xtra.co.nz

---

[1] Please note that if the four organisations excluded from the sample (having term deposits of more than $7 million) also invested 10% of their term deposits then the initial loan pool would have been increased by another $26 million.

REFERENCES

Acorn Foundation (2015), accessed at: http://www.acornfoundation.org.nz (4 February 2015).

Aiken, M., Cairns, B. and Thake, S. (2008) *Community Ownership and Management of Assets,* Joseph Rowntree Foundation, London, UK.

Aoraki Foundation (2015), accessed at: http://www.aorakifoundation.co.nz (4 February 2015).

Auckland Council (2015), accessed at: http:// www.auckland.govt.nz (4 February 2015).

Bank of England (2003) *The Financing of Social Enterprises: A Special Report by the Bank of England,* Domestic Finance Division, London, UK, accessed at:
http://www.uk.coop/sites/storage/public/downloads/bank_of_england_the_financing_of_social_enterprises_0_0.pdf
. (30 January 2015)

Baptist Savings (2015), accessed at: http://www.baptistsavings.co.nz (29 January 2015).

Baptist Savings (2014) *The Good Investor,* Issue 12 (October), accessed at:
http://baptistsavings.co.nz/backend/files/newsletter_pdf/13/13.pdf. (1 February 2015).

Bartercard (2015), accessed at: http://www.bartercard.co.nz (30 January 2015).

Bay Trust (2015), accessed at: http:// www.baytrust.org.nz (4 February 2015).

Benedict, L. (2010) *Social Lending: A Tool for Grantmakers: An opportunity for Communities,* Fullbright New Zealand, August, accessed at: http://www.fulbright.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/axford2010_benedict.pdf (20 January 2015).

Bernas, K. and Reimer, B. (2011) *Building a Federal Policy frame work and Program in Support of Community Economic Development*, Northern Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan Regional Node of the Social Economy Suite, Canada.

Big Issue Invest (2015), accessed at: http://www.bigissueinvest.com (1 February 2015).

Big Society (2015), accessed at: http://www.bigsocietycapital.com (29 January 2015).

Boosted (2015), accessed at: http:// www.boosted.org.nz (29 January 2015).

Burkett, I. (2013) *Using the Business Model Canvas for Social Enterprise Design*, Brisbane, Australia.

Burkett, I. (2010) *Financing Social Enterprise: Understanding Needs and Realities,* Foresters Community Finance, Brisbane, Australia.

Burkett, I. and Drew, B. (2007) *Community Asset Building in the Australian Context*. Foresters Community Finance, Brisbane, Australia.

Canterbury Community Trust (2015), accessed at: http://www.commtrust.org.nz (4 February 2015).

Christchurch City Council (2015), accessed at: http://www.ccc.govt.nz (4 February 2015).

Community Business Scotland (2015) electronic newsletter, accessed at: info@cbs-network.org.uk (22 January 2015).

Community Development Finance Association (2015), accessed at: http://www.cdfi.org.uk (29 January 2015).

Community Shares Scotland (2015), accessed at http://www.communitysharesscotland.org.uk (29 January 2015).

Community Shares UK (2015), accessed at: http://www.communityshares.org.uk (29 January 2015).

Community Trust of Southland (2015), accessed at: http://www.ctos.org.nz
(4 February 2015).

Community Wealth (2015), accessed at: http://www.communitywealth.org (29 January 2015).

Creative New Zealand (2015), accessed at: http:// www.creativenz.govt.nz (30 January 2015).

Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs (2003) *Many Communities a Common Focus: Strategy Statement 2003-2005,* Dublin, Ireland.

Department of Enterprise, Trade and Industry (2004) *Developing a Successful Social Economy: NI Government's Three-Year Strategic Plan 2004-2007. Action Plan 2004-2005.* Northern Ireland.

Department of Internal Affairs (2013) *Legal Entities for Social Enterprises*, Wellington, New Zealand.

Department of Internal Affairs (2012) *Mapping Social Enterprises in New Zealand*, Wellington, New Zealand.

Department of Internal Affairs (2011) *The Potential for Social Impact Bonds in New Zealand,* a report prepared by Ross Phillipson Consulting Ltd, Wellington, New Zealand.

Department of Trade & Industry (UK) (2003) *Social Enterprise: A Progress Report on Social Enterprise,* London, UK, accessed at:
http://www.uk.coop/sites/storage/public/downloads/strategyforsocialenterprise_progressreport_2003.pdf (15 November 2014).

Department of Trade & Industry (UK) (2002) *Social Enterprise: A Strategy for Success,* London, UK, accessed at:
http://www.nftmo.com/adapt/publisher.kc/TMO%20Docs/original%20doc%20lib%20docs/Supporting%20Information/TMOs%20and%20the%20Right%20to%20Manage/Soc%20ent%20stratNComm_047.pdf (25 November 2014).

Dey, K. and Grant, S. (2014) *Maori Communities as Social Enterprises,* in H. Douglas and S. Grant, eds, *Social Entrepreneurship and Enterprise: Concepts in Context*, Tilde Publishing and Distribution, Victoria, Australia.

Dunedin City Council (2015), accessed at: http:// www.dunedin.govt.nz (4 February 2015).

Ecardz (2014) *Proposal for Loyalty Program Elmwood Club (EC),* Christchurch, New Zealand.

Flexipay (2015), accessed at: http://www.flexipay.co.nz (30 January 2015).

Frykberg, K. (2012) *A short summary and case studies of Social Enterprise & Social Finance in Aotearoa New Zealand*, Todd Foundation, Wellington, New Zealand.

Givealittle (2015), accessed at: http://www.givealittle.co.nz (29 January 2015).

Grant, S. (2008) Contextualising Social Enterprise in New Zealand, *Social Enterprise Journal,* **4**(1), 9-23.

Howard, T. (2004) *Community Economic Development in Northland "Work in Progress"*, Northland Urban Rural Mission, Whangarei, New Zealand.

Hutchinson, V. and the New Zealand Social Entrepreneur Fellowship (2011) *How Communities Heal: Stories of Social Innovation and Social Change,* Stewardship Edition, New Zealand.

Jeffs, L. (2011) *How a NZCED Approach could build a Sustainable, Resilient Christchurch*, paper presented at the New Zealand Community Economic Development Conference, Auckland, New Zealand, April.

Jeffs, L. (2006a) *The Role of Community Trusts in Promoting and Financing Social Enterprise Development*, paper presented at the Community Trusts of New Zealand Conference, Invercargill, New Zealand, March.

Jeffs, L. (2006b) *Social Entrepreneurs and Social Enterprises - Do they have a future in New Zealand?* Paper presented at the 51st ICSB World Conference, Melbourne, Australia, June.

Jeffs, L. (2005) *How Community Trusts Can Assist Social Enterprise Development*, paper presented at the Community Trusts of New Zealand Conference, Auckland, New Zealand, February.

Kaminska, I. (2009) *The WIR bank model, or back to barter*, FTAlphaville, *Financial Times*, 18 February.

Kaplan, M. J. (2013) *Growing the Next generation of Social Entrepreneurs and Start Ups in New Zealand*, Ian Axford (New Zealand) Fellowships in Public Policy.
Kickstarter (2015), accessed at: http://www.kickstarter.com/newzealand (29 January 2015).
Kinley, L. and Grant, S. (2010) Walking towards the light? The transformation of Jigsaw from Not-for-Profit to Social Enterprise [Paper in special issue: Social Enterprise and Social Innovation, J. Barraket, J. and S. Grant, eds]
[online]. *Third Sector Review*, **16**(2), 29-47.
Availability:<http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=201100736;res=IELAPA> ISSN: 1323-9163.

McBeth, P. (2014) *Eco-lender Prometheus Finance calls in receiver*, NBR, 23 December 2014, accessed at: http://www.nbr.co.nz/article/eco-lender-prometheus-finance-calls-receiver-bd-167073. (5 January 2015).

Ministry of Culture and Heritage (2015), accessed at: http://www.mch.govt.nz 30 January 2015.

Ministry of Health (2015), accessed at: http://www:moh.govt.nz (29 January 2015).

New Plymouth District Council (2015), accessed at: http://www.newplymouthnz.com (4 February 2015).

New Zealand Business Council for Sustainable Development and Westpac (2005) *Let's Settle This: Through Settlement to Sustainable Māori Enterprise*, accessed at: http://www.sbc.org.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0011/56549/Maori-Enterprise-Development-Report.pdf. (20 January 2015).

Next in Nonprofits (2015), accessed at: http://www.nextinnonprofits.com (29 January 2015).

Ngāi Tahu (2015), accessed at: http://www.ngaitahu.iw.co/culture/ngai-tahu-fund (2 February 2015)

NZCED (2014) *Community Economic Development: Understanding the New Zealand Context,* New Zealand Community Economic Development Trust (a report prepared by Di Jennings), Raglan, New Zealand, accessed at: http://base.socioeco.org/docs/_wp-content_uploads_2014_03_ced-research-2014_online-v3.pdf. (20 June 2014).

NZCED (2011) conference proceedings, accessed at: http://www.ced.org.nz (30 January 2015).

NZCED (2010) conference proceedings, accessed at: http://www.ced.org.nz (29 January 2015).
NZ Community Foundations (2015), accessed at: http://www.nzcommunityfoundations.org.nz (4 February 2015).
Opotiki News (2014), accessed at: http://www.opotikinews.co.nz (3 February 2015)

Otago Daily Times (2015), 29 January 2015, accessed at: http://www.otagodailytimes.co.nz (4 February 2015).

Pearce, J. (2003) *Social Enterprise in Anytown*, Calouste Guilberikian Foundation, London, UK.

'Peer-Peer Lending', Wikipedia (2015), accessed at: http://Wikipedia.org.wiki/peer-peer-lending (31 January 2015).

PledgeMe (2015), accessed at: http://www.pledgeme.co.nz (30 January 2015).

Project Lyttelton (2015), accessed at: http://www.lyttleton.net.nz (1 February 2015).

Rogers, J. (2013) *Councils Adopting Local Currencies*, article by the Guardian Professional, June 2013, UK.

Rolo, H. (2011) *Progressing Social Enterprise in New Zealand*, paper presented at the New Zealand Community Economic Development Conference, Auckland, New Zealand, April.

Saunders, G. (2009) *A New Funding Paradigm: Prospects for social lending and investment by foundations in New Zealand*, ASB Community Trust and the Tindall Foundation, Auckland, New Zealand, accessed at: http://www.foundationnorth.org.nz/sites/default/files/09_11_20_Social%20lending%20report.pdf. (20 November 2014).

Simpson, K. (2005) *Social Entrepreneurship in New Zealand: Where to from Here?* Unpublished report for the Waitakere Community Economic Development Group, Auckland, New Zealand.
Spark My Potential (2015), accessed at: http:// www.sparkmypotential.co.nz (29 January 2015).
Swap or Trade it (2015), accessed at: http://www.swaportradeit.co.nz (30 January 2015).
Sykes, P. and Sykes, V. (2011) *Social Enterprise: How is it relevant to the current and future work of two Manukau Organisations?* Auckland, New Zealand, accessed at: http://www.community.net.nz/NR/rdonlyres/22E64F6D-7940-4A32-A196-
F7BF53820357/80650/SocialEnterpriseReportSykesJuly20112.pdf (20 July 2012).

Trade Me Newsletter (2015), newsletter@trademe.co.nz, 28 January 2015.

Trotman, R. and Courtney, M. (2008), *Supporting Community Economic Development in the Auckland region: Issues and Opportunities*, ASB Community Trust, Auckland, New Zealand, accessed at: http://www.foundationnorth.org.nz/sites/default/files/files/ASB%20Community%20Trusts%20Community%20Economic%20Development%20Report%202008.pdf. (20 January 2015).

Wellington City Council (2015), accessed at: http://www.wellington.govt.nz (4 February 2015).

Wyler, S. and Blond, P. (2010) *To Buy, To Bid, To Build: Community Rights for an Asset Owning Democracy*, a ResPublica and NESTA Joint Publication. Housing, Health and Environment Unit, UK, November, accessed at: http://www.respublica.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/to-buy-to-bid-to-build.pdf (30 March 2011).

Practising Place with Locative Mobile Technology

by MAGGIE BUXTON

Founded at Unitec Institute of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand, in 2015

ISSN 2423-009X

Article

Practising Place with Locative Mobile Technology

by MAGGIE BUXTON

ABSTRACT

Places are gathering points for a diverse range of realities: physical, spiritual, cultural, and digital. In the twenty-first century, the boundaries between these ways of knowing and being in the world are increasingly blurred. In this environment, rather than making places, one practises place. This article describes a place practice that brings together ubiquitous technologies, indigenous and speculative ontologies, and integral research methodologies. It presents three case studies focussed around three spiritually significant sites in South Auckland, New Zealand: a cemetery, a marae and a park. Locative mobile technologies augment physical spaces with digital content and can act as mediators between the self, the physical world, digital worlds and other worlds beyond. Technology is not usually associated with spirit. However, in these case studies, technology paradoxically plays a role in supporting the spirit of these places. This work raises legal, moral, cultural, and political issues in the use of mobile technologies in indigenous and/or sensitive contexts. It also presents opportunities for how mobile technologies can shift perceptions of self and place, make institutional knowledge more accessible, and build connections in the spaces where cultures, histories, peoples and realities meet. In these ways, when embedded within a principled practice, these technologies can support the spirit of place.

INTRODUCTION

Sensors, signals and computing are now as intrinsic to landscapes as cars, concrete, flora and fauna. Places have become the gathering points for a multiplicity of physical, spiritual, cultural and digital realities. In this environment, rather than 'making' places, one practises place.

This paper discusses place practises situated in and around a South Auckland town. It outlines three case studies of community practice in which I have used locative (also known as geolocation, geolocative or georeality) mobile technologies. These technologies *locate* or *attach* digital media in or to specific spaces and places to be retrieved via smart mobile devices. I discuss the issues and opportunities generated in this process. My work is situated within a principled practice devoted to supporting the spirit, the wairua, of place as it is understood by a wide range of cultures.

I have been practising place for almost all of my forty-something years. As an only and lonely child, I grew up playing with the spirits of my place. Later in my life, I travelled to a number of sacred sites around the world, and lived near spiritual places such as Findhorn in Scotland. I have spent the last twenty-five years working internationally as a systemic consultant, creative practitioner, educator and strategist with organisations and communities (including indigenous peoples in developing nations). Much of this work has been cross-cultural, cross-disciplinary and intrinsically place-focussed. In recent years, I moved permanently back to my home community of Papakura, New Zealand. This paper demonstrates some of my most recent

work, which creatively weaves together art, spirituality, technology, science and culture. It emerges from my recently submitted PhD thesis, which explores these ideas, tools, and practices in more detail.

SMARTPHONES IN SMART CITIES

The development of the World Wide Web catalysed changes through the links it created between 'various networks, autonomous programs, and genres of expression' (Davis, 1998, p. 387). Smart mobile devices brought the internet into the streets, creating media-rich, networked landscapes.

The worldwide uptake of smartphones is exponential. Statistics NZ has reported that more than half of New Zealanders are now accessing the Internet via a mobile phone, and the total number of Internet connections via smartphones increased by a third to more than 2.5 million in 2012 (Hill, 2012). In 2013, it has been reported that over 60% of New Zealanders have smartphones, and 19% have tablets (TNS, 2013).

Smart mobile devices have been described as 'partly technological, partly psychological and partly cultural' with multiple modes of usage (Huhtamo, 2004, p. 36). Users can take pictures, make movies, create music, play games, shop, network, monitor their health, organise their lives and keep track of others' movements via apps – software applications which are downloaded onto the devices. These devices are simultaneously telephones, radios, televisions, navigation systems, cameras, remote controls, game consoles, spirit levels, wallets, departure cards, medical monitors and portals to an invisible world of visual and auditory material floating around us.

After 2008, developments in mobile technology and GPS made it possible to locate digital media at particular sites using a combination of GPS signals and/or the unique address of person's phone. This meant that people could use their smartphones to see and hear stories and information at particular points of interest. Around this time, the terms *locative mobile*, and *LBS* (location-based services) were coined (de Souza e Silva and Firth, 2010, p. 486).

Today, locative mobile is part of a computing revolution that is reshaping, reforming and disrupting the way that lives are led, communities are built, and places are understood. Squire (2009) views individuals as now being 'neither entirely here nor there but in multiple, occasionally hybrid, places of their own choosing' (p. 78). He describes how online and offline activity is reshaping how place is experienced, creating a multiplicity of place. He argues that there is an inability to unplug or get away as we now have the ability to be in multiple places at once.

Graham, Zook, and Boulton (2012) have emphasised the 'the potent ways in which virtual information – in particular, geographically referenced content – intersects and helps shape the relationships that undergird our lived geographies' (p. 465). They argue that a variety of technologies (including code embedded in everyday objects) are creating profoundly new ways of engaging with place. It is argued that 'invisible' technologies (such as Wi-Fi and GPS) are shifting people's relationship with spaces and places (Rieser, 2004). Society is moving from a view of space as static and dead, to one where it is fluid, dynamic and inherently interactive (Haque, 2004, p. 245), and where technology has disappeared into the background as media become infused with the environment (Deuze, 2012).

My own work is now a rich interplay between people, signals, things, information, ideas, code, memories and interactions. I foresee locative mobile technology having an increasingly visible impact on places and communities (and the people who support them) for, as Davis (1998) argues, 'when a culture's technical structure of communication mutates quickly and significantly, both social and individual 'reality' is in for a bit of a ride' (p. 310).

PRACTICE AND PLACE

The concept of practice has become increasingly popular among scholars from a number of disciplines. This includes (but is not limited to) organisational development and management (Nicolini, 2012); sociology (MacIntyre, 1981; Schatzki, 2001); media and computing philosophy (Brewer and Dourish, 2008; Thrift and French, 2002); visual arts (Frayling, 1993; Sullivan, 2010); education (Fitzmaurice, 2010; Hagar, 2011); and theorists discussing mobility (Cresswell, 2002). Although many of these views of practice have different applications, what is common to them is that practice is seen to be made up of many different elements which are enacted via the body (Nicolini, 2012; Schatzki, 2001).

Nicolini, Gherardi and Yanow (2003) argue that within this type of approach, 'knowing' precedes knowledge. They see 'knowing' as 'situated in the system of ongoing practices of action, as relational, mediated by artifacts, and always rooted in a context of interaction' (p.3). Following this, Nicolini (2012) describes practice-based approaches as fundamentally processual, relational, and embodied.

Many technologists refer to the notion of practice in their work. Thrift and French, for example, predicted in 2002 that the internet of things will be made up of appliances which are 'practice-aware', 'responding to and aware of the context in which they are used through an array of wireless and other sensors, and continuous locational information read from Global Positioning System (GPS) references' (p. 315). This is now a day to day reality. Relatedly, Graham (2004) describes a world where traditional and emerging practices as well as media have become interdependent and interconnected within a maelstrom of societal change (p. 19). In addition, Brewer and Dourish (2008) put forward the idea that new forms of practice are emerging through the mediation of technology. They notice an emerging 'reconfiguration of the conceptual relationships between place, space, technology, and practice' (p. 970).

There are criticisms of media-infused environments. There have been arguments that technology is akin to an addiction consuming the world (Glendinning, 1995), and places are in decline. Meyrowitz (1985), for example, cautioned that the relationships between social situations and physical settings, between public and private social activities and between adulthood and childhood are all undermined by 'electronic media' - leading to a relatively 'placeless' world. More recent critics like Carr (2008, 2010) have argued that the Internet (and search engines like Google) is changing the way humans think, much for the worse. Likewise, Bauerlein (2009) sees the internet age as having a stupefying effect on youth - undermining the future of humanity.

For me, declaring any kind of technology as inherently good, bad, or even neutral is problematic without fully understanding the context in which it is used. As Graham (1998) notes, adopting 'deterministic technological models' that engage with the `impact' of technologies implies 'simple, linear, technological cause and societal effect' (p. 181). This is not necessarily useful or relevant in a world made up of interactive, fundamentally intertwined networks. Instead, I agree with Spretnak (1997), who argues that 'technology is neither a force unto itself, dragging us along in its wake, nor merely an aggregate of neutral, value free tools. The purpose and design of every technology reflects our culture' (p. 124).

I see place as a centre for practice, and those who work in and around it as place practitioners. This perspective encompasses a relational and processual notion of place that is fundamentally embodied insofar as it involves all of one's senses, experiences, and knowledge, and is enacted in the place where one stands using mobile devices. From this perspective, place is the centre of seamless political, social, digital, spiritual, technological, personal, local and global activity. This view of place has resonance with many indigenous realities, which 'have produced knowledges, epistemologies, ontologies, and cosmologies that construct ways of being and seeing in relationship to their physical surroundings' (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 2008, p. 136), where 'all aspects of the universe are interrelated' and where knowledge is 'holistic, relational, and even spiritual' (p. 151).

My perspective can also be contextualised within place-related discourses that are critical of mainstream academic ontologies. Rose (2002) and Somerville (2007, 2010) for example, promote holistic, embodied ways of being and knowing place. Rose (2002) describes an 'ecological self', which is 'materially embedded in specific places, as well as being co-substantive with the universe. The emplaced ecological self is permeable: place penetrates the body, and the body slips into place' (p. 312). Somerville (2007, 2010) puts forward the notion of 'becoming-other' as a processual, fundamentally embodied, relational concept 'born of the space in-between' (2007, p. 234). She argues that this way of being in place is a condition for generating new knowledges through a research engagement that is at once messy, open-ended, liminal, and irrational (2007, p. 235). For her, learning in places happens through 'embodied connections in particular local places' (Somerville, 2010).

My perspective (influenced as it is by these emerging discourses) embraces place as a site for practice, and describes those who work in and around places as place practitioners. One *practises* place or simply *lives* place. Place practitioners are seen to be any individuals whose work content and work location, and often personal identity and spirituality, are inextricably entwined. They include but are not limited to

local historians, kaitiaki [stewards/guardians], local environmental activists, educationalists, healers, site-specific artists, community workers and marae employees. Within this notion of place practice, one can either operate within a particular discipline or cultural framework, or, in my case, work across frameworks. I describe my work as a transdisciplinary form of place practice that brings together emerging technologies, ontologies, and methodologies.

COMMUNITY CASE STUDIES

My practice has generated a number of case studies, three of which involve spiritually significant sites in Papakura, New Zealand: a historical cemetery, a marae, and a sacred site disguised as a public park. My work at each of these places has been to create a mobile-based user experience, which supports the spirit of those places, and the work of those associated with those sites.

The majority of the work on the cemetery and park sites took place over a six-month period in early 2013, and these case studies are now in abeyance. The marae case study was also created and intensively researched in this same time period, but has evolved and continued into a larger scale, longer-term project.

All the experiences 'geolocate' stories and information at significant points around each site using sophisticated locative mobile software. The user then accesses this information (via an application on their phones) in the form of text, audio, still or moving image, links to websites, animated content etc. The information can only be accessed at the point at which it has been placed, by an individual using a mobile device. Stories are therefore physically contextualised in a way that is not otherwise possible.

For these case studies, and more recent work, I have been using a locative, augmenting reality software application created by Imersia Group (www.imersia.com). I chose the verb *augmenting* to describe these tools, following the lead of Manovich (2006), Aurigi (2008), and Graham et al. (2012), all of whom argue that mobile tools which insert and interweave media in the environment are adding to the environment in some way. Traditionally, augmented reality has referred to a graphical overlay onto a real environment, but this is as a limited understanding of how the digital can enrich and affect the physical environment in a number of ways, including through geolocated sound.

Imersia's software creates *smartpoints*, which are artificially intelligent points in space that hold many different kinds of media (text, sound, moving image files, 3-D objects and animations et cetera.). I inserted digital material into the 'smart point' via a web portal to then be accessed by users via their mobile device (after accessing a website or downloading an app) at a location. In order to access the information effectively the mobile device needs to be internet enabled, have an accurate GPS and a quality internal gyroscope, accelerometer and compass. Most recent smart mobile devices comply with these requirements.

At the cemetery I worked in partnership with Dr Michelle Smith, a local historian associated with the Papakura Museum. Dr Smith had already compiled a brochure and group tour for the site, so my role was to translate her research into an individual mobile-based experience. I recorded her sharing stories of inhabitants of the cemetery, and the historical events in which their lives were contextualised. We then geo-located these stories to the relevant person's grave. Users then accessed this material as an audio commentary and a textual summary via their phones. There were also able to follow web links to related historical material, and see images contributed from museum archives and donated by families.

At Papakura Marae, I worked with marae CEO Mr Tony Kake, kaumātua [Māori elders] and marae founders to gather stories in text, photographic and video formats. Some of this information had not been recorded previously. Users were able to enjoy stories about the *taonga* [prized things] of the marae (carvings, woven panels et cetera.), and to hear stories of how the marae was founded and built; they could also learn about current services on offer to families in the marae community and learn of future development plans for the site (via an animated video provided by architects).

The Te Kōiwi Park case study was quite different in nature. At that site I engaged in a much deeper form of place practice by working over the entire six month period to know that location in many different ways. I worked alongside scientists (microbiologists, informatics specialists and soil chemists), energy healers, psychics, oral historians, descendants of settlers, and Māori inhabitants of the site before it became a park. I went to multiple archival and research institutes in order to research and gather images of

letters, newspaper articles, council memos and land documents. In addition, every few days I went to the site to take sound samples and photographic images (including using a drone to take aerial footage with my mobile phone). Occasionally, I visited to meditate and converse with the spirits of that site. In this process I uncovered the rich, contested, sometimes painful history of the site.

Once gathered, this material was mixed and edited 'live' on-site, using a special editing programme. The software creatively layered together images, text, and sounds creating surreal short videos that were creative montages of the material gathered over the six months. The videos were shown as part of an exhibition that took place during Matariki [a special celebration in the Māori calendar]. The exhibition occurred within a local public gallery (showing the videos via a monitor hung on the wall), and simultaneously at the park using the audience's mobile phones. During the exhibition, an artist talk brought together key collaborators with the general public to share stories and anecdotes about that site and the process of creating the work.

METHODOLOGY AND PRACTICE

In my view, engaging with place as a practice necessarily involves working with a bricolage of methods and an emergent process of trial and error and muddling through. With this in mind, I used a wide variety of methods to create *content* for the experiences (i.e. information, images, sounds and stories about the places), as well as to gather data on the *process* of working on the sites and feedback from those participating in the demonstrations. The research therefore involved generating content about the place itself (with still and moving images, aerial filming via drones, scientific sampling [microscopy and soil coring], sound recordings, archival research, and oral history recordings) while simultaneously reflecting on this process (individually within a personal blog; with others using survey interviews and semi-structured interviews; and, in the case of the park, a gallery feedback book and interactive artist talk). It involved generating content, but also reflecting on how this content was experienced when reconstituted via the portal of a mobile phone.

I worked with different types of participants on each site. First, there were collaborators who worked with me to create the experiences. This group ranged from partners in managing each case study project (at a strategic level), through to those who provided content for the demonstration 'experiences' (in the form of stories and artefacts) or spiritual, cultural and technological expertise. There was also a second category of eighteen participants who were invited through a purposeful selection process to simply *experience* the demonstrations. These experiences were captured via questionnaire-based interviews immediately afterwards. These individuals had a connection with the case sites and all were designated by me to be a place practitioner of some sort (for example, marae workers, community police officers, local historians, mana whenua et cetera.).

Place practice is, for me, a form of spiritual practice, which is why I opened myself to receiving 'guidance' for my work through different channels such as signs, intuitions, dreams, and spoken words. I also engaged in practises such as meditation and conscious visualisation. Throughout my engagement, I consulted with spiritual practitioners both Māori and Pākehā. This approach is in keeping with the *integral* research framework I developed for my work based on the writings of Braud (2011), Esbjörn-Hargens (2009) and Hedlund (2010). These authors all promote inclusive, multi-methodological structures that validate a number of different epistemological and ontological paradigms (and data collection methods) within a research process, including those of a transpersonal nature.

I am mindful that some of my research involves Māori knowledge, and taonga including stories and *tapu* [set aside-restricted-sacred] sites. It is therefore important to me that my work is always guided by *kaumātua* [elders], and by *mana whenua* [Māori with demonstrated authority over a specific region]. I regularly consult with them to gain spiritual guidance and blessings, and ensure my work is culturally safe. In addition to using inclusive research frameworks, I also work closely with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi by, for example, ensuring that there is reciprocity and mutual understanding in partnership with stakeholders; that there is protection, for the taonga of the stories and gifts participants (and the places) shared with me; and that there is a high degree of participation.

IMPLICATIONS AND ISSUES

Locative mobile technologies augment physical spaces with digital content, and can act as mediators between the self, the physical world, digital worlds and other worlds beyond. Technology is not usually associated with spirit. However, in these cases studies, technology paradoxically has played a role in supporting the spirit of these places.

Eighteen participants experienced the mobile demonstrations over the three sites – split evenly in numbers between Māori and Pākehā. Given the emphasis on process rather than just outcome, there were nearly as many collaborators creating the experiences as there were participants experiencing them.

I gathered data from all participants and key collaborators, asking about their general experience, their potential use of the technology in the future, and whether their view of a location had changed as a result of engaging with these technologies. In the latter case, it was interesting that while many of the participants were familiar with the location, over half of these individuals still experienced some (albeit small) shift in their perception of that site after engaging in the mobile experience. In the case of the marae for example one participant described the mobile experience as uplifting 'the place like new paint work for the area, or planting new plants in the garden.' Another marae participant said it 'made the marae feel important.'

At the cemetery, one participant felt that the experience made 'the place come alive even to someone who hasn't a personal connection', and another thought that it 'brought to life the history, events and people and the connections they have to place in new and interesting ways'. And at the park, one participant commented that the experience allowed for: 'peeling back of layers in the site in a way that would not be possible otherwise. Normally, I wouldn't have looked twice at a reserve like this but the mobile application allowed you to take a different perspective'.

In addition to these questions, I enquired as to whether people felt the experience on each site supported the spirit of place (or wairua) as they understood it. A high percentage of participants on each case study site recorded a positive response. At the marae case study site, for example, of the eight participants experiencing the demonstration, six recorded a score of '5' on a scale of '1 to 5' ('5' being 'strongly supported the wairua of the place').

Participant feedback differed as to why the mobile experience supported the spirit of place. Some saw the capturing of stories and placing them in context as the critical element, while others loved that previously hidden or difficult to reach material was now available (for example, archival information or oral stories). A participant at the marae noted, for example, the way the technology provided 'a bridge to the IP of the marae' and another noted how the experience 'fosters a connection between Māori and other groups. The more people get to know about it through technology the more people can connect to it through carvings for example. It is the connecting of people.'

Participants across all three sites, though, experienced the locations 'coming alive' with stories, bringing a greater degree of meaning, relevance and reverence to those sites. One participant described how the experience gave 'meaning to what you are seeing and reading in the cemetery', while another speculated that 'greater interest [in the cemetery] will lead to more security, less vandalism etc.', thus supporting the spirit of that place on a practical level. In addition, a number of participants said that it was the extensive consultation with mana whenua and kaumātua and/or the sensitivity with which the material had been handled that supported the spirit of those places. One marae participant, for example, said that if the work had been carried out without consultation then it would not be 'validated'.

The work raised a number of different issues. In the marae case study, for example, questions were raised about cultural safety. On that site many participants identified the need to shift and adapt protocols to the new technology, but there were no outright objections to the technology itself (e.g. software and devices) being used on site. In response to concerns, karakia [prayer] and mihi [introduction/placing/welcome] were placed on the app, and layers of passwords and access codes were designed into the work to ensure people could not happen upon information that was not appropriate or spiritually safe for them to encounter. There was also a great deal of attention paid to data security, and protection of intellectual property, to ensure data was not accessed and used inappropriately.

Technical issues were recorded in the research. Locative mobile is still relatively new and mobile devices do not always have the internal capability to carry out the demands of the software effectively. This meant that in the case studies, there were some glitches and issues locating points quickly and accurately (particularly at the cemetery where the graves all look the same and the user is highly reliant on the device to lead them to the right spot). For tech-savvy participants, this detracted from the experience (and lowered the score for their overall enjoyment). However, even those participants still gave a high score in the area of 'supporting the spirit of the place' for the reasons noted previously. In general, in my experience it is critical that these technologies work seamlessly in order for the user to connect fully with a location and so onsite user testing needs to be rigorous when using these tools.

Interestingly, in terms of economic issues, significant economic disparity with phone ownership (or types of phones) between Māori and Pākehā participants was not evident during the study (in fact, the marae case study participants had the most up-to-date phones and were more technologically savvy than on the other case sites). However, other work I have undertaken more recently suggests access to phone credit, not phones, is the critical issue for those in low socio-economic groups.

REFLECTIONS

Today, technology is fully integrated into the ecosystem of any place – including those deemed sacred. Code, signals, sensors, and electricity exist on, above, or under most sites. The word 'profane' means 'not relating to that which is sacred or religious; secular' (Oxford Online Dictionary, 2013) i.e. that which is in everyday use. And a wāhi tapu [sacred site] within Māoridom is a location that has been set-aside for divine purpose, 'removing it from ordinary secular association and use' (Marsden, 2003, p. 40). In a world where technologies have infiltrated every part of our everyday existence, holding the boundaries between what is sacred and profane is a challenging, and perhaps futile, business.

If technology is part of, rather than apart from, nature, it cannot be completely prohibited and/or avoided. In this context, my research showed that it was the intent behind its use, and the practice within which it was situated, which was critical to supporting or subverting the spirit of place. In the case studies described I enacted the work within a place practice that was value driven, inclusively framed, and deliberately aligned with principles from the Treaty of Waitangi.

Apart from some issues with the functionality of the technology, in general, the place practitioners I worked with viewed these technologies positively. In many cases, these technologies were seen as an inevitable part of progress. However, the view of Mr Kake - the CEO of the marae - was that knowledge, access and control over the process of implementation was critical so that the wairua and mana of their site was supported rather than denigrated.

Can these tools actually support the multidimensional and spiritual elements of places where we live? When used with positive intent, this research demonstrates that the answer is 'yes'. When not used in politically, culturally, socially and spiritually appropriate ways, I believe the opposite can occur and damage can be done. This damage is not to a 'pure' notion of a sacred place tarnished by profane technology. Rather, it is damage through an intervention in the ecosystem enacted by individuals or groups who are operating with a lack of mindful attention and respect to the places where they are choosing to intervene.

NEXT STEPS

I have a number of locative, augmenting reality, and site-specific media projects currently underway in and around Papakura and South Auckland. The intention of the work, generated under the banner AwhiWorld (www.awhiworld.com/activities), is to celebrate diversity, open minds to possibilities and support the spirit of places and spaces.

One project, Place_Stories (Matariki) uses an audio-based locative mobile app to 'place' sound works around the Papakura town centre in spaces and places that need love and attention. Another project, 'Augmenting the Elders' enables residents in a South Auckland rest home to use augmented reality technology creatively to generate 3-D animated creatures, which are then placed around the home and encountered via their own, family, and staff mobile phones. These and other projects are specifically designed to support the wairua of those places.

Concurrent with these and other AwhiWorld activities, the marae case study remains active. Plans are underway to build a larger scale digital capacity building, youth engagement programme around my research. Later in 2015, this will involve digital and media skills workshops and the launch of an updated app, and physical and digital (e-book) publications.

FINAL THOUGHTS

Places today are dynamic gathering points for a range of realities. In this environment one practises rather than studies place. When working on sites that are set aside, or special in some way, it is important to be mindful of the many opportunities, and also the many political, cultural and spiritual issues involved. As media becomes embedded in landscapes and signals and code are integrated more fully into day to day life, new community development skills need to emerge.

Places are sites for spiritual, social, cultural and artistic activities. They are now also sites for a multiplicity of digital realities as code, data and media are embedded in whenua. In this environment, technologies like mobile phones have the power to become portals to the divine aliveness that is planet Earth.

MAGGIE BUXTON is the founder, Lead Producer and
Event Director at AwhiWorld, Auckland, New Zealand
www.awhiworld.com
Contact: **contact@maggiebuxton.com**

REFERENCES

Ascott, R. (2003) The mind of the museum, in E. A. Shanken, ed, *Telematic Embrace: Visionary Theories Of Art, Technology, And Consciousness,* University of California Press, Berkeley, CA, pp. 340-356.

Aurigi, A. (2008) Epilogue, in A. Aurigi and F. de Cindio, eds, *Augmented Urban Spaces: Articulating The Physical And Electronic City,* Ashgate, Hampshire, UK, pp. 331-350.

Barad, K. (2007) *Meeting The Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics And The Entanglement Of Matter And Meaning*, Duke University, Press Durham, NC.

Bauerlein, M. (2009) *The Dumbest Generation: How The Digital Age Stupefies Young Americans And Jeopardizes Our Future,* Penguin Group, New York, NY.

Bennett, J. (2004) The force of things: Steps toward an ecology of matter, *Political Theory,* **32**, 3, 347-372.

Bennett, J. (2010) *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology Of Things*, Duke University Press, Durham, NC.

Bird-David, N. (1999) Animism revisited: Personhood, environment, and relational epistemology, *Current Anthropology,* **40**, 1, 67- 91.

Braud, W. (2011) Integral inquiry: The principles and practices of an inclusive and integrated research approach, in R. Anderson and W. Braud, eds, *Transforming Self And Others Through Research*, State University of New York Press, Albany, NY, pp. 71-131.

Brewer, J., and Dourish, P. (2008) Storied spaces: Cultural accounts of mobility, technology, and environmental knowing, *International Journal of Human-Computer Studies*, **66** (12), 963-976.

Carr, N. (2008) Is Google making us stupid? *The Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, **107**(2), 89-94.

Carr, N. (2010) *The Shallows: How The Internet Is Changing The Way We Read, Think And Remember*, Atlantic Books, New York, NY.

Cresswell, T. (2002) Introduction: Theorizing place, in G. Verstraete and T. Cresswell, eds, *Mobilizing Place, Placing Mobility: The Politics Of Representation In A Globalized World*, Rodopi, New York, NY, pp. 11-32.

Davis, E. (1998)*Techgnosis: Myth, Magic And Mysticism In The Age Of Information*, Serpents Tail, London, UK.
de Souza e Silva, A., and Firth, J. (2010) Locative mobile social networks: Mapping communication and location in urban spaces, *Mobilities*, **5**(4), 485-505.

Deuze, M. (2012) *Media Life*, Polity, Cambridge, UK.
Esbjörn-Hargens, S. (2009) An overview of integral theory: An all-inclusive framework for the 21st century, *Integral Institute Resource Paper No. 1*, 1-24.

Fitzmaurice, M. (2010) Considering teaching in higher education as a practice, *Teaching in Higher Education*, **15**(1), 45-55.

Frayling, C. (1993) Research in art and design, *Royal College of Art Research Papers,* 1.

Glendinning, C. (1995) Technology, trauma and the wild, in T. Roszak, M. E. Gomes, and A. D. Kanner, eds, *Ecopsychology: Restoring The Earth, Healing The Mind*, The Sierra Club, San Francisco, CA, pp. 55-67.

Graham, M., Zook, M., and Boulton, M. (2012) Augmented reality in urban places: Contested content and the duplicity of code, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, **38**(3), 464-479.

Graham, S. (1998) The end of geography or the explosion of place? Conceptualizing space, place and information technology, *Progress in Human Geography*, **22**(2), 165-185.

Graham, S. (2004) Beyond the 'dazzling light': From dreams of transcendence to the 'remediation' of urban life, *New Media & Society*, **6**(1), 16-25.

Hagar, P. (2011) Refurbishing MacIntyre's Account of Practice, *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, **45**(3), 545–561.

Haque, U. (2004) Invisible topographies, in M. Rieser, ed, *The Mobile Audience: Media Art And Mobile Technologies*, Rodopi New York, NY, pp. 245-252.

Harman, G. (2011) Realism without materialism, *SubStance #125,* **40(**2), 52-75.

Hedlund, N. H. (2010) Integrally researching integral research: Enactive perspectives on the future of the field, *Journal of Integral Theory and Practice*, **5**(2), 1-30.

Hill, H. (2012) *Internet Service Provider Survey*, Statistics New Zealand, Tauranga, New Zealand.

Hornborg, A. (2001) Vital signs: An ecosemiotic perspective on the human ecology of Amazonia. *Sign System Studies,* **29**(1), 121-152.

Hornborg, A. (2006) Animism, fetishism, and objectivism as strategies for knowing (or not knowing) the world, *Ethnos*, 71(1), 21-32.

Huhtamo, E. (2004) Pockets of plenty: An archaeology of mobile media, in M. Rieser, ed, *The Mobile Audience: Media Art And Mobile Technologies*, Rodopi, New York, NY, pp. 23-38.

Ingold, T. (2000) *The Perception Of The Environment: Essays On Livelihood, Dwelling And Skill*, Routledge, London, UK.

Ingold, T. (2013) Dreaming of dragons: On the imagination of real life, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, **19**(4), 734-752.

Kincheloe, J. L., and Steinberg, S. R. (2008) Indigenous knowledges in education: Complexities, dangers and profound benefits, in N. K. Denzin, Y. S. Lincoln, and L. T. Smith, eds, *Handbook Of Critical And Indigenous Methodologies*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, pp. 135-156.

MacIntyre, A. (1981) *After Virtue: A Study In Moral Theory* (second ed.), University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, IN.

Manovich, L. (2006) The poetics of augmented space, *Visual Communication,* **5**, 219-240, accessed at http://vcj.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/5/2/219 (1 June 2013).

Marsden, M., Rev. (2003) *The Woven Universe: Selected Writings Of Rev. Māori Marsden*, The Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden, Ōtaki, NZ.

Meyrowitz, J. (1985) *No Sense Of Place: The Impact Of Electronic Media On Social Behaviour*, Oxford University Press, New York, NY.

Morton, T. (2010) *The Ecological Thought*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Morton, T. (2013) *Hyperobjects: Philosophy And Ecology After The End Of The World*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, MN.

Nicolini, D. (2012) *Practice Theory, Work, And Organization*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.

Nicolini D., Gherardi S. and Yanow D. (2003) Introduction: Toward a practice-based view of knowing and learning in organizations, in Nicolini D., Gherardi S. and Yanow D. eds, *Knowing in organizations: A practice-based approach,* M. E. Sharpe, Armonkm NY, pp. 3-31.

Oxford Online Dictionary (2013) *'Profane',* accessed at: http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/profane (1 November 2012).

Rieser, M. (2004) Overview, in M. Rieser, ed, *The Mobile Audience: Media Art And Mobile Technologies*, Rodopi, New York, NY.

Rose, D. B. (2002) Dialogue with place: Toward an ecological body, *Journal of Narrative Theory,* **32**(3), 311-325.

Schatzki, T. R. (2001) Introduction: Practice theory, in T. R. Schatzki, K. Cetina-Knorr and E. von Savigny, eds., *The Practice Turn In Contemporary Theory*, Routledge, London, UK, pp. 1-14.

Somerville, M., J. (2007) Postmodern emergence, *Qualitative Studies in Education,* **20(**2), 225-243.

Somerville, M., J. (2010) A place pedagogy for global contemporaneity, *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, **42**(3), 326-344.

Spretnak, C. (1997) *The Resurgence Of The Real: Body, Nature, And Place In A Hypermodern World*, Addison-Wesley Publishing, Reading, MA.

Squire, K. (2009) Mobile media learning: Multiplicities of place, *On The Horizon,* **17**(1), 70-80.

Sullivan, G. (2010) *Art Practice As Research: Inquiry In Visual Arts*. Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.

Thrift, N., and French, S. (2002) The automatic production of space, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographer*s, **27(**3), 309-335, accessed at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3804486 (5 June 2014).

TNS. (2013). TNS mobile life study summary, accessed at: http://discovermobilelife.com/ (3 November 2014).

Creating a Heart Politics for Community Development: The Legacy of Whāea Betty Wark

by HELENE CONNOR

Article

Creating a Heart Politics for Community Development: The Legacy of Whāea Betty Wark

by HELENE CONNOR

ABSTRACT

This paper provides an overview of the life and community development work of Whāea Betty Wark (1924-2001). Whāea Betty was a Māori woman who was actively involved with community-based organisations from the 1950s until her death in May 2001. She was one of the founders of Arohanui Incorporated, which was initiated in 1976. Its main purpose was to provide accommodation for young homeless people in need. Betty termed her community development work and activism her 'heart politics'. It was a term that represented her involvement in community grassroots initiatives and the feelings of connectedness she felt with the people and causes she was concerned with.

INTRODUCTION

This paper provides a brief overview of the heart politics and community development legacy of Whāea Betty Wark (1924-2001). Whāea Betty's community development work focused on the inner city suburbs of Freemans Bay and Ponsonby within Auckland Central, Aotearoa New Zealand.

Key themes of this paper include how individuals and groups can make a difference to their communities through activism and community development at a grass roots level. The example of Betty Wark's work is very much reflected in this key theme and in particular, her community work with Māori and Māori initiatives. Her community development work and activism were her heart politics. It was a term which represented her involvement in community grassroots initiatives and the feelings of connectedness she felt with the people and the causes she was concerned with.

This article draws from my PhD thesis (Connor, 2006), *Writing ourselves 'home': Biographical texts: a method for contextualizing the lives of wāhine Māori. Locating the story of Betty Wark.* The methodology used throughout the PhD was biographical research. Biographical research acknowledges that the life or lives being researched emerge from a diverse collage of beliefs, socialisations, ethnicities, class backgrounds and cultural meanings (Angrosino, 1989). All personal quotes from Betty that appear in this paper have been taken from interviews conducted for my PhD.

BETTY WARK'S EARLY LIFE AND WHĀNAU 'FAMILY' BACKGROUND

Betty Wark was born on 6 June 1924. Her mother was Māori of Ngā Puhi (a Northland tribe) descent and her father was both Māori and *Pākehā* although he tended to identify as Pākehā. Her parents were not married and Betty was raised with several Māori families as a *tamaiti whāngai* and was known by the name of one of her initial foster families, Te Wake. Betty was unclear as to her mother's exact relationship to the Te Wake *whānau*; however, there must have been one for her to be fostered into this particular clan (Connor, 2006). Fostering was a customary extension of the Māori practice of *whanaungatanga* and communal living, and was a relatively common occurrence for many Māori families (Metge, 1995). Betty did not meet her biological parents until her early twenties and she was not familiar with her *whakapapa* until her mid-life.

The ideal of the tamaiti whāngai system provided networks where children could belong to the whole whānau and be raised in a warm and positive environment. However, as can so frequently happen, the ideal is not always upheld. In Betty's case, she was moved around between various whānau, never forming any close and lasting

bonds with mother figures. Her relative isolation placed her at high risk of abuse and the protection she should have experienced as a tamaiti whāngai was seriously undermined. Betty was not explicit in stating how many times she experienced sexual abuse. Clearly, it was not a one-off occurrence, and happened several times. What is more evident however, is the ongoing emotional and psychological abuse she experienced in terms of her general neglect and the feelings of being unwanted and unloved. In her later life, she spoke of this abuse as a motivating force for her heart politics.

Betty's sense of cultural identity was fragmented. She knew she was of Māori descent, but as a child her knowledge of things Māori was limited. Although she grew up in the predominantly Māori area of the Hokianga, Northland, and was exposed to Māori language and culture in a peripheral way through practices such as reciting *karakia* in Te Reo Māori and attending functions at local *marae,* the dominant culture was, nevertheless, European. Betty's early childhood was not immersed in *tikanga* Māori as was the childhood of Dame Whina Cooper (also from the Hokianga region), even though one of Betty's initial foster families was connected to Dame Whina.

Betty was raised as Catholic. Māori Catholic leaders in the Hokianga region, such as Heremia Te Wake, father of Dame Whina Cooper and part of the whānau in which Betty was fostered as a child, kept the faith alive by instructing children in the beliefs and prayers of the Catholic Church. By the time Betty was born in 1924, Catholicism was an integral element of Māoritanga in the Hokianga region:

> I'm Māori and I'm Catholic. In my early years it was the Mill Hill priests who were the main influence on my faith but it was the nuns at Saint Joseph's who were my role models. I used to be quite emotional. If I did any wrong or thought anything wrong, I'd race to the chapel to be forgiven! I learned the answering of the mass in Latin. I tried my best to please them - to be a good Catholic (B. Wark, personal communication, 2 September, 1996).

Māoritanga, for Betty, meant feeling connected to other Māori. It meant feeling complete, and this is how she felt at Saint Joseph's Māori Girls' School, which she attended as a boarder between the ages of thirteen to seventeen. The irony of such an assertion is, however, that the Māori boarding schools of the era in which Betty attended them (1938-1941) have been highly criticised for undermining Māori cultural identity by promoting a policy of assimilation (Simon, 1998). Such criticisms are well-founded, as an examination of the original motivation for establishing the Church boarding schools reveals the 'civilising and assimilating mission' that underpinned them was to 'ensure regular attendance and Christian habits' (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974, pp. 43-45). Nevertheless, Betty appreciated the special character of Saint Joseph's Māori Girls' College, and she enjoyed meeting other Māori Catholic girls from different parts of the country. Betty credited the nuns at Saint Joseph's with giving her a strong moral base and pride in herself as a Māori Catholic woman, saying 'The nuns were all strong women and I've found a lot of women that have been to Catholic colleges are very strong women. They had a basis for a good life – they were given a good foundation' (B. Wark, personal communication, 2 September, 1996).

MĀORI URBAN MIGRATION AND THE ROOTS OF BETTY'S HEART POLITICS

During World War II, many New Zealand women became pregnant to American servicemen (Bioletti, 1989). Betty was one such woman. Tragically, before she could marry American serviceman Charles Turner, he was killed in action at the battle of Guadalcanal. Betty and Charles' son, Brian, was born in 1944 and was fostered, while Betty moved to Auckland in search of work. She held a variety of jobs, including a ward's maid at Auckland Hospital, a cook, a waitress and filing clerk at the Farmer's Trading Company:

> I don't know whether I was very happy because as a rural person coming to the city, I found it very hard. I guess I understand why these young people who come from the rural areas find it hard to live in the city. I didn't find it exciting. I found it a little frightening (ibid).

After the war the urbanization of Māori increased as many Māori moved into small towns and cities to find work. Betty was part of this influx of Māori urbanization. In 1945 there were around 4,903 Māori living in Auckland and by 1951, there were 7,621. The process of urbanization continued to intensify and by the 1960s, Māori had become a predominantly urban people (King, 1981).

In 1948, Betty's second son, Danny was born. Danny's father, an Englishman, returned to England, but Betty decided to stay in New Zealand. Danny was fostered with a family in Waihi. Betty lived in Waihi for two years following Danny's birth and then returned to Auckland in 1950. In 1952 she met and married a Canadian. When Betty decided not to emigrate to Canada her husband returned to Canada alone, leaving his wife and their infant son, Conrad (born 1952), behind. Betty was entitled to a deserted wife's benefit, so she was able to keep baby Conrad with

her. She found rooms in a boarding house in Grafton, an inner city suburb of Auckland, and set about making a home for herself and her son. While living in Grafton Betty met Jim Wark, who would become her second husband and the father of two further sons: Robert (born 1959) and Gary (born 1961). Jim Wark provided the security Betty craved, and together they created the home and family Betty had yearned for all her life. After a number of moves they settled in Herne Bay, central Auckland, in the 1970s.

In the early days of their relationship, Betty and Jim were happy together, but by her late thirties Betty was growing more into what she termed 'her own person'. She became more involved with her community work, and there was an inevitable conflict between her family life and her public life.

> Jim was a good man. We stayed together as a family unit until I found my Māoriness. I got involved in the Māori Community Centre during the 1960s and the time of the urban renewal. Jim didn't understand what was happening, although he was very sympathetic towards Māori and knew a lot about Māori history (B. Wark, personal communication, 2 September, 1996).

As Betty's evolving political activism surfaced, there was a concurrent evolution of identity. Such developmental shifts can be construed as a politics of change and a politics of identity, and they can be visualized as a configuration of identity, home, and community. Throughout her early public life, Betty was recreating herself, and had to face several internal struggles between her commitment to her family life and her developing heart politics. 'I had to go look for myself' (B. Wark, personal communication, 9 September, 1996).

Betty first became involved in heart politics when she was living in Freemans Bay in the 1960s. The term heart politics is used provocatively. It is a term which denotes courage and challenge; overcoming one's fears and taking risks. To become involved in heart politics is to become involved in community and grassroots initiatives with a one-pointed commitment to social transformation. Heart politics also means having a feeling of connectedness with the people or the cause you are fighting for. American political activist Fran Peavey elaborates on this with regards to her own heart politics:

> Later in my work I began to think of connectedness as a political principle. Even some of our seemingly noblest efforts have a kind of delusion at the centre because they lack heart. If we aren't connected to the people we think we're fighting for, there's an emptiness, a coldness that's at the heart of prejudice - the coldness of separation (Peavey, 1986, p. 8).

Peavey's sentiments can be applied to Betty's work. She felt a connection to both the architecture and the community of Freemans Bay, and this connection prompted her entry into heart politics. Indeed, Betty's biographical narrative politicizes the geography, demography and architecture of the Freemans Bay and Ponsonby communities:

> When I was living in Pratt Street, Freemans Bay, I became involved in a group called Freemans Bay Advisory Committee. It was an adviser to the Auckland City Council and one of its major roles was to represent the interests of Auckland City tenants in negotiations, overall rental policies and housing policies generally. In the early 40s and 50s Freemans Bay was very run down - there were a lot of immigrants living there - you had the Irish and a lot of Māori who had come from country areas - it was very much a working class area. Old houses were pulled down and Council promised the people would be allowed back there after they cleaned it up. But it didn't happen. We lost our house. We weren't allowed to put a new roof on because we wouldn't have been compensated for it (B. Wark, personal communication, 4 October, 1996).

Betty spoke of feeling very connected to the Freemans Bay community, and her heart politics was in many ways 'shaped' in relation to the buildings and streets in which she lived at this time. As Mohanty (1988) points out, architecture and the layout of particular towns provide concrete, physical anchoring points. This was the case for Betty. Initially, she felt secure and happy in Freemans Bay, but the very stability and security of her home was undermined by the discovery that the buildings destined for demolition obscured particular race and class struggles. This realisation meant that Freemans Bay became a 'growing up place' for Betty, and came to symbolize her politicization. Her membership on the Freemans Bay Advisory Committee was the catalyst for her future work as a community worker and people's advocate.

During the transition process of the 1950s to the 1970s, when Freemans Bay and other areas of the inner city were experiencing urban renewal, there were also a number of changes to demographic patterns. The common residential unit of the nuclear family was no longer dominant, and there was an overrepresentation of the single person household. The inner city also became a place of high tenancy, with a large percentage of rental

accommodation. The populace also tended to be a transient population of immigrant groups. Māori (who had increasingly become urban dwellers since 1945), and Polynesians (who began immigrating to New Zealand in large numbers in the 1960s) made up a significant proportion of inner city inhabitants during this period (Dodd, 1973).

Betty, Jim and their family had moved into Freemans Bay at a time when it represented to Aucklanders the nearest thing to a slum the welfare state could produce. However, its proximity to employment in the city was noted as an important element in its location, and was a motivating factor behind the rejuvenation of the residential function of the area. By the late 1970s, professional people were buying properties in the area for restoration and renovation, and consequently the property prices rose sharply. Private ownership became more usual in the area, and the supply of rental accommodation declined. Accordingly, many of the working class families were forced to relocate.

Prior to the rejuvenation of the area, however, Freemans Bay was a close-knit community of mainly working-class people. During the 1960s, Betty's heart politics continued to expand as her involvement with the community of Freemans Bay grew. The more she became involved with the Freemans Bay Advisory Committee, the more politicized she became:

> It was during that time I got involved in a little politics. I used to go to a lot of Council meetings. I learned a lot. I didn't know much about politics, but through the people I met around Freemans Bay who were very political because most of them worked on the waterfront, I started to look at local politics. I also got involved in the Napier Street School. It was so easy to be involved in Freemans Bay because it was a very close-knit community (B. Wark, personal communication, 4 October, 1996).

Betty was secretary for the Napier Street School Committee for approximately five years. The 1960s also saw Betty become involved in the Māori Women's Welfare League, the Ponsonby Māori Community Centre and the Tenants' Protection Association, an organization set up to advise tenants of their legal rights.

The period of the 1960s when Betty's heart politics was evolving was also a time when her identity as Māori was strengthened. She was an active member of the Ponsonby branch of the Māori Women's Welfare League, an organization established in 1951 with Dame Whina Cooper being the foundation Dominion President (Rogers and Simpson, 1993). The League provided charitable services with the aim of enabling its members to play an effective part in the cultural, social and economic development of the community. It also sought to preserve, revive and maintain the teaching of Māori arts and crafts and the Māori language and culture. Another aim was to promote understanding between women of all ethnicities, and to liaise with other women's organisations, local bodies and government departments on issues of concern to the League such as Māori health, education and housing. Several of the *kuia* at the centre supported and taught Betty, and she formed some very deep and significant bonds with these women who went out of their way to *awhi* and mentor her:

> I wanted so much to learn and be with Māori people. I felt the Māori Women's Welfare League was important. It supported the whānau and it was concerned about Māori Health. Whina Cooper had got it going and she came from Pungaru, the next settlement around from where I grew up in the Hokianga. I met her again during the Māori Women's Welfare League survey on housing in the Freemans Bay area. She initiated the survey because a lot of people lived in a transit camp down at Victoria Park and she got people to apply for either a Māori Affairs housing or State Advances housing loan and she got a lot of them houses in Glen Innes. Glen Innes was the place at the time. Whina pushed me to help raise money for Te Unga Waka Marae. I wasn't confident at all you know but she used to pull me in (B. Wark, personal communication, 4 October, 1996).

Betty's involvement with Te Unga Waka, Catholic Marae, provided an effective way for her to participate in the Catholic Church as it was another way of nourishing her Māori identity and at the same time her identity as Catholic. Betty's links with the Church were also helpful in accessing charitable assistance for the increasing number of young, unemployed people for whom she continued to find accommodation.

In 1974 Betty helped set up Arohanui Incorporated, a community based organisation which provided housing and assistance to young persons referred from the courts, prisons, Social Welfare and other sources. In 1976 Betty left her marital home and moved into one of the Arohanui Trust hostels as a house-mother, though she maintained an enduring friendship with Jim Wark for the remainder of her life. When Betty left the marriage, her three younger sons were no longer overly dependent on her and Jim. Conrad was aged twenty-four and had already left home; Robert and Gary were aged seventeen and fifteen respectively. Betty maintained very close contact with Jim and the boys and her youngest son Gary eventually joined his mother in her work at Arohanui.

Arohanui was formed as a community development response to a community problem. The main focus for Betty and the other trustees and workers at Arohanui was to maintain a positive environment for the residents. One of Betty's closet work colleagues during the 1970s and 1980s was Fred Ellis. Fred and Betty would patrol the streets during the winter nights taking creamed mussel soup and scones to 'street kids' urging them to make contact with Arohanui. Many would follow up on the invitation and would contact Betty or Fred. Some were either reunited with whānau or alternative accommodation was found for them.

As Arohanui grew and began applying for government funding, the Trust also began offering formalised programmes such as instruction in literacy and numeracy. In addition Arohanui strengthened its Māori culture and language programmes and introduced some innovative health and exercise programmes which used Eastern martial arts and Māori weaponry training. Betty maintained an avid interest in alternative learning and ways to turn Arohanui residents on to education. She also maintained an interest in reviving traditional Māori models of teaching, as well as learning about new developments within Māoridom. Betty's openness to exploring and trialling alternative education also extended to investigating alternative treatments for drug and alcohol addiction. Over the years a large proportion of Arohanui's residents had problems with addiction and the abuse of solvents, drugs and alcohol. Various programmes were investigated to assist the residents including the Scientology programme, Narcanon, which appeared to offer some practical and productive solutions.

Betty's growing media profile publicised her work and widened her networks, and she became skilled at gaining publicity for causes dear to her heart politics. In February 1976, there was wide media coverage of the occupation of Tole Street Reserve in Ponsonby by tent dwellers. This was a protest organised by Betty, and succeeded in highlighting housing issues and securing further hostel accommodation. Housing the homeless and utilising buildings to their full extent became a passion of Betty's.

The Tole Street tent 'village' kept going for several months while Betty continued to look for suitable accommodation to house the group. The group also actively sought work:

> While we were in the tents we formed a group called the Ponsonby Labour Co-op and we had people that lived in Ponsonby, people from different church organisations - we had the Baha'i, the Young Catholic Workers and some others who decided to do something and we went out looking for jobs; every morning the work co-op would sell their labour so we could eat (B. Wark, personal communication, 4 October, 1996).

Figure 1. **Tole Street Tent Protest, Ponsonby, Auckland 1976. Private collection of Helene Connor. (Photo appeared in the** *8 O'clock Newspaper***, February 21, 1976).**

Betty's commitment to ordinary working class people on lower and moderate incomes and her involvement in the local affairs of the Freemans Bay and Ponsonby communities led her to stand for election on the Auckland City Council. Betty served on the Auckland City Council from 1986 to 1989.

Betty was sixty-three years old when she stood for Council. At a time when most of her peers were thinking about retirement, she had taken on another challenge. Her venture into local politics in later life was, however, something that was relatively predictable. As Sheehy (1978) states, 'secondary interests that have been tapped earlier in life can in middle and old age blossom into a serious lifework. Each tap into a new vessel releases in the later years another reservoir of energy' (p. 497).

Betty's interest in local affairs had developed in her late thirties as her heart politics evolved. Heart politics requires courage and overcoming one's fears and taking risks. During the early heart politics years, when she was becoming involved in community initiatives such as the Tenants' Protection Association, Citizens' Advice Bureau and the Māori Women's Welfare League, she was literally paving the way for her more serious life's work: Arohanui Incorporated. The move into local politics seemed like a natural progression at this phase of her life and a way to

promote Arohanui. To use Sheehy's analogy, by tapping into the new vessel, which in Betty's case was local government, this, in turn, released another reservoir of energy in Betty's later years.

Figure 2. **Betty Wark in Western Park, Ponsonby, Auckland. Photographed by Helene Connor, June 4, 2000. Private collection of Helene Connor.**

CONCLUSION

Betty's narrative, like all biographical narratives, is filled with multiple stories and layers of stories within stories. A significant personal narrative which underpinned much of Betty's biography was the story of the childhood abuse she experienced. The anger and shame she felt about her childhood never left her. Throughout the interview sessions she would say: 'It's always there, it's always there' (B. Wark, personal communication, 12 August, 1996). These experiences left an indelible mark on her psyche and were part of who she was, though Betty rarely spoke about them. She did not belong to the therapy generation, and in her own words: 'I never heard the word "abuse" as a child' (ibid.). During the interviews for the biographical research project which formed part of my PhD, she began reflecting on the point in her life when she learned to channel her anger. Throughout the biographical interview sessions, Betty retrospectively relived these experiences as she narrated her story. She felt it was important for readers of her biography to know the history of her life in order to make sense of who she was and what motivated her to do the work she did. By locating herself within a narrative that outlined the triumph of the human soul in the face of adversity, Betty wanted to give hope to others who had similar personal experiences. It was important for her to share these experiences within the Māori community where she had been a role model to many; it was important for her to share her heart politics and the legacy of her community development work.

HELENE CONNOR (PhD; M. Ed 1ˢᵗ class hons; Postgrad Dip Women's Studies; Dip Tchg; BA; RPN) is of Māori, English, Irish, German and Italian descent. She has whakapapa (genealogy) links to Te Atiawa and Ngati Ruanui iwi (tribes) and Ngati Rahiri and Ngati Te Whiti hapu (sub-tribes). Helene has taught on several courses with a focus on Māori culture, cultural diversity, and transcultural social practice. Her research interests include: the exploration of constructions of identity and multi-ethnic identity and the intersections between gender, ethnicity and cultural representation; narrative and auto/biographical research; Māori feminism, mana wahine Māori and women of colour feminism; aspects of mothering; feminist jurisprudence and women's experiences of prison. She is also interested in the impact of nineteenth century literature on social change, particularly novels written by women novelists, such as: Geraldine Jewsbury, Elizabeth Gaskell and the Brontë sisters who wrote about the industrial North of England and the women question.

HELENE is a Senior Lecturer and Programme Leader in the Department
of Social Practice at Unitec Institute of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand
Contact: **hconnor@unitec.ac.nz**
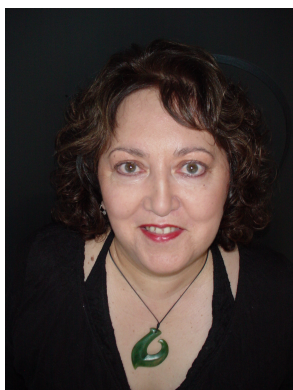
GLOSSARY OF MĀORI TERMS AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

Arohanui	Literal rendering signifying deep affection and love
Aotearoa	A general Māori term for New Zealand – sometimes translated as 'land of the long white cloud'. The Māori name for the North Island of New Zealand is Te Ika-a-Maui and the Māori name for the South Island is Te Waipounamu.
Awhi	Support and assist
Iwi	Tribe, extended kinship
Karakia	Incantation, prayer, chant
Kuia	Older woman, woman elder
Māori	Māori are the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa
Māoritanga	Māori culture and perspectives on Māori values and society
Marae	Area in front of the wharenui, (large house) where formal greetings and discussions take place
Pākehā	New Zealanders of European descent
Tamaiti whāngai	Foster child, adopted child
Tikanga	Cultural practices
Wāhine Māori	Māori women
Whāea	Mother or aunt
Whakapapa	Genealogy, genealogies
Whānau	Family, group of people connected by kinship
Whanaungatanga	Extended family, relationship through working together

REFERENCES

Angrosino, M. (1989) *Documents of interaction: Biography, autobiography, and life history in social science perspective*, University of Florida Press, Gainesville, FL.

Barrington, J. M. and Beaglehole, T. H. (1974) *Māori Schools in a Changing* Society, New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington, New Zealand.

Bioletti, H. (1989) *The Yanks are coming: The American invasion of New Zealand, 1942-1944*, Century Hutchinson Ltd., Auckland, New Zealand.

Connor, H. (2014) Whāea Betty Wark: From Uncertain Beginnings to Honoured Community Worker, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, **123**(2), 209 – 222.

Connor, D. H. (2006) *Writing ourselves 'home': Biographical texts: a method for contextualizing the lives of wāhine Māori. Locating the story of Betty Wark.* Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Dodd, R. (1973) *Urban renewal: A case history of Freemans Bay, Auckland.* Unpublished dissertation, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

King, M. (1981) Between two worlds, in W. Oliver and B. Williams, eds, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Wellington, New Zealand, pp. 279-301.

Metge, J. (1995) *New growth from old: The whānau in the modern world*. Victoria University Press, Wellington, New Zealand.

Mohanty, C. (1988) Under western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses. *Feminist Review, 30*, 61-88.

Rogers, A. and Simpson, M., eds. (1993) *Te timatanga tatou tatou: Early stories from founding members of the Māori Women's Welfare League,* Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, New Zealand.

Sheehy, G. (1978) *Passages: Predictable crises of adult life.* Bantam Books, New York, NY.

Simon, J., ed. (1998) *Nga Kura Māori, the Native Schools System, 1867-1969*. Auckland University Press, Auckland, New Zealand.

Community Development with Japanese Settlers in Aotearoa New Zealand:

The Story of a Japanese Interdisciplinary Network Group in Auckland

Japanese Interagency Group
by SHOICHI ISOGAI and JUN OKAMURA

ISSN 2423-009X

Article

Community Development with Japanese Settlers in Aotearoa New Zealand:
The Story of a Japanese Interdisciplinary Network Group in Auckland

Japanese Interagency Group
by **SHOICHI ISOGAI and JUN OKAMURA**

ABSTRACT

Over the past five years increased attention from Not-for-Profit-Organisations (NPOs) that support new Japanese settlers in Auckland suggests concern about resettlement needs, health inequality and social exclusion among these settlers. This community is growing due to an increase in the numbers of Japanese economic refugees after two significant disasters that occurred in Japan in 2011. Nevertheless, there are limited culturally-relevant resources and Japanese-oriented groups available for the community of Japanese settlers in Auckland. This paper presents a story of a strengths-based, interdisciplinary and Japanese-oriented project called the Japanese Interdisciplinary Network Group in Auckland (JINGA). It explains the development and a range of JINGA activities to facilitate the production of culturally-relevant resources amongst Japanese settlers, promote collaborative partnership amongst agencies, and inspire shared visions of full participation and supportive community networks amongst Japanese community leaders and professionals. Attention is given to the usefulness and limitations of the locality-development model to work effectively with an ethnic minority community, which takes the form of monthly professional meetings and collaborative seminars with other agencies and Japanese practitioners. The implications of this project on community development practice are also discussed. Ongoing engagement with Japanese community members and mainstream service providers promotes various services and supports them to engage with relevant services and/or groups, which is essential to create a supportive Japanese community that promotes a socially cohesive society in Aotearoa (indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand) New Zealand.

INTRODUCTION

We live in a global village where movements of people and culture commonly occur between countries, facilitated by forces of globalisation, the growth of tourism, the rapid expansion of multinational corporate companies, and the development of communication and information technologies (Shiobara, 2005; Noble, Henrickson and Han, 2009). While migration provides a new lifestyle and experience in a foreign country, it also creates numerous challenges for new settlers, including discrimination, social exclusion and health inequalities during their resettlement process.

There has been a rapid growth in the immigrant population in Aotearoa/New Zealand (hereafter referred to as Aotearoa) over the last few decades. Asians have emerged as one of the fastest growing groups in Aotearoa. Statistics New Zealand (2006) estimates that approximately 10% of the population is Asian. Of these Asian migrant groups, the Japanese community represents one of the top five largest Asian ethnic community groups (Ho and Bedford, 2008). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (2014) states that approximately 15,807 Japanese settlers are living long-term or permanently in Aotearoa. There has been a gradual and steady growth in the numbers of Japanese

settlers, from fifteen in 1896 (Statistics New Zealand, 1896-2001, cited in Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007) to 14,409 in 2013 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2013). As Figure 1 illustrates, the Japanese settler population in Aotearoa increased by 18.6 percent from 2006 – 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

Data from the 2013 Census suggests that 47.6% of Japanese settlers reside in the Auckland Region (6,720 people) with an estimated 15.3% of Japanese settlers living in the Waitemata Local Board area, 10.5% living in the Albert-Eden area, and 10.4% living in the Orakei Local Board area (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Many Japanese settlers initially migrate to Aotearoa as working holiday visa holders, while other Japanese settlers have various other legal statuses, including citizenship, permanent residency, work-permit holders, international students and visitors (Kominami, 2014). 'Japanese settlers' in this paper is henceforth defined as a collective group of Japanese migrants who were born and bred in Japan (one of the east Asian countries) and entered Aotearoa under one of three immigration categories (skilled/business, family sponsored and international/humanitarian) (Ministry of Health, 2006). The terms settlers, migrants and immigrants are used interchangeably in this paper.

Internationally, the Japanese settlers' community is widely recognised in various countries and well-documented particularly in the USA (Yamashita, 2012) and Australia (Shiobara, 2005; Takeda, 2013). These scholars write that Japanese settlers, and their children and grandchildren, are generally assimilated into mainstream society (Shiobara, 2005; Yamashita, 2012). Nevertheless, the Japanese settlers' community in Aotearoa seems to be concealed, as this community consists of a range of small groups and voluntary organisations, scattered around the regions and tending not to engage with each other. Many Japanese settlers work in various occupations such as chefs or front-of-house staff in Japanese restaurants, tour guides, employees of corporate companies and Japanese language teachers (Kominami, 2014). In addition, there are a variety of small-scale Japanese-based groupings: coffee/playgroups for Japanese mothers, Japanese language classes, churches, sports clubs, and other support groups.

Nevertheless, despite ongoing migration of Japanese settlers into Aotearoa, there appears to be little acknowledgement or understanding of the existence of the Japanese settlers' community, or of available support services or professional and personal networks for them. This phenomenon is partly due to the particular characteristics of Japanese settlers, such as being independent, not insisting on their rights and the fact that they do not pass on information about themselves to other people or parties such as community services (Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007; Tanaka, 1999). This has resulted in limited networking amongst Japanese professionals, community leaders and/or Japanese settlers. Another causal factor that may create an inconspicuousness of Japanese settlers in Aotearoa is that they are perceived as an indistinguishable part of the Asian population as a whole, rather than a specific ethnic category in various sectors (Rasanathan, Craig and Perkins, 2006). This homogenizing categorisation of the Asian ethnic population may be due to the 'hegemony of Western thought and its notion of universality' (Noble and Henrickson, 2011, p. 129), wherein people eliminate significant differences between Asians by attempting to homogenise richly and widely diverse cultures. These factors might have resulted in supressing the multiple realities of various minority ethnic community groups' social, cultural and political life experiences (Noble and Henrickson, 2011).

Figure 1. **Japanese settlers' group population in Aotearoa, 2013**
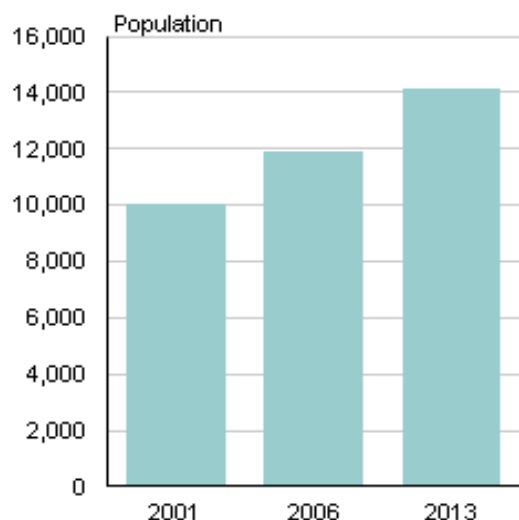
Source: Statistics New Zealand

Historically, Japanese settlers have been economic migrants, forced to leave Japan due to poverty (Sato, 2001). Nevertheless, Japanese settlers became lifestyle migrants as they migrated overseas, seeking a better lifestyle since the 1980s (O'Reilly, 2009). In this article, Japanese economic refugees are the main focus. The term 'Japanese economic refugees' refers to Japanese settlers who moved to Aotearoa with a hope of securing a safe, healthy and nuclear-free environment and seeking a new lifestyle. This is specifically due to two significant disasters in Japan, namely the Great East Japan Earthquake at Tōhoku (Higashi nihon daishinsai) in March, 2011 and the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear accident (Fukushima Daiichi genshiryoku hatsudensho jiko) in August, 2011 (Isogai, Ko and Nemoto, 2014). Despite the common perception of Japanese settlers as lifestyle migrants in Aotearoa (Johnston, 2009), there has been increased attention from not-for-profit organisations (NPOs) that supports Japanese settlers in Auckland, over the past few years. This suggests a growing concern about resettlement needs, health inequality and social exclusion among these new settlers. This increased concern is primarily due to the growth in the number of *Japanese economic refugees* in Aotearoa (Isogai, et al., 2013). This growing concern is also caused by the lack of Japanese-oriented social services and community groups, and insufficient collaboration amongst existing agencies and the Japanese settlers' community. In order to address these needs, a few NGOs that support Japanese settlers organised several

community network meetings amongst Japanese settlers' community members in Auckland. However, these initiatives lasted only about a year. These initiatives exposed the limited resources and paucity of culturally-relevant services available for Japanese clients living in Aotearoa to some Japanese social and health service practitioners, working in mainstream NPOs and District Health Boards (DHBs).

This paper presents a story of a strengths-based, interdisciplinary and Japanese-oriented project called the Japanese Interdisciplinary Network Group in Auckland[1] (hereafter referred to as the JINGA). The paper has two functions. Firstly, it explains the development of a range of JINGA activities that promote collaborative partnership amongst agencies, as well as inspire shared visions of full participation and supportive community networks amongst Japanese community leaders and professionals in Auckland. Secondly, it discusses the implications of the JINGA for community development practice, particularly the usefulness and limitations of the locality-development model for working effectively with an ethnic minority community, in the form of monthly professional meetings and collaborative seminars with other agencies and Japanese practitioners.

THE JINGA: THE BEGINNING

As noted earlier, few NPOs that support Japanese settlers have organised grassroots community development initiatives in Auckland. A network meeting for community leaders, organised by one of the NPOs in December 2012, found that several individual and community needs remained unaddressed. Such initiatives, including these community network meetings, were not maintained, due to the lack of partnership and collaboration between the Japanese settlers' local community groups and professionals in Auckland, and the pressures to complete the government contract. The government contract refers to the current funding model for community third sector organisations, known as the Pathways to Partnership strategy. Under this model, many community organisations are required to produce certain outcomes (or provide evidence of impact from their work) in a limited time (one or two years) (Aimers and Walker, 2008).

In May 2013, some Japanese practitioners and university students visited various NPOs that support Japanese settlers in Auckland, and also met each other individually to discuss the perceived needs of Japanese settlers. From the discussion, it became apparent that there were limited resources and culturally-relevant services available for Japanese clients living in Auckland. This was due to the contractual services outlined above, reflecting a neo-liberal agenda of service provision, which requires specific outcomes to be produced in Aotearoa (Chile, 2006). There was also a need for a consistent and professional group for Japanese practitioners, to support, encourage and challenge each other in a cross-disciplinary, peer supervision setting. Such a group enables practitioners to work with clients in a culturally appropriate manner. Cross-disciplinary peer supervision in this paper refers to a regular and in-depth reflection on professional practice, with an overarching aim of professional skills and competency development amongst practitioners from different disciplines (New Zealand Mentoring Centre, 2000; O'Donoghue, 2004).

In order to meet these needs, it was clear that Japanese practitioners, especially Japanese social workers, needed to find a new way of forming an effective, strategic and collaborative partnership (O'Brien, 2005) with Japanese community leaders and other professional migrant services and groups. Therefore, it was necessary for Japanese practitioners to be aware of how to work with Japanese clients in a culturally-appropriate way. It was also important to know how to access and utilise existing cultural resources to assist Japanese settlers to reach their optimal well-being. For these reasons, ten Japanese and Japanese-speaking practitioners (including practitioners who work in mainstream or private services in various fields, a Community Development Worker [CDWer] and two

Figure 2. The JINGA initial group relationship

Japanese and Japanese-speaking professionals, working in mainstream services

Japanese community leaders from local NPOs and University students

---
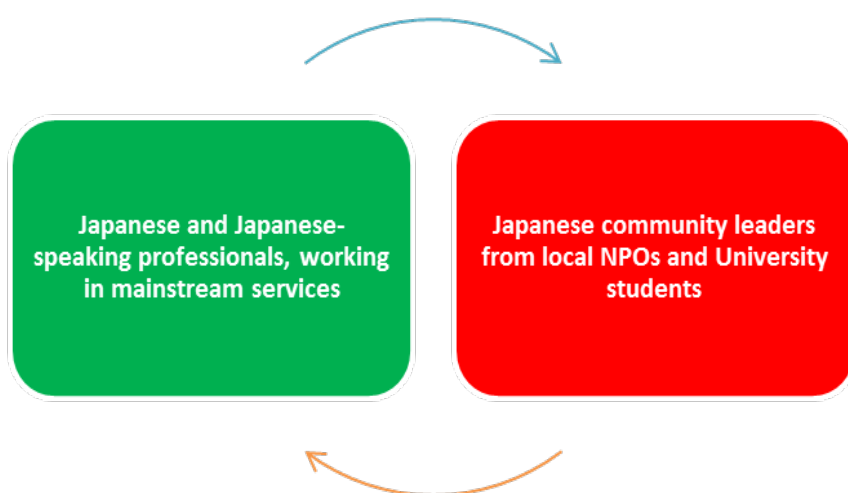
[1] The authors were members of JINGA. The authors also acknowledge that there were other JINGA and Japanese settlers' community leaders and members who played a vital role in the work of the JINGA project

university students) came together in July 2013 to form a strengths-based, interdisciplinary network group to discuss and gain an understanding of the current needs of Japanese living in the Auckland region in a professional and safe manner (Isogai, et al. 2013). JINGA's initial group relationship is illustrated in Figure 2.

Monthly professional meetings were agreed upon to share news and challenges faced by the current Japanese settlers' community. Their shared vision was to create supportive Japanese professional networking amongst Japanese professionals and Japanese community leaders from various local and mainstream agencies in Auckland. In order to achieve this vision, the JINGA members formulated the following objectives:

- To create and maintain a partnership amongst Japanese practitioners who are currently working in different services in Auckland.
- To provide a place for culturally-based cross-disciplinary peer supervision for Japanese practitioners. For example, JINGA members could support each other by offering encouragement and advice, sharing information, and engaging in intellectual and theoretical discussions based on case studies brought up by members.
- To facilitate readily accessible, culturally-appropriate resources for Japanese clients living in Auckland (Isogai, et al. 2013).

Following the establishment of the JINGA, some of the JINGA members discussed how the group can best address the needs of Japanese migrant mothers who are either pregnant or parenting. After the discussion, they decided that organising a collaborative and Japanese-oriented seminar between the JINGA and a local Japanese-based NPO was the best way to meet their needs, facilitating the production of cultural and professional resources to support them to gain necessary knowledge and skills. In September 2013, they delivered a seminar called 'First step to being a happy Japanese mother'. This seminar was designed to address issues of parenting in a foreign country and the lack of knowledge in social and health services in Aotearoa. The seminar was delivered in Japanese. A few volunteers were recruited for child-care while thirty-five Japanese migrant mothers attended. The seminar organisers received positive feedback from the participants and a few participants approached the JINGA members to join in the group.

This collaborative seminar was an opportunity for the JINGA to utilise a community development approach, using a locality-development model (Zastrow, 2010) to empower both local Japanese community leaders and settlers in Auckland. This model is a self-help, participatory model of change where professionals provide expertise, skills, support, encouragement and other resources to members of the community to facilitate change and empowerment. This model focusses greatly on self-determination and democratic process, as it requires community members to define the issues and develop strategies to address them (Zastrow, 2010).

A GROWTH OF THE COLLABORATIVE PARTNERSHIP AND ORGANISATIONAL CHANGES

As the monthly professional meetings continued to be held at various locations and the JINGA group vision was shared with Japanese practitioners, community leaders and members of the Japanese settlers' community, the scope of the group widened. For instance, a natural therapist (a health therapist who provides clients with treatments, using various natural techniques), a Japanese playgroup leader, a private counsellor and a PhD student joined the group. The JINGA members continued to discuss a range of challenges, including:

- Language and cultural barriers to accessing relevant services, such as parenting services in a foreign country;
- A lack of knowledge of or networks with Aotearoa social and health services and school/education systems;
- Sustainability of Japanese culture;
- Language and/or identity in a cross-cultural environment;
- Misguided information/advertisements about Aotearoa directed to Japanese settlers regarding benefits;
- Employment opportunities for commercial reasons – unemployment/underemployment;
- Mental health issues. (Isogai, Ko and Nemoto, 2014).

Some JINGA members proposed the formation of a Working Group (WG) to provide overall governance, strategic direction, and further engagement with other Japanese settlers and mainstream services. The JINGA WG was comprised of three members: a professional leader, a secretary and a group administrator. It met once a month to develop the purpose and direction of the JINGA, including the JINGA vision, values and core activities. As

a result of these meetings, the JINGA members reformulated the JINGA vision to promote collaborative partnership amongst agencies and inspire shared visions of full participation of Japanese settlers in Auckland. The JINGA members then created three new aims:

- To develop the JINGA as a professional group;
- To expand the professional and community network further;
- To function as a bridge between Japanese settlers and local and mainstream services.

A SHIFT FROM A PROFESSIONAL-BASED GROUP TO A COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT GROUP

Several changes were thus made in the JINGA governance style and the philosophy of the group - from a Japanese practitioners' network group to being Japanese settlers' community-group focussed. Because of this philosophical shift in the group, the range of JINGA's relationships with partners widened, with the JINGA starting to collaborate with some mainstream service providers, Japanese community leaders, volunteers and new Japanese settlers' groups. For instance, one of the JINGA members joined the Asian Mental Health & Addiction Staff Forum (AMHASF), run by one of the DHBs, in order to establish a further professional network with mainstream service providers that support migrants and refugees in Auckland. This forum was comprised of a group of migrant practitioners from various Mental Health and Addiction (MH&A) services in Auckland (AMHASF, 2014, p.1).

Eventually, the JINGA partnership model evolved from a professional partnership that had been primarily for the purpose of cross-disciplinary peer supervision to Cross-Sector Social-Oriented Partnerships (CSSPs) amongst Japanese practitioners, some mainstream social and health service providers, local Japanese community leaders and volunteers and new Japanese settlers. CSSPs refers to '[t]he voluntary collaborative efforts of actors from organisations in two or more economic sectors in a forum in which they cooperatively attempt to solve a problem or issue of mutual concern that is in some way identified with a public policy agenda item' (Waddock, 1991, pp. 481-482). This form of partnership is long-term, open-ended and largely common-interest oriented (Selsky and Parker, 2005). After the transformation of the JINGA membership and its philosophy, members began to utilise the monthly professional meetings to meet the following aims:

1. Engaging with professionals from various backgrounds (such as police and general practitioners) as well as Japanese community leaders and members from various social, community and/or health services and/or groups.
2. Re-identifying and re-evaluating current events and challenges in the Japanese settlers' community in Auckland.
3. Mutually supporting each other by offering encouragement and advice.
4. Sharing professional expertise and practical skills.
5. Sharing valuable culturally-relevant resources and/or networks.
6. Promoting the shared vision of creating a socially cohesive society (that is, where all individuals and communities from different ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds experience a sense of belonging and acknowledgement of their contributions [Ward, 2009]).

In the midst of these changes, a Japanese private life-coach (Mayuko) joined in February 2014. Afterwards, the JINGA decided to organise a collaborative seminar for Japanese female settlers and mothers, as the majority of Japanese settlers living in Aotearoa are female (Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007; Tanaka, 1999). There is currently no Japanese-oriented support available for Japanese females, nor for single Japanese mothers in Auckland. While organising this seminar, the JINGA acted as both a cultural resource facilitator and a supporter of other Japanese-oriented groups.

Some JINGA members delivered a second collaborative seminar for Japanese female settlers with two Japanese-oriented, private life-coach services in April, 2014, called the 'Comfortable New Zealand Lifestyle for (Japanese) Ladies' seminar. This seminar was intended to meet the needs of young female Japanese settlers and Japanese migrant mothers in Auckland, by introducing them to Japanese practitioners working in several social and health services in Auckland. The seminar was intended to build cohesion within the Japanese settlers' community and create an environment where they are better able to create a new lifestyle in Auckland. Two organisers utilised Scratch Card fundraisers to raise funds for venue costs and refreshments. These seminar organisers also invited a Japanese practitioner from one of the NPOs and a vice-chairperson of the largest Japanese social group in Auckland to share their service information, parenting skills and life experience in Aotearoa. Seminar flyers were written in Japanese and distributed on professional network and Japanese-based websites such as NZ Daisuki. They also recruited a few Japanese volunteers for childcare services during the seminar session.

Twenty-five people attended this seminar and further needs and strategies were identified by both participants and seminar organisers in their evaluation forms. The majority of participants noted that they gained insight into various social and health services and Japanese local community groups available for them, and felt encouraged when hearing talks by Japanese guest speakers. At the completion of this seminar, they had time not only for evaluation but also celebration with the volunteers; the organizers ensured that the volunteers felt they played a valuable role in supporting Japanese community members.

PARTNERING WITH MAINSTREAM HEALTH SERVICES TO ADDRESS HEALTH INEQUALITIES

In response to the mental health needs of Japanese settlers, a third JINGA collaborative seminar held in October, 2014 was entitled 'Caring for the heart of Japanese settlers living in Auckland: For Japanese settlers to live happily in New Zealand'. This seminar was designed to address a range of mental health (MH) needs of Japanese settlers caused by the resettlement process, social exclusion, and parenting in a foreign/cross-cultural environment. It was organised in collaboration with three mainstream MH services (DHB, NGO and primary healthcare) and two private Japanese life-coaching services. The aims and method of the seminar were reported at the Asian Health Research National Symposium in July, 2014 (Isogai, Ko and Nemoto, 2014). In order to deliver this seminar, the JINGA utilised another community development approach, called the social planning model. This model utilises a problem-solving method to address community problems by allowing professionals/experts to identify specific needs in the community, develop strategic plans and deliver services to meet these needs (Zastrow, 2010). This model may involve minimal, moderate or extensive community engagement, depending on the community's thoughts and attitudes surrounding the identified issues (Zastrow, 2010).
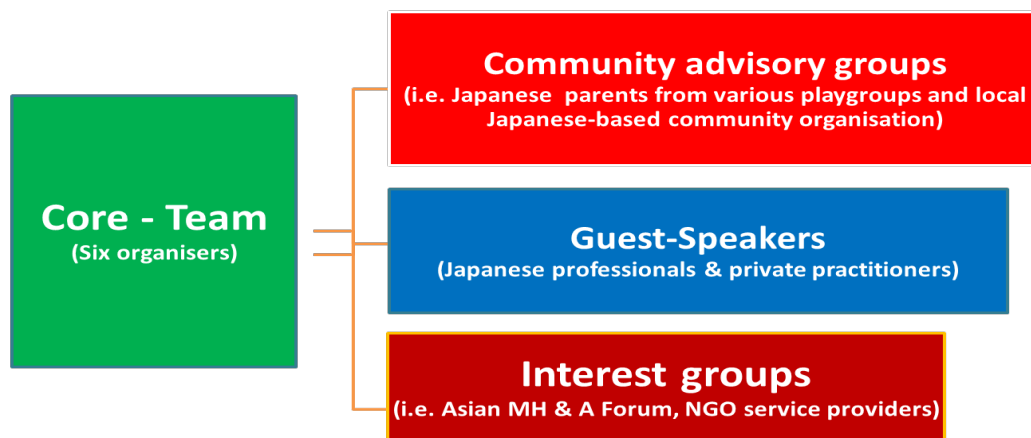
In order to utilise the social planning model to meet the mental health needs of Japanese settlers' community in a culturally-appropriate way, some JINGA members undertook the following procedure. First, together with an Asian service development coordinator from AMHASF, they agreed to organise and deliver a collaborative Japanese-oriented seminar project in conjunction with mental health awareness week. Then, the Japanese Mental Health Interagency Group (JMHIG) was created after mental health service providers and professionals from both Asian mental health and addiction forum groups and the JINGA were sought. In this group, the Asian service development coordinator formed a core organising team with the JINGA members for the project by inviting key service providers. They also invited two Japanese-oriented private life-coach service providers in order to utilise our previous seminar organising experiences, feedback, network and shared ideas.

Following the establishment of the JMHIG, a community advisory group was formed to instigate further consultations and gather information about specific mental health issues and their causal factors from various local agencies and key informants. This method enabled JMHIG members to combine their professional expertise. For instance, one of the authors of this paper, Shoichi Isogai, met several times with a local Japanese advisor with a background in marketing in Japan to form the community advisory groups by inviting several Japanese local community groups and leaders. Through consultations with the community advisory group, several factors which cause mental health issues amongst Japanese settlers were identified. These include ongoing stress due to cross-cultural parenting, social isolation in a foreign environment, mental health and behavioural concerns in children, and difficulties in seeking a new lifestyle and identity in a foreign country.

Following these consultations, an Asian service development coordinator and Isogai made a list of potential Japanese guest speakers from various professions for JMHIG. After having several discussions with the JMHIG members, the following guest speakers and panels were chosen: a local Japanese advisor and community advisory group, a Japanese clinical psychologist, a psychotherapist, a natural therapist and two life-

Figure 3. **Japanese MH Interagency Seminar project design (Isogai, Ko and Nemoto, 2014)**

Core - Team
(Six organisers)

Community advisory groups
(i.e. Japanese parents from various playgroups and local Japanese-based community organisation)

Guest-Speakers
(Japanese professionals & private practitioners)

Interest groups
(i.e. Asian MH & A Forum, NGO service providers)

coaches. Following their acceptance of invitations to be guest speakers, the JMHIG members invited the speakers to attend the collaborative seminar project meeting and get to know one another. This was to avoid the guest speakers presenting similar talks, as well as to share cultural knowledge, networks and practices in order to strengthen partnerships - in keeping with the JINGA vision. This collaborative seminar project design is illustrated in Figure 3.

In order to ensure that this seminar would consider the range of mental health needs of Japanese settlers – and in particular, address discrimination and stigma surrounding MH issues – the JINGA members utilised para-modern epistemology in the cultural consultations and interagency seminar preparation meetings. Para-Modernism refers to an epistemological stance that encompasses both modern (more mainstream or professional) and postmodern (more locality-based) metaphors in order to explore and socially co-construct knowledge (Larner, 1994). This approach involves service users (members of the Japanese community) and professionals working through ideas and strategies in collaboration with one another (Larner, 1994). After several consultations and seminar preparation meetings with community advisory groups and guest speakers, JINGA agreed to organise a third collaborative seminar, called 'Caring for the heart of Japanese settlers'. This was designed to address a range of mental health concerns and their causes.

To organize fundraising for this project, JMHIG members invited one of the Japanese life coaches to become a member of JMHIG in the role of fundraising coordinator. JMHIG continued to gain cultural inputs and network support from members of community advisory groups. After discussions with members, the seminar organisers decided to sell boxes of chocolates as a fundraising method. They also recruited ten Japanese childcare volunteers to provide childcare services during the seminar. One of the organisers prepared seminar certificates for Japanese childcare volunteers. There were difficulties in finding a venue where many Japanese settlers could attend this seminar easily, but JMHIG eventually decided to use one of the venues close to Auckland's central city. Seminar flyers were written in both English and Japanese and distributed in the networks of Asian mental health and addiction professionals, and in local Japanese networks (and on local Japanese websites), as well as among the guest-speakers' contacts. Based on the feedback that was received from JINGA's second collaborative seminar, the organisers incorporated a group discussion after the each talk to provide an opportunity for seminar participants to form a peer-support group amongst themselves.

Forty-seven settlers along with eighteen children attended this seminar. Various mainstream service providers and Japanese community leaders also attended, gained insight into the JINGA visions and expressed their interest in collaborating with JINGA members for the next seminar. As with the previous collaborative seminar, there was an evaluation and celebration time with Japanese volunteers, including the provision of volunteer certificates. This made them feel valued for supporting Japanese community members, and strengthened community networks amongst themselves. According to the seminar evaluation forms, the majority of participants gained a deeper understanding of mental health concerns amongst Japanese children and parents, and became more willing to seek mental health services, including mental health first aid training offered by one of the organisers (Japanese Mental Health Interagency Group, 2014).

Despite the active engagements and tasks undertaken by the JINGA members, there was a challenge in the membership commitment within the JINGA. The JINGA members discussed the future direction of JINGA and concluded that it would be changed from a professional-led group to a Japanese female service, and users-led, networking group. After the JMHIG delivered a 'Caring for the heart of Japanese settlers living in Auckland' seminar in October 2014, JINGA therefore transformed into a Japanese women's community support network group, called 'Auckland Women Support Network' (AWSN). This group was organised and led by Reiko Yanai. The overarching aim of the group is to meet the needs of Japanese female settlers as there is currently no support available for them. AWSN utilises a social action model for more radical change, discussed below.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PRACTICES

What can be learnt from this collaborative Japanese-oriented project? This paper illustrates that working with Japanese settlers requires an understanding of the issues at both the micro level (individuals' integration and resettlement) and the macro level (the lack of networking amongst Japanese practitioners and the paucity of cultural resources available for Japanese settlers in Auckland). As illustrated in the story above, the JINGA project provided some unique approaches and insights into community development practices. One of the innovative aspects of this project is that it created a grassroots initiative that enabled Japanese professionals and community leaders to form a partnership amongst themselves and a new style of social governance to address common issues, regardless of the contractualism and neo-liberal agenda which creates destructive competition amongst different organisations, particularly in the health sector (Larner and Craig, 2005).

A creative aspect of this project is its Japanese-oriented, cross-disciplinary peer supervision amongst Japanese practitioners and Japanese community leaders. At the beginning stages of the JINGA, members organised these peer-supervision sessions to facilitate a Japanese professional network, culturally-appropriate resources, and information about current news and challenges within the Japanese settlers' community in Auckland. This allowed many practitioners - working both in DHBs and NGOs - to develop culturally-appropriate and accessible resources, long-term work which facilitates long-term social change, where Japanese community leaders and professionals achieve the JINGA vision. This includes the formation of AWSN and JMHIG. Japanese-oriented, cross-disciplinary peer supervision also enabled the JINGA members to enhance their cultural competency and professional expertise to work with Japanese settlers (O'Donoghue, 2004).

The findings of this project illustrate the usefulness of the locality-development model. By utilising this model, JINGA played a variety of roles such as enablers, coordinators and educators, to support Japanese settlers to gain problem-solving skills as well as relevant service and community knowledge. This was hoped to inspire a shared vision of full participation and creating a supportive Japanese settlers' community in Auckland (Zastrow, 2010). This model is closely related to a community empowerment approach, because it emphasizes the process of allowing communities to create 'power to act effectively to change their lives and environment' (Kasmel and Andersen, 2011, p. 800). In doing so, they will improve the participation and integration of settlers and their communities in a wider society (Dominelli, 2010).

One of the ways in which the JINGA utilised the locality-development model is via monthly professional meetings amongst Japanese professionals, community leaders and members of local Japanese settlers' communities in Auckland. During the professional network meetings, the JINGA WG members acted as facilitators of communication, discussion, consensus and social interaction. This model was effective in developing supportive networks and facilitating the production of cultural resources and social and health service knowledge for Japanese practitioners, community leaders and members. The locality-development model was also utilised via the collaborative seminars to create foundations that will enable Japanese settlers to bring about change and empowerment (Zastrow, 2010) in partnership with different groups and organisations. These collaborative seminars empowered the Japanese settlers' community in Auckland as they were able to meet with Japanese professionals from social, community and health services and gain knowledge and information about local communities and social and health service systems in the host society. They also created opportunities for Japanese settlers to form a peer-support network group that enhanced their social networks and secured emotional support amongst themselves (Kasmel and Andersen, 2011).

Nevertheless, the locality-development model had limitations when addressing certain needs of the Japanese settlers' community, such as MH needs. This model requires the community to take ownership in definning and developing strategies to address issues faced by the community. However, some issues such as MH (depression, autism and child development issues), as well as family violence and associated stigmatisation and discrimination, require professional expertise to identify, develop intervention plans and deliver appropriate services. For these reasons, as explained previously, the JINGA utilised the social planning model to address a range of MH needs in its third collaborative seminar In order to integrate professional expertise and Japanese settlers' community perspectives when addressing MH issues in the community. Para-modern epistemology was utilised in preparations for the third JINGA seminar. For instance, the seminar organisers stood 'from a position that is simultaneously inside and outside' of professional expertise (Larner, 1994, p. 15). Standing inside, the seminar organisers held professional/specialist views of Japanese settlers' community needs (depression, loss of identity, difficulties with assimilation and with parenting, couple counselling and child development issues), whereas in standing outside they believed in many other possibilities (such as ongoing stress due to the resettlement process, problems with cross-cultural parenting, social isolation in a foreign environment, and difficulties in seeking a new lifestyle and identity in a foreign country) (Larner, 1994). Because of this approach, the seminar organisers were able to include a group discussion and mental health training opportunity for Japanese settlers (mental health first aid training) while also creating an opportunity for them to form a peer-group amongst themselves.

Ultimately, the JINGA project utilised three main community development models as the project evolved from professional-based into a community development group. Initially, the JINGA utilised the locality-development model to facilitate community members taking ownership of the community issues; at this stage the JINGA successfully formed a professional-based group amongst Japanese sector practitioners and organised two collaborative seminars. In response to specific community concerns, which required professional expertise, the JINGA used the social planning model with a para-modern approach. Lastly, as the JINGA became a Japanese women's community support network group (AWSN), they started using a Social Action model. This model emphasises shifting power relationships with reference to oppressed and/or disadvantaged groups by organising members and aiming to effect major change in institutions or policies of groups and organisations in order to bring

about a just society. The activity of this model includes advocacy, negotiation, confrontation and contestation (Zastrow, 2010). This community development model was sought for the Japanese settlers' community to bring about radical change and social cohesiveness.

CHALLENGES

There were several challenges faced by the JINGA while undertaking this project. One was the competition amongst local Japanese community groups and mainstream agencies. Because of the contract-based service provision, fuelled by a neo-liberal agenda, competition is created amongst different organisations. Consequently, some agencies were initially hesitant to partner with JINGA. In order to address this challenge, some JINGA members visited various local community groups and agencies, sharing our vision to inspire and form partnerships with them. Despite this, some agencies continued to decline to be part of JINGA.

Another challenge was the commitment of group members due to time and geographical constraints. It was difficult to find a specific time and location for the monthly professional meetings as many Japanese practitioners from different agencies and local Japanese community leaders were occupied with full-time work around the Auckland region. Nurturing skills such as leadership for Japanese settlers, and assisting Japanese community leaders to develop expertise in areas such as partnering with mainstream organisations, group facilitation and collaborative seminar organisation skills, were additional challenges faced by the JINGA. Because this project was initially organised and led by Japanese professionals, time was required for the skills to be nurtured in other JINGA community members.

CONCLUSION

Despite constant changes in group philosophy and aims, the JINGA project has been successful in establishing the first step towards a social change movement where a supportive Japanese settlers' community will be established. Japanese settlers, Japanese community leaders and professionals from various groups and organisations will be able to identify and promote shared visions of full participation and create this community. This project also established a variety of networks and a collaborative partnership amongst Japanese practitioners, Japanese community leaders and members, and mainstream service providers. While the locality-development model, in the form of the monthly professional meetings and the collaborative seminars, was effective in initiating change in the Japanese community, the social planning model was useful in defining and addressing particular issues in the community that required professional expertise. Together, these two models enabled the sharing of professional expertise, cultural resources and networks for various Japanese professionals, local Japanese community groups and mainstream service providers – inspiring them to unite to achieve the shared visions of the original JINGA members. Even though this group project was disestablished, three Japanese-oriented groups (Japanese Interagency Group, AWSN and JMHIG) continue to engage with various Japanese community members and mainstream service providers to achieve the JINGA vision.

Shoichi Isogai and Jun Okamura are from the Japanese Interagency Group (JIG)
14 Horizon Place, Flagstaff, Hamilton, New Zealand
Phone: 0212129181
*Contact: **shomatters0202@gmail.com***

REFERENCES

Aimers, J. and Walker, P. (2008) Is community accountability a casualty of government partnering in New Zealand? *Social Work Review*, **20**(3), 14 – 24.

Chile, L. M. (2006). The historical context of community development in Aotearoa New Zealand, *Community Development Journal*, **41**(4), 407 – 425.

Dominelli, L., ed. (2010). Revitalising commmunities: Introduction and globalising communities: Players and non players. In L. Dominelli, eds, *Social work in a globalising world*, Ashgate Publishing Limited, United Kingdom, pp. 3-15.

Ho, E. and Bedford, R. (2008). Asian transnational families in New Zealand: Dynamics and challenges, *International Migration*, **46**(4): 41-62.

Isogai, S., Ko, K. and Nemoto, M. (2014). 'Caring the heart of Japanese settlers, living in Auckland: A collaborative project to advocate the mental health needs of Japanese settlers and building their capacity to deal with mental health concerns in Auckland', paper presented at the Asian Health Research National Symposium. 4 July 2014, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Isogai, S., Nakajima, A,. Kasuga, M., Okamura, J. and Miyauchi, N. (2013). *Japanese Interdisciplinary Network Group in Auckland (JINGA) foundation document*, JINGA, Auckland, New Zealand.

Japanese Mental Health Interagency Group. (2014). *Caring for the heart of Japanese settlers, living in Auckland on October, 2014: Seminar evaluation result*. Unpublished paper, JMHIG, Auckland, New Zealand.

Johnston, C. S. (2009). Japanese "long term stayers": using their experiences in New Zealand to help resolve declining Japanese tourist numbers. In Y. Maruma, N. Sajima. And S. Lim, eds, *The Roles of New Zealand and Japan in the Asia-Pacific: From standpoints of Security, Economy and Cultural Exchange*, Ronsosha Publishing House, Tokyo, Japan.

Kasmel, A. and Andersen, P. T. (2011). Measurement of commmunity empowerment in three community programs in Rapla (Estonia), *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, **8**(3), 799 – 817. Doi:10.3390/ijerph8030799.

Kominami, H. (2014). *"Moving toward diverse cultural communities": Lost in translation – When the Sakura cherry blossom meets the Puhutukawa: What are the opportunities and challenges facing Japanese migrants in Aotearoa/New Zealand?* UNITEC, Master's thesis, Auckland, New Zealand.

Kuragasaki-Laughton, A. (2007). *The Japanese migrant community in Christchurch: The quest for new values and identity,* University of Canterbury, Master's thesis, Christchurch, New Zealand.

Larner, G. (1994). Para-Modern family therapy: deconstructing post-modernism, *A.N.Z.J. Family Therapy*, **15**(1), 11-16.

Larner, W. and Craig, D. (2005). After neoliberalism? Community activism and local partnerships in Aotearoa New Zealand, *Antipode*, **37**(3), 402 – 424.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (1997). *Annual Report of Japanese nationals overseas*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Tokyo, Japan.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (2013). *Annual Report of Japanese nationals overseas.* Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Tokyo, Japan.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (2014). *Annual Report of Japanese nationals overseas.* Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Tokyo, Japan.

Ministry of Health (2006). *Asian Health Chart Book 2006*, Ministry of Health, Wellington, New Zealand.

New Zealand Mentoring Centre. (2000). *The Power of Peer Supervision*, NZ Mentoring Centre, Auckland.

Noble, C. and Henrickson, M. (2011). Editorial: after neo-liberalism, new managerialism and postmodernism, what next for social work? *Journal of Social Work*, **11**(2), 128-131.

Noble, C., Henrickson, M. and Han, I. Y. (2009). Social Work: Conversations, challenges, cultures and complexities*,* In C. Noble, M. Henrickson, and I. Y. Han, eds, *Social work education: Voices from the Asia – Pacific*, The Vulgar Press, Melbourne, Australia, pp. 1 – 4.

O'Brien, M. (2005). A just profession or just a profession, *Social Work Review*, **17**(1), 13 – 22.

O'Donoghue, K. (2004). Uniprofessional, multiprofessional, field of practice, discipline: social workers and cross-disciplinary supervision, *Social Work Review*, **16**(3), 2 – 7.

O'Reilly, K. (2009). *The British on the Costa del Sol: transactional identities and local communities*, Routledge, London, United Kingdom.

Rasanathan, K., Craig, D. and Perkins, R. (2006). The novel use of 'Asian' as an ethnic category in the New Zealand health sector, *Ethnicity and Health*, **11**(3), 211 – 227.

Sato, M. (2001). *Farewell to Nippon*, Trans Pacific Press, Melbourne, Australia.

Selsky, J. W. and Parker, B. (2005). Cross-sector partnerships to address social issues: Challenges to theory and practice, *Journal of Management*, **31**, 849 – 873.

Shiobara, Y. (2005). Middle-class Asian immigrants and welfare multiculturalism: a case study of a Japanese community organisation in Sydney, *Asian Studies Review*, **29**, 395 – 414.

Statistics New Zealand. (2006). *Employment, Earnings and Income Statistics from LEED*, Statistics New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.

Statistics New Zealand. (2013). *2013 census ethnic group profiles: Japanese*, Statistics New Zealand, accessed at: http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/ethnic-profiles.aspx?request_value=24753&tabname=Populationandgeography (22 January, 2015)

Takeda, A. (2013). Weblog narratives of Japanese migrant women in Australia: Consequences of international mobility and migration, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* **37**(4), 415 – 421.

Tanaka, K. (1999). Characteristics of Japanese residents in New Zealand: A comparison with other ethnic groups, *Asian Studies Review*, **23**(1), 69 – 92.

Yamashita, A. (2012). A study on Nikkei Hawaiian Japanese, *Dialectologia*, **9**, 109-131.

Waddock, S. (1991). A typology of social partnership organisations, *Administration and Society*, **22**(4), 480 – 516.

Ward, C. (2009). Acculturation and social cohesion: Emerging issues for Asian Immigrants in New Zealand, In C. H. Leong and J. W. Berry, eds, *Intercultural relations in Asia: Migration and work effectiveness*, World Scientific Publishing, Singapore, pp. 3 – 24.

Zastrow, C. (2010) *The practice of social work: a comprehensive worktext*, 9th Edition. Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, Belmont, CA.

Radical Community Development:

We Do Talk Politics Here

by ALASTAIR RUSSELL

Opinion

Radical Community Development:

We Do Talk Politics Here

by ALASTAIR RUSSELL

ABSTRACT

Radical community development is explicitly political. It involves a combination of thought (analysis, debate, reflection) and action. Crucial to radical community development is standing with people experiencing oppression and against an oppressive status quo. Also crucial to radical community development is an understanding of both place and history. Implications of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the effects of the breaching of Te Tiriti by the Crown (government) are discussed along with how Auckland Action Against Poverty responds to this. Auckland Action Against Poverty (AAAP) puts radical community development into practice. This paper provides detailed examples of how this is done, including organizing Benefit Impacts, which involves large numbers of advocates at a Work and Income office for three days. AAAP works with unemployed and low waged workers. There is an explicit rejection of professional social work as a model of engagement both within benefit advocacy and the range of other activities which AAAP does. Competent solidarity replaces this professionalism. The paper is based on the belief that it is possible to contribute to debate and practice from outside academia and from within community-based knowledge. The ongoing challenge is to put thought into action for social change and social justice.

INTRODUCTION

Last year I spoke at a South Auckland network meeting about a Benefit Impact Auckland Action Against Poverty (AAAP) was organizing. The Benefit Impact is a three day event where benefit advocates are at a Work and Income office and Work and Income have additional staff available. Hundreds of people are able to access their full benefit entitlements during the Benefit Impact. I initially spoke about the need for Benefit Impacts, so I talked about the government's welfare reforms and the toxic culture within Work and Income of intimidation and denial of people's rights. The meeting facilitator then reminded the meeting that 'we don't talk politics here'.

Apolitical community development is a myth promulgated by a dominant elite. It stands alongside similar myths of the classless society and the trickle-down theory. All of which are declarations of alliance with and acceptance of the status quo. Radical community development is political. Its purpose is to develop a politics of the left based within communities where poverty is a shared reality. It is not necessarily political in the sense of parliamentary party politics, but rather in the sense of addressing fundamental issues of social justice. It starts with a clear understanding of the socioeconomic causes of oppression, then moving on to a clear distinction between oppressors and the oppressed and then to a clear articulation of whose side you are on. From there, the question becomes 'what do you do about it?'

AAAP is explicitly anti-capitalist. We have a kaupapa to expose and oppose the government's welfare reforms, and to put forward constructive alternatives. The welfare reforms are seen within the context of the current right-wing National-led

government's attacks on unemployed and employed workers. The widening gap between the rich and the poor is evidence of the existence of winners and losers within a free-market economy. The human costs of this are unacceptable and obvious.

The previous Social Development Minister, Paula Bennett, frequently and proudly spoke of Work and Income's 'unrelenting focus on work'. This focus denies the validity of the many forms of unpaid work which exist, and denigrates the people doing unpaid work. Welfare reform has been about this focus on work as the only solution to poverty. Work and Income has a punitive sanctions regime in place, where 'Jobseekers', to receive benefit payments, must comply with instructions given to them and accept any 'reasonable' job offer. Of course, it is Work and Income who defines what is a 'reasonable' job offer. To not comply means a 50% reduction in one's benefit followed by a 100% reduction. The government, however, has no focus on work creation or work that enables people and families to move out of poverty.

Apolitical community development is a myth promulgated by a dominant elite. It stands alongside similar myths of the classless society and the trickle-down theory. All of which are declarations of alliance with and acceptance of the status quo.

AAAP works in diverse ways to implement our kaupapa, including benefit advocacy, organizing Benefit Impacts, community education, research, lobbying, media work, networking and protest actions. Alongside these activities we consciously continue to ask why we do these things and debate how to improve upon what we do. I am employed by AAAP as advocacy coordinator, and work with a team of around fifteen volunteer advocates. Each day we hear people tell us about their experiences of humiliation and denial of their rights to access benefit entitlements at Work and Income offices. The effects of poverty are what we see each day. It is this reality that is at the core of the need for radical community development.

Personally, I operate from the basis of two fundamental truisms. Firstly, that the unemployed do not cause unemployment, and secondly, that private

wealth is the cause of poverty. People do not actively seek out unemployment as a lifestyle choice. Unemployment is caused by decisions made in boardrooms and Cabinet meetings and then forced upon people. The logical outcome of private wealth accumulation is the poverty of hundreds of thousands of people in Aotearoa. For me, there is no alternative other than to choose a side and act upon that choice. I firmly believe that it is not possible to witness the human costs of unemployment, low wages and poverty on one hand and the wealth and privilege on the other, without becoming clear that there is a need to collectively work in solidarity with others who share a common goal of a better future.

This paper will discuss radical community development as implemented by AAAP. From the position of advocacy coordinator at AAAP, I will consider the key elements of radical community development that combines working with people who are not getting their legal entitlements from Work and Income, organizing a three day Benefit Impact at a Work and Income office, community education, networking, research, media work and protest actions.

Radical community development and Te Tiriti o Waitangi

In Aotearoa radical community development is not possible without a commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. I do not propose to enter into a lengthy historical discussion here, but there is a need to distinguish between the two competing documents. It is sufficient to say that the document signed on 6 February 1840 at Waitangi by the Queen's Representative, Governor Hobson, was written in Te Reo Māori. It is this document which sets out the agreed upon relationship between two distinct sovereign peoples. It allows Pākehā and tauiwi to have a representative in the circle of rangatira, but only to create laws over their own people - not over Māori.

The agreement reflected in Te Tiriti o Waitangi was to establish a mutually beneficial relationship between peoples. The subsequent English language version, however, has been used to create confusion around sovereignty and self-determination, which has enabled 175 years of colonisation to occur at great harm to Māori. The resulting loss of Māori sovereignty and self-determination has seen the imposition of Pākehā institutional and personal racism. The effects
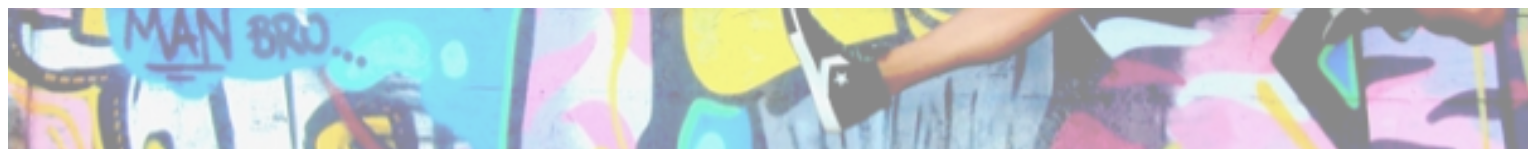
of this can be seen today in our prisons, our education systems and unemployment and poverty.

A recent decision by the Waitangi Tribunal in regards to Ngā Puhi, released on 14 November 2014, confirms that the signings of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in the north in February 1840 left sovereignty and self-determination remaining with Māori hapū and iwi. The hapū of Ngā Puhi, and by extension the hapū around the country, did not cede sovereignty. Crown claims to legal sovereignty have yet to be proved. While the Crown has yet to respond with integrity to the Waitangi Tribunal decision, Pākehā in particular need to be challenging the Crown to do just that, and not sweep the history and Waitangi Tribunal decision under the carpet. There is also an opportunity for each of us, individually and collectively, to do what we can to change the system we work under, and to counter the harm that breaching Te Tiriti o Waitangi has done.

On a day to day basis, Auckland Action Against Poverty stands with Māori as they encounter the institutional racism of Work and Income and the frequent personal racism of Work and Income staff. Auckland Action Against Poverty works with many Māori individuals and whānau to support them to access their legal benefit entitlements and meet their immediate needs. We provide advocacy education. Through this education, we have increased the number of Māori benefit advocates working at AAAP and passed on knowledge of benefit entitlements to the wider community. We continue to develop relationships with Māori organisations as a contribution towards a Te Tiriti-based future. One of our major strengths is our knowledge of the Pākehā welfare system and its political and economic drivers. This is a knowledge we readily share.

Auckland Action Against Poverty – A Brief Description
AAAP is an incorporated society. It has an office in Onehunga, Auckland. There are two paid employees working a total of fifty hours per week. There are volunteers in governance roles, and others working as advocates, researchers, and office support. Other people actively support our protest actions or maintain contact through our support base. The majority of our funding comes from individuals who make direct payments into our bank account. This provides crucial independence for AAAP. Further funding is accessed to support the benefit advocacy work and more recently benefit advocacy training.

Funding is also obtained to enable us to organize a Benefit Impact each year. While benefit advocacy is the activity that takes up the majority of our volunteer and paid staff's time, we remain clear that advocacy is not why AAAP exists. Advocacy is part of a radical community development strategy that aims to achieve social change.

A Morning at AAAP
On the morning that I decided to write this paper I spoke with five people. The first was a trespassed ex-gang member who was applying for a benefit. His application was in process and he had no money for food. He intended to beg on Queen Street for money. An advocate helped him to obtain a food grant from Work and Income.

> **'Competent solidarity' replaces the professional-client relationship. Being both competent and working in solidarity with people is integral to radical community development.**

The second person was via a phone call from a married woman with two preschool children. Her son has serious health conditions and the family's current overcrowded living conditions put the boy's life at risk. Work and Income had denied her assistance to move into either one of two three-bedroom houses at weekly rents of $395 and $450. With support from an advocate, Work and Income agreed to provide the assistance she was entitled to, and the family was able to move in to suitable housing.

The third person was via a phone call from a woman I was already working with. She confirmed she was getting further medical information about her son who has a serious mental health problem that means he is not safe to be left alone. When distressed he is a serious risk to himself and others. Work and Income had told her she needed to be available for full time work or face sanctions. With AAAP support, Work and Income accepted that she should be available to care for her son.

The fourth person was a phone call from a woman who had been given tickets for her and her daughter to fly to Australia for a family Christmas. Work and Income had told her that her benefit would

be stopped when she left the country. If this happened she would not be able to pay her rent. With support from an advocate she was able to remain on her benefit while in Australia, and she and her daughter were able to see family they had not seen for several years.

The fifth person was via a phone call from a woman whose relative was being discharged from Auckland City Hospital, where she had been for several weeks. The relative had numerous physical health problems and dementia. She needed twenty-four-hour care. She also had no income, and no benefit had been applied for while she had been in hospital. The woman's family had no way of providing for her needs as they were unemployed and having their own financial problems. The hospital expected the family to cope with their relative's support and financial needs. The woman I spoke with was encouraged to tell the hospital that discharge at this time was not okay, and that the hospital staff were clearly neglecting their duty of care.

The above examples of the toxic culture promoted by government policy are not unusual. It is a culture that intimidates, denigrates and treats people as second class citizens on the basis of their income and employment status. All people have a right to food without resorting to begging. All children have a right to have the nurturing care of a parent and all parents have a right to be there for their children. All people have a right to housing. All people have a right to contact with family, and all people have a right to cross international borders. Being on a benefit does not remove or lessen these rights.

Competent Solidarity not Professional Social Work

The fifth example above raises questions of competency within hospital-based social work, and - I firmly believe - questions of competency within social work in general, and moving on to wider issues of social service provision. How is it possible for a person to be discharged from hospital without fundamental social issues being addressed? Another example is a person I worked with who received treatment from a community mental health centre who has a serious ongoing mental health problem. For many years he was under the Mental Health Act. He had no gas supply for ten years. This meant he had no hot water and no method of safely cooking for ten years. He had

hot water and cooking facilities within four months of contacting AAAP.

Having worked for Auckland District Health Board for over fifteen years, I have no doubt the answer lies within the contradictions of the standard 'social work professional' and 'client' relationship. The 'professional' and the "client" are clearly different, and a clear imbalance of power exists. There is no sharing of a common interest. It is the professional who will determine the nature, context and purpose of the relationship. The professional's allegiance and accountability are to their profession and to their employer. Within this model, it is perfectly acceptable to stay silent and spectate while a bureaucratic system spits people out into untenable situations. Similarly, within the not-for-profit sector the phenomenon of silent, apolitical spectatorship predominates. Too many agencies fulfill contractual obligations while seeing the realities of the people they work with, yet do not make public comment and most definitely do not seek to challenge the status quo.

AAAP rejects the notion of the professional or expert doing things to compliant clients. We have personal experience of unemployment; we know we are no different from the people who come to us needing support to access their rights. We do not use the term 'client'. We work with people. Their oppression is our oppression, their experiences are our experiences, their interests are our interests. We are not professionals or experts, knowing more about people's lives than they do themselves. AAAP advocates take the position that 'no is the wrong answer'. And when applications for benefit entitlements are denied by Work and Income, staff will not passively accept this decision. AAAP advocates will actively assert the person's rights. Competent solidarity' replaces the professional-client relationship. Being both competent and working in solidarity with people is integral to radical community development.

The realities of the people our advocates work with are paramount, and their reality and priorities determine the work done. This respectful approach enables meaningful empowerment to occur. Competent solidarity means we will publicly speak of the realities of poverty: we will challenge the status quo and develop further capacity to do so.

Benefit Impacts

For each of the last three years, AAAP has organized a Benefit Impact at a Work and Income office. A Benefit Impact is a three-day event where there are a large group of trained benefit advocates at a Work and Income office and additional Work and Income staff present. The primary purpose is to support people to access their full and correct benefit entitlements.

The organization of a Benefit Impact involves formally notifying Work and Income of our intention to hold a Benefit Impact. Meetings with senior Work and Income managers are held to agree upon the time and place of the Benefit Impact, as well as the numbers of Work Income staff who will be present. AAAP seeks funding. We contact our networks and identify volunteers who will do the numerous tasks needed (such as advocacy, liaison work, preparing food and so on). Various forms of publicity are arranged, including advertisements in local papers, posters, community networking, leaflet distribution - particularly at Work and Income offices - and media work.

On 5, 6 and 7 August 2014 at Mangere Work and Income we had thirty benefit advocates available each day. Work and Income had twenty case managers plus additional staff present. Over these three days we saw 539 people and hundreds more were unable to be seen. We estimate that, in total up to 1000 came to the Mangere Benefit Impact over the three days. On the second day, people began queueing by 6am. On the third day there were over 200 people at the door by 8.30am, and the Work and Income senior manager wanted to call the police. In our opinion, this had the high probability of precipitating a riot. We persuaded him not to do this.

The desperation of the people was obvious. People were desperate to have the opportunity to access their legal rights which they cannot do without advocacy support. The volume of people who came to the Benefit Impact is undeniable proof of an uncaring system. I would use the term 'dysfunctional', but it is clear that Work and Income policies and practices are functional from the perspective of a government intent on promoting the interests of business. People this desperate are very likely to take any job at any rate of pay, while those in work will not fight for better working conditions for fear of what awaits them at Work and Income. The numbers of people who came to the Benefit Impact are also undeniable proof of the existence of widespread poverty. It is a poverty experienced by adults, which impacts upon their children. Over the three days of the Benefit Impact, over $55,000 of food grants were obtained, over $100,000 was acquired for the purchase of beds. We do not know how much was obtained for purchase of fridges, washing machines, clothing, bedding, and other essential items. People were assisted to apply for a benefit, access rent and bond advances to obtain housing, lower Work and Income debt repayments, and many other issues were resolved positively for people.

An advocate points out the legal justification for saying yes to a person's application. The legal justification exists regardless of the presence of an advocate, but Work and Income policy and practice is to deny people their rights. It is the pervading culture within Work and Income to say no. The numbers of people coming to Benefit Impacts prove the existence of this culture of denial (saying no, when it is possible to say yes) within Work and Income. Over 120 Reviews of Decision were lodged during the Impact. A Review of Decision is the beginning of a formal process of challenging a Work and Income decision to decline an application. Lodging these Reviews is a political act which then becomes a formal record of a complaint being made. Over twenty Section 70A applications were made. If a person, usually a woman, fails to name the other parent of a child, then Work and Income will deduct $28 per week from their benefit. There are numerous reasons why the other parent cannot or will not be named. We continue to work through these processes. The advocacy work arising from the Benefit Impact continues.

During the Benefit Impact, much work was done to gain mainstream media attention, which was more successful than in the previous two Benefit Impacts we have held. Stories featured on television news and print media. Social media also enabled us to tell our story. In the three days immediately following the Benefit Impact, over 150 people came to our office seeking advocacy support. We were also told that on the morning of 8 August, the day after the Benefit Impact ended, over 100 people went to Mangere Work and Income hoping we were still there. We were so overwhelmed by the poverty that exists, which the Benefit Impact clearly showed. The consequently huge need for benefit advocacy meant that we were unable to meet the need. We had no option but to close our doors for eight days to cope with the workload.

Positive Developmental Outcomes of the Benefit Impact

In addition to meeting the needs of hundreds of people and their families, there are numerous developmental outcomes and opportunities that come from the Benefit Impact. In the process of organizing the Benefit Impact, previously existing relationships are strengthened and new relationships established. People came from Dunedin, Wellington, Rotorua and Gisborne, as well as many from around Auckland to give practical support. They came from other benefit advocacy groups, faith-based groups, trade unions, community groups and the Unitec Bachelor of Social Practice (both lecturers and students). The profile, reputation and credibility of AAAP was considerably enhanced. Prior to the Benefit Impact, we met with many community groups in South Auckland, and have continued to strengthen these links. Advocacy training was provided to a group of Social Workers in schools, who then distributed thousands of flyers promoting the Benefit Impact to schools in South Auckland. The numbers of people coming to us for benefit advocacy continues to grow following the Benefit Impact.

Protest actions are an expression of an alternative future where the interests of the already privileged do not prevail.

Shortly after the Benefit Impact, we held a two-day advocacy training at the Mangere Community Law Centre. Eighteen people attended. Many of these people came to the Impact to access advocacy support for themselves, and then wanted further involvement with us. Of those eighteen people, six started as advocates with AAAP. A Benefit Impact is part of an empowerment process. Hundreds of people have personal experience of a process where they have seen the positive aspects of a rights based approach. They now know that as an unemployed person they do have rights, and that Work and Income is not necessarily an all-powerful adverse influence upon their lives.

One example of the empowerment of a Benefit Impact is Mary, is a Māori woman who came to the Mangere Benefit Impact seeking support. She attended Advocacy Training afterwards. During the training, she told us that she was repaying a food grant to Work and Income. A food grant is not something which is repaid. She phoned Work and Income the following morning, had the repayment stopped and the money reimbursed to her. She found she had the ability to question authority. She is now a volunteer advocate with AAAP.

The cultural mix within AAAP benefit advocates is now a much more accurate reflection of †he people receiving Work and Income benefits. This development is directly linked to the conscious decision to have a Benefit Impact in South Auckland. A further 2 day Advocacy Training was also held in Glen Innes. Benefit Impacts provide opportunities to assist hundreds of people. They prove that Work and Income routinely denies people their rights and that people leave Work and Income offices feeling humiliated, degraded and angry. They prove that poverty is a reality that cannot be ignored. It is also possible to develop networks which share a broader political agenda. We are aware that we can continue to improve planning for future Benefit Impacts, particularly in the area of political education and dialogue with the people coming to a Benefit Impact. It is extremely difficult to carry out this work, given the immediacy of need and the huge numbers seeking support.

It is AAAP's intention to return to organize another Benefit Impact at Mangere Work and Income this year, and to have a regular weekly presence (one day per week) at this Work and Income office leading up to the next Benefit Impact. Being there weekly is part of a strategy to develop a presence in this community, to provide an opportunity to speak with people about their experiences and the politics of poverty, to provide benefit advocacy and promote the next Benefit Impact.

Research work

AAAP now has several thousand files containing the stories of people and families experiencing poverty. Currently, a group of people with research skills is reviewing these files and compiling case studies. We will be reviewing this work with the intention of publicly detailing the realities of poverty and of Work and Income policy and practice.

Media work

AAAP strives to have a presence in mainstream media through frequent media releases and comment upon issues when approached by reporters. Media work is

often reactive, taking the form of a response to a policy statement or action of a government minister. We are frequently asked to provide media with an unemployed person's story where the person will be publicly identified. We decline these requests as the person puts themselves at considerable risk of personal attack by a government Minister able to go through personal records to find a 'skeleton in the cupboard'. Issues based media work is often related to our protest actions.

Protest Actions

AAAP undertakes protest actions as part of our kaupapa to oppose and expose the government's agenda. To be effective, protest actions need to be well-thought through. There needs to be a clear political aim and clear political message linked to the action. Protest actions can be seen as the 'theatre of the streets'. There will typically be three main sets of actors: the protestors, the target of the protest and the police. Alongside the protagonists, there will be observers (media and the public). It is the interactions between the actors that makes for interesting theatre and an increased likelihood of media coverage. Taking the theatre analogy a step further, it is necessary to have your storyteller (media spokesperson) well-prepared and able to deliver the political message, linking the message to the action.

Protest actions have a range of community development functions. These include bringing diverse groups and people together, showing it is possible to forcefully and coherently give voice to dissent, and showing that there are other social, economic and political analyses beyond those provided by parliamentary political parties. Protest actions are an expression of an alternative future where the interests of the already privileged do not prevail. After protest actions, we receive a lot of feedback about how people have gained a sense of hope for a better future, and how they gain a sense of validation of their experiences of oppression and analysis of what is happening to them.

CONCLUSION

Auckland Action Against Poverty is distinct from other not-for-profit organizations. We are explicit about our opposition to current government policy and to the prevailing analysis within opposition parties. There are other alternatives beyond minor variations of the free-market. Poverty is a choice made by a dominant elite, whose greed and self-interest leaves hundreds of thousands of others struggling to cover the basic costs of food and housing.

Radical community development is needed to address the realities of poverty, to challenge prevailing political discourse and to bring together the wide diversity of people who have a different agenda for the future. AAAP endeavours to do this by maintaining its independence, critically evaluating what it is doing, explicitly aligning itself with people experiencing poverty, speaking publicly about the realities of poverty, identifying those responsible for poverty, taking practical steps to challenge government policy, and practising and putting forward an alternative agenda. We know that our political agenda cannot be achieved by ourselves, and a crucial element of radical community development is working with others. We actively seek out opportunities to develop and strengthen networks and relationships. Hope for the future is based upon our collective interests, strengths and actions.

We invite you to contact us if you are interested in being involved. Our email address is aucklandactionagainstpoverty@gmail.com our office phone number is (09) 6340569. If you are able to promote our independence automatic payments can be made to our Kiwibank account number 38-9011-0832874-00.

In solidarity
Alastair Russell

ALASTAIR RUSSELL is the Advocacy Coordinator for Auckland Action Against Poverty
86 Princes Street, Onehunga, Auckland, New Zealand
Contact: **alastair.aaap@gmail.com**

First, Revive the Spirit:

A Paper for the Community Development Conference 2015 – Unitec, Auckland

by DENIS O'REILLY

First, Revive the Spirit:
A Paper for the Community Development Conference 2015 – Unitec, Auckland

by **DENIS O'REILLY**

ABSTRACT

Following the 2014 General Election, New Zealand Prime Minister John Key announced that his government is determined to do something about those "doing it tough" - the poor. He considers poverty a long term issue and one that has confronted successive governments but is anxious about the perverse effects of welfare as regards the 'trap' of welfare dependency. He wants to help and also enable people to help themselves. He concedes that providing or being in work is not the answer on its own. This paper examines the principles of community economic development and takes James K Baxter's notions of differing types of poverty, Nga Pohara (the poor), Nga Mokai (the fatherless), Nga Raukore (the trees who have had their leaves and branches stripped away). It argues that if we are to address poverty, first we need to address poverty of spirit. Globally this idea has Friereian elements but here in Aotearoa it especially aligns with the principles of Whānau ora, and in particular an initiative called E Tu Whānau, the by-line of which is Te Mana Kaha o Te Whānau. E Tu Whānau has a particular aim to counter domestic violence but the upside down thinking approach it takes is to eschew pathology and focus on potentiality. In this it seeks to enrol a cadre of community leaders (Kahukura) and using Māori precepts to set in motion a community multiplier that produces social capital to fill the void, counter dysfunction and enable people to enjoy rich fulfilling lives.

THE PURPOSE OF THIS PAPER

This paper should be used as a back story, a point of reference and record of ideas or issues that you may wish to pursue further. It is aligned with but is not exactly the same as my presentation at the Community Development Conference at Unitec in February, 2015.
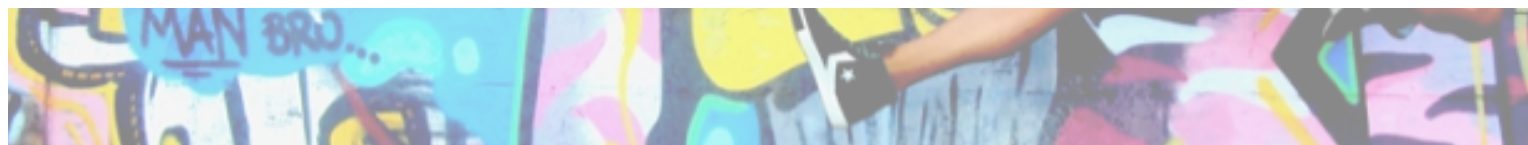
INTRODUCTION

My greetings first to our mother the earth, Papa-tū-ā-nuku, in her finery presented as our fair green land, mountains, lakes and rivers, plains and rolling grasslands. Tēnā koe e te whaea. To Tāne who clothes the whenua, with bush low and trees tall, and to his children, bird on wing and creature terrestrial, my greetings. To Tangaroa, in his domain of the great oceans that surround our islands, both in the form of waka and that of fish, ngā mihi ki a koe. To our departed brothers and sisters, parents and children who have left this mortal coil to join the ancestors, haere, farewell.

I give an especial and heartfelt farewell to those who have just left us: to Mātua Api Mahuika, who breathed fire and purpose into the hearts and minds of Ngāti Porou; and, also, to Tama Huata from Ngāti Kahungunu who through his creative genius revived ancient mātauranga and wove, into forms of song and dance both modern and old, entertainment that lifted the spirit and filled the heart. These two leaders, these Kahukura, epitomised and embodied the spirit of community development. Aotearoa will be the lesser for the loss of them both in the present, and in the immediate future. But in the medium to long term we will recognise that their passing enabled their true work to be revealed in the form of the people they touched and enabled and inspired. And they will be multiplied and their work and values will live on. Accordingly, e ngā mate, ngā tini mate, ngā tini aituā, haere, haere, haere atu rā.

We will conclude our communion with the dead, with the spirits, and turn to address the living, to welcome you, reader friend, from wherever you come. I welcome you in the context of our shared humanity and possibly mitochrondial DNA. I've been reading *Tangata Whenua* (Anderson, Binney and Harris, 2014), and there's a high chance that each of us has some connection one with the

other, the original inhabitants of these isles carrying feminine genes from Formosa down through Asia's peninsulas into the myriad isles of the Pacific and inheriting male genes from a similar tale of migration from Papua New Guinea and thereabouts.

The other thing I picked up is that these patterns of occupation tended to be matrilocal whereby the blokes stayed with their missus' people. It's a stark contrast to the age of imperialism and the process of colonisation that led to the overwhelming of indigenous peoples through assimilation. A society emerging from the mother lode is respectful of whakapapa. So I greet your canoes, the saga of your journey to be with us today, and the pride and dignity with which you come before us. I greet your language, because only it can carry the true meaning of your ancient insights and values, and thus express your soul. I greet you as chiefs, irrespective of gender, or age, or wealth, or conferred status. I greet you in your own right as a unique individual neither greater nor lesser, neither above nor below, but equal each to one another. Nō reira e ngā waka, e ngā mana, e ngā reo, e ngā rau rangatira ma, tena koutou, tena koutou, tena ra koutou katoa.

Before I continue, I should introduce myself. This is for the purposes of enabling you to take a critical perspective on my korero and providing a context for your interpretation and analysis.

My name is Denis O'Reilly. I am a 62 year old Pakeha male, an old white man. I'm a child of the Treaty, describing myself as Tangata Tiriti (Tanzcos, 2004). On arrival in Aotearoa my people were Irish Catholic Kerrymen from the village of Brefni, who took assisted emigration from the Emerald Isle and arrived in Lyttleton in February 1876 carried by our waka, the good ship *Otaki*. My great-great-grandfather, also Denis, was a thirty-two year old farm labourer. Four generations later, the products of intermarriage within a close knit community, my mum and dad were upwardly mobile middle class service station proprietors, living in Timaru and raising six children of whom I am the youngest. I myself have seven children as a result of my union with Taape Tareha; nineteen grandchildren and one great grandchild. The Celtic blood has mixed with that of the Māori and to that degree my tree of the O'Reilly's will be ordinary or usual and part of this land in a fuller way than that of my parents and my kin in general. However, they will need to carry the responsibility incumbent upon a partner in the Treaty of Waitangi with both hands, Tangata Tiriti and Tangata Whenua. And, yes, matrilocality is part of my reality. I live with my wife Taape Tareha's people (O'Connor, 2014), Ngati Paarau, at Pa Waiohiki. The elders there suggest I have stuffed up 700 years of selective breeding. This Irish-Māori mix has been described as "lepbrochauns".

In Timaru the O'Reilly family were staunchly Catholic, had a penchant for issues of social justice and a bent towards social activism. At the age of seventeen, having completed schooling at a Catholic college I entered the Marist Fathers' seminary at Green Meadows.

It was the age of Paulo Freire (Freire, 1970) and South American Liberation Theology. Although I've never regretted the experience, my mission lay elsewhere. My search led me to another Jerusalem (Newton, 2009), a Māori settlement on the Whanganui River, and enrolment into James K Baxter's 'cast iron programme for communal activity, at Jerusalem, in crash pads, or in people's homes':

Feed the hungry;
Give drink to the thirsty;
Give clothes to those who lack them;
Give hospitality to strangers;
Look after the sick;
Bail people out of jail, visit them in jail, and look after them when they come out of jail;
Go to neighbours' funerals;
Tell other ignorant people what you in your ignorance think you know;
Help the doubtful to clarify their minds and make their own decisions;
Console the sad;
Reprove sinners, but gently, brother, gently;Forgive what seems to be harm done to yourself;
Put up with difficult people;
Pray for whatever has life, including the spirits of the dead (Baxter, 1971).

In turn, somehow these beliefs and this practice led me to the door of the whare of the Black Power, whose assembly I joined in 1972 and whose company I have enjoyed and kept ever since (Gilbert, 2013).

I should also note that more or less from around 1975 I have been employed by Government, starting out as the prototype Department of Internal Affairs' Detached Youth Worker (Chile, 2006) and moving on first to advisory officer roles in Internal Affairs, then into senior management roles in the Department of Labour (Chief Executive Group Employment Liaison Service – GELS (Gardiner, 2014), and the New Zealand Employment Service through to similarly ranked positions in Internal Affairs (Manager Marketing and Communications and Director NZ Millennium Office) (Tompson, 1999). Since 2000 I've run my own company, positioning myself as a 'resultant', and working still mainly for Government in resolving intractable community-based problematics (O'Reilly, 2014).

Last Sunday there was a Murdoch cartoon in the *Sunday Star Times* (Murdoch, 2015). It features a toddler looking at an accusatory arm and pointed finger and it says:

> You are going to make a lot of bad choices in your life – choosing the wrong parents, the wrong socio-economic group, and the wrong social welfare home where you are going to get yourself abused. After that you are just going to carry on making bad choices till you end up in prison of a psych ward. When are you going to take responsibility for yourself? (ibid.)

In a minute I'm going to give you a litany of despair, a recount that the late Parekura Horomia once famously described as a matrix of dysfunction. Most of you will have heard it all before. I would skip the repeat, but I remember an occasion some forty years ago when I was an aspiring community activist. I had come to Auckland to listen to Paulo Freire who had been brought here by the National Council of Churches (Roberts, 1999). The day started with a series of presentations by the nation's Māori torch bearers, members of Nga Tamatoa and the like, Syd Jackson, Donna Awatere, and others. The assembled throng had heard their collective korero many times before. It went on. We Pākeha were berated. Freire sat unmoved and unmoving. He was waiting for some naive, impatient, and unaware creature like me, and I took the bait, standing to proclaim that we had heard all of this before and had we had come to Auckland to hear from Freire not from Hone next door. It was Freire's cue. He stood. 'Ah,' he said, 'I am no guru. I do not bring solutions in a bag with me. The answers to the dilemmas of your nation are in the voices you are hearing but not listening to.'

The next section will read like the New Zealand body count at Passchendaele. According to the 2013 Census report, Māori were more likely to be unemployed (13%) than Pākehā (4.5%). Māori were also less likely to be employed full-time or part-time. The rates of those who were not in the labour force were similar. This continues a long-term trend where Māori are more likely to be unemployed or, where Māori can find employment, they tend to be employed in low-skill, low-paying industries.

Low and inadequate levels of income are often closely linked to poor-quality and sometimes unstable housing situations. Anecdotally, this often triggers a vicious cycle of poor health and poor outcomes for children and adults that can place employment outcomes at risk. Employment is, of course, the primary way families can get the resources necessary to improve their chances in life.

For these reasons, housing quality and stability is a key risk factor for negative outcomes.

One way to look at housing stability is to measure housing tenure. It is not a perfect measure, but people who own and occupy their homes tend to have greater housing stability than people who rent accommodation. Māori are significantly less likely to own and occupy their own home than Pākehā (45% compared with 73%). Instead, Māori are far more likely to live in rented accommodation than Pākehā (55% compared with 27%).

A good indicator of housing quality is whether occupants have reported major problems with their house or flat. Problems could include: too cold or too difficult to keep warm, too small, damp, poor condition, too expensive, hard to get to from the street, or pests such as mice or insects. Māori reported experiencing major problems at a far higher rate than Pākehā, with 49% of Māori reporting major problems with their housing, compared with less than one-third of Pākehā.

Mental health issues can place any family under significant strain. For whānau that face other external pressures, it can be the difference between positive and negative outcomes. Māori are far more likely to experience poor mental health outcomes, and roughly twice as likely as non-Māori to suffer from anxiety or depressive disorders. The rate of suicide among young Māori is over twice the rate among non-Māori. This trend continues for the twenty-five to forty-five age group, where Māori remain more than twice as likely to commit suicide as non-Māori.

Substance abuse is another risk factor for poor outcomes. Māori are significantly more likely to have consumed large amounts of alcohol at least weekly in the previous twelve months. Pākehā are more likely to consume alcohol daily, but at much lower rates of consumption than Māori. Māori are significantly more likely to have used cannabis in the previous twelve months. Antisocial behaviour and criminal offending are also commonly seen as risk Māori are also serving community-based sentences in any year. However, Māori make up less than 15% of the population. This means that, at any one point in time, over 20,000 Māori will be serving some form of sentence or order for criminal offences. Māori are more likely to be arrested - and then more likely than any other group to be prosecuted. Pākehā, on the other hand, are less likely to be arrested, and even less likely to be prosecuted. The gap between Māori and Pākehā arrest and prosecution rates appears to be increasing over time.

Personal income is an important factor in the quality of life of an individual or family, and there is a well-documented correlation between low incomes and poor life outcomes. Over 62% of Māori earn less than $30,000

per year, and Māori are far less likely to earn over $70,000 per year. Māori are more likely to face issues of income adequacy, where their income is insufficient to cover their everyday expenses. A significant proportion (24%) of Māori rate themselves as not having sufficient income to meet everyday expenses. When we combine this with the 35% of Māori who view their income as just adequate to meet everyday expenses, almost 60% of Māori have incomes that are either insufficient or barely enough to get by. In comparison, over 55% of Pākehā consider that their income is either enough or more than enough to meet everyday expenses.

Māori are more likely than Pākehā to be employed in relatively low-skill, low-paying occupations, such as labourers, plant and machine operators, and service and sales workers. This pattern of Māori employment in low-skill, low-pay occupations has remained constant for a long period of time, and shows no sign of changing significantly. The role of nutrition in either mitigating or exacerbating these risk factors must also be considered. Individuals and whānau who get the recommended nutrition levels are more likely to have positive outcomes than those who do not. This appears to be a consistent finding regardless of other risk factors. Māori are less likely than non-Māori to eat three or more servings of vegetables and two or more servings of fruit each day, which are recommended by the Ministry of Health (Ministry of Health, 2003). This exposes Māori and vulnerable whānau in particular to a greater risk of adverse outcomes, such as poor education outcomes, health problems and family violence.

Māori are more likely to be killed or hospitalised as a result of violence. 58% of all reported violence in Aotearoa is family violence, and 39% of those who died as a result of family violence were Māori. We also know that family violence is significantly under-reported. While it is difficult to quantify the true levels of family violence, it is possible to use the incidence of the most serious forms of interpersonal violence as an indicator of other acts of family violence. The disproportionate incidence of serious violence amongst Māori almost certainly flows into the incidence of family violence amongst Māori.

Child abuse is also significantly underreported, and there is no clear evidence on how much of the total child maltreatment that occurs in Aotearoa is currently known. Between 2006 and 2012 the rate of substantiated child abuse for Māori was more than three times that of children from other ethnic groups (Ministry of Justice, 2012). There is no official measure for recurring child maltreatment.

These issues thus lead us to the area of community development I will examine here, namely E Tu Whānau, which is the Māori response to issues of domestic violence and arose out of the Taskforce for Action on Violence within Families (Ministry of Social Development, 2012).
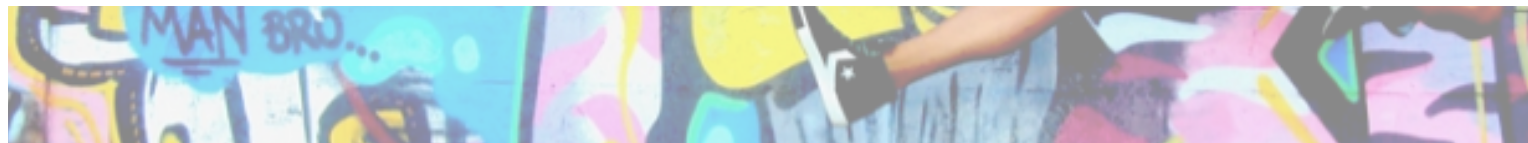
At this point let's just briefly deal with the economic development aspects of this issue. Four years ago the Treasurer and Minister of Finance Bill English noted that our 'prisons are a fiscal and moral failure,' and that maintaining and expanding prisons 'is the fastest rising cost in government in the last decade' (Anglican Church, 2011). If we are able to address the issue of poverty at a community level, reduce poverty related crime ('poor behaviour'); reduce or eliminate the self-defeating and counter-productive expenditure on consumables such as alcohol and cigarettes, which cause ill-health and result in huge health-related costs; and, optimise deployment of family income towards the best-possible-in-the-circumstance expenditure on food and clothing for children, then there are clear implications for economic development. We reduce negative spend. We make the best of social investment. There's got to be an implication for the bottom line. Let's park this.

While we are on a side-street, allow me to make clear where I come from in my thinking and philosophy. From my background and from what I have shared with you in my introduction you may already anticipate my framework, the implicit paradigms that guide my beliefs and behaviours. Let's move to make these explicit.

In the first instance I believe that people are inherently good, and, when we fail and fall we can pick up, repair, and move on. I believe in potential and redemption. I take my cue from my wife's tīpuna, Tareha Te Moananui and his maiden speech, the first by any Māori in the House, made in September 1868 during the course of the Fourth Parliament. Tareha said (through an interpreter):

> This is the only word that has occurred to me to say, that when it is good and when it is evil that lies before you continue to do that which is good. That which is evil is not so powerful as not to be overcome by good, and that which is good is the only thing that you need spend your powers upon. (Te Moananui, 1868)

It could be said that this is the first Whānau ora speech to have been made in the New Zealand Parliament. 1868. How long it takes for ideas to percolate the system. Let us fast forward then from Tareha's time through the tumult of wars and sickness and suppression, and the cultural cleansing that arose from the momentous rural to urban shift and consequent dislocation of Māori and find a point, perhaps in the early 1970s where the discourse began to contain fresh voices and recognition of previously ignored points of view.

We can examine this through a community development lens, and in particular that of Māori community development, as outlined by Ross Himona (Hinemoa, 1998a; 1998b). He says we might expect that Māori:

- Analyse their own situations;
- Define their own challenges;
- Set their own aims and solutions;
- Devise their own solutions and strategies.

In the context of this paper the expectation is that there is an interface with Government. Here we can draw on Love Chile's three-stream model involving government, iwi, and whanau (Chile 2006). Chile proposes that there are three strands or tikanga to community development in New Zealand which he describes as:

- Efforts by Government;
- Collective community action; and,
- Action expressed as tino rangatiratanga or self-determination.

If we take Himona's sequence, we can see the underpinning philosophy being articulated in policy development terms by various academics and knowledge holders. In this regard I cite:

- Ngā Pou Mana (Henare, 1988);
- Te whare tapa whā (Durie, 1994);
- Te Pae Mahutonga (Durie, 2001);
- Te Wheke (Pere, 1984);
- He Korowai Oranga (Ministry of Health, 2002).

The Ngā Pou Mana model was outlined in 1988 by the Royal Commission on Social Policy. It has in many ways been subsumed into the other models. Ngā Pou Mana was a four 'pou' framework developed in the area of social policy. The four 'pou' are:

- Whanaungatanga (family);
- Taonga tuku iho (cultural heritage);
- Te Ao Tūroa (Physical environment); and
- Tūrangawaewae (land base).

Perhaps the best known and most widely-used Māori 'wellness' model is Mason Durie's 'Te Whare Tapa Whā' (Durie, 1994). Using the metaphor of a whare, it describes an integrated approach to Māori Health (oranga). The model initially emerged from the Māori Women's Welfare League research project Rapuora in 1982. Te Whare Tapa

Wha proposes that the four cornerstones of Māori health are:

- Whānau (family health);
- Tinana (physical health);
- Hinengaro (mental health); and
- Wairua (spiritual health).

The underlying theme of Te Whare Tapa Whā model is that of holistic integration within the context of family. Beyond, but supporting the Te Whare Tapa Whā framework, Durie (2001) proposed that there are five positive capacities inherent within each whānau structure:

- Manaakitia – the capacity to care for whānau members, particularly children, the elderly, and the less able;
- Tohatohatia - the capacity to share, to provide a safety net by distributing money and goods to those in need;
- Pupuri taonga - the capacity provide guardianship, to act as trustees and manage resources;
- Whakamana - the capacity to empower develop human capital and engage in advocacy; and
- Whakatatakoto tikanga - the capacity to plan ahead and provide for the future.

Durie's supplementary Māori health promotion model, Te Pae Mahutonga, uses the Southern Cross constellation as its symbol to bring together elements of modern health promotion (Durie, 1999, 2001). The four central stars of the Southern Cross represent the four key tasks of Māori health promotion:

- Mauri Ora; Mauri Ora relates to cultural identity and means giving Māori New Zealanders access to the Māori world.
- Waiora; Waiora relates to the wellbeing of the physical environment and to a spiritual element that connects human wellness with cosmic, terrestrial, and water environments.
- Toiora; Toiora relates to healthy lifestyles. It is concerned with personal behaviour and speaks of understanding that too many Māori are trapped in lifestyles of risky and self-destructive behaviours.
- Te Oranga: Te Oranga relates to participation in society and is dependent on the terms under which people participate in society, and in the confidence with which they can get a job and have access to benefits such as good health services, or the school of their choice, or sport and recreation

The two pointer stars represent:

- Ngā Manakura. Nga Manakura relates to community leadership. It requires a high synergy collective approach which fosters alliances between groups who are able to bring diverse contributions to developmental programmes. Durie (1999) says that, as an example, leadership for promotion of whānau ora needs to reflect community leadership, health leadership, tribal leadership, communication and alliances between leaders and groups.
- Te Mana Whakahaere. Te Mana Whakahaere relates to autonomy. Whānau ora cannot be prescribed. Communities – whether they are based on whānau, marae, hapu, iwi, or kaupapa - need to experience self-determination in promoting their own whānau ora.

Alternatively, Dr Rose Pere's 'Te Wheke' model uses the metaphor of the eight tentacles of the octopus to express the components at play. Pere uses the metaphor to take us to another and perhaps deeper level of understanding of an integrated approach required for whānau ora. Concordant with other advocates of traditional Māori health, Pere acknowledges the seamless link and the uncontrived balance between the mind, the spirit, the human relationship with whānau, and the physical world. Thus, the octopus tentacles represent the following:

- Whanaungatanga: the open and healthy expansion of emotion;
- Ha a koro ma, a kuia ma: the breath of life from forebears;
- Mana ake: the unique identity of individuals and family;
- Mauri: the force in people and objects;
- Te Whānau: the family;
- Whānaungatanga: extended family,
- Taha tikanga: physical wellbeing;
- Hinengaro: the mind;
- Wairuatanga: spirituality.

I should note at this point that the use of the term whānau is not limited to traditional 'European' definitions, but recognises the wide diversity of families represented within Māori communities. It is up to each whānau and each individual to define for themselves who their whānau is.

We can see from these frameworks that build upon and reinforce and reaffirm each other that Māori operate collectively and whānau are a key component of Māori social architecture along with hapu and iwi. So we

can see in play Himona's observation that Māori community development occurs when Māori analyse their own situations; define their own challenges; set their own aims and solutions; and, devise their own solutions and strategies. If we then take Chile's three stream model wherein we can expect to see efforts by government; collective community action; and, action expressed as tino rangatiratanga or self-determination, we can recognise the process of policy development rolling out into 'iwi friendly' policy frameworks. For instance, we can see these concepts manifesting themselves at an operational level in the Ministry of Health framework He Korowai Oranga. At the heart of He Korowai Oranga is the achievement of whānau ora, or healthy families. This requires an approach that recognises and builds on the integral strengths and assets of whānau, and encouraging whānau development. (Ministry of Health, 2002)

The overall aim of He Korowai Oranga is whānau ora is for Māori families to be supported to achieve their maximum health and wellbeing. Whānau (kuia, koroua, pakeke, rangatahi and tamariki) is again recognised as the foundation of Māori society. As a principal source of strength, support, security and identity, whānau plays a central role in the wellbeing of Māori, both individually and collectively.

The outcomes sought for whānau include:

- Whānau experience physical, spiritual, mental and emotional health and have control over their own destinies;
- Whānau members live longer and enjoy a better quality of life;
- Whānau members (including those with disabilities) participate in Te Ao Māori and wider New Zealand society.(ibid, 3)

It is considered that these outcomes are more likely where:

- Whānau are cohesive, nurturing and safe;
- Whānau are able to give and receive support;
- Whānau have a secure identity, high self-esteem, confidence and pride;
- whānau have the necessary physical, social and economic means to participate fully and to provide for their own needs; and
- Whānau live, work and play in a safe and supportive environment (ibid, 3).

In 2009, the New Zealand Government commenced work on establishing an evidence base for an integrated service delivery approach to enabling family well-being for whānau Māori. A taskforce was set up with a brief to establish a

framework that strengthened whānau capabilities, enabled collaboration between state agencies in relation to the provision of whānau services, ensured that relationships between government and service delivery agencies would be broader than the merely contractual, and produced improved cost effectiveness.

The taskforce reviewed the available literature and took to the road to hear oral submissions from twenty-two hui. Over a hundred submissions from individuals and organisations were also received. Common themes emerged, including the need for any whānau ora approach to be based on Kaupapa Māori and to have 'mānawa Māori' – a Māori heart.

Whilst the primary focus of the Taskforce's effort was directed at the machinery of government, including the relationships with agencies, especially with community-based service delivery entities, there was nevertheless an evident desire to reverse engineer a distinctly Māori approach. This was both structural and cultural, and included issues of Māori entitlements under Article Three of the Treaty of Waitangi and as regards internationally recognised rights afforded to indigenous communities. The Taskforce concluded that there were five implicit impact domains:

- A whānau aspirational aim;
- A set of principles;
- Identification of whānau outcome goals;
- Provision of whānau-centred services; and
- Establishment of a Whānau Ora Trust.

Accordingly, a set of principles was established to serve as a platform for the identification of indicators, outcome measures and the logic for allocation of funding. These include:

- Kaupapa Tuku Iho – the way in which both implicit and explicit Māori values, beliefs, obligations and responsibilities are available to guide whānau in their day-to-day lives;
- Whānau opportunity;
- Best whānau outcomes;
- Whānau Integrity;
- Coherent service delivery;
- Effective resourcing;
- Competent and innovative provision.

The desired outcome was expressed across a set of goals that would be met when whānau are:

- Self-managing;
- Living healthy lifestyles;

- Participating fully in society;
- Confidently participating in Te Ao Māori;
- Economically secure and successfully involved in wealth creation;
- Cohesive, resilient and nurturing.

The taskforce drew attention to the critical need for whānau and iwi leadership to play a role in facilitating Whānau Ora. It stated that supporting natural leaders within whānau is essential to the success of Whānau Ora. However it notes that these implicit roles are based on whakapapa connections and exist outside government interventions. Accordingly, when it came to whānau action and engagement the implementation required:

- That whānau strengths are acknowledged and endorsed;
- That whānau ownership of solutions and actions is encouraged;
- Partnership between whānau and providers is the norm; and
- That whānau have opportunities to extend their own resources and expertise while also addressing the needs of individual members.

The Taskforce envisaged that whānau centred design and delivery of services would mean that:

- Services are designed and delivered in a way that places whānau at the centre of service provision;
- Services build on the strengths and capabilities already present in whanau; and
- Services and whānau interventions are underpinned by a focus on building whānau capability so that they are able to prevent crises, manage problems, and invest in their future.

This was to be reinforced by active and responsive government agencies and funding. Consequently, these various philosophical consideration and themes have been conflated into this broad approach we call Whānau Ora, and have now become manifest in Te Pou Matakana (Te Pou Matakana, 2014). I'll leave the policy development whakapapa at this point and return to my examination of E Tu Whānau.

E Tu Whānau is one of a suite of recent government-wide efforts specifically intended to prevent family violence, through which the determination of Māori has broken out of the normal bureaucratic silo and reframed the situation. I don't know if it's an apocryphal tale from Wellington's public sector beltway, but the legend is that the broad enquiry into family violence neglected to have a
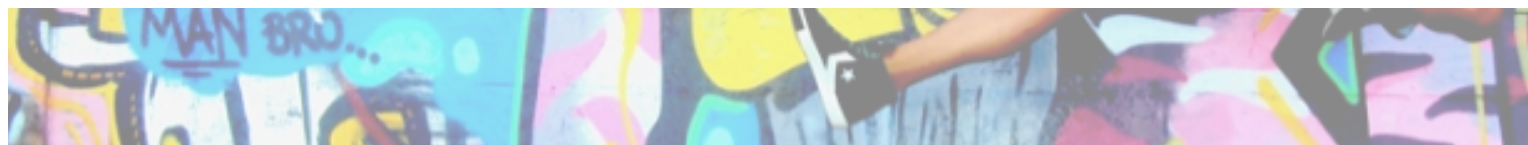
specific device to take on a Māori worldview. A hurried decision was made to convene a Māori Reference Group. At the first meeting the invited delegates concluded they were being used to give the enquiry a 'brown wash' and that the consultation was post-facto and not authentic. The Māori group got into a collective huff and decided to disband. But Tawhirimatea intervened. The Wellington weather deteriorated and the airport was closed. The group were required to stay the night in Wellington. Over kai and korero, their sensibilities regained equilibrium. They reviewed their position and decided to champion an authentic Māori response based on these precepts:

- Issues for Māori are severe and complicated (The Māori Reference Group for the Taskforce for Action on Violence Within Families, 2013); and
- Māori have a unique solution grounded in traditional values that they know will work (ibid., p. 4)

They decided that their response needed to provide a fresh approach, based on the general principles of Whānau Ora while specifically aiming to make an enduring difference by transforming the serious impact of violence within whānau, hapu, and iwi (ibid., p. 15).

Accordingly, as recommended by Tareha 146 years ago, the E Tu Whānau 'Māori' approach is based on the inherent strengths within Te Ao Māori, the Māori world, and is founded on Kaupapa Māori Theory. Kaupapa Māori Theory has been described as being an expression of upraised consciousness and a resistance to the dominant discourse (Bishop, 1996). The dominant discourse often contextualises Māoriness as a predictor of some likely pathological condition: relatively low levels of educational achievement, relatively low incomes, higher than average rates of unemployment, much higher rates than average of imprisonment, and, lower than average life expectancy. One commentator regularly describes Whānau Māori as 'feral' (Laws, 2012).

The E Tu Whānau approach, however, rejects this pathological construct and makes an explicit determination to assume Māori potential, to commit to the philosophy and practice of being and acting Māori, and to providing an action framework wherein things Māori are accepted in their own right.

As an expression of tino rangatirantanga, E Tu Whānau is based on the strengths that reside within Te Ao Māori and is unapologetic about taking a Māori world-view. It focuses on strategies and solutions that encompass the whole whānau and aims to engender whānau self-responsibility. It seeks to align with and contribute to the government's broader objectives, for instance, improving effective outcomes for Māori across a range of sectors and services and addressing poverty.
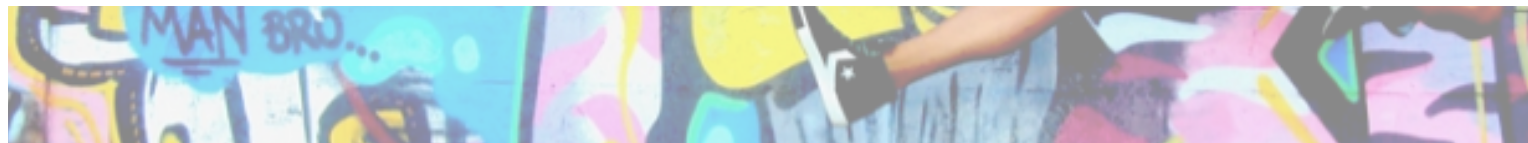
At this point we arrive at the provision of grist to the mill of my argument. Poverty takes many forms. I mentioned at the beginning of this dissertation of my buy-in to the philosophy laid out by James (also known as Hemi) K. Baxter. In his work *Jerusalem Daybook* (Baxter, 1971), Hemi outlines his notions of differing types of poverty:

- Ngā Pohara (the poor: it's a relative matter; is financial in nature; and, is best addressed through fiscal policy)
- Ngā Mokai (the fatherless: this is both metaphoric and actual in terms of fatherless families; another form of fatherlessness also applies to the disowned and rejected, the gang members and other difficult to deal with people)
- Ngā Raukore (the trees who have had their leaves and branches stripped away: these are Hemi's allusions to the tangata whaiora, addicts and alcoholics, the depressed and alienated, the homeless and lonely).

Now it is probably accidental, but if you look at these three forms of poverty you could well argue that there is an implicit hierarchy. It could be inferred that in New Zealand a state of material hardship (being pohara) on the part of an individual or family should be able to be addressed if the other two forms of poverty (Ngā Mokai, being fatherless and alienated; and, Ngā Raukore, being 'naked' and alone) have first been addressed or are under control. For instance, the Ngā Raukore cluster includes those who might be facing mental health issues, and their pohara status can be mitigated by professional care and support.

Some Ngā Mokai might find their resolution through redefining themselves as fathers rather than as fatherless, and behaving in a way consistent with the expectations of being a good father (or child). It is a family construct. Notions such as these are a-rational – based on feelings and beliefs, and sit in the metaphysical sphere. They are in Durie's E Tapa Wha quadrant of Te Taha Wairua, and represent a response to what I am describing as a 'poverty of spirit'.

So it seems to me therefore, that if we are to address poverty, first we need to address poverty of spirit. That is the poverty that underlies many dysfunctions at a Whānau level: the low self-esteem that leads to substance abuse and thence the poor deployment of resources (albeit

already meagre) at a household level, and domestic violence and child abuse.

It is in this area that I see E Tu Whānau providing an otherwise missing ingredient in the smorgasbord of programmes being delivered under theme of the Government's Whānau Ora initiatives. Most of these are "programmes" whereas, unlike the usual service delivery model, E Tu Whānau is being delivered as a national community development programme in the form of a broad-based movement making it possibly unique to the New Zealand public sector. One distinguishing feature of E Tu Whānau is the emergence of a cadre of committed community change agents, kahukura, producing a multiplier of social capital through their high levels of discretionary effort.

The underpinning belief of E Tu Whānau is that universal positive change for Māori is critical to the future well-being of all of Aotearoa and that this can only take place within a context of Te Mana Kaha o Te Whānau – a sense of well-being strength and pride at the very core of Te Ao Māori that impacts on the thinking and actions of all whanau (Durie, 1994). The overall aim of the E Tu Whānau Programme is to make a real difference through achievable initiatives, grounded in reality, that are Māori owned and led. It is an optimistic approach based on the belief in the inherent potentiality within whānau Māori and triggered by '[p]roviding opportunities for our people to fall in love with who they are' (The Māori Reference Group for the Taskforce for Action on Violence within Families, 2013).

The E Tu Whānau vision is that whānau are strong, safe and prosperous, living with a clear sense of identity and cultural integrity, and with control over their destiny – Te Mana Kaha o Te Whānau. As can be seen, this vision is well grounded in theory, and is founded on and consistent with fundamental Māori aspirations based on the concepts of whānaungatanga, whakapapa, tinana, wairua, mana and mauri that we see identified in preceding models and initiatives. It focusses on strength and empowerment – spiritually, physically, mentally and emotionally.
Accordingly, E Tu Whānau is focused on:

- Māori led solutions grounded in tikanga and based on whānau strength;
- Responsibility and accountability for positive change – from iwi, government and whanau; and
- Community discussion and action led and modelled by Kahukura (community thought leaders).

These potentially lofty notions have been codified into an implicitly measurable state for a Māori 'dream family' - Te Atarangi o Nga Moemoea (ibid.) – wherein:
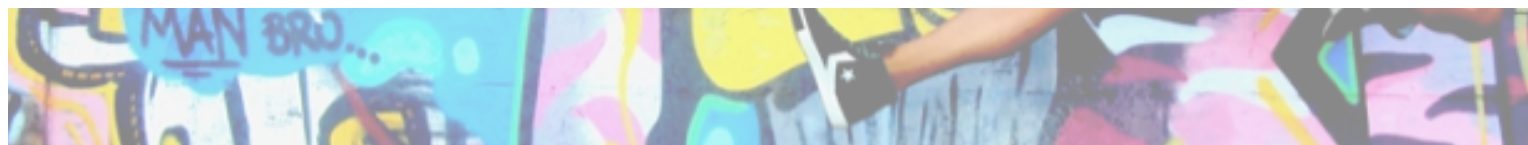
- People have knowledge of their whakapapa, history and taonga and are confident within their identity and able to live in the present and shape their futures;
- They can speak their own language;
- Spiritual aspects are central to their lives if they wish them to be;
- They value and respect all who belong to them – tamariki, kuia, and kaumatua;
- They are aware of and active within their community;
- They realise their roles, functions and responsibilities;
- They have sufficient access to resources so that they are able to provide for their needs;
- They are able to collectively meet their family responsibilities;
- They are adaptable entrepreneurial and well educated;
- They are visionary with a sense of future possibilities;
- They are able to make decisions about their own lives and participate in all aspects of life;
- They are comfortable in their own skins;
- They are responsible and accountable for their actions; and
- They deal honestly with conflict.

The E Tu Whānau themes and values have been expressed as:

- Aroha – expression of love and feeling loved;
- Whānaungatanga – about being connected to whanau;
- Whakapapa – knowing who you are;
- Mana/manaaki – upholding people's dignity and being giving of yourself to others;
- Korero awhi – open communication, being supportive; and
- Tikanga – doing things the right way, according to our values.

However, despite the relatively low investment, the social capital multiplier effect generated by the discretionary effort created at a community level produces disproportionately positive value for money and high-impact outcomes.

In essence, while the government investment may be creating a 'push' towards positive behaviour change through broad policy initiatives, the tribes and community change agents (kahukura) are creating the 'pull' through

targeted support of inherently Māori metaphysical strengths and facilitating whānau-centred desire for improvement. As an interesting side note, it should be noted that whilst E Tu Whānau is a Māori-led initiative, the principle of inclusivity means that any New Zealander can participate and benefit from the E Tu Whānau approach. As such, the E Tu Whānau philosophy and mission has proved to be particularly attractive to the migrant and refugee community and has enabled engagement with Saudi, Afghani, Ethiopian, Eritrean, ethnic Fijian and Indo-Fijian, Asian and South Asian, and Muslim communities nationwide, especially through the 'Parenting in the New Zealand Context' programme. It presents a lateral point of engagement and intersection with vulnerable families of differing beliefs in confusing and troubling times globally. It may be that as an indigenous model E Tu Whānau is philosophically more acceptable to these groups than what otherwise might seem to be 'Western' paradigms.

As always, the perennial question is how does this input of resources and effort translate into tangible measurable outcomes? This is particularly true when a programme of action is delivered in way that to some eyes might seem to be 'soft' or 'fuzzy', a criticism that is often made of initiatives in Te Ao Māori. There is a broad government-wide move towards results-based-accountabilities (RBA). In many instances, however, measurement and evaluation is undertaken from a Western paradigm and binary framework, which fails to capture the subtle shifts in the feelings and beliefs that underpin behaviour change. Moreover the measurement framework is generally 'top down' and created by analysts who whilst having appropriate qualifications may lack life experience and cultural awareness at the front line, especially in dealing with hard to reach communities and complex problematics. The E Tu Whānau approach is based on proven community development principles and is 'flaxroots up' so it can drive off the strengths and desires of the local community. There is a strong and well-established body of evidence that shows this is an extremely effective approach (Hinemoa, 1998b; Chile, 2006; Pere, 1984; Ringold, 2005). Fresh research continues to produce affirming insights and understanding, and E Tu Whānau is contributing to this body of evidence as part of its goal to help develop 'better practice' in serving Māori communities and whānau Māori.

E Tu Whānau utilises Kaupapa Māori referenced methodologies and is exploring fresh methods to record and interpret impact data. The E Tu Whānau mandate to help develop effective social sector services for whānau Māori also has cost-effectiveness implications for sectors such as health and education.[1] However, there is one indisputable and critical core measure for E Tu Whānau and that is the reduction of domestic violence - especially within whānau Māori. The belief is that where there are strong pockets of E Tu Whānau activity, we should see correlations between reduction in anti-social behaviours leading to domestic violence and an increase in pro-social behaviours leading to stronger protective factors and whānau success.

It is here that another of the unique characteristics of E Tu Whānau become apparent, because the outcomes present an integrated 'whole of government' set of results. Rather than attempt to extrapolate the impact of a set of inputs across a complex and interrelated field of practice, they have described what the solution looks like and are working with the community members of this movement in defining this future desired state of whānau in terms of tangible results and measurable behaviours. This is the challenge at the moment across Government. In some ways, E Tu Whānau may be leading the field by establishing what flourishing whānau may look like, and finding meaningful measures in an area fraught with complexity.

CONCLUSION

A great deal is happening in communities across the country as the reach of E Tu Whānau grows. It is increasingly endorsed by Te Ao Māori, it is manifesting as something that can play a real and meaningful role in improving lives and outcomes for individuals, whānau, hapu, iwi, and the nation at large.

E Tu Whānau is an indigenous model of working from a particular philosophical base within Te Ao Māori – a Māori world view. It derives from a position of building on the strengths of the culture and of the whānau, rather than on the deficits that need to be fixed. The strategy is classic community development, and is based on achieving the buy-in of people and supporting them to identify local issues and solutions. Following on from that, they can make the changes to create a different outcome for their whānau. Often this means overcoming issues such as a deep suspicion of any form of government involvement, the unwillingness to initially disclose any real concerns

---

[1] As an example, in the health sector in Hawke's Bay the stats for Māori 'Do Not Appear at Specialist Appointments' runs at >16% as against an average of <4.5% for the general population. It is expensive. Not only is the specialists time wasted but the patient's condition potentiality deteriorates and becomes even more costly to treat. We know from the smoking cessation effectiveness research that impact on whānau is an important motivator for quitting. E Tu Whānau inspired health consciousness (tinana) might reasonably contribute to reducing the rate of no shows and thus peripherally contribute to efficiency.

about safety within the whanau, or some people being so disempowered that they believe they have little control over their lives or the future of their whānau.

DENIS O'REILLY is a writer, social activist and coach
Contact: **www.denisoreilly.co.nz**

REFERENCES

Anderson, A., Binney, J., & Harris, A. (2014) *Tangata Whenua An illustrated history*. Auckland NZ. Bridget Williams Books

Anglican Church (2011) *Church leaders call for a review of the criminal justice system*, Anglican Church, accessed at: http://www.anglican.org.nz/News/Archbishops-Statements/Church-leaders-call-for-review-of-the-criminal-justice-system-30-May-2011 (15 February 2015).

Baxter, J. K. (1971) *Jerusalem Daybook.* Wellington. Price Milburn.

Bishop, R (1996) *Collaborative Research Stories: Whakawhānaungatanga*, Palmerston North, Dunmore Press.

Chile, L. M. (2006) *The historical context of community development in Aotearoa NZ*, Oxford University Press and *Community Development Journal*. England. Advance Access press, accessed at: http://www.ipp.aut.ac.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0011/110441/historical-context-of-community-development.pdf (14 March 2015).

Chile, L. M. (2006). The historical context of Community Development in Aotearoa New Zealand, *Community Development Journal* **41(**4), 407-421

Durie, M (1994). *Whaiora: Maori Health Development*, Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Durie, M. (2001) *Mauri Ora. The Dynamics of Maori Health* Australia: Oxford University Press.

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York, Continuum.

Gardiner, W. (2014) *Kia ora Chief!* Wellington Huia Publishers.

Gilbert, J. (2013) *Patched: The history of gangs in New Zealand*. Auckland. Auckland University Press.

Hansard (1868) *Maiden Speech Tareha Te Moananui MHR*. 4th Parliament, NZ Parliamentary Records. Wellington. NZ Government.

Henare, M. (1988). Nga tikanga me nga ritenga o te ao Maori: standards and foundations of Maori society. The April Report. Royal Commission on Social Policy. Wellington. III: 24-232.

Hinemoa, R (1998a), *Launch of CommunityNet Aotearoa*, accessed at: http://maorinews.com/writings/papers/speeches/commspek1.html (20 April 2015).

Himona, R. (1998b) *Māori development*, accessed from: maaori.com/development/commaori.html (20 April 2015).

Murdoch, S (2015), Historic Claims, A14 Sunday Star Times 15 February 2015.

Laws, M. (2012) The inevitable result of a boy born bad, *Sunday Star Times*, accessed at: http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/6520243/The-inevitable-result-of-a-boy-born-bad (15 March 2015).

The Māori Reference Group for the Taskforce for Action on Violence within Families (2013) Wellington. NZ Government.

Ministry of Health, (2002) *He Korowai Oranga*, Ministry of Health, Wellington.

Ministry of Health, (2003) *Food and Nutrition Guidelines for Healthy Adults*, accessed at: www.health.govt.nz/system/files/documents/publications/foodandnutritionguidelines-adults.pdf (20 April 2015).

Ministry of Social Development (2012) *About Our Work*, accessed at: https://www.msd.govt.nz/about-msd-and-our-work/work-programmes/initiatives/action-family-violence/taskforce-work.html (15 February 2015).

Newton, J. (2009). *The Double Rainbow: James K Baxter: Ngati Hau and the Jerusalem Commune*. Wellington. Victoria University Press.

O'Çonnor, J. (2014) *Visible – 60 Women at 60* Wellington. Phantom House.

O'Reilly, Denis (2014) accessed at www.denisoreilly.co.nz, (14 February 2015).

Pere, R. (1984) *Te Oranga o Te Whanau: the health of the family*. Maori health planning workshop proceedings Hoani Waititi Marae 19-22.

Ringold, D (2005) *Accounting for diversity; policy design and Māori development in Aotearoa NZ*, Fulbright, accessed at: www.fulbright.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/axford2005_ringold.pdf (20 April 2015).

Roberts, P. (Ed.) (1999) Paulo Freire, Politics and Pedagogy: Reflections from Aotearoa-New Zealand. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

Tanczos, N. *Tangata Whenua, Tangata Tiriti*, accessed at: https://home.greens.org.nz/features/tangata-whenua-tangata-tiriti, accessed at: 14 February 2015.

Te Pou Matakana (2014) *Te Pou Matakana: The North Island Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency*, accessed at: www.tepoumatakana.com (14 February 2015).

Te Puni Kōkiri (2014), *Te Puni Kōkiri: Realising Māori Potential*, accessed from: www.tpk.govt.nz/en (20 April 2015).

Thompson, W. (1999) *Tourism hit by another departure,* NZ Herald, accessed at: http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=1487 (14 February 2015).

Kai Conscious Waiheke:

A Community Development Approach to Food Waste Reduction

by DAWN A. JEFFERY and JOHN STANSFIELD

Founded at Unitec Institute of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand, in 2015

ISSN 2423-009X

Practice

Kai Conscious Waiheke:
A Community Development Approach to Food Waste Reduction

by DAWN A. JEFFERY and JOHN STANSFIELD

ABSTRACT

Organic waste, particularly food waste, has been identified as a significant hazardous component of the waste to landfill stream. The waste represents an economic loss as well as an environmental pollutant, which is digested anaerobically to release greenhouse gasses. Moreover, the food wasted has an increasing embedded energy component. As well as the energy expended in its production and distribution, wasted food requires further energy for collection and disposal. To date, much of the effort to reduce food waste to landfill focusses on post-waste solutions such as composting. While these recycling efforts are important, they cannot fully address the economic waste and the embedded energy issues. This presentation reports on a novel collaboration between local government and a grassroots community organisation that adapted community development methodology to learnings from an earlier trial. The Waiheke Resources Trust was supported by Auckland Council and the Blackpool community in launching of Kai Conscious Waiheke, a grassroots food waste reduction project. A baseline and post-project Solid Waste Analysis Protocol (SWAP) contributed quantitative results, while a survey and video footage added colour and introduced a range of place-making outcomes, which build social cohesion and waste-reduction identity for the community.

INTRODUCTION

Kai Conscious Waiheke (KCW) is an innovative pilot project focused on reducing household food waste in the Blackpool community. The project has its antecedents in research done for the Ministry of the Environment by Dorte Wray and John Stansfield in 2009. This was followed by some experimental workshops in food waste behaviour change.

The project was undertaken by the Waiheke Resources Trust in concert with the Blackpool residents, and the Blackpool Residents Association during 2013 and 2014. It was also supported by Auckland Council's solid waste team. The community-owned and driven project recognises food waste as a significant and hazardous component of the waste stream, but one that also represents an opportunity for community action.

THE ACTORS

The Waiheke Resources Trust (WRT) is a registered charitable trust based on Waiheke Island. Its focus is sustainability and community development. The trust was formed in the late 1990s in response to community frustration with a lack of opportunities to develop and practice sustainable approaches to waste.

Waiheke Island has a community of some 8000 people on a picturesque 64km² island half an hour by fast ferry from downtown Auckland, New Zealand. During the busy summer months the community population swells to 34,000 as the island is a popular tourist and day-tripper destination; boasting clear waters, sandy white beaches, a thriving arts community, a cafe and bar culture and safe anchorage for the thousands of yachts that flock there.

Blackpool is a small suburban community located adjacent to the main village of Oneroa (see Figure 1. below). It consists of 286 households, almost one third of which are holiday homes, has a small semirural section and is host to the island's marae, Piritahi.

Figure 1.

Auckland Council is New Zealand's first supercity. Created in 2010, it serves a population of 1.5 million and is an amalgamation of six councils and one regional council.

WHY FOOD WASTE?

Food waste represents an economic loss and is an environmental pollutant when disposed into an anaerobic landfill environment, releasing greenhouse gasses. To date, much of the effort to reduce food waste to landfill focuses on post-waste solutions such as composting.

While these efforts are important, they cannot fully address the economic waste and the embedded energy opportunities available in a waste reduction approach. The Kai Conscious approach is informed by more than fourteen years of successful experimentation in waste reduction and concurs with Vivian Hutchinson (Hutchinson, 2011): 'it is a problem of human behaviour, not an engineering problem and it requires a community development approach to address it.'

The reduction of food waste is an important challenge. The impact of food waste is significant in environmental, social and economic terms. It is noteworthy that since the project's completion, the WRT's predictions that failure to control waste would visit high future costs on

the community have been confirmed with a proposed increase of $500 per household in waste charges.

Food waste is the subject of an increasing amount of attention both nationally and internationally, with a number of projects aimed at raising awareness of the issue, collecting and analysing data and/or implementing behaviour change initiatives aimed at reducing the amount of food waste produced or going to landfill. Amongst the methods utilised, community development is gaining an increased respect as an innovative and engaging delivery mode. Jim Ife (Ife, 2002) notes that 'community work is potentially one of the most effective ways to develop a more sustainable society'. In addition to the established benefits of financial savings and decreased harm to the environment, KCW shows that food waste reduction has value in terms of resource creation and the building of social capital (see Figure 2. below).

AIMS

The aims of the Kai Conscious Waiheke project were to:

1. Reduce the generation of food waste at a household level on Waiheke Island;
2. Increase uptake of composting activities in households to see a reduction in food waste to landfill from Waiheke Island households;
3. Develop a comprehensive project 'tool kit' that other organisations can draw on to run food waste reduction projects in their communities;
4. Experiment further with community development as a methodology for solving municipal problems; and,
5. Connect the community.

In line with the waste hierarchy (European Commission, 2008), Kai Conscious Waiheke prioritizes the reduction of food waste, then reuse, and finally recycling. Households are engaged in a series of activities and events aimed to support behaviour change. Simple actions such as

Figure 2.

measuring food waste, meal and shopping planning, portioning, and the correct storage of food are encouraged using a range of support materials known as the 'Kai Conscious Toolkit'. In addition, composting workshops and access to cheap or free composting systems encourage the recycling of food waste and discourage the disposal of it to landfill.

A COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

Key features of the project are the use of social innovation and community development approaches, which have resulted in a range of place-making outcomes that build social cohesion and waste reduction identity. Social innovation concerns the application of new ideas and processes or reapplication of existing ideas in new ways to areas of social value and need, and/or with the intention of delivering social impact (NZSIERC, 2013).

Community development is a much more established discipline, and can be described as 'the process of establishing or re-establishing structures of human community with which new ways of relating or organizing social life and meeting human need become possible' (Ife, 2002). Moving away from the 'classic strategy' of investigation, the project team instead employed elements of 'adaptive strategy' particularly the shift from predictions to experiments and the execution from top down to execution from the whole, such as in the co-design of the implementation of the Blackpool project by the project team in partnership with the Blackpool community (The Monitor Institute, 2012).

Tasked with implementing a behaviour change programme across the geographic community of Blackpool, Kai Conscious Waiheke has drawn on various community development and social innovation models, resulting in the broadening of the project aims from a simple educational piece into one that has wider community building effects. Underpinning the project has been a commitment to a number of important principles:

- Investment in relationships;
- Active citizen involvement in public service delivery;
- Asset based development; and,
- The concept that 'whoever it was we were waiting for to solve this problem clearly isn't coming, it's up to us, so it better be fun'.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT THEMES
Go Where the Energy is

During an eight-month engagement, the project team remained committed to the concept of co-creation,

whereby the residents of Blackpool have become initiators, designers and implementers of the project. Community events at a local hall formed the heart of the project, where residents were asked questions aimed at establishing where energy already existed in the community, and what their vision for their community was. A desire for both increased food resilience and increased community connection was identified immediately as an important leverage point for the project.

Engaging Community and Cultivating Shared Vision

Aimers and Walker (2013) emphasise the importance of engaging the community cultivating shared vision and building trust. As community development practitioners, we often find ourselves in conflict with more bureaucratic authorities who fail to recognise the importance of this foundational trust building work. A key principle within this is the notion of 'starting where people are at'. This speaks to giving priority to community identified-needs and aspirations.

Figure 3.

Engaging the community can, however, be fraught, as aspirations and needs can be a function of the known or what people believe themselves to be allowed. When the community identified the desire for a local pub, the organisers were initially worried the council funded project was headed for the rocks and potential political scandal. By trusting in the community development principles, however, organisers were able to assist with the development of the monthly neighbourhood get-together, affectionately known as the 'Pop-up Pub'. This became an integral part of the project, a place for discussing composting systems, distributing project materials and 'connecting community' as per the project's aims. It served to show that collective aspirations could be met, and fulfilled one of Craig's (1983) community work principles: 'Be fun to be with and there will always be people with you!'

Our Heroes are Local

Participant suggestions helped shape the structure of the project, while the participants themselves provided much of the human resource that was needed to implement it. The concept of community champions was mooted and adopted; local people would champion the project and the concept of reducing food waste to their neighbours, bring new people to new events and discuss the things they were doing to reduce food waste in their household (see Figure 4 below).

The concept of locals as the best champions included employing locals as part of the project team, and was one of the key drivers for participation according to the participant surveys and interviews. There is also a great deal of integrity; when we speak of power-sharing, of walking the talk and handing over as much of a project as is practicable when the talent is available.

Figure 4.

The Community Sector Marches on its Stomach

Community development practice in New Zealand is much influenced by tikanga Māori, and in particular by the importance of the sharing of food when we gather meet and work. The WRT has a long history of bringing a party to its work, and many of its staff and volunteers share a passion for good food and sharing this with good company. It is therefore no surprise that key milestones in the project were both launched and celebrated with the sharing of good food. Again, there is a contrast to more mechanistic and bureaucratic organisational forms, where the importance of this as ritual is underestimated, and the cost of it often the first target to the budget cutters' knife. We in community development, however, understand the peace-making that comes with the sharing of kai. It is truly difficult to enjoy sharing a meal with your enemies, and so compromises are reached, and commonalities rather than

differences are emphasised.

Keeping things going: communication and facilitation

Lani Evans in Aimers and Walker (2013) reflects:

> 'How can we work well with people if they can't be open with us, if we can't hear them? How do we actually listen really well? How do we create spaces where people can say what they really need to say? How do we work to get people into the room to really bring themselves?'

This was potentially an elephant in the room. Relations between the former Auckland City Council and the Waiheke community had considerably soured when that council dumped the community's much loved and celebrated social enterprise, Clean Stream Waiheke, the sustainability waste and recycling operator. Clean Stream Waiheke is a wholly-owned subsidiary of the WRT. Major changes foreshadowed in the new Auckland Council (supercity) waste plan recognised the significant opportunities afforded and demonstrated by a social enterprise like Clean Stream. Both the trust and the council needed to model a relationship that would make a future social enterprise a real prospect. During the bitter dispute in which Waiheke lost its social enterprise, community attitudes had hardened and significant trust was lost between the community and its local authority.

From the outset the trust worked with the council and the community. For its part, the council recognised that the project was the brainchild of the trust, and that it was the trust that had the relationship with the community. In a process of co-facilitation, council community development staff rehabilitated the relationship between council and the community through respectful dialogue and evidence of active listening.

Idea - Values - Action - Identity

KCW is the latest in a number of projects relating to behaviour change and food waste to be undertaken by the WRT. Previous work includes a piece on public attitudes to waste in 2005, a literature review on the issue of food waste in 2009, and the Zero Waste Champions pilot project of 2010. These form the basis of our own theory of behaviour change summarized here: Idea - Values - Action - Identity: Ideas (information) form the basis of our personal values. Values are a key driver of our actions, and our actions help form our identity. Through providing information and opportunities for action, KCW reinforces personal identity, and through the interaction of the community development process, allows us to determine the community's identity as a progressive community with

high sustainability values and a commitment to codetermination and collective action.

QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE DATA COLLECTION IN REGARD TO COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Information databases were established and maintained throughout the project. These covered data such as numbers of attendees at all of the main projects events, numbers of composting systems distributed and numbers of people who received the project resources.

Figure 5.

Participant Surveys

Two participant surveys were conducted over the course of the project, one at the end of the initial trial with households from across Waiheke, and the second at the end of the Kai Conscious Blackpool project with households from the Blackpool area. The survey was offered using the online tool *Survey Monkey*, and additionally, in the case of Kai Conscious Blackpool, written versions of the survey were made available at the final celebration event. This survey canvassed respondents on a range of topics under the following headings: About You; Food Waste Behaviour; The Resource Kit; and Connecting Community.

Interviews

Interviews with three participants of the Blackpool project, and with five members of the project team were completed by Frances Hancock, an independent researcher, engaged by Auckland Council. Informal and formal interviews were also undertaken by members of the project team with project participants throughout the project, and at the conclusion of the Blackpool project.

DATA ON WASTE OUTCOMES
Solid Waste Analysis Protocol Audits

Waste Not Consulting external consultants engaged by Auckland Council completed two Solid Waste Analysis Protocol (SWAP) audits of Blackpool's household refuse, both before and after the project's implementation in August 2013 and June 2014.

Weight and type of waste recorded by case study households

Some participants weighed and conducted a simple analysis of the type of food waste their household produced over two week-long periods - prior to receiving the KCW kit, and six weeks after receiving the kit. This self-reported measurement was completed by ten households, including six in the Waiheke-wide trial phase and four case-study households in the Blackpool phase of the project.
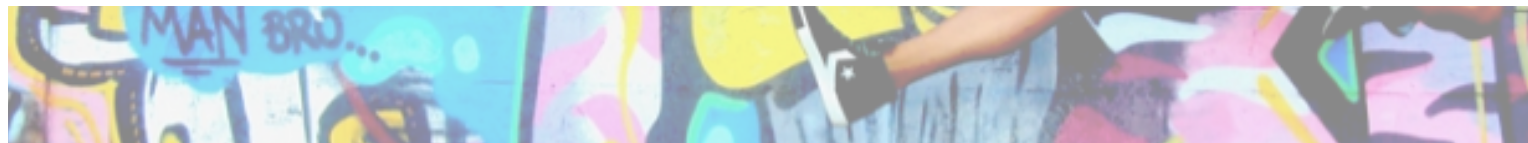
RESULTS
Quantitative data collection in regard to community participation

Key numbers:

- 220 Blackpool households received the Kai Conscious tool kit;
- Over forty people attended free composting workshops;
- Over thirty households received Bokashi bins and sixteen households received worm farms;
- On average, thirty people attended each event, and over fifty attended the final celebration event;
- Approximately thirty waste champions were actively engaging and involving the community in food waste reduction.

Participant surveys: Initial Trial results

Twenty-two responses were collected. Respondents reported a positive, but small, change in behaviour in their food waste reduction behaviour. This group was self-selecting in its involvement in the trial, and as such, could be considered as early adopters having existing pro-environmental behaviours. Before their involvement in the project, respondents reported high rates of pro-food waste reduction behaviours such as composting (72%) and feeding food scraps to animals (42%). These behaviours increased after the trial, with composting up to 95% and feeding animals up to 50%). Food waste to landfill as a disposal strategy was reported to decrease from 41% to 23%. All respondents said they made an effort to reduce

food waste since being involved in the project: 45% said they made a lot of effort, 55% said they made some effort. 91% of respondents reported that they felt the Kai Conscious toolkit was effective at helping them to reduce food waste.

Kai Conscious Blackpool Results

18 responses were collected. Similar to the trial, respondents reported an increase in pro-food waste reduction behaviours; for example, composting increased from 72% to 100%, while there was a decrease in the disposal of food waste into the rubbish, from 22% to 0%. Respondents also reported a reduction in the amount of wasted food versus food waste: leftovers and food past its best both dropped to 0% (from 11% and 6%, respectively) as the types of food waste making up the biggest part of the household's food waste. These were replaced by scraps from food preparation and unavoidable food waste.

SWAP Audit results

Of the 106 households that set out refuse for collection in August 2013, there was an overall set out rate of 42%. In June 2014, of the 113 households that set out refuse for collection, there was an overall set out rate of 45%. Organic material was the largest single component of the combined kerbside refuse in both 2013 and 2014, comprising 45-46% of the total. The average weight of kitchen waste per household set out was 25% greater in 2014 (3.15kg) than in 2013 (2.51kg).

Weight and type of waste recorded by case study households

Eight out of ten households achieved a significant decrease in the weight and type of waste produced over the six-week period, wasting up to 60% less in the second reporting period after receiving the KCW toolkit and implementing the suggested food waste reduction strategies.

DISCUSSION

'It is my waste and I'm not hiding it'

In a world where we are bombarded with visual imagery, it is difficult to regularly care about what you cannot see. Increasing a household's awareness of the amount of food waste it is producing, and the reasons for it, was integral to the design of the materials on the Kai Conscious toolkit. These materials include a clear bench top container, a food waste record sheet, a progress tracker and a fridge magnet. The clear bench top container allows food to be seen even once it has been designated as waste. This aims to remove the illusion we see so often in the world of waste - the idea that something goes 'away' when we are finished with it.

Participant responses in interviews and the participant survey support this. One respondent stated:

> I think the bench top container is very good. I can clearly see the food waste in front of me. [...] It's a good idea because I see the waste. It is my waste and I'm not hiding it. I've made it and I have to deal with it. It encourages responsibility (Waste Not Consulting, 2014).

Households that weighed and analysed their food waste reported an increase in their awareness of both the amount of food waste produced, as well as how their behaviour and other activities in the household (such as having visitors and household cleaning), affected the amount of food waste produced. This suggests that the visibility of food waste is increased when participants are asked to measure their food waste, and that increased visibility is linked to a decrease in food waste. Further investigation into these links would be useful.

Composting as a Distracting Factor

While general sustainability behaviour change theory suggests initial actions such as composting are a gateway behaviour for other sustainability steps, we found the converse could also be true. One of the biggest barriers identified by the project team to the uptake of the project after the initial engagement was people believing that if they composted then they didn't need to do anything more. A focus on recycling can distract people from the potential behaviour changes that could be saving them money and food, and reducing their resource footprint associated with food waste. There are a number of existing programmes and projects that focus on the recycling of food waste. Because reduction is at the apex of the waste hierarchy, these should be adapted to include a much stronger focus on the importance of reduction as the starting point for change.

Are you measuring what you should be measuring?

Quantitative analysis was contradictory and may require refinement to ensure it is at an appropriate level to pick up small-scale change. Area-wide SWAP analyses may not the right tool to pick up micro-level changes, as the report from Waste Not Consulting (2014) explains:

> At the micro-level, the food waste reduction behaviour change programme is likely to have achieved its objectives for behaviour change for a number households. At the macro-level, however, there was too much statistical noise in the audit data to be able to judge whether the

programme had any effect on the composition of waste in the overall Blackpool programme area. This noise is likely to be related to the unusual occupancy and residency patterns in the area. In this respect, the methodology did not produce any valid results. (Waste Not Consulting, 2014).

The design of the monitoring programme needs to consider the size and distribution of the target households, as well as things like set out rate of receptacles to be audited, the time of year and number of residential homes versus holiday homes. Self-directed weighing and recording of food waste appears to be both effective in increasing waste reduction behaviours as well as a source of quantitative data. The key to this data remains how to ensure the return of any records kept by participants. The project team is experimenting with the use of prize-draws as an incentive in the next phase of the Kai Conscious Waiheke project.

Figure 6.

Good things take time

Of the 220 households that the KCW kit was delivered to, further engagement in the form of event attendance and/or recruitment as community champions with up to seventy-five households was achieved. The results of the SWAP audits indicate that further engagement is necessary

to achieve the change in behaviour across the community that would result in a significant drop in food waste to landfill. Development professionals recognize that community development approaches can be slower to achieve a result, but that once embedded the changes are likely to be sustained for a much longer period. The early assessment of this report is unable to capture this aspect of the approach and further work should be done in the future to test the theory in this context.

CONCLUSIONS

Much has been learned about the reduction of food waste at a neighbourhood scale during the Kai Conscious Waiheke pilot project. Composting activities have increased in households that were previously not composting, and food waste may have reduced by volume in households who are now more actively employing food waste reduction strategies. An effective and comprehensive toolkit has been developed, trialled and evaluated. A community development approach led to a high degree of community engagement and is worthy of further study of impacts. Community connections have been enhanced, community resources developed and community leaders encouraged. A more robust set of conclusions can be developed from further longitudinal study and engagement with the Blackpool community.

Reviewing the project with the benefit of hindsight, KCW missed a number of opportunities to more thoroughly research the behaviour change. KCW also relied far too heavily on its expectations that the SWAP analysis would robustly to declare the project a success. Future projects will take greater advantage of the rich data that is created in the process to better inform the results.

This paper draws heavily on earlier work by Stansfield and Wray presented at the 2014 WASTEMINZ conference.

DAWN A. JEFFERY is the Manager of Waiheke Resources
Trust, Auckland, New Zealand
http://www.wrt.org.nz/our-projects/kai-conscious
Contact: **dawn@wrt.org.nz**

JOHN STANSFIELD is a Lecturer and Head of Department
at Unitec Institute of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand
and a Trustee at Waiheke Resources Trust, Auckland,
New Zealand
Contact: **jonstanz@hotmail.com**

REFERENCES

Aimers, J. and Walker, P. (2014) *Community Development: Insights for practice in Aotearoa New Zealand*, Dunmore Publishing, Auckland.

Craig, W. (1998) *A community work perspective*, Massey University Press, Palmerston North.

European Commission (2008) *Environment Waste Framework*, accessed at: http://ec.europa.eu/environment/waste/framework/. (9 September 2014).

Hutchinson, V. (2011) *How Communities Heal*, Florence Press, New Plymouth.

Ife, J. (2001) *Community Development: Community based alternatives in an age of Globalisation*, Pearson Educational Press, French's Forest, New South Wales.

Monitor Institute, (2012) *Classic Strategy, Adaptive Strategy*, The Monitor Institute, San Francisco.

NZSIERC (2013) *Social innovation*, accessed at http://sierc.massey.ac.nz, (9 September 2014).

Waste Not Consulting (2014) *Audits of Waiheke Island Kerbside Refuse in Support of Food Waste Reduction Programme*, Waste Not Consulting, Auckland.

Panoptic Reality:

A Review of *Citizenfour*

by CRAIG TUNNICLIFFE

Founded at Unitec Institute of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand, in 2015
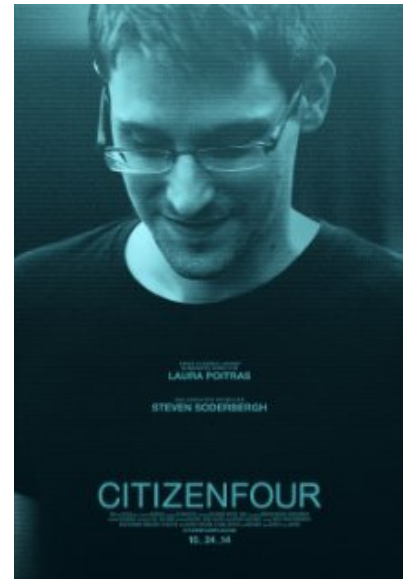
Review

Panoptic Reality:

A Review of *Citizenfour*

Citizenfour is a 2014 documentary directed by Laura Poitras, produced by Praxis Films

by CRAIG TUNNICLIFFE

Movies, and perhaps more importantly documentary movies, need to be separated into good documentaries and important documentaries. *Citizenfour* would then fall squarely in this second category, and require viewing for its import rather than its simulation.

Citizenfour documents the days preceding and during the release of information gained by Edward Snowden, which exposed the depth of surveillance activities conducted by the NSA and other security agencies.

Directed by Laura Poitras and reporting by Glenn Greenwald, the film documents the process of information release, the technological capability of the spying agencies, and the person (Snowden) behind the release of this information.

The process of release has all the qualities of a spy novel, with anonymous source 'citizenfour' contacting Poitras requesting a secure method for future communication. Here she was told to think very securely, and to create unbreakable passwords - with the warning that potential intruders into the conversation had the capability (and computing power) of trying 'a trillion guesses per second'. Over the next few weeks, Poitras was sent information that described a number of covert spying operations, all with the teaser 'this I can prove'.

Throughout the film the various programmes, including PRISIM, and the technology (analytic programmes such as Xkeyscore) are described in some detail. For the technologically literate, this part of the film may have been very stimulating, but for the rest of us it was perhaps a wash of information, which was difficult to decipher and perhaps even comprehend what it all meant. Some of these parts of the film I had to watch twice (and then later Google) to fully ascertain the implications of these programmes and what this technological capability meant for private information communicated through any computer mediated communication. The bottom line of this is that 'they' (in all the shadowy connotations of a hidden 'they') are watching us. And if 'they' wish, we (and individual people, i.e. you) can be tagged for future in-depth analysis and evaluation.

Snowden, the person, is shown in *Citizenfour* in a very different light than the normal media hyperbole. Of interest here is the examination of both his motivations for whistle blowing (and the human cost of such acts), and his central desire for the information release to be about the information, *not about him*. Snowden actively attempts to focus attention on the scale and depth of the spying rather than on himself, and is portrayed as someone who was motivated by the greater good of his actions, rather than someone seeking personal recognition (something that Kim Dotcom could have perhaps learnt from).

This film and its subject matter are important. They highlight the reality of information

accessibility, the surveillance that is currently occurring, the scope and depth of this activity, and government's complicity in this activity. Jeremy Bentham described a perfect prison where those who thought they were being watched modified their behaviour accordingly. Snowden, facilitated by Poitras and Greenwald, demonstrates in *Citizenfour* that this prison has already been built, and is present every time we log on to a computer system. For those involved in social change, a risk is that the threat of observation may change behaviour. This needs to be resisted.

CRAIG TUNNICLIFFE is a lecturer in the Department of Social Practise at Auckland's Unitec Institute of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand
Contact: **ctunnicliffe@unitec.ac.nz**

A Report on the Community Development Conference 2015

by JOHN STANSFILED and ABHISHEK MASIH

Conference Update

A Report on the Community Development Conference 2015

by **JOHN STANSFILED** and **ABHISHEK MASIH**

Community Development Conference 2015

Bringing together practitioners, academics and students to share their knowledge, research and stories about community development.

Photo: Oxfam / Rodney Dekker

Unitec Institute of Technology

INTRODUCTION

The Community Development Conference 2015 was an effort by the Department of Social Practice at Unitec and Community Development practitioners to bring together practitioners, academics and students to share their knowledge, research and stories about community development.

We realised that the community development movement in New Zealand has not had an opportunity and platform to share and learn from each other for a very long while and no one was holding a space for this.

The conference was organised on 18, 19 and 20 February 2015. The first day (18 February) started with a traditional welcome haka pōwhiri performance by Mātātupu (Unitec's Student Maori Association). Our overseas participants were mesmerised by the beautiful carvings on the Marae, and also appreciated the traditional welcome.

The welcome was followed by a panel of elders speaking on 'That was then, this is now, my reflections of good community development practice and the opportunities ahead'. Chaired by Gavin Rennie, this panel set the tone for the conference. Panel members' reflections on their past experiences were very much appreciated by the delegates.

The panel discussion was followed by cocktails and a reception, which gave participants an opportunity for networking and sharing.

Day 2 of the conference (19 February 2015) began with a conference plenary by John Stansfield, which was followed by 5 concurrent sessions.

There were poster presentations during the lunch break and then concurrent sessions continued until the end of the day.
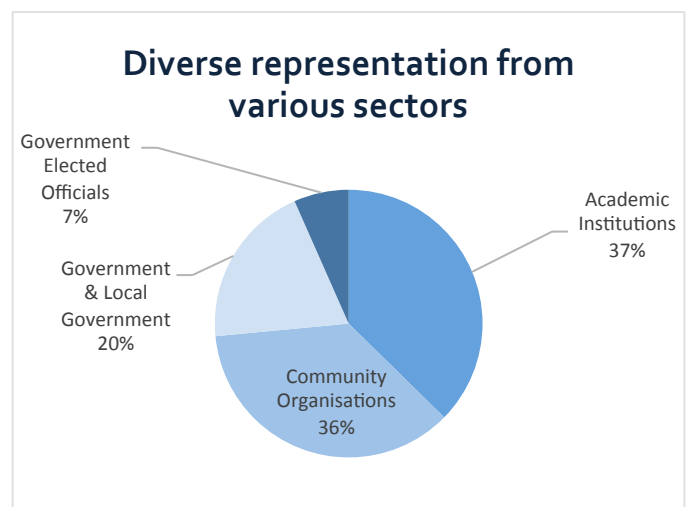
Day 3 (20 February 2015) again began with a conference plenary by John Stansfield. The session before the lunch break saw the launch of Hui E! Community Aotearoa by Peter Glensor, and our new community development journal *Whanake*. Gavin Rennie was introduced as the editor of *Whanake*, which will be published by ePress.
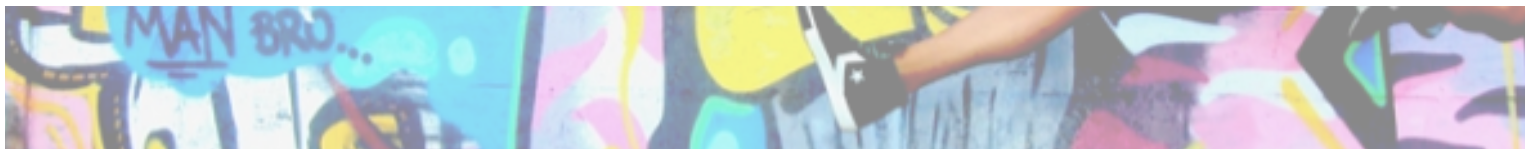
The conference was concluded by a panel of youth consisting of members of the Auckland Council Youth Advisory Panel, who facilitated a lively and interactive discussion on the need to involve youth in community development and how to achieve this.

The conference was catered by the WISE Collective, a social enterprise comprised of women from refugee and migrant backgrounds. Their sumptuous ethnic food kept conference participants going.

CONFERENCE HIGHLIGHTS

- The conference sold out weeks before opening, as we were restricted by available plenary space

Diverse representation from various sectors

- Government Elected Officials 7%
- Academic Institutions 37%
- Government & Local Government 20%
- Community Organisations 36%

- A total of 170 participants attended
- The conference attracted participants from throughout New Zealand, Malaysia, Australia, Japan, Kenya and South Africa
- 63% of the participants were women
- The conference included 5 streams:

    1. Community development practice in diverse communities
    2. Community economic development
    3. Place making – the art of localised community development
    4. Community development education
    5. Community development reclaiming democracy

- The conference featured 53 paper presentations, 17 workshops, 1 conversation circle and 1 panel discussion
- 21 full papers based on conference presentations were received before the conference; these have undergone (or are currently undergoing) peer review, and we are expecting another 33 paper submissions

FEEDBACK FROM PARTICIPANTS

Thirty-five completed feedback forms were received. A summary of the feedback is as follows:

1. *How did you hear or learn about the conference*: The majority of participants said that they got to know about the conference through their networks.

How did you learn about the conference

No Response 3%
Online 43%
Word of Mouth 54%
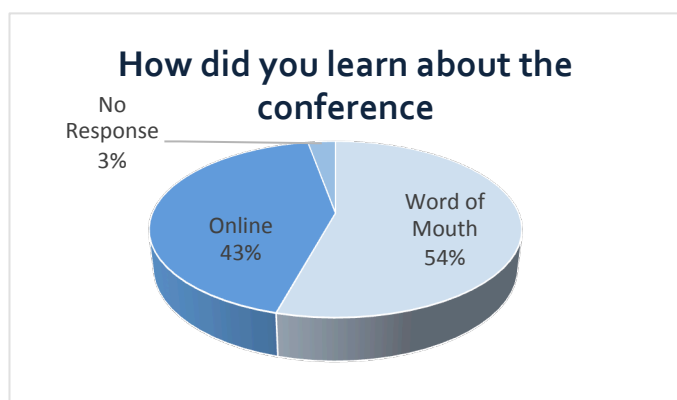
2. *Main reason for attending the conference*: Though the idea was to identify only one main reason for the participants attending, some participants chose more than one option out of the following:

    a. Content
    b. Networking

    c. Personal growth and development
    d. Speakers
    e. Other

The feedback is as follows:

Main reason for attending
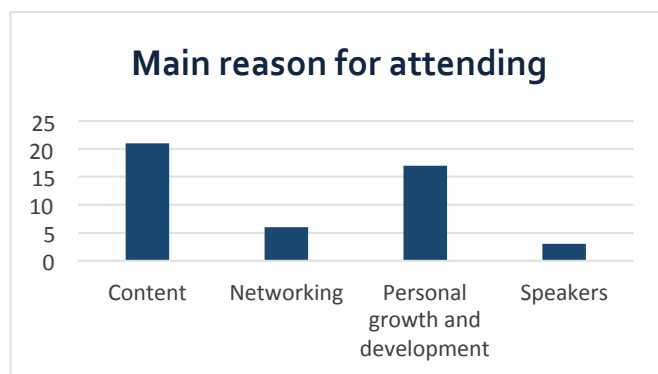
3. *Which speakers were of greatest interest to you*: Delegates appreciated a large number of speakers. The most popular conference contributions are listed below:

- Conversation on: 'Contemporary approach to citizenship in Taranaki' by Vivian Hutchinson
- Paper: 'Do we really need to park democracy in the doorway of NGOs' by David Kenkel and Paul Prestidge
- Paper: 'Towards a theory for Community Development' by De Wet Schutte
- Panel of Elders
- Youth Panel
- Paper: 'Citizenship, democracy, and professional ideals for a sustainable future' by Jay Hays
- Paper: 'First, revive the spirit' by Denis O'Reilly
- Workshop: 'Transformational neighbourhoods - feeding the flax roots' by Jenny Tanner
- Workshop: 'Telling the story to make the story' by Moya Sayer-Jones
- Workshop: 'Evaluating through storytelling: how we measured the soft stuff' by Rosie Gallen and Mondy Jera

In addition, a huge number of delegates appreciated topics related to social housing

4. *Did the conference fulfil your reason for attending*: All participants stated that the conference had satisfied their reason for attending, and some stated that it had exceeded their expectations.

5. *What was the most beneficial aspect of the conference*: though there were a variety of responses which emerged out of this question, they can be grouped under the following heads:

   a. Learning and sharing of challenges participants are facing, getting to know what has worked for others and what has not worked
   b. Re-energising and reaffirmation of the value of community development
   c. Intellectual insights surrounding community development work; depth of knowledge/experience to draw upon
   d. Broadening one's focus; learning about the multi-faceted nature of projects
   e. Hearing from educators and hearing about research

6. *Qualitative feedback was sought on conference content, the registration process, the venue, food and beverages, the day 1 powhiri and conference technology.* The responses of the participants are displayed in the graph below. (Note: There was an hour of downtime during the conference during which H drive, where all presentations were saved, was not accessable.)

7. *Next time you attend this conference, would you like a field visit to community development projects or agencies*: Most participants responded in favour of a field visit, however some also pointed out that this could be done with the use of technology, without having to actually go out in the field. Some participants felt that this would eat into a lot of conference time.

8. *If you know of any colleagues who might be interestd in any upcoming community development conferences, please provide their names and organisations*: some participants provided names and email IDs. These will be kept in mind for the next conference.

9. *Please provide any comments you have on future conference topics or speakers, and provide any general suggestions you may have regarding the conference*: there were many suggestions which emerged; a few common ones are listed below:

   a. Conference awards and dinner
   b. Breaks between sessions and fewer concurrent sessions
   c. Longer duration for sessions
   d. More on housing
   e. More chairs in rooms
   f. A later start time, perhaps 9am for participants who have to travel some distance
   g. Improved technology (technology failed a couple of times)

10. *When we run this conference again, what is the one thing you would like more of*: There were a range of responces to this question; some common ones are listed below.

    a. More written papers
    b. More time per speaker
    c. Hearing from youth
    d. Ethnic community representation/research
    e. Handouts with more details on speakers/topics
    f. Evening social
    g. More from educators and students
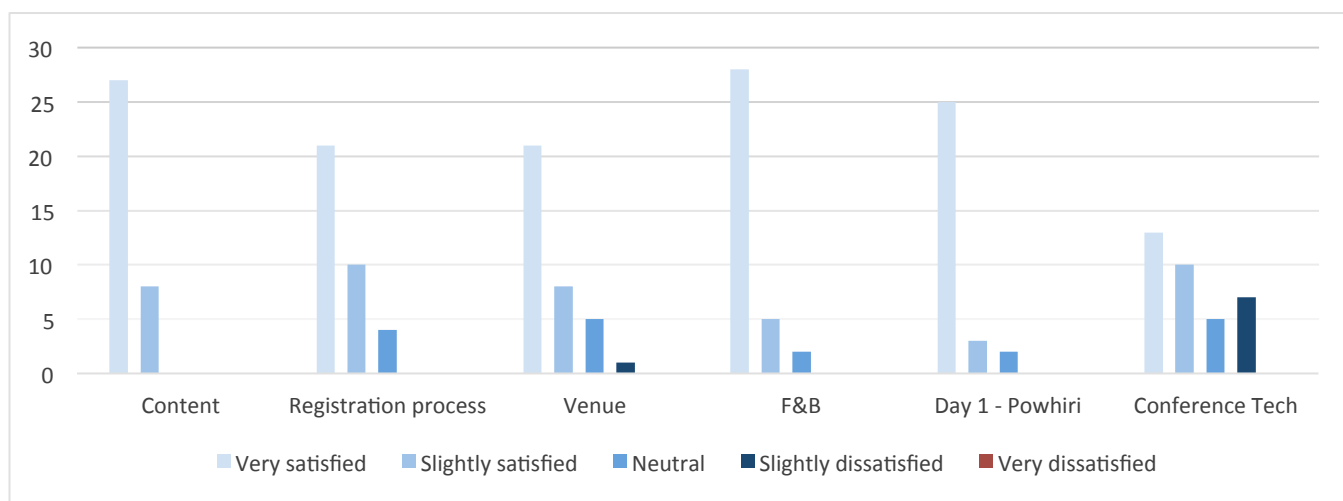
GOING FORWARD

The conference involved huge learning for us and we were overwhelmed by the support of our community of practice. As well as a strong and generous staff and volunteer crew, we were ably assisted by friends from around the country, including many who could not attend. Feedback from participants was very positive and we will be holding future events.

Shortly after the conference we collaborated with Community Waitakere to host a breakfast with Max Rashbrooke, editor of *Inequality: A New Zealand Crisis*, and we plan to collaborate with Hui E! to develop an Auckland presence for the organisation which was launched at the conference.

Delegates indicated an interest in a Community Development association; John Stansfield is looking at models around the world, and he will visit two international associations in July.

NEXT STEPS

The first issue of the journal *Whanake* will be published on 1 May.

Video transcribing is complete for the e publication 'Illuminate: not the proceedings of the 2015 Community development conference', and we hope to launch this in June.

June will also see further paper submissions and other contributions for the spring edition of *Whanake*.

In August there will be a Unitec-hosted next steps workshop to discuss the development of an association and future conferences.

ABHISHEK MASIH
Conference Manager

JOHN STANSFIELD
Conference Chair

ABHISHEK MASIH is the Conference Manager at Unitec Institute of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand

JOHN STANSFIELD is a Lecturer and Head of Department at Unitec Institute of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand
and a Trustee at Waiheke Resources Trust, Auckland, New Zealand
Contact: **jonstanz@hotmail.com**

Announcements

Upcoming Conferences and Events

2nd Biennial Community Development Partnership Forum & Exhibition

Community Based Entrepreneurship & Innovation: A Strategy for Small Island Developing States

July 5-8 Hilton Hotel, Port of Spain
Trinidad and Tobago

www.community.gov.tt/cdpf/index.html

Community Development Society
CDS 2015 Conference: Creativity and Culture
Community Development Approaches for Strengthening Health, Environment, Economic Vibrancy, Social Justice and Democracy

July 19-22 Hilton Lexington
Lexington Kentucky USA

http://www.comm-dev.org/about-us/2015-conference

Other

Submission Guidelines

Whanake accepts submissions in the form of papers for peer review, opinion pieces, practice notes from the field, case studies, biographies, articles on emerging trends and research as well as reviews of books, plays, films, poems, songs and contemporary culture with a community development theme.

As an international journal 'Whanake' is using English as a standard language. Submissions will be published primarily in English.

Please note that submission is possible only by e-mail. All submissions should be in Microsoft Word format All submissions should follow the Community Development Journal style guide by Oxford: http://www.oxfordjournals.org/our_journals/cdj/for_authors/style_guide.html

Font:	Arial, 12 point	
Tables:	Send tables or figures in .rtf, word- and .gif, .jpg, or tiff format.	
Images:	Images should be sent seperately in.jpg format with their file names as the relevant figure #, along with a separate Microsoft Word document that lists the figures and codes them back to the .jpg file. In the submission document write 'Insert Figure #'	
Submission Length:	Referred papers:	4000 to 6000 words
	Opinion pieces:	Provocations which challenge practice and/or theory
	Practice notes:	500 to 6000 words
	Case studies and biographies:	1000 to 1500 words
	Articles on emerging trends and research:	up to 2 pages
	Reviews (books, plays, films, poems, songs or contemporary culture):	1 page or less

Contact: **cdjournal.unitec@gmail.com**

Other

Call for Submissions

Whanake: The Pacific Journal of Community Development invites submissions for the November 2015 issue. The deadline for submissions for refereed papers is **15 June 2015**.

All submissions must adhere to the **submission guidelines.**

Please send submissions and correspondence to **cdjournal.unitec@gmail.com**