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WHANAKE

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About

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 3000-6000 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, USA and Australia. We see this as a journal for Aotearoa New Zealand and the wider Pacific. As such it reflects cultural diversity and is about the WE, not the I.

Editorial

The other day, during lockdown, I had the time to watch TV and enjoy the final of the European Championship football match between Bayern Munich and Paris St-Germain. When Munich won, the old joke came to mind: "Football is a simple game – 22 men chase a ball for 90 minutes and at the end, the Germans always win." I asked myself: Why is that? To answer the question, I contacted a German friend and asked him. "Oh, that's because of the 50 + 1 principle," he replied.

Please explain? "Well, it is an informal rule of German football's Bundesliga to ensure the fans control the clubs. Club members (usually fans) receive 50% of the shares, plus one share, in the club ownership, giving them control of the governance body. They have a say in the price of tickets and salary limits of players." He went on to explain that fans can afford seats and drinks, and this means full stadiums. Many fans are women and families, unlike the English league. The fans are not customers, they are the owners. This system prevents clubs being taken over by oligarchs and billionaires around the world.

This compares with the English Premier League, where rampant capitalism is the modus operandi and used to purchase clubs and players. They charge high prices for tickets, food and drinks. Players receive enormous salaries but for this they must perform or move on.

I recall, a few years ago in England, talking to my brother-in-law, who owned a medium-sized manufacturing company. I asked him why his company was doing so well, during the recession of 2008-11 when others were failing. He said, "That's because I use the German system." He explained that all his employees each year received shares in the company. With his support, the union had set up a worker's council to advise on improvements. The council received all company information, and particularly focused on the overall strategy of the company. He explained that he received valuable advice and he reported back to the council on progress. My brother-in-law is a gregarious type who knows all 200 of his staff and their families. When I visited the factory, it was like a family business where all staff mixed at breaks.

After reflecting on these two pieces of information about Germany, I turned to Thomas Piketty, eminent French economist. In his latest book, *Capital and Ideology* (2020), he notes the importance of the German system of employee involvement in company governance, which he maintains is partly responsible for German economic and social success. All medium- and large-sized German companies must have provision for employee representation on boards. Piketty broadened his search for similar policies in other European countries. He found only a few examples:

Germany	One third of board seats are for workers (usually two or three). In the oversight committee (dealing with strategy) there are equal numbers of workers and shareholders.
Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Austria	One third of board seats are for workers.
France	Provision of one worker seat on the boards of large companies.

Source: Thomas Piketty (2020).

Piketty maintains that the German and Scandinavian systems have encouraged greater harmony and shifted power from shareholders to workers. These systems result in limited wage inequalities and maintenance of high levels of productivity and competitiveness.

Piketty argues that extreme capitalism (sometimes called neoliberalism) has failed on three fundamental levels: lack of financial transparency, rising inequalities and the challenges of climate change. Without major changes to the capitalist model, the world faces insurmountable problems. He is particularly critical of the Anglo–American neoliberal model. To sum up, he says, "co- management has been one of the most highly developed and durable means of institutionalizing the new balance of power between workers and capital" (p. 500).

Taking this a step further, greater involvement of New Zealand workers in the governance of businesses could mean:

1. Adopting the German model of co-management of medium and large companies.

2. Promotion and support of co-operatives.

3. Recognition of the strength of community-owned businesses.

The first would require changes to legislation. However, a start could involve all state-owned enterprises and state-owned companies.

In terms of co-operatives, New Zealand already has a wide range that includes dairying, agriculture, horticulture, manufacturing, supply of electricity, banking, credit unions and retailing. The most well-known example of a successful co-operative is Mondragon in Northern Spain. It now employs close to 75,000 people. A more interesting region to study is Emilia-Romagna in Northern Italy. It has a network of 7500

co-operatives, each supporting the other. It has a population close to New Zealand's and two thirds of people are co-op members. Co-operatives produce 30% of the region's GDP.

Community-owned businesses are flourishing in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. For example, community groups now own over 200,000 hectares of land. In Scotland there has been government support for buying land from the lairds and setting up local farm businesses. More recently the idea of community-owned businesses has taken off in the rest of the UK. Local communities own such businesses as pubs, shops, cafés, electricity supply and markets. In New Zealand, iwi groups have been some of the country's great successes in terms of business growth, with assets worth $9 billion. They own and operate fishing (50% of the country's assets), farming (30% of sheep and beef production) and forestry (40%) as well as a wide range of other businesses.

It is clear that we do not have to stick to the one hierarchical business model. What we do know is that if people are truly engaged in cultural, social, environmental, economic and business organisations, and feel that their contributions are acknowledged, then those organisations will also flourish. The time has come for change and we could start by looking at the German model of business and football.

David Haigh, August 2020

Reference

Piketty, T. (2020). *Capital and ideology.* The
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ANGIE DANG

First-year student achievement, attendance, and
demography at NorthTec's Bachelor of Applied Social
Work Programme: A quantitative inquiry

First-year student achievement, attendance, and demography at NorthTec's Bachelor of Applied Social Work Programme: A quantitative inquiry

ANGIE DANG

Abstract

This paper reports on a quantitative inquiry into student achievement, attendance and demography and their correlations in the first year of an undergraduate social work degree at NorthTec, Whangārei, New Zealand. Data on student achievement, attendance and demography across year one papers from 2016 to 2019 were used for trend and correlation analysis to address the research aim. The study found correlations between attendance and achievement are significant and consistent while correlations between demographic factors and achievement are not. The research supports existing literature documenting the relationship between attendance and achievement. It calls for changes in programme delivery, particularly attendance requirements and student support, at NorthTec to engage students better in the programme.

Introduction

Academic achievement is the attainment of knowledge and skills set by the educational institution to its students (Tian & Sun, 2018; Wallace, 2015) and is measured mainly by grades and scores to assessments (Tian & Sun, 2018), course completion and graduation (Wikaire et al., 2017). Academic achievement forms the main tenet for the claims of societal relevance of the tertiary sector, including quality of learning and instruction, research and

development, democracy, economic development and social mobility (Pinheiro et al., 2015). Academic achievement enhances the wellbeing of individuals, communities and society, as students and graduates acquire competence and use this capital for income generation, career development, and assurance of good health and other benefits (Schneider & Preckel, 2017). Students and graduates develop conscience, critical transformation and actions to deal with oppression, liberate themselves and their communities, and help to solve community problems (Freire, 1970; Mapolisa, 2012).

Student academic achievement depends on a variety of factors, of which attendance and demography are essential (Çiftçi & Cin, 2017; Roch & Kieszczynka, 2010; Mahoney, 2015; Schneider & Preckel, 2017; Trussel & Burke-Smalley, 2018). Attendance positively correlates with achievement because with attendance, students can benefit from engaging and effective face-to-face instruction and learning, and the support from the learning community of other students and teachers (Credé, et al., 2010; Schneider & Preckel, 2017). Attendance and achievement are linked to demographic factors such as gender, ethnicity and socioeconomic status (Çiftçi & Cin, 2017; Trussel & Burke-Smalley, 2018) given the disparities in terms of learning resources, commitment and expectations among these groups (Huettl, 2016; Gibbs et al., 2008).

This study of student records in the Bachelor of Applied Social Work programme at NorthTec from 2016 to 2019 explores the linkages among student achievement, attendance and demography for effective programme design and delivery, and associated support. It aims to find answers to the following questions:

1. How have student achievement, attendance and demography correlated?

2. What are the implications of significant correlations, if any, for NorthTec in terms of programme design and delivery, and student support?

This paper first provides an overview of the literature on student attendance, demography and achievement. It then presents the study methods and main findings from data analysis. This is followed by a discussion of the findings and their implications. The conclusion will briefly summarise key points presented and areas that need further inquiry.

Academic attendance, achievement and demographic factors

Academic achievement (also known as academic performance, or academic success) is commonly defined as the attainment of academic goals or learning outcomes, usually in terms of knowledge and skills, which are set by an educational institution to its students (Tian & Sun, 2018; Wallace, 2019). Academic achievement is judged mainly by grades and scores for tests, exams, assignments and other types of assessment events (Tian & Sun, 2018). Grades for individual papers or subjects, or grade point average (GPA),

for example, are often used. There are other measures such as yearly results, completion and graduation (Wikaire et al., 2017).

Attendance has been found "a better predictor of college grades than any other known predictor of academic performance" and strongly correlates with both GPA and class grades (Credé et al., 2010, p. 272). In addition, class attendance has the greatest effect on students' strategies and approaches to learning that contribute to achievement, and Schneider and Preckel (2017) add that attendance frequency has a unique, long-lasting learning outcome.

The effect of class attendance on academic achievement can be explained by many factors that the class environment is able to provide. Firstly, the more students attend class, the more they are exposed to extra materials and content, and the more continual accumulation of knowledge and skills they can achieve; these factors in turn ensure longer-lasting learning effects (Credé et al., 2010). Secondly, teachers' facilitation of discussion and open-ended questions, and their availability and assistance, can encourage and enable students' critical and in-depth learning. Thirdly, stimulating and meaningful learning, assessment with constructive feedback, presentation, use of technology for blended learning and extracurricular training for academic skills or self-motivation can benefit students in different aspects. For instance, these factors help to engage students better and assist them to make connections to their prior knowledge and skills, set clear goals, plans and strategies, and improve learning skills and motivation (Schneider & Preckel, 2017).

Academic attendance and achievement can be influenced by demographic factors (Oldfield et al., 2017; Trussel & Burke-Smalley, 2018). For example, high socioeconomic groups tend to attend and perform better than low socioeconomic ones (Huettl, 2016; Ministry of Education, 2018; Oldfield et al., 2017; Trussel & Burke-Smalley, 2018). Possible underlying reasons for low attendance and performance by students experiencing poverty include limited resources and supports, lower expectations of achievement, the lack of positive role models, and poorer health, among others (Huettl, 2016). Financial issues, in particular, are found to have a direct relationship with these students' absenteeism and their decisions to drop out, as they have to work while studying (Bernardo et al., 2016; Oldfield et al., 2017). Findings of employment impacts on academic performance, however, vary across studies and range from negative to neutral and positive (Baert et al., 2017; Hughes et al., 2017; Tani et al.; Yanbarisova, 2015).

Mainstream ethnic groups tend to perform better than ethnic minorities (Ministry of Education, 2018; Trussel & Burke-Smalley, 2018). Gender has significant correlations with academic success, with women studying better than men in most OEDC countries (Autor et al., 2016). Part of this can be explained by male students' classroom behaviours such as inattention and distraction, which negatively impact learning (Gibbs et al., 2008).

The influence of demographic factors on academic achievement varies across individual programmes or institutions. Hughes et al.'s study (2017), for example, found no correlation between demographic factors and academic performance, while Tani et al. (2019) found gender, age and ethnicity to have no significant correlation with the GPAs in their studied population.

In summary, the literature demonstrates a strong correlation between

attendance and achievement. It also shows gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic and other disparities in academic achievement in higher education to a varying degree. This highlights the need for a detailed analysis of how these factors operate at each of these levels for effective programme design, delivery and student support.

Research methodology

The study was quantitative and explorative. It examined student attendance, demography and achievement in Year 1 papers of the Bachelor of Applied Social Work programme at NorthTec from 2016 to 2019 to identify possible correlations between these areas, and implications for NorthTec. This involved retrieval and secondary analysis of official statistics collected by NorthTec. This process was non-obtrusive and did not involve any direct or indirect interactions with the studied population (Denzin, 1970 as cited in Bryman, 2012). It was also cost and time effective given that data collection was not required (Bryman, 2012). However, the researcher had no control over what and how data were collected (Bryman, 2012). For example, results of the last two papers in 2019 had not been finalised at the time of data retrieval and therefore had to be excluded from the analysis. The grading scale included from 0 to 100, Did Not Complete, Withdraw, Credit Transfer, Recognition of Prior Learning. The non-numeric grades had to be excluded in correlation analysis that involved grades.

Firstly, student enrolment and performance records of the Bachelor of Applied Social Work programme at NorthTec from 2016 to 2019 were retrieved from the student registry services. Student enrolment data included the year of enrolment, ethnicity (first, second and third), age at the commencement of study, previous activity, full-time or part-time study, gender, highest secondary qualification, type of funding, citizenship, disability and home postcode. Student performance data included the papers they enrolled in and their grade (including from 0 to 100, Did Not Complete, Withdraw, Credit Transfer, Recognition of Prior Learning) across provided papers. Student attendance was recorded with the number of absent sessions and attended sessions. This analysis, therefore, used the absent sessions as indications of attendance. To ensure anonymity, all personal, identifiable details such as student name and identification number were excluded. The student identification numbers (ID) were, however, recoded into different numbers to allow an analysis of individual grade per paper per student .

Secondly, all the student data were input into SPSS Statistics v.16.0, followed by a process of data cleaning where errors, missing values and outliers were identified and corrected if possible or excluded. As NorthTec did not collect socioeconomic status data, this measure had to be generated from the postcode details and data of school deciles that were taken from other studies and official statistics. In particular, home postcode was used to identify the geographical areas where the students were residing at the time of their enrolment, using the New Zealand Postal Code Directory. The areas were matched up with their deprivation levels based on the New Zealand

school decile rating. In the case that school deciles varied greatly within a postcode area, the cases were identified as outliers and were excluded in the analysis. Overseas postcode or unidentified postcode area were coded as missing. As a result, part of the population was excluded in the analysis of performance and socioeconomic status. To ease analysis, the socioeconomic status data were grouped into the following socioeconomic categories: low (1–3) (poor), low medium (4–5), high medium (6-7) and well off (8–10).

Using SPSS, explorative statistics analysis was used to discover major demographic trends in the student population. Grade means were compared across demographic groups using means comparison. Cross-tabulation, one-way ANOVA analysis and t-test were conducted to find out if attendance, years, first ethnicity, age at the start of the study, previous activity, full-time or part-time study, gender, highest secondary qualification, type of funding, citizenship, disability and socioeconomic status have significant correlations to grade score.

Findings

STUDENT DEMOGRAPHIC PATTERNS AND TRENDS

There were 119 students enrolled for first-year papers, but with declining numbers between 2016 and 2019. Female students were the absolute majority across the study years (84% to 96.7%) with an average percentage of 88.2%. Students aged 18 to 25 accounted for 36.1% while other older groups had smaller percentages.

TABLE 1. STUDENT AGE GROUP PER YEAR.

Student Age Group\Year	2016	2017	2018	2019
18–25	12	11	11	9
25.1–32	7	6	7	6
32.1–40	8	7	5	5
40.1–47	8	4	3	5
47.1–55	1	1	2	0
55.1–65	0	1	0	0

Māori and New Zealand European were majorities in first registered ethnicity, accounting for 39.5% and 46.2% respectively. Minority groups included other European, Asian, African, Pacific and others, totalling 14.3%. Most students were domestic students who received Student Achievement Component (SAC) funding and there was only one student who paid international fees in this period.

TABLE 2. STUDENT ETHNICITY PER YEAR.

Student Ethnicity\Year	2016	2017	2018	2019
European	1	0	2	3
New Zealand European	13	19	8	7
New Zealand Māori	19	11	13	12
Other	2	0	1	1
Pacific	1	0	4	2

Students with no formal secondary school qualification accounted for 31.1% of the overall population in the study, but varied between 27.8% and 39.3% across the years with no clear trends shown. The proportion of this type of student was higher among European (33.3%) and New Zealand European (31.9%), and lower among New Zealand Māori (30.9%), Pacific (28.6%) and other ethnic groups (25%). Student age groups 25.1–32 and 32.1–40 also had the highest percentages having no formal secondary qualification, 34.6% and 36% respectively. Before enrolment, most students had either studied (47.1%) or worked (30.3%). Students who were unemployed or on benefits accounted for 12.6% and students who did housework or were retired accounted for 6.7%. Of the total students, 10.9% were enrolled part time and students with identified disabilities accounted for 11.8% of the overall student population in the study.

FIGURE 1. STUDENTS' PRIOR ACTIVITIES BEFORE ENROLMENT.
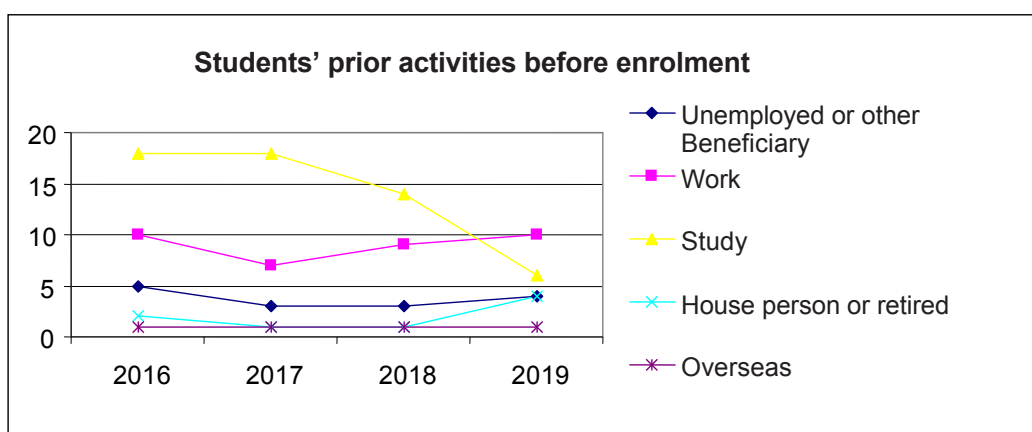
Among the sample with known socioeconomic area status (69.7% of the overall student population in the study), 83.1% came from poor socioeconomic areas. The proportions of this type of student were higher among Pacific and Māori groups (83.3% and 86.9% respectively).

TABLE 3. NUMBER OF STUDENTS BY SOCIOECONOMIC AREA STATUS PER YEAR.

Socioeco Areas\Year	2016	2017	2018	2019
Low socioeconomic areas	23	17	18	11
Low medium socioeconomic areas	2	0	3	1
High medium socioeconomic areas	1	5	0	1
Well-off socioeconomic areas	0	0	0	1
Unknown	10	8	7	11

ACADEMIC PROGRAMME AND ACHIEVEMENTS

The Bachelor of Applied Social Work is a four-year, 480-credit degree programme. There are eight papers, 15 credits each, in Year 1: Indigenous Voices, Aoteoroa New Zealand Society, Social Work Theoretical Framework, Te Ao Māori, Professional Social Work Practice, Social Work Practice Skills, Academic and Digital Literacy, and Human Development and Social Work. Grading patterns varied across the papers, with the percentage of students whose overall mark was under 50% varying between 2.6% in Te Ao Māori and 22.2% in Academic and Digital Literacy, while that of students whose mark was 75% and above was between 29.6% in Academic and Digital Literacy and 92.3% in Te Ao Māori. Table 4 below presents the percentages of grade groups per paper.

TABLE 4. PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS WITH GRADE BELOW 50% AND GRADE FROM 75% AND ABOVE.

Paper\Grade group	Below 50%	75% and above
Indigenous Voices	19.3%	33.6%
Aotearoa New Zealand Society	15.0%	24.3%
Social Work Theoretical Framework	15.1%	36.6%
Te Ao Māori	3.0%	94.0%
Professional Social Work Practice	5.3%	69.7%
Social Work Practice Skills	2.7%	51.4%
Academic and Digital Literacy	22.2%	29.6%
Human Development and Social Work	13.3%	40.0%

MEANS COMPARISON

Analysis results show that groups of students being unemployed or receiving benefits, being Māori, without formal secondary school qualification, or being from low socioeconomic areas had lower grade means than the overall student population in this study, across most of the papers. The differences are mostly minor, i.e., below five points per 100 points. The group of students who were unemployed or received state benefits before enrolment, however, had grade means between five and 18 points lower than the overall population in the study in all but Social Work Practice Skills. Other exceptions were the groups of students having no formal secondary qualification, in Indigenous Voices, Aotearoa New Zealand Society, Te Ao Māori and Social Work Practice Skills; the group of students from low socioeconomic areas, in Te Ao Māori; and Māori students in Te Ao Māori. All of these had slightly higher grade means than the overall population in the study, i.e., below three points higher.

TABLE 5. GRADE MEANS ACROSS SELECTED SUB-GROUPS OF THE STUDY POPULATION PER FIRST-YEAR PAPER.

Paper		Unempl/on benefit	Māori	No second. school qual.	Low socioec	Total
Academic and Digital Literacy	Mean	45.4286	56.8571	57.9722	58.3385	58.5926
	N (student)	14	49	36	65	108
	Std. Deviation	31.43422	25.02082	23.70713	22.78450	24.54218
Human Development and Social Work	Mean	55.7778	62.7907	65.7500	66.0000	68.6444
	N (student)	9	43	32	56	90
	Std. Deviation	18.51201	20.48874	17.13702	19.53365	18.37580
Indigenous Voices	Mean	53.2857	63.7347	66.4286	64.1515	64.3364
	N (student)	14	49	35	66	107
	Std. Deviation	28.73333	22.40050	15.83794	18.45930	20.77142
Aotearoa New Zealand Society	Mean	48.9286	62.1200	63.7778	62.5758	62.4766
	N (student)	14	50	36	66	107
	Std. Deviation	23.40107	18.99478	14.74761	16.42799	18.67768
Social Work Theoretical Framework	Mean	47.9000	61.0000	65.7576	65.7895	66.5054
	N (student)	10	44	33	57	93
	Std. Deviation	27.97002	26.73209	24.82568	23.83705	23.10074

Te Ao Māori	Mean	78.9167	92.9048	90.6471	92.8070	90.5800
	N (student)	12	42	34	57	100
	Std. Deviation	28.85531	9.34908	18.12395	14.22452	17.89768
Professional Social Work Practice	Mean	69.3333	74.4118	74.0741	75.4468	76.6184
	N (student)	6	34	27	47	76
	Std. Deviation	9.52190	18.28912	17.56072	16.56845	17.07784
Social Work Practice Skills	Mean	76.8333	76.2188	75.1481	74.0652	73.0541
	N (student)	6	32	27	46	74
	Std. Deviation	11.95687	18.06393	18.78155	17.35691	17.72228

CROSS TABULATION

Analysis results show that the number of absence sessions significantly and negatively correlates with grades across all papers except Professional Social Work Practice and Social Work Practice Skills. The correlations are weak to moderate with Pearson's correlation (r) between -.257 and -.413 in most of the papers, except for Aotearoa New Zealand Society and Te Ao Māori where r is respectively -.567 and -.764, which are moderate to strong, as shown in Table 6 below.

TABLE 6. PEARSON'S CORRELATION (r) AND SIGNIFICANCE BETWEEN ATTENDANCE AND GRADE ACROSS YEAR 1 BASW PAPERS.

Paper	N	Pearson's r	Approx. Sig.
Academic and Digital Literacy	108	-.299	.002[c]
Human Development and Social Work	90	-.413	.000[c]
Indigenous Voices	107	-.369	.000[c]
Aotearoa New Zealand Society	107	-.567	.000[c]
Social Work Theoretical Framework	93	-.257	.013[c]
Te Ao Māori	100	-.764	.000[c]
Professional Social Work Practice	76	-.091	.436[c]
Social Work Practice Skills	74	.057	.629[c]

[c]. Based on normal approximation.

Other demographic factors that have significant correlations with achievement are age in Te Ao Māori; full-time or part-time study in Academic and Digital Literacy; and having a disability or not in Human Development and Social Work and Professional Social Work Practice. The correlations observed are weak, with the Pearson's correlation (r) between -.230 and .204. No significant correlation was found between gender and achievement across the eight papers.

TABLE 7. PEARSON CORRELATION (r) AND SIGNIFICANCE BETWEEN GRADE AND AGE, FULL-TIME OR PART-TIME STUDY AND HAVING A DISABILITY OR NOT, ACROSS YEAR 1 BASW PAPERS.

Paper	Independent variable	N	Pearson's r	Approx. Sig.
Academic and Digital Literacy	Full-time/part-time study	108	.204	.034[c]
Human Development and Social Work	Disability or not	90	-.230	.029[c]
Te Ao Māori	Age	100	.227	.023[c]
Professional Social Work Practice	Disability or not	76	-.229	.046[c]

[c]. Based on normal approximation.

ONE-WAY ANOVA ANALYSIS/T-TEST

Results of one-way ANOVA analysis/t-test show that differences in grade means among groups of students by previous activities, prior highest qualifications, or ethnicity are not significant in most papers. Factors having significant correlations with achievement include previous activities and ethnicity in Social Work Theoretical Framework, prior qualifications in Indigenous Voices, and ethnicity in Human Development and Social Work.

There were significant differences in grade means across years of study for Indigenous Voices, Aotearoa New Zealand Society, Social Work Theoretical Framework and Social Work Practice Skills. The differences demonstrate similar trends, with grade means increasing between 2016 and 2018 and decreasing in 2019 in Indigenous Voices, Aotearoa New Zealand Society and Social Work Practice Skills. For Social Work Theoretical Framework, grade means decreased in 2017 and 2019 compared to 2016 and 2018 respectively. Tables 8 and 9 below present these results in detail.

TABLE 8. GRADE MEANS BY YEAR IN INDIGENOUS VOICES, AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND SOCIETY, SOCIAL WORK THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE SKILLS.

Paper	Year	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Indigenous Voices	2016	31	56.6129	21.02170
	2017	31	64.7742	17.17500
	2018	28	74.3214	20.32159
	2019	17	61.1765	21.88103
Aotearoa New Zealand Society	2016	32	52.5938	19.02436
	2017	31	62.8710	14.43085
	2018	27	74.3704	16.15109
	2019	17	61.4706	18.97735
Social Work Theoretical Framework	2016	28	68.2143	17.72915
	2017	28	62.5714	19.69852
	2018	23	80.8696	24.30171
	2019	14	47.3571	22.77856
Social Work Practice Skills	2016	24	67.7500	12.38600
	2017	27	70.8148	24.28047
	2018	23	81.2174	8.86236

TABLE 9. ONE-WAY ANOVA ANALYSIS/T-TEST FOR SIGNIFICANT MEAN DIFFERENCES OF GRADES.

Paper	Independent variables	F/t	p-value
Human Development and Social Work	Ethnicity	$F_{(4, 85)}=2.719$	.035
Indigenous Voices	Prior qualifications Year of study	$F_{(7, 99)}=2.217$ $F_{(3, 103)}=4.042$	.039 .009
Aotearoa New Zealand Society	Year of study	$F_{(3, 103)}=7.970$	.000
Social Work Theoretical Framework	Previous activities Ethnicity (Māori & NZ European) Year of study	$F_{(7, 85)}=3.293$ $t_{(72.724)}= -2.291$ $F_{(3, 89)}=7.967$	.004 .025 .000
Social Work Practice Skills	Year of study	$F_{(2, 71)}=4.041$	.022

Discussion

The significant correlation between attendance and academic achievement in six out of eight Year 1 papers in the NorthTec Bachelor of Applied Social Work programme between 2016 and 2019 supports the literature on this relationship. The insignificant correlations among demographic factors and academic achievement in most of the papers confirm the identified varying disparities among demographic student groups in higher education. The yearly variation in grades could be due to different student cohorts and the complexity in the process of marking and assessment (Ylonen et al., 2018), which is beyond the scope of this discussion.

NorthTec has a mission to develop Northland and its people through tertiary education, is committed to guaranteeing achievement and success for all, and claims that NorthTec graduates possess the skills and knowledge for the economy (NorthTec, n.d.; NorthTec, 2018). Attendance issues, however, pose major challenges to these goals and necessitate actions.

Attendance and achievement depend not only on the academic environment, in which teachers play an essential role, but also on the students and their socioeconomic settings that dictate their resources, commitment, and expectations to study and achievement (Credé et al., 2010; Huettl, 2016; Gibbs et al., 2008; Schneider & Preckel, 2017). Interventions, therefore, should target not only the students themselves but also the higher-education organisation and the environment surrounding it.

Institutionally, the literature suggests a range of interventions. Attendance expectation is an effective measure (Schneider & Preckel, 2017; Subramaniam et al., 2013). Currently, attendance in the Bachelor of Applied Social Work programme at NorthTec is not compulsory, which leaves much leeway for students to be absent from lecture and tutorial sessions. Making attendance compulsory would potentially improve the attendance records of these students.

Incentives to motivate students to attend class and improve their learning outcomes have been offered at institutional level, and include recognition, prizes and rewards, and extra-curricular activities, with minimal evidence of effectiveness. To use incentives effectively, a systematic approach is proposed with four steps, including identifying the underlying causes for absenteeism; choosing suitable types of incentives for behaviour changes; implementation planning; evaluation and revision (Balu & Ehrlich, 2017). NorthTec could consider further inquiries into students' reasons for poor attendance. Based on the findings of these inquiries, suitable incentives could be devised to encourage students' attendance, along with appropriate strategies for implementation and evaluation.

Another set of effective measures involves student-centred pedagogical strategies that promote the students' agency and abilities as learners to shape their learning pathways in co-operation with the education institutions; that is, the students contribute to the creation, design and regulation of their programme and papers, and the overall organisational policies and strategies (Kelly et al., 2017; Klemenčič, 2017). The literature on community participation suggests that motivation, capacities and accountabilities are required to ensure effective participation (Marston et al., 2016), and this necessitates

actions such as recruitment of motivated student representatives, provision of training on required skills and knowledge for individual and group participation in higher education, clear designation of responsibilities for participants and responsiveness to student inputs. NorthTec regularly collects students' opinions and feedback via surveys and consultation meetings, and uses them as inputs to paper, programme, policy and strategy development. A review of current student participation practices in terms of selection, training and accountabilities, to identify areas for improvement and robust measures if necessary, would benefit NorthTec in this aspect.

Tutors engaging and facilitating instructional strategies, such as encouraging students to attend class frequently, ask questions and engage in discussion, have been found to improve students' participation in everyday class contacts (see more details in Schneider & Preckel, 2017). NorthTec could, therefore, provide regular training to teaching staff on effective instructional strategies and skills, and encourage and support their application in course delivery.

Students' study strategies are identified as the key leverage for achievement compared to their personality or demography (Schneider & Preckel, 2017). NorthTec has currently adopted a case-management model, in which students of high needs and high risks are identified and tracked, and support is offered if needed. The institution has also run academic skills workshops as needed, in terms of content and time, for student groups (H. Bruce-Iri, personal communication, July 29, 2020). NorthTec could consider enhancing this support and its access using online platforms, for example recording lectures and workshops on effective learning strategies and time and resource management, making them available on the NorthTec website, and including these contents in student orientation.

Tailored services for disadvantaged student groups, such as language support, extra tutorial and supervision, and peer support platforms, are pro-success (Zorlu, 2013). Successful Māori and Pacific students, for example, found a friendly, enabling learning environment in their ethnic-specific equity programmes (Mayeda et al., 2014). Besides in-campus services, outreach support for students and families, such as enrolment, finance and transition support, is important (Trussel & Burke-Smalley, 2018), as this helps to ensure that students are well resourced for success (Hughes et al., 2017). Promotion of academic excellence by and with families and communities of students could help raise expectations and create a pro-learning environment for students in their communities (Mayeda et al., 2014; Whaley & Noël, 2012). Positive problem and conflict resolution, and involvement of families and communities, are required to deal with potential conflicts and problems that could hinder study (McMahon et al., 2011). NorthTec has recorded success with whānau engagement in certain programmes, such as nursing. For example, pōwhiri and whānau days are organised to engage, educate and encourage support from whānau as students start their study. When students complete their study and graduate, whakawātea are organised with whānau to acknowledge their efforts and contributions (H. Bruce-Iri, personal communication, July 29, 2020). The BASW programme holds regular Local Advisory Committee meetings with key stakeholders such as local experts and agencies, to engage with and seek support and contribution from them for

programme development. NorthTec could consider enhancing and replicating such activities for other programmes.

In summary, the above discussion suggests actions that could be implemented to promote academic achievement of students at NorthTec's Bachelor of Applied Social Work programme in particular, and the overall institution in general. These are:

1. Raising attendance expectation, possibility by making attendance compulsory, or providing incentives using a systematic approach that starts with further inquiries into students' reasons for poor attendance, developing suitable incentives along with appropriate strategies for implementation and evaluation.

2. Improving student participation in and contribution to NorthTec's development via a review of current student participation practices to identify areas for improvement and robust measures for application if necessary.

3. Training teaching staff on effective instructional strategies and skills, and encouraging and supporting their application in course delivery.

4. Supporting students to improve their study strategies, particularly for better attendance, effective learning, and time and resource management for learning.

5. Enhancing and improving both in-campus and outreach support for students and families.

6. Improving work with families and communities to encourage their involvement, and promote academic excellence, study support, and positive problem and conflict solutions.

Conclusion

This study of student records in the Bachelor of Applied Social Work programme at NorthTec from 2016 to 2019 confirms the significantly positive correlation between student achievement and attendance, and the varying influence of demographic factors on student achievement. It also looks at possible effective interventions at the institutional, student, family and community levels that the literature suggests could improve attendance and promote student achievement. It is recommended that NorthTec implement, evaluate and revise these interventions, if needed, for effective programme design and delivery, and associated support.

Ongoing monitoring of success factors for further analysis is recommended, given the varying influence of demographic factors on student achievement, and possible changes in the related areas and the yearly variation of grades. This monitoring would provide evidence for timely interventions to support students and their achievement.

This study has been conducted using secondary, official data without any student participation. In the future it would be beneficial to engage students, given the opportunities for them to understand factors that influence their academic achievement and take actions to improve their learning outcomes, as part of NorthTec's intervention strategies. This could start with informing students of the study findings via consultation meetings and/or institutional surveys, and collecting their feedback in terms of the relationship between attendance, achievement and other influencing factors. Next, students could be assisted to identify and prioritise possible actions, resources and support to improve attendance and achievement. Based on this, an action plan to implement, monitor and evaluate the actions could be developed, agreed upon and followed up. Training and support would be provided throughout this process so that the students were sufficiently equipped with relevant skills and knowledge, and were well motivated and willing to effectively participate and contribute to the process.

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Angie Dang is a Lecturer in Social Work at NorthTec, Whangārei, New Zealand. She has a Bachelor of International Relations, a Master of Applied Social Work, a PhD in Education and a Graduate Certificate in Health Science – Addiction. She has an academic background in education, social sciences, addiction studies and social work; and a practice background in community development, community corrections, education, health social work, social research and victim support.

DAVID KENKEL

Community development in a fractured future

Founded at Unitec Institute of Technology in 2015

Community development in a fractured future

DAVID KENKEL

Abstract

This article explores the implications for community development in a near-term future context of some degree of ecological and societal collapse. The extreme likelihood of near-term future collapse is well known to most climate and environmental scientists but generally not acknowledged by mainstream academic literature and mainstream media. Community development has an important role in preparing communities for a difficult future and will be vital in supporting community solidarity amid fracturing state capacity for social-care provision. The challenge of a future self-protective neoliberally informed global hegemony becoming more punitive is also explored.

Background

The backdrop to this article is the threat of harmful anthropogenic change and a looming environmental global catastrophe if the gap of action between knowledge of what needs to be done and what is being done is not rapidly closed. The current sociopolitical climate suggests that this gap is unlikely to close before irreparable harm is done (Bendell, 2018; Bender, 2003; Emmott, 2013; Hansen, 2009; Jamail, 2019). Hence, I do not aim to convince the reader that bad times are coming, but rather presume that a difficult future is coming for much of the world and move forward with this as a foundational assumption.

Some care in positioning this article is needed because it espouses an often-unpopular view of the future that tends to attract sanction and resistance. In addition, the article is not able to offer a succinct, clear pathway into an uncertain future that will be very different in diverse geopolitical situations. Instead, the purpose of the article is to raise questions and challenges for the community development profession with some initial thoughts about the terrain community development may need to negotiate in the future. This does not make for a comforting read but instead takes the reader into a dialogue of dissensus with certainty about the future.

A great deal of information is available about what the future is likely to bring in terms of environmental catastrophe. What is much less commonly discussed are the social implications and the likelihood of some degree of societal collapse. This is not information that is commonly pulled together as a predictive series of discourses by academics or the mainstream media. In a sense, what seems to be missing are the articles and research that commence from a position that states: We know things are likely to be very bad in future, and therefore we need to consider the implications for those of us living now and what life may be like in a resource-poor world experiencing unsurprising social unrest and potential societal collapse. As Bendell states:

> I am aware that some people consider statements from academics that we now face inevitable near-term social collapse to be irresponsible due to the potential impact that may have on the motivation or mental health of people reading such statements. My research and engagement in dialogue on this topic, some of which I will outline in this paper, leads me to conclude the exact opposite. It is a responsible act to communicate this analysis now and invite people to support each other, myself included, in exploring the implications, including the psychological and spiritual implications. (2018, p 4)

Following Bendell's argument, it seems important take up the difficult challenge of writing and presenting information in a way that does not pretend that all will be well in an uncertain, but very likely difficult, future. While this piece is underpinned by a well-supported view of a future of difficult societal and environmental predicaments it also needs to be acknowledged that this is only one possibility. However, the likelihood of partial or total societal collapse as a possibility is well supported by scientific literature as detailed in (for example) two authoritative and well-researched reports, by Beddington (2008) and Motesharrei et al. (2014). Both reports were undertaken by teams of researchers sponsored by both governments and academic institutions. Both reports (one from the United Kingdom, the other from the United States) reach the conclusion that some degree of societal collapse is very likely in the near future. Beddington suggesting 2030 as the mostly likely year when the current global civilisational status quo reveals itself as untenable and begins to fracture. What both reports fail to do is to speculate about how the public should manage the information that collapse seems almost inevitable, or, how communities might adapt to a resource-poor and socially fractured future.

Arguably, in academia (Bendell, 2018) very little is written that starts from the position of bluntly naming collapse as a real possibility facing

global societies in the near to mid-term future. More particularly (as Bendell asserts), not a great deal is written that both admits to the real possibility of collapse and then explores what life may require of us in those circumstances. Typically, the possibility of collapse operates under the glamour of a late-modern science- and progress-driven hegemony as an immediate galvaniser of 'hope-filled' searches for fixes for current crises. In discussing the tendency for Western states to hope and search for techno-solutions to issues such as climate change (rather than the quieter and less hope-filled business of reflecting on what the future may be like and what it will require of us), Lynch states:

> The problem with hoping for a technological solution to climate change is that it is often insufficiently critical of the ways of life that have wrought havoc on the rest of nature. It is easier to hope for a wild geoengineering solution than face the reality that billions of people need to change their daily habits in order to lessen the immense suffering appearing on the horizon. This hope cruelly prevents us from confronting the deep structural challenge of rethinking the way that some humans relate to nature. Obviously not all people experience this world in the same way, and it is a further tragedy that those who have contributed the least to climate change will be among those who experience its consequences earliest. (2017, p, 3)

What is also not much named in environmental literature are the historical often-harsh state responses to resource depletion (Davies & Lynch, 2002), and that changing modes of governance in more draconian directions are also likely to be a feature of the coming decades. These are not popular discourses and stand in contradiction to a more common 'hope-filled' public discourse that with enough effort the future may be rescued from our current abuse of the collective environment (Roberts, 2015).

My argument throughout this piece is that there are possibilities that community development as a profession moving into an unknown future needs to consider. This paper might be considered as sitting within the apocryphal tradition of gloomy hopeless predictions of awful things to come. However, what I argue through this piece is that hope needs refiguring. Not as hope that the worst can be staved off, although this does remain a possibility. But instead, that what will emerge from encounters with difficulty amongst different geopolitical realities will be creative, diverse, and represent new possibilities for community. In discussing the dangers of hope and the utility of an apocalyptic perspective, Lynch makes the following point:

> Rather than investing in technological salvations that will allow us to prolong a way of life that is destroying the rest of nature, we can embrace pessimism. In abandoning hope that one way of life will continue, we open up a space for alternative hopes. (2017, p, 5)

I assert that the community development profession could have an important role to play in supporting new emergences of community solidarity and support in future challenging times. With reference to Ife (2013) in particular, community development as a profession has an ethos of resisting calls for the

kinds of xenophobia, nationalism and anti-science rhetoric that unfortunately characterise the current United States response to the rapidly changing environmental conditions, making devastating wildfires and increasingly harsh weather conditions somewhat of a climate inevitability. Arguably, nation-states dominated by neoliberal approaches, with the concomitant divestment of service capacity to the private sector, are poorly equipped to manage the sorts of challenges that climate change and pandemics bring (*Scientific American*, 2020; Borunda, 2020).

What is also argued through this piece is that a global move to more equitable (and potentially greener) forms of capitalism (such as the Mondragon approach) (Heales et al., 2017) is unlikely to obtain a significant timely global grip in a context of neoliberal policies (and their beneficiaries) maintaining effective hegemonic control of the global economy into the near to mid-term future (Mayer, 2016; Piketty & Goldhammer, 2014). A range of authors (Davies & Lynch, 2002; Neale, 2019) also argues that the typical response of capitalist states under threat of diminishing resources is to move towards a more fascistic and controlling governing approach and it seems a reasonable prediction that to varying degrees this will be the case in a resource-depleted future.

About community development

Community development can be slippery to simply define. In examining the role of community development in an uncertain, difficult future it is perhaps sensible to first clarify what I mean by community development before moving on to further discussion.

Initial definitions

In my personal approach to community development I draw strongly on the work of Jim Ife (2013). While community development is always about increasing relations of trust and connection within and between groups, in my opinion, without a structural analysis of power and the capacity to name and resist oppressive forces, community development is at constant risk of political co-option. I agree with Ife that, along with increasing trust, connection and equitable resource access, community development is also a process of active resistance to the social and environmental fracturing that accompanies a global neoliberal hegemony. At a more practical level (in discussing community development and social capital), Claridge (2018) differentiates between bonding, bridging and linking. 'Bonding' is the connections of solidarity that grow between people in similar situations either geographically or in terms of personal circumstance. Claridge adds notes of caution that if community development operates simply to strengthen internal bonding within existing communities this, first, has the potential for exacerbating xenophobic responses to other groups. Second, Claridge warns that promoting internal

bonding alone does little to establish the kinds of connections between diverse communities that create opportunities for mutual solidarity and increased access to resources. Claridge defines 'bridging' as the connections between different communities, who, while not necessarily sharing the same characteristics, can establish relations of solidarity, information sharing and support. Going further, Claridge defines 'linking' as the social capacity for managing differential power relations. This might be understood as a developed capacity for community groups to effectively 'speak up' the vertical ladder of power to funding bodies and government. Linking is perhaps the place where community development as a practice moves beyond establishing relations of solidarity toward active advocacy for resourcing and empowerment. As Claridge argues, linking is a critical capacity for the empowerment of communities and is frequently a role undertaken by NGOs. I would argue that, in what Neale (2019) asserts is likely to be a future of government significantly more draconian than our current liberal democracies, the capacity to maintain and develop dialogues within (and to) hierarchies of power will be even more critical.

The matter of business

In considering community access to resources, it is also important to factor in relations between community, business and the state. Community development is not well served if business (either local businesses – and/ or larger conglomerates) is not considered. However, this needs to be approached with some caveats. Business and the economic structures within which business takes place are integral aspects of community, and without bridging into this area critical opportunities for resourcing and empowering community groups are, of course, lost. That said, the 'businesses' of community development do not take place in a political- and economic-context-free zone. As we (Kenkel & Prestidge) argued in 2015, between the 1970s and 2015 there was significant shift in approach to governance by NGOs, including community development organisations. This shift might be characterised as a replacement of management through 'flat-structure' internal democracy, toward management via 'hierarchical' governance board, manager, employee structures that somewhat mimic the employer/employee class power relations found within the private sector. In our view the movement of NGOs toward more efficient and business-orientated hierarchical approaches was (and is) a distinct feature of the NGO landscape in Aotearoa, and carries the risk of diminishing a practical commitment to social justice and equity of voice. This risk of diminishment operates both in the outward-facing work of community development organisations and in the degree of real democracy enabled within their internal structures. Promoting equity of voice and equity of access to resources and services are what authors such as Ife (2013) view as core functions of community development and, in my opinion, without these core functions community development becomes an industry at risk of serving the interests of ideological state actors rather than the needs of local communities.

Fursova (2018) warns of the risk of a neoliberal hegemonic creep tempting community development organisations away from addressing issues of equity and social justice toward service provision undertaken within a business framework. Describing where the community development sector is sited in Canada, Fursova states: "I locate community development as situated inside a larger area of the non-profit sector, and the non-profit sector as immersed in the hegemonic discourse of neoliberal capitalist development" (2018, p. 4).

Fursova also argues that a continual risk for community development is co-option into operating as an arm of the state, serving the interests of the state, not necessarily local communities. This risk is particularly the case given the systematic state withdrawal from welfare provision under neoliberal conditions (Ife, 2013).

A small personal example of how community development can be encouraged to become an arm of the state

Some years ago I was looking for material for teaching a new community development course and discovered a well-put-together online guide for community development, with an accent on how communities could help themselves. At first glance this seemed an excellent instructional template for community groups. On closer reading I realised the guide was completely free of any recognition of structural inequity within society and appeared to have deleted any reference to the role of community development in assisting communities to understand and resist oppressive power structures. The guide also operated as a push toward the creation of local businesses so that individuals could move off benefits. What was particularly egregious about this template for community development was that it specifically targeted Māori communities. The enthusiastic, future-focused style of the guide failed to acknowledge the role of colonisation and the long-term failure of the Treaty of Waitangi to deliver wellbeing for Māori communities and the subsequent (all too frequent) marginalisation of Māori communities. Unsurprisingly, this template of instruction for community development had been developed by a government ministry and was actively promoted by and to people who (I suspect) had little recognition of the inherent and subtle neoliberal agenda. Unfortunately, I cannot now cite this document, but it is not hard to find similar items online.

In contrast, Ife (2013) provides a description of key principles of community development that I personally resonate with. I am particularly drawn to his commitment to social justice and his recognition of the critical role of human rights. I am also drawn to his notion that full humanity is only achieved in community, as this operates as an effective counter to the pervasive (Kenkel, 2005) neoliberal discourse of individual self-sufficiency as a social ideal. Ife states:

> At a general level, there are some community development principles
> that apply universally and can be seen to be necessary in any approach

to community development, whatever the cultural, social or political context. These are the subjects of earlier chapters, namely: *the idea and experience of community as being necessary for people to achieve their full humanity*; the principles of ecological sustainability, diversity, holism, balance, *interdependence* and so on; the principles of social justice and human rights, including an analysis of oppression (e.g. class, gender, race/ ethnicity); the principles of change from below, bottom-up development, valuing local knowledge and skills and so on, and the principles of the importance and integrity of process, consciousness-raising, empowerment, participation and cooperation. (Ife, 2013, Kindle location 4472, my emphasis)

The International Association of Community Development (IACD) offers a more succinct definition that echoes many of the sentiments of Ife:

Community development is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes participative democracy, sustainable development, rights, economic opportunity, equality and social justice, through the organisation, education and empowerment of people within their communities, whether these be of locality, identity or interest, in urban and rural settings. (2020, p. 1)

Looking to a difficult future

The following two statements indicate a troubling future may be coming:

The Anthropocene represents the beginning of a very rapid human-driven trajectory of the Earth System away from the glacial–interglacial limit cycle toward new, hotter climatic conditions and a profoundly different biosphere. The current position, at over 1° C above a preindustrial baseline, is nearing the upper envelope of interglacial conditions over the past 1.2 million years. More importantly, the rapid trajectory of the climate system over the past half-century along with technological lock in and socioeconomic inertia in human systems commit the climate system to conditions beyond the envelope of past interglacial conditions. *We, therefore, suggest that the Earth System may already have passed one "fork in the road" of potential pathways, a bifurcation taking the Earth System out of the next glaciation cycle.* (Steffen et al., 2018, p. 2, my emphasis)

We are the first generations born into a new and unprecedented age – the age of ecocide. To name it thus is not to presume the outcome, but simply to describe a process which is underway…. Those who witness extreme social collapse at first hand seldom describe any deep revelation about the truths of human existence. What they do mention, if asked, is their surprise at how easy it is to die. (Hine & Kingsnorth, 2009, p. 1)

I introduce these quotes because I believe it is important to ground the work in both the well-founded assertion that unstoppable physical processes affecting our world are already underway and that ordinary communities will need to manage what seems likely to be devastating environmental and societal change. Best scientific evidence is that even with heroic efforts some degree of environmental collapse, sea rise (IPCC, 2018; Kolbert, 2014; Mann & Kump, 2009) and (potentially) societal disruption will happen in our near futures. It is for me a horrible thought that the time has passed when efforts to halt climate change and environmental degradation could have been fully successful. Arguably, the current challenges are not simply amelioration of environmental crisis or blunting of social impact. The challenges are also to begin thinking and planning for a different future where communities face new and potentially harsh predicaments.

An example of predicaments the future is very likely to bring are that within a few decades some heavily populated parts of the world will experience days or weeks of summer humidity and heat so lethally hot for humans that six hours exposure will mean unavoidable death from organ failure (Raymond et al., 2020). This is sometimes called the lethal wet-bulb phenomenon: a combination of temperature and humidity so high that the human body cannot maintain surface skin temperature under 35° C even if wrapped in wet cloth with a fan going. The consequence of exposure to these conditions is death within six hours.

A few places around the world have already hit these levels but so far for periods of only two to three hours (lethal temperatures and humidity first recorded in 2019 on the Indian subcontinent). A tiny increase in global temperature will take us over the line and make such conditions a summer norm for days and weeks in several vulnerable countries with populations in the hundreds of millions. Best predictions are that this is likely to occur within a mere few decades. Extrapolating from such occurrences, this will mean either the movement of hundreds of millions of people from environments that have become potentially lethal, or the death of those populations. These are not apocalyptic horror fantasies, they are what well-researched hard data tells us the future is likely to bring. This kind of information is easily accessible for anyone wishing to make the effort to find it. That such information is not at the forefront of public news suggests something (to me) about how poorly the cultures of the West are doing in facing the likelihood of hard predicaments coming.

Hard science and poetic literature both have something to offer in how we adjust to what is likely to be coming. First, the hard sciences (which are only beginning to stop understating the challenges to come) are important in informing society about what is likely to happen in the future. Second, the arts, poetry and literature may be important in cultural processes of discovering and speaking to how we must live differently in a different future. Hine and Kingsnorth (2009) argue that humanity at this point in history is not in the position of having an ecological crisis to resolve, but instead in the position of needing new cultural tools to face inevitable future predicaments that will need to be managed and endured.

This article discusses some future likelihoods that are painful to consider. This is, however, an article about hope. Not hope that we can fully avert future

environmental and societal catastrophe, but instead hope that as communities face the coming predicaments they will find collective solidarity and wiser, more cherishing, ways of living with the environs that sustain us. Community development perspectives could have a potential key role in this transition to a new sanity.

As briefly discussed, the usually unmentioned backdrop to discussions of our shared future is that the world has already passed an ecological crisis point of no return and there is very little chance that relatively near-term ecological catastrophe can be averted (Jamail, 2019; Beddington, 2008, 2015; Hamilton, 2017; Smith, 2013). These are hard truths that the Western world is perhaps only just beginning to face. Bendell argues that while it is well understood in the scientific community that catastrophe is at this point basically unavoidable, the academic world of science produces few writings that commence from this understanding (2018).

Authors such as Hine and Kingsnorth (2009) assert that the greatest cultural challenge for the current generation is to find ways to stare into the abyss of coming unavoidable difficulties and collectively and individually consider how to appropriately respond. We find ourselves in the strange situation where academics and writers who supposedly have the task of being the critics and conscience of society seem to operate according to an unspoken convention of never bluntly naming the situation. This is a major problem for society as it is difficult to plan for and consider future predicaments that are unnamed and generally unacknowledged. Bendell (2018) describes "implicative denial" (p. 16), in which a proportion of people who are aware that human-induced environmental change is potentially catastrophic busy themselves with activities such as environmental campaigns as an alternative to stopping to consider the real implications of what is known to be coming. As a located practice, community development cannot afford to wait for academia to give up its collective dithering and find the courage to speak socially unpopular truths. Nor can we afford the luxury of solely diving into environmental activities that, while worthy and effective in their own right, can also act as ways to avoid considering the wider implications of what we are beginning to know will happen in future.

The risk of not facing these harsh realities is that we then become silently complicit in how the rump end of neoliberalism continues to take the world's resources for a small number of people while continuing to blame individuals for structural and environmental problems thoroughly outside of individual control (Piketty & Goldhammer, 2014; Harvey, 2013; Smith, 2013).

About green resistance movements

There is a great deal to be admired and learned from variously the mainstream green movements, activist positions such as Extinction Rebellion (2020) and Naess's deep green (2009) push for an understanding of the world and consequent policy approaches that are more ecocentric than anthropocentric. That said, and for the purposes of this article, my own position is that while these movements are admirable and worthy in terms of the damage they may

be able to constrain, another useful perspective on them might be in terms of how they assist in preparing the general population for facing and managing a future likely to be very different from now.

Barber (2014) makes the important point that while food abundance in the West via outlets such as supermarkets is somewhat of a grace point in human history, in terms of most Westerners being able to easily access food, accompanying this is the invisiblised vulnerability of food production and delivery processes being completely dependent on a fossil-fuel-economy mode of production and delivery via trucks, trains and air transport. Barber makes the point that most Western cities contain only enough food to feed the population for three days. As he argues, this kind of extraordinary vulnerability to disruptions in chains of delivery is not visible to the average citizen. Arguably, we find ourselves in a situation where food production and supply are more vulnerable than they have ever been, with an accompanying lack of awareness on the part of most people of that vulnerability. My own position on the current Green Resistance is that, as worthy as their efforts are to resist damaging impacts on our shared environments, what needs to accompany this is disseminating an awareness that as global communities we face enormous vulnerabilities likely to impact at the personal and local community level. To name this in a colloquial way: much effort is given to resisting change, little is given to advance accommodation of inevitable change.

Regarding the future

The harsh reality is that without some unlikely change of heart by those controlling the global economy we are in for some forms of societal and ecological collapse within the next 15 years. Predictions put 2030 as when the perfect storm commences (Beddington, 2008, 2015). As Hine and Kingsnorth (2009) argue, the Western world needs to begin the process of saying goodbye to the attractive fantasy that science, progress and some greener version of business as usual will save us. Arguably, a greener business-as-usual is not likely to prevent accelerating climate change (Loewenstein, 2015). Community development can either be at the forefront of lifting this beguiling and harmful 'all-will-be-well' veil and actively respond to the social implications of what is coming, or collude with the fantasy and by doing so be an active source of social harm.

The unfortunate perfect storm

The perfect storm is the current hard-wired dominance of a neoliberal economic system committed to endless growth with no off-switch, controlled by a self-protective hyper-rich elite. This is closely followed by dying fisheries, rapidly shrinking arable soil and fresh water, sea-level rise, global heating and extreme weather events, and the worldwide horrors of hundreds of millions

of people forced out of their countries because they are no longer able to feed themselves. Such mega-refugeeism will mean shifts of peoples on a scale never seen before and the unsurprising convulsions of warfare that will accompany massive shifts of populations from unsurvivable zones to places already occupied. Predictably, the delicate interconnected global web of trade and travel that defines our current civilisation will collapse to an unknown extent, taking with it most of the global and national institutions that aim to provide care and support to those in need (Bender, 2003; Emmott, 2013; Hansen, 2009; Jamail, 2019).

Arguably, end-stage capitalist business-as-usual is already killing much of the planetary ecosystems, with much worse to come, and a significant proportion of humanity will die as a consequence. Aotearoa New Zealand is fortunately placed in terms of latitude but will not escape the turmoil. This is not science fiction or fantasy, these are predictions made by credible and cautious researchers (Beddinton, 2008, 2015; Motesharrei et al., 2014). Life in future will very likely mean surviving among a fractured resource-poor global environment significantly harsher than that of today.

Neoliberal capitalism

There is a political aspect that needs to be factored into any serious consideration of the future environment. We live in a world dominated by an entrenched neoliberal ideology and this is unlikely to change soon. Neoliberal policies and practices and the coming ecological catastrophes are intimately intertwined. Consider the fact that more CO2 has been released and more ecological damage done since 1989 than in the previous 200 years (Hausfather, 2018). The year 1989 is approximately when neoliberal policies and practices reached ascendant status, truly seized the reins of global power and started remaking the world in neoliberal image and to the advantage of its hyper-wealthy advocates (Harvey, 2013).

We need to counter the neoliberal hegemony (now and in the future) with collective and community approaches to managing and surviving the coming ecological and societal predicaments. Actively facing these predicaments is not simply a miserable matter of considering possible disaster. My personal hope is that much that is good in terms of healthier and more connected ways of living may emerge through the experience of catastrophe and post catastrophe.

Collapse creates solidarity and possibilities

Bonded communities and other communities they bridge into do not usually break down in the face of shared disaster, rather they typically become stronger (Fritz, 1996). Fritz's well-researched work on communities and mental health makes the point that the evidence of lived experience shows

that through catastrophe and disaster communities emerge stronger, more connected, more generous, and with a much-increased awareness on the part of individuals of the value of the social bond. Fritz's work reveals that the zombie-apocalypse movie depictions of tiny fractious survivor groups in vicious and lethal competition are only fiction and do not reflect what is known about how communities truly respond to shared challenge. Community development is ideally placed to be an articulate force for good in the necessary community transitions much of the world will soon face.

Hope for the future is important, but individual actions have almost no likelihood of stopping climatic and environmental changes that are already happening. Most serious researchers tell us it is too late. Human-driven climate change processes already begun mean that major sea-level rise is inevitable. Every degree of warming creates new problems that will further accelerate global warming and worsen environmental degradation, with accompanying shrinkage of the resource base that humanity requires to feed itself. Spiraling cycles of warming and extreme weather conditions will render large parts of the globe functionally unlivable in future. Life will retreat toward the poles (Lovelock, 2014). What compounds the situation is the reality that current global power configurations are dominated by entrenched growth-at-all-costs neoliberal capitalist policies that have no capacity or desire to alter the lethal status quo. Those who benefit most from neoliberal policies are also those effectively in control of the global economy, and also have the resources to protect themselves from the worst effects of environmental degradation. As is usual under laissez-faire capitalism, it is the poor and the already disenfranchised who will suffer the most (Motesharrei et al., 2014).

Neale (2019) argues that societal collapse will not necessarily involve the disintegration of our current forms of state government but will instead very likely mean the recrystallisation of existing power and governing structures into new and more brutal social forms. In reference to the fascist horrors of the 20th and early 21st centuries, and the mega-deaths that have accompanied drought, famine and the political responses to these events, he states:

> Almost none of those horrors were committed by small groups of savages wandering through the ruins. They were committed by States, and by mass political movements. Society did not disintegrate. It did not come apart. Society intensified. Power concentrated and split and those powers had us kill each other. It seems reasonable to assume that climate social collapse will be like that. Only with five times as many dead, if we are lucky, and twenty-five times as many, if we are not. Remember this, because when the moment of runaway climate change comes for you, where you live, it will not come in the form of a few wandering hairy bikers. It will come with the tanks on the streets and the military or the fascists taking power. Those generals will talk in deep green language. They will speak of degrowth, and the boundaries of planetary ecology. They will tell us we have consumed too much, and been too greedy, and now for the sake of Mother Earth, we must tighten our belts. Then we will tighten our belts, and we will suffer, and they will build a new kind of gross green inequality. And in a world of ecological freefall, it will take

cruelty on an unprecedented scale to keep their inequality in place. (2019, p. 6)

Neale paints a disturbing political picture of the future that somewhat fits with what is known about how authoritative totalitarian fascism arises in response to resource depletion (Davies & Lynch, 2002). It is important that community development as a (frequently) state-funded enterprise be alive to the possibility that it could all too easily become an enforcement tool of the vision of oppressive totalitarian states. The vision of the future portrayed by Neale, and what I have suggested are the implications of Fritz's (1996) work, may appear to reflect a jarring dissonance. One story of the future reflects what is known about the tendency for states to become ever more authoritarian when resources are stretched. The other story reflects what is known about the way small and interconnected communities respond to the existential crisis of living through disaster. Both seem likely: a broad state response of oppression combined with local communities drawing together to survive both diminished resources and harsher state conditions. Arguably it is within this dissonance that community development may have a critical role to play. As Claridge (2018) describes, bridging and linking are critical functions for building social capital. As locally bonded communities draw together in response to difficult conditions, bridging between diverse groups will be of critical importance, as will the difficult task of finding ways to speak truth to state power so that communities are resourced to survive.

One of the great challenges for community development in a possible future of harsher governance and diminished resources will be the unfortunate typical neoliberal response to societal and environmental problems of a default tendency to individualise fault and tailor responses to crisis toward the individual, not the driving structural issues (Kenkel, 2005; Mayer, 2016; Rose, 1998, 1999). Such an individual responsibilising approach is diametrically opposed to a community development position. The typical neoliberal response is the call to make individuals responsible as authors of their own difficulties, when they might more realistically be understood as victims of inequitable structural circumstance, is always strong under neoliberal conditions (Han, 2017) and it is a call that needs to be strongly resisted by the community development profession if we are to maintain moral integrity.

It is not possible to predict the exact nature of the (potential) coming collapse, and this will of course be different in different geopolitical contexts. However, one can imagine (with some likelihood of certainty) that, as Ife (2013) points out, just as the welfare state is generally incompatible with neoliberalism, the continuity of state welfare provision will also be incompatible with a future of crumbling or refigured government infrastructure amidst a shrinking resource base.

What also seems likely is that the elite groups (for whom neoliberal policies work well) will not give over control but will instead attempt to implement strategies to embed the iniquitous status quo even more firmly into the world's social and economic structures (Motesharrei et al., 2014; Neale, 2019; Piketty & Goldhammer, 2014; Wacquant, 2009). As some commentators have argued, neoliberal ideology operates as a closed tautological loop (Kenkel, 2005; Marshall,1995). Within the worldview of neoliberalism there is

no device for critiquing its own foundational assumptions. Typically, instead, the response to any external crisis is to apply neoliberal policies even more firmly. This is likely to be the case even as signs of collapse and catastrophe become ever more apparent to the general population.

The moral task for an activist community development movement that maintains a commitment to social justice and the capacity to name inequities will not be to determine the final nature of community post environmental and societal breakdown. That determination will arise from diverse surviving communities themselves (Wright et al., 2011). Instead, the task of community development could be supporting solidarity and humane behaviour, and resisting political calls for xenophobia and the blaming of the 'other' during the time between the present and an unknown (possible) post-collapse future.

Arguably, as conditions become more chaotic and the coherency of society stretches and tears, it seems likely there will be more calls to police and discipline those most affected by resource deprivation in ways more draconian than now. Wacquant (2009) argues that the neoliberal political project has shifted the aim of the state from re-moralisation and re-inclusion of the poor toward an increasingly punitive and controlling approach, with little interest in rehabilitation. Community development will (I would argue) be one of the (potential) quasi-arms of the state to be invited into these policing and disciplining roles, and I would argue we need to be alert to that possibility and be prepared to resist such invitations. Social work has historically been deeply complicit in enforcing state norms, and it seems very likely that in a similar way community development will also be positioned as an industry perceived as capable of influencing and controlling recalcitrant population groups (Andrews & Reisch, 2002).

In Wacquant's view, we currently have a two-tiered system of state regulation running in tandem: a generous and light-handed regime for the very rich and an accompanying massive investment in social systems for punishing, blaming, imprisoning and controlling the poor. If we accept Wacquant's view, it is hard to imagine this double system of state regulation softening as resources shrink and the effects of ecological collapse are felt by growing numbers of the poor.

Future context

In considering a future of societal and ecological collapse to an extent which we do not yet know, I would imagine (and that is all anyone can do at this point) that a range of possibilities for community will coexist.

First: There will undoubtedly be massive movement of population from areas insufficiently resourced to support their populations; this is likely to involve a convulsion of warfare and struggle globally.

Second: It seems very likely there will also be well-defended technological wealth enclaves that support the descendants/recipients of those who have benefited from the last decades of neoliberal policies.

Third: It seems quite possible that there will be many communities who operate with a degree of autonomous self-sufficiency after partial or complete

state collapse.

Fourth: There exists the possibility of tyrannical governmental structures, with new forms of brutally imposed inequality.

Discussion

To remain ethical, all forms of social practice (including community development practice) may need to give up the dividing and 'othering' practice of referring to the people they work with as clients. As Russell argues, the use of the word 'client' implies both dependency and a user of needed services (2015). The language of 'practitioner–client' commences a human relationship from a foundation not of people in solidarity in the face of shared troubles, but rather one group in need, and another group with the capacity to offer (or not) resources, assistance or advice. The language inherently produces a power relationship that shrinks the possibility of simple fellowship. 'Client' is a word that replaces 'we' with 'I' and 'the other.' Following this, I would argue a renewed commitment to solidarity will be critically important in the future of community development practice.

Speaking as an educator, I contend that we will also need to be at the leading edge of academics who are prepared to begin telling the truth about (potential) coming catastrophes. Having trialed this kind of 'truth telling' in a range of community forums, I can report it is not happily received and is only done at some cost to the teller. I suspect that this kind of 'truth-telling' will attract sanction from both professional bodies and the institutions we teach within. At a practical level, this will mean academics being courageous enough to turn away from their usual textbooks and journals and research what is known about the likelihood of ecological and social collapse. Finding this information is not difficult. Anyone who wants to can easily find relevant and well-researched material that supports the basic thrust of the argument that some form of catastrophic collapse is inevitable, very likely within the lifetime of those reading this article.

Educators and influencers need to find courage in speaking painful truth to students and community about what is likely to happen in the coming years. If we lie, by polite (or frightened) omission, we become complicit in a process of collective denial. If we lie, then, rather than arming people with information about what is coming and tools of community connection, engagement and solidarity (that we will all need to survive the coming predicaments), we instead potentially collude with the refiguring of practice as a state arm that will all too likely work to further oppress the poor and struggling in a degrading environment.

Regarding hope and planning, Bendell (2019) suggests, "It is time to drop all hopes and visions that arise from an inability to accept impermanence and non-control, and instead describe a radical hope of how we respond in these times" (p. 12). As a force for social change, community development as a profession and as a set of practices is somewhat uniquely placed, in that rather than being the defender or maintainer of the status quo it could be characterised as a series of fluid responses to changing conditions,

underpinned by a set of situational values cherishing fairness, collectivity and a humane response to structurally imposed conditions. Within this (admittedly) optimistic view of community development, hope becomes contingent on the realities of the moment rather than adhering to any specific political vision of how society should be structured. In that sense, community development is very well positioned to assist communities when frameworks of support and sustenance once presumed permanent begin to fracture and collapse. As Bendell (2018) and Hines and Kingsnorth (2009) argue, the great challenge of the coming decades will not be to shore up the status quo but, rather, to face up to, and successfully adapt to, predicaments that bring new sets of problems and challenges.

This kind of courageous community development 'ethical facing-up-to' will require giving up the West's cultural delusion that everything can be techno-fixed, and instead mean a relinquishment of some kinds of harmful delusional hope and the discovery of new hopes that are not linked to maintaining the permanence of our current societal infrastructures.

What potentially needs to be given away is the kind of hope espoused by some mainstream green activists that with enough effort the climate crisis can be turned around. The wholesale adoption of electric cars, more rigorous recycling strategies and investment in green energy are both unlikely to occur under neoliberal conditions and, even if enthusiastically taken up worldwide, unlikely to fully halt climatic processes of change that are already well underway (IPCC, 2018). The kind of hope that will be needed in future is smaller in scale, and likely to involve new ways for local communities of people to connect, cherish and support each other. Such connection and local supportive cherishing are exactly what community development is skilled at.

Relinquishing hope that things will remain the same (but with a few green tweaks) and truly beginning to face coming predicaments cannot be done without real emotional and spiritual costs. There will need to be both cultural and individual processes of grieving and imaginative adaptation that a range of authors argue the last 40 years in the West has ill-equipped us for (Bendell, 2018; Emmott, 2013; Hine & Kingsnorth, 2009; Jamail, 2019; Kenkel, 2005, 2018, 2019; Neale, 2019; Roberts, 2015; Smith, 2013). As these authors argue, the cultural meme of progress as a natural inevitability creates little room for imagining a more resource poor and environmentally diminished future world where the supermarket is no longer the easy source of sustenance. As resources diminish, nation-state support services fracture, and our environments become harsher and poorer, one of the most important roles for community development may be to assist communities to enrich their imaginations, discover how to grieve for what is lost, and find new ways of hoping and cherishing in solidarity with others.

As Fritz (1996) points out, communities under threat, challenge and crisis do not fracture; they typically become stronger, with a new understanding and valuing of the power of interdependence and solidarity. Community development has a real role to play in assisting communities to adopt new ways of hoping and valuing. This is particularly the case if, as Neile (2019) argues, the broader state apparatuses are likely to become more draconian and harsher. Community development will have a potentially important role in what could very likely be seen as the subversive activities of assisting

communities to create solidarity in the face of both environmental collapse and harsh compliance demands from government.

Community development organisations

The following are ideas that have emerged from discussions about what may be required of community organisations to be a force for positive change in a resource-diminished future facing new predicaments. What seems critically important is to find ways to consider the likelihood of a very different future. This will involve emotion and dismay that is perhaps unavoidable and cannot simply be an intellectual endeavour. Alongside internal board and staff processes for facing, feeling and thinking about the likelihood of different and harsher futures, there also needs to be an external-facing commitment to speaking about harsh possibilities in future. As Bendell (2018) points out, there is a great deal of public dialogue supporting the notion that everything will be fine because progress will rescue us, while what is quietly known in the scientific community is that there is little likelihood of rescue coming. A role for community development can be to stop colluding with a collective silence and begin to publicly speak of uncomfortable likelihoods.

Arguably, it is also important for community development organisations to recheck priorities. Does the mission statement and vision of your organisation have room for attending to the needs of many people facing the predicaments the near-to-mid-term future will likely bring? Is your purpose able to encompass the likelihood of massive change in the coming decades?

It might also be important to begin considering what will need to be relinquished in a resource-diminished future. For instance, it is unlikely that funding streams will continue unchanged into the future. What seems more likely is that community development will need, even more than it does today, to exist in solidarity and interdependence with communities. This may require new considerations of old questions, such as the balance between the visions and wants of funders and the needs of communities under challenge. As Han (2017), Neale (2019) and Waquant (2009) point out, the tendency of states under neoliberal conditions, particularly when under threat, is to take the default position of individualising responsibility for problems. This tendency to blame individuals is likely (I would argue) to strengthen as conditions become harsher. Community development as a profession needs to be prepared to resist the call to blame individuals, and instead work toward an ethos of collective responsibility and collective wellbeing. Doing so may involve some very hard decisions about accepting conditional funding and perhaps considering futures of no funding at all.

To be effective in future as a profession and set of practices, community development will need the courage to shift away from displacement activities that discourage facing the predicaments caused by the Anthropocene. Facing what is coming will not be assisted by frantic efforts to maintain the status quo. What will need to accompany shifts away from unhelpful displacement activities is the exploration of what can be retained, restored and cherished, and the beginning of planning for what must be protected into the future.

A diversity of communities exploring, surviving and thriving in a different future will have a great deal to offer each other. Community development can play a key bridging role in assisting diverse communities to remain connected and supportive of each other. At this point in history it also seems sensible to begin planning for a post-welfare state. Authors such as Ife (2013) have argued that neoliberalism is fundamentally incompatible with widescale social welfare serving collective need, and this movement towards the full disintegration of a welfare state is likely to accelerate as conditions harshen.

There are also aspects that need to be resisted, such as xenophobia, closed-border nationalism, blame of the other and horizontal violence within communities. As Ife (2013) points out, these are all phenomena that have increased in the last few decades and the socio-political tendency to blame the 'other' is likely to accelerate in future, as is arguably the current case in the USA. Community development has a role in speaking against tendencies of peoples under threat to place blame on the 'other.' Maintaining the capacity for a structural analysis that seeks cause for problems in larger stories of inequity will be very important in resisting the call to blame both individuals and the different other. Han (2017) argues that under the tyranny of a neoliberal story of the self, the individual (rather than structural forces) becomes the causative site for quality-of-life outcome. He asserts that under these conditions, resistance to collectively experienced oppressive forces becomes difficult, whereas self-blame and depression become almost inevitable. It seems likely that as harsher environmental conditions mean good life outcomes become individually harder to achieve, the neoliberal story of individual culpability for personal wellbeing will remain prevalent. Such an agonising disjunct between individual experience and neoliberal propaganda will (potentially) affect increasing numbers of people. Depression and a misguided belief in a structurally context-free individual capacity for perfectibility are already an epidemic (Curran & Hill, 2017). The nightmare of the impossibility of achieving economic and personal success in a harsh, straitened future that continues to promote a neoliberal story of 'personal responsibility and perfectibility' is likely to make this a pandemic.

Community development may have a vital role in telling another story. Community development needs to continue to promote the story of solidarity and shared struggle that says your individual success (or failure) is not so much to do with your own efforts as to do with global conditions created by large economic and societal structures designed to serve the few, not the many. Alongside this refusal to accept a story of individual responsibility needs to go an even louder refusal to accept the neoliberal promise that all will be well as long as we all continue to work hard, borrow hard and consume much.

Conclusion

> The TAZ (temporary autonomous zone) is like an uprising which does not engage directly with the State, a guerrilla operation which liberates an area (of land, of time, of imagination) and then dissolves itself to re-form elsewhere/elsewhen, before the State can crush it. (Bey, 1991, p. 70)

In concluding, rather than drawing on a community development theorist, I would prefer to use the writings of Hakim Bey (1991), a poet and thinker who studied the histories of pirate utopias. These were groups of sailors, often forced into servitude to early colonial forces, who frequently responded to their oppression by first rebelling, and then developing what were (for the times) extraordinarily egalitarian charters to live by. These were peoples living at the edge of the colonising world, acutely aware that their rebellions were likely to quickly attract the disciplining attentions of larger states. The charters developed by these quixotic rebels were notable for their commitment to equality for all peoples, a commitment to the equal sharing of treasures and resources and, most particularly, a celebration of what life-in-the-moment had to offer in the full knowledge that crushing and oppressive state responses could occur at any time. What Bey suggests is that, rather than the monolith of revolution, what is currently needed is the light-footedness of insurrection: responses to oppressive practices, able to assert positions without the hope that any position can be politically maintained long-term in the face of challenge and difficulty. A future policy of nomadic light-footed insurrection and supporting and learning from 'temporary autonomous zones' of community change and difference seems very sensible to me. Sensible in the way a morally coherent community development profession may need to operate to support communities to maintain cohesion and develop new ways of living, both within bonded communities and across communities of difference. As discussed, this may mean the refusal of notions such as 'client–worker' in favour of the simple solidarity of 'we–us' people responding to coming difficult times.

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David Kenkel is a Senior Lecturer in Social Practice in the School of Healthcare and Social Practice, Unitec New Zealand, and is Chair of Community Waitākere.

DAVID HAIGH

Research report: Youth volunteering in Auckland, 2019

Founded at Unitec Institute of Technology in 2015

AN EPRESS PUBLICATION

Research report: Youth volunteering in Auckland, 2019

DAVID HAIGH, MA, RESEARCHER

Preface

This research was sponsored by Volunteering Auckland (VA). It is part of their wider research into volunteering by young people (13 to 18 years). Previous work carried out by VA showed that at the age of 18 years volunteers are able to carry out leadership roles. Youth volunteering is reinforced by links with The Duke of Edinburgh's Hillary Award and the William Pike Challenge. Girls tend to volunteer more readily than boys, who may be caught up with sport, which is promoted by schools. Also noted was the tendency towards micro volunteering that is short-term and one-off. Young people's growing concern for the environment, climate change and human rights resulted in volunteering.

Introduction

New Zealand has a proud history of volunteering. This has been highlighted in a recent survey carried out by the Charities Aid Foundation, an international group that measures charitable giving. This recent survey measures volunteering, philanthropy and helping strangers, to produce a Giving Index Score. Overall, New Zealand came third in the world. In terms of volunteering time and donating money it came fifth. In terms of groups of countries, Oceania (primarily Australia and New Zealand) came first for the overall Giving Index Score (Charities Aid Foundation, 2018).

    In 2006, Salomon investigated the importance of the non-profit sector. It

was found that in 2004, the sector contributed $9.8 billion to the New Zealand GDP. This included $3.3 billion by way of voluntary work. The 200,000 paid and voluntary staff represented 9.6% of the total New Zealand workforce. In 2004, there were 97,000 non-profit organisations. Stats NZ (2015) showed that by 2013 this had grown to 114,000. The non-profit income had also grown from $8 billion in 2004 to $13.2 billion in 2013. Given that 90% of all non-profits are run totally by volunteers, it shows the importance of the skill levels, passion and commitment of the voluntary sector. While Salomon's study did not assess the contribution of young people to these figures, it is likely to be notable.

This active voluntary sector was demonstrated following the Christchurch earthquakes in 2010 and 2011. Through Facebook, Sam Johnson, a 21-year-old student, created the Student Volunteer Army, calling on Canterbury University students to help remove soil liquefaction. The army grew to 2500 volunteers and they made an important difference to the wellbeing of residents following both earthquakes. This Volunteer Army is now a permanent community organisation that deals with environmental cleanups, building walking tracks, riparian planting and removing wilding pines.

The importance of youth volunteering is stated in the Ministry of Youth Development's *Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa*:

> Strategy 2 states:
> Youth development is about young people being connected. … This includes their family and whānau, their community, their school, training institution or workplace and their peers. (2004, para. 7)

In addition, the strategy stresses positive youth development. It suggests that we replace the deficit view of adolescence with a strengths-based approach.

McLaren (2002) notes the importance of young people engaging in activities outside school or work. She says:

> Participation by young people in out-of-school activities is a significant protective factor …. Young people who participate in extracurricular activities, whether at school or elsewhere, tend to stay longer at school, show less antisocial behaviour and drug use, drink more responsibly, attend school more often, show better attitudes to sex and have better academic and career success. (p. 10)

Positive youth development sees all young people as having strengths, including the potential to effect change, both personally and within the wider society. The contemporary social movement led by young people has highlighted this development, and is demanding policy changes to combat climate change. The vision of school children taking the initiative was triggered by a sit-in by then 15-year-old Greta Thunberg outside the Swedish Parliament in 2018. Thunberg's message has been supported by academics and recently at worldwide demonstrations involving millions of young people and their parents. It is likely that this movement will encourage more young volunteers in environmental and human-rights causes.

An international study by Butt et al. (2017) reveals useful ways of considering volunteer motivations. This study recognises the challenges

of organisations in retaining volunteers, and provides an understanding of motivational factors. To explain this, the authors suggest the ABCE model:

A = Affiliation
B = Beliefs
C = Career development
E = Egoistic

Affiliation relates to the fact that people volunteer due to family members, friends and peers also volunteering and they have a desire to socialise with them. In a study examining age differences in volunteering motives, it was discovered that younger volunteers were motivated by a desire to network with others, while older volunteers were motivated by a sense of care and concern for society.

Beliefs and personal values are key motivational factors. Volunteering in religious organisations is part of this as well, through key values such as altruism and a desire to help others.

Career development is especially important for young people, and can be a well-focused motive for volunteering. It is through volunteering that young people can learn new skills and also demonstrate their commitment to an organisation and a cause.

Egoism relates to the fact that some people appreciate gaining praise and being generally acknowledged for their voluntary work.

Research project

This section of the report analyses eight interviews with people within Auckland community organisations who have responsibility for volunteers, and specifically for young volunteer engagement. The organisations are involved in environmental enhancement, social services or human rights. For the purpose of this research, young volunteers are from the ages of 13 to 18 years. The interviewees signed a consent form to be interviewed. All eight were enthusiastic about the contribution made by young volunteers as well as the personal benefits to young people derived from their volunteering. Their names and organisations are listed in the Appendix. From the interviews, six themes emerged:

A. VOLUNTEER ACTIVITIES
The following table shows how varied the activities are, but it also indicates the extent of work that young people can do.

Organisation	Activities
Blind & Low Vision NZ (previously the Blind Foundation)	One-to-one support of blind people: visiting, reading and going to a café. This improves the social life of blind people. Group voluntary work: social groups, book clubs and craft clubs, e.g., knitting. This recreational work supports the professional work of the organisation, e.g., walking, use of the cane and guide dogs. Helping people return to their previous recreational interests or assisting with new recreations. Administrative volunteers helping with computer work. Fundraising work, e.g., collecting boxes with cash donations and street appeals. Other services such as talking books, puppy raising (for future guide dogs) and kennel cleaning. Young people are or have been involved in all of these activities alongside adult volunteers.
Kelmarna Gardens	Young volunteers do all kinds of gardening, such as: – Seedling pricking – Weeding – Compost turning – Harvesting – Packing food for the market
Royal Forest & Bird Society	Winter: native tree planting (this year volunteers planted 3000 trees). Other seasons: removing noxious weeds and clearing away grass from young trees.
Hub Zero (Tongan sustainability programme)	Waste minimisation, e.g., sewing donated fabric into clothes, cushions, etc. Training young people in sewing skills. Community gardening (planting and harvesting). Collecting leftover fruit and vegetables from the Avondale market and redistributing to families.
Sports Waitākere	Involved in team-building sports. Participating in 'kids on cycles' programme. Sports coaching of younger children. Helping at holiday programmes.
Kaipātiki Project (a sustainability project centred on a garden and restoration project on the North Shore)	Planting native trees and plants, and general restoration work. Pest control (animals and plants). Water-quality monitoring of nearby streams. General gardening.
Amnesty International	Many activities operate within schools (70 high schools throughout NZ) that encourage volunteering at Amnesty. These activities include: – Providing leadership within a school for younger students. – Organising events or petitions. – Speaking at various engagements, usually within schools. – Writing letters to officials. – Visiting MPs and having 'respectful conversations' with them. – Generally co-ordinating group activities.

Interviewees also made various comments about the importance of youth volunteering. At various times respondents noted that young volunteers often gained in self-confidence, commitment, skills they might use in the workforce and genuine sociability. These comments included the following:

"Providing it is legal [in terms of their age], young people can do anything older volunteers can do."

"Organisations that underestimate the contribution of young people do so at their peril."

"The lovely thing about young people is they grow older and wiser."

"Once you have learned activism then this continues for the rest of your life."

B. MOTIVATIONS

This section analyses the motivations and attractions of volunteering for young people. Responses included a number of motivations with which they were familiar.

Motivations	Number mentioned
CV. Adding volunteer experience to their CV (however, two mentioned that this became a motivation only when mentioned to volunteers by the respondent).	6
Awards. Engaging in the Duke of Edinburgh's Hillary Award and William Pike Challenge (for some this was encouraged by their school).	4
Social life. Mixing with others, e.g., peers. Some organisations preferred volunteers not to use their cellphone on the job, and to engage with others. One respondent said that "they are delightful chatterboxes."	4
Personal values and development. The values mentioned were empowerment (e.g., that they can take action on a political issue), sustainability and that they are open to new challenges.	4
Contribution to making a better planet/world. These included expressions like "make a difference," and "do good."	3
Learning skills for future employment, e.g., gardening and working with experts.	2
Enjoyment of outdoor work.	1
Natural progression. Engagement with clients because the individual already knows a blind person.	1
Migrants. People new to NZ can learn social and language skills.	1

When these motivations are compared to those mentioned in the Wardlaw report (2014) there are a number of similarities. For example, progress towards the Duke of Edinburgh's Hillary Award was mentioned, along with the social

component of volunteering. Volunteers as visitors to the Elizabeth Knox Home and Hospital commented in the Wardlaw report that they enjoyed building new relationships and doing something meaningful. Some volunteers were also considering nursing as a future profession.

C. WAYS OF ATTRACTING YOUNG VOLUNTEERS

Ways	Number mentioned
Short-term projects. Most interviewees mentioned that young volunteers prefer volunteering for set events (e.g., tree planting, fundraising) rather than making long-term commitments.	7
Volunteering with their peers. Young volunteers work best in small groups. They enjoy being with their friends. One said that they would only come with their peers and not on their own because they were too shy. One respondent said that they put young people together (the buddy system) during their voluntary work.	4
Food and fun. Four mentioned that food and fun were essential for attracting young volunteers. Music should be of their own choice, another said the music had to be loud, and another provided a DJ for an event, along with barbecue food.	4
Personal commitments. Three mentioned individual personal commitments for the long term. For example, one was committed to trapping animal pests, another had established a long-term friendship with an elderly client and a third was a regular volunteer at a garden along with his dad. Also mentioned was that volunteers gained social connections and learned useful skills.	3
Leadership skills. One mentioned that students are attracted to learning and using their leadership skills within the school. Another mentioned that 18-year-olds became excellent sports coaches for younger students.	2

D. CHALLENGES AND BARRIERS

Challenges	Number mentioned
Transport availability. Some sites are distant from public transport, e.g., Kaipātiki and Kelmarna Gardens. The one major exception is Blind & Low Vision NZ, which is situated on major bus routes and not far from a railway station. The cost of transport was also mentioned.	4
Time available. Young people also have school, family, sport and church responsibilities. They are only available after school times. A Tongan group also has obligations of singing and dance practice.	4
Using **accessible language**, e.g., non-scientific.	2
Dealing with **stressful human-rights issues** and stories.	1
Politics. Some parents do not understand or like the politics of Amnesty International.	1

E. GENDER AND DIVERSITY

Gender and diversity	Number mentioned
Girls predominate. Practically all organisations said that girl volunteers outnumber boys. For example, in two organisations girl volunteers represent 80% of all youth volunteers. In another, girls represent 60% of youth volunteers. In the organisation that promotes sport, there are equal numbers of girls and boys. The predominance of girls to boys is also affected by the fact that two girls' colleges supply most volunteers to two organisations (Carmel College to Kaipātiki, and St Mary's College to Kelmarna). A number of respondents suggested that boys enjoy sport and therefore have less time for volunteering. Others said that girls mature earlier than boys and see the benefits of volunteering. However, one said that when boys volunteer they contribute hugely. One said, "Girls give to others and boys give to themselves."	7
Young people coming from schools are a mix of the ethnic make-up of the school. In West Auckland they tend to be ethnically mixed. In terms of age, many respondents said that all ages were welcome and they could do all aspects of voluntary work.	

F. OTHER ISSUES

Age difference between 13 and 18 years was not seen as an issue. Two organisations noted that the older volunteers developed into sports coaches and school leaders. Otherwise, age was no barrier to volunteering in organisations with a history of engaging with youth. This contrasts with the Wardlaw report, which shows only one out of nine organisations surveyed engaged 13-year-old volunteers. The other eight only accepted volunteers aged 18 or older, due to legal requirements and the need for mature volunteers.

Climate-change awareness. The organisations dealing with environmental and sustainability issues had noticed a recent growing interest in youth volunteering. They expected the number of young volunteers to increase as the commitment to the social movement for climate-change demands progresses.

Social media. Young people and smartphones seem inseparable. However, for safety reasons, some organisations asked volunteers not to use them on the job, rather they should concentrate on their task. Two noted this had positive effects such as building personal, one-to-one relations with peers, older people and international volunteers. However, there was an understanding that cellphones were an ideal way of making contact with potential volunteers.

Conclusions

The range of voluntary activities is extensive. This indicates that young people in the age group of 13 to 18 years have the skills and dedication to apply themselves to a wide range of tasks. Naturally, the volunteers aged 18 years tended to have the confidence to take on higher-level roles such as leadership. The Wardlaw report demonstrates that 18 years is an age when volunteers can take on functions requiring maturity, e.g., personal refugee services. While it is accepted that some volunteers need a level of maturity, there are still many tasks that younger people might do, such as supporting experienced volunteers and paid staff. In relation to the age of volunteers, these points add weight to the concept that we should take a 'strengths-based' approach to youth development that includes all aspects of volunteering.

The many types of volunteer motivations that this study explored are significant. Butt et. al. reduce motivations to four: affiliation, beliefs, career and egoism. These four did not fit well with the motivations explored in this study. For example, some volunteers only considered the usefulness of adding their voluntary experience to their CVs when co-ordinators mentioned it. The special interest in the Duke of Edinburgh's Hillary Award and the William Pike Challenge was an important reason for volunteering and this did not fit well with Butt et al.'s categories.

It was noteworthy that most organisations had more girl volunteers than boys. Some mentioned that there was an 80/20 ratio of girls to boys. It was suggested that girls mature earlier than boys and that boys are interested in engaging in sport, which is pushed at school. This left them little time for voluntary efforts. However, not all boys are involved in sport and they could make a valuable contribution through voluntary work. In order to attract boys, some agencies established specific events of only two hours' duration as well as providing food and music, in order to attract boys. Another way of seeking young male volunteers is just to ask them. The Tongan respondent said, "Girls just come and boys have to be asked." The modern form of 'micro' volunteering that involves short-term, or even one-off, projects and enjoyable volunteering is likely to be a way forward for attracting young people, especially boys.

In addition, with young people's growing concern for the environment and climate change it is likely that those organisations that deal with sustainability, environmental enhancement and human rights are likely to attract more young volunteers. All organisations need to explore their environmental policies, including their carbon footprint, and make necessary adjustments.

Finally, when I asked about the importance of training and education of young people in relation to volunteering, one respondent said, "Education must lead to action to help the community develop through skills and knowledge."

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David Haigh has a long career in community development. He is the former head of CD for the Auckland Regional Authority and has recently retired from Unitec New Zealand, where he taught in social practice, sociology and not-for-profit management. David is active in Auckland Action Against Poverty.

Appendix

Interviewees		
Kaipātiki Project	An environmental organisation focusing on gardening and native plant restoration work.	Sam Tu'itahi
Amnesty International NZ (Auckland)	A human-rights organisation with a local focus on refugees and climate change.	Margaret Taylor
Royal Forest & Bird Protection Society	A national environmental organisation involved in native-tree planting on Waiheke Island.	Lincoln Jackson
Kelmarna Gardens	A community garden, founded in 1981. It has now taken on a role of gardening education and training.	Adrian Roach and Judy Keats
Sports Waitākere	An organisation that promotes sports, trains coaches and runs holiday programmes in West Auckland.	Pauline Butt
Blind & Low Vision NZ (Auckland)	A social-service agency assisting the blind and people with low vision.	Sue Vyas
Hub Zero	A Tongan organisation involved in aspects of waste minimisation, community gardening and food distribution to Tongan families.	Maile Uluave

DAVID HAIGH

Interview with Joan Lardner-Rivlin

Founded at Unitec Institute of Technology in 2015

Interview with Joan Lardner-Rivlin

DAVID HAIGH

Joan celebrating her 84th birthday

MONDAY JUNE 17, 2002
64 SEAFIELD VIEW ROAD, GRAFTON

David Haigh: Joan, perhaps we could begin by you telling us a little bit about yourself, about your background – where you were born and brought up, and a little bit about your parents and family.

Joan Lardner-Rivlin: Well, my father was born in the Ukraine and he studied medicine in Germany because Jews were not allowed to go to university in Russia. My mother, who came from Latvia, also went to Germany to study economics for the same reason, and they met in Germany and got married in Frankfurt am Main. I believe after that they went to England where my father had to re-study medicine in order to qualify in England. They then went to South Africa because my father was the youngest of his family of seven and they had an uncle in Africa who wanted a doctor. So my father, as the youngest, was sent off to Africa and he eventually became a district surgeon in a small town called Jamestown, in the Cape Province – I was born in Queenstown which was not quite as small as Jamestown, which was an absolute dorp. My father was the district surgeon, the railway surgeon, the only doctor in the area. I think from him I got the feeling of the importance of the community and the importance of belonging to a community. My parents then moved to the Transvaal and that is where I went to school; we lived in Benoni and I studied at Benoni High School.

Was Queenstown a small place?

It was one of the bigger towns, but when I say 'big town' it probably wasn't

terribly big because it was one of the provincial towns. Where we were there was a big farming district and Jamestown served all the neighbouring farms.

You started to understand the idea of community there, is that from the people there or from your father?

I think it was because it was a small town and a close community, and my father was a doctor and that put one in touch with everybody. He used to take me with him on his calls.

So he had a car?

He had a car and he went out to the farms and I often waited for him, so I felt that I got to know the groups and I also got to know how important it was, what a difference the doctor made when he came. The family were all worried about the person who was ill and my father explained to me that you didn't only see the patient, that you had to consider the family and you had to try and dissipate their anxiety. I think that made me aware of the difference that somebody could make when there was anxiety so that, in fact, working with people and talking to people could help. Only now that I am talking to you do I realise just what a big impression that made on me. When we went to Transvaal I still went with my father on his calls, I often read books in the car while I waited for him.

That would have been in the 1930s I suppose?

In the 1940s.

You were born in 1927, so you would have been a teenager perhaps when this was happening. Were you affected by the war in any way?

The war was very exciting in that one my father's patients was a journalist, an English woman, and all the RAF would come to their house – these were the young RAF pilots and so on. It was very exciting for a teenager and they opened a new world for me – books, and having debates and discussion – and her place became a centre where these… they were a bit older than me then, but it was an exciting world that they were telling us about.

So, from a small town in South Africa you managed to find out more about the world.

Well, the war certainly brought the world to us and, as you can imagine, my father was an avid follower of what was happening during the war. We always listened to the BBC, etc., and were concerned about Russia and the family that was still left there, because we had lost touch with them.

I suppose that was forever, was it?

That was forever. We never heard from them again so only imagined the worst.

What about your mother during this period?

My mother belonged then to the Women's Voluntary Service, I think, which raised funds for the war and knitted things, and all that sort of voluntary work. Of course, another big influence on me was a hatred of apartheid.

How did that come about? I thought you just would have been absorbed into that life.

I am Jewish. The fact of being discriminated against because you are Jewish, I felt any discrimination against anybody because of who they were or what they were was wrong. It was quite obvious that Africans were being discriminated against.

Was that quite a common Jewish feeling or was that you, do you think?

Probably from my father as well, who believed in the equality of man. But you had to be circumspect. I was brought up with African nannies whom I adored so that, to me, an African woman was love and caring and everything good.

I seem to recall a story you once told me that your parents went away for a period and you stayed in a convent.

Yes, that was when we were in Jamestown. My father went to Budapest and to Dublin to qualify as a gynaecologist and obstetrician. While he went abroad my mother went to join her sister in Johannesburg and they put me in a convent in Aliwal North.

How was that? Being a little Jewish girl in a Catholic convent?

Well, I wasn't aware of being Jewish, because as you can imagine in Jamestown we were the only Jewish people for miles around, there were no other Jews and Afrikaans was not my first language. And coming to Aliwal North to a convent with German nuns, I was very aware that I was not one of the Catholic angels, in that when everybody went and knelt in front of a statue of Jesus to pray, I was sent to clean the shoes. When one of the nuns asked me if I was one of the little angels I thought she meant had I been a good girl, and I said yes, and she gave me a Holy picture. When later on she found out, she came and snatched it back again! But I do remember thinking – and I had never been to any religious instruction or anything else apart from what I got from my mother – they are worshipping an idol… they are kneeling to a picture. I was only eight at the time but I thought that was idolatry. I do remember that in the dormitories – and we had to go to bed at 6pm, when the children were still playing outside – the nuns would make the sign of the cross on everybody's forehead, and when they came past me they spritzed me with Holy water. I asked all the other little girls, "What makes water Holy?" They said that you bathed a statue of Jesus in it and I believed them. So I was very conscious of not being a Catholic, I can tell you that!

Later on you went to high school and university.

When we talked about what we were going do when we grew up, I knew I did not want to do medicine, for the reason that I did not have the zitsflaish, which is [the patience] to sit on your backside and study. The teachers, because I was very shy, said "Well, if you do social work you will find out that there are other people out there with needs and you will forget your own shyness because you will be aware of other people's concerns and needs." I thought that sounded good so I went in for social work.

How did you train for that?

Well, I first went to Witwatersrand university, but I dropped out.

Why was that?

Well, I think that I did not study enough. Also, I lost my mother and I decided I wanted to go abroad, I think, but I did go to Israel in 1950, I think.

Tell us a bit about that.

Well, it was something that I had always wanted to do because I was a Zionist. I belonged to a Jewish youth movement and it was a very exciting time. I hadn't thought that in my lifetime Israel would be reborn and, being an idealistic person, I thought, here is a wonderful opportunity for the new country and the idea of chalutzim, of equality, of everybody working to the best of their capacity, sharing – it seemed to me, this is idealism come true. So I went to Israel, but while I was there I got a cable to come home,

and I did, and my father died. And I think my world went to pieces. I got engaged, then decided after all that I didn't want to settle down and get married. I wanted to go and find out about life, so I went to England and got a scholarship to The London School of Economics and Political Science. Went to stay with my father's older brother and found a whole new world. Very, very exciting.

What was exciting? The study or London?
London, other people – I had a very sheltered life in South Africa. Jewish girls have a very sheltered life and I landed up – before you could go and do Social Work you had to have done residential work and they send you for a month to a settlement house – and I landed up in Stepney Green and I stayed a year because the settlement house was the centre of social work, of youth work. It was all encompassing and, in fact, I found it absolutely fascinating. I was much more innocent than the youth I was working with. In fact, they trained me and they started my interest in youth work.

What were some of the jobs that you had to do at the settlement house?
Well, first of all, I lived in with a student who was at the London School of Economics who worked at night at the settlement house in exchange for board and lodging. I was paid ten shillings a week and board and lodging, and I had to help with the pre-school in the morning, help with the old-age pensioners, OAPs we used to call them, who came after that, then was the after-school programme for kids coming from school, then there was youth work in the evenings and then there was home visiting.

Why would you home visit? Was it to do with behaviour issues or…
The home visits were for old people, to check up that they were ok. The home visits were for the youth, for children. We had a Country Children's Fund – I used to go and collect sixpence a week down the Mile End Road for children's country holidays. Then we had a boot fund, where I collected thrupence a week towards their boots, which the settlement house bought wholesale for them.

So, you collected this from each family?
Yes, and brought it back to the settlement house where it was kept and recorded. We subsidised it with money we got from rich people, because we had patrons for the settlement house and they used to come, society ladies used to come. On Alexandra Rose Day, for instance, we used to collect funds – all the ladies from Hemel Hempstead would come in their cars and drive us down Mile End Road and we would go into all the pubs collecting money.

What was Alexandra Rose Day?
Queen Alexandra (mother of King George) started this tradition of collecting. I remember going to one house to check, as one of the young girls was going to school without shoes. I went to that house and I came back and reported to the supervisor that there was a funny smell in that house, it was really odd. She asked where I had been and she said, "Oh, that is our local brothel." I think now that it was probably marijuana. I was a bit innocent.

Now, the youth that I was working with, they put on a show, *Annie Get Your Gun*, and the people from the West End came to train them and we actually hired the costumes from the West End. Some of the young people, they were pimps in the West End – it was a whole new scene for me!

I suppose some families were in pretty desperate situations. Did you come across those?

I wasn't so much aware of it in the settlement house because that was the time when, as Basil Henriques said, "You just have to tap a football down a road and you have got a youth club." I think there were communities, and it was just after the war so the people were still fairly cohesive and community minded and helped one another. It was when I went to college and I did placements that I became aware of the disruption that the war had made, psychologically, to people and their families and this was the aftermath – of broken families, of men who came back and couldn't settle down, men from the working class who had become officers in the air force and were heroes, and then came back to nothing, and how difficult it was for them to go back to the old families and not to have that respect anymore. I was quite amazed at the number of people in that position.

Who ran the settlement houses in Britain?

I think there were different organisations. The one that I was at was called Stepney Green Jewish Girls Club, although it wasn't only Jewish and it wasn't only girls. But the money came from Jewish people who contributed to it, though it was open to everybody.

And were there settlement houses throughout London?

Right throughout. Toynbee was a very famous one and I think there was whole movement of settlement houses at that time. I was only a very junior student.

At the London School of Economics what subjects did you have to study?

I think we did sociology, statistics, law, social work and social administration – a whole variety. We went to London University for the law lectures and, of course, the placements were big things. You did a placement with an organisation and, because I was on a scholarship, when I was on placement – you had to leave London and go and do a placement somewhere, which meant that you still had to pay your fees on your flat and go and live somewhere where your placement was – I always arranged to get placed at a children's home, where I could earn my board and lodging and then go and do whatever it was.

Where did you go for placement?

Well, one placement in London was the Soldiers, Sailors, Airmen Organisation, which looked after ex-service people – the supervisor looked like Charles Laughton and she was absolutely tremendous. She was such a fantastic teacher and that is where I had all these experiences of people who were left over, if you like, from the services and were homeless – the London Council took over houses and housed these people.

Like a halfway house?

Yes. Dysfunctional families.

Had they been affected by the war, by perhaps being in prisoner-of-war camps – that type of thing?

No. None of them had been in prisoner-of-war camps.

How did they end up, then, in this dysfunctional way?

I think that they might have lost their homes during the war. The men might have been away some time, or they were just people who couldn't cope, and I think people had come to London, too, looking for work.

Did you go to any placements outside London?

Yes, I went to Stowmarket.

Where was that?

I have no idea, now, where that was. I worked in the local authority Children's Department but I actually lived in a children's home and worked in the children's home, and then went to the office every day. Part of what I had to do for the office was go to the boarding schools where there were children from the colonies. Because what happened was people sent their children back to England, to boarding schools, when they were in Malaysia, Hong Kong and so forth – that was before the Empire was shrinking quite so much – and the children were well treated because their families were far away. Through the Children's Department I also visited children who were in care, whether it was with their grandparents or with caregivers, and one of the interesting things was Gypsies' children or fairground people's children. Because the parents kept on moving around, the council said that the children had to stay in one place and go to school. This one family had, I think, seven Gypsy children to look after. They were a Swedish family, who were very organised, and the Gypsy children's family used to come in caravans to visit them. It really was a different life for me to see this. In the children's home, while I was there, there was an outbreak of measles so I stayed to help look after the children who had measles, and they were so nice to me. They didn't have to pay you when you were on placement – especially in the children's home, where they gave you board and lodging – but they actually paid me because they said I worked so hard.

One of the things you said was that you were flatting in London. Were you with some other people?

Well, the student from LSE who was with me in the settlement house went flatting with a friend of hers and they invited me, when I started college, to come and flat with them, which I did and that was great. So, we had a series of flats. One was right out of London, where you had to go by train, and eventually we got a flat in Marble Arch, which was nice and central. By then Naomi, my friend from the settlement house, had qualified and was moving on, and the girl from the flat upstairs and I made friends. We went flatting together and have remained friends and in contact ever since. And Naomi went on to become an inspectress of social work.

[Side one ends]

Joan, you were telling me about your flatting arrangements in London. Was it the case that one of your friends was a close friend of Spike Milligan's.

Yes. The girl upstairs, whose name was Delphine, had studied as an actress and she and I eventually landed up in a mews flat, which was fantastic. She brought along a friend of hers, Pat, to come and share the flat with us. Pat had been at drama school with Delphine and she was a bit of a drama queen, very sexy girl. Delphine and I used to get annoyed with her because she never wanted to do her share of cleaning up but when you could persuade her to do it she worked with a vengeance, which was great. She eventually married Spike Milligan, although we tried to talk her out of it.

So you met Spike?

I didn't, but Delphine did – I had gone by that time. We told Pat he was crazy

but she loved the important people that she was meeting, and so on. She married him and she had a daughter, but Delphine tells me that he treated her very badly. Delphine nursed her through cancer, and she eventually died.

The thing with flatting, too, was that we were very near Europe and during the holidays we would go hitchhiking in Europe and that, again, was fantastic. The first time, five of us went together and Naomi had found this little village called Porto Venere in Italy and took us there, and I just fell in love with the place. I thought it was a fairy-tale village, and every year after that, in my holidays, I always ended up in Porto Venere – I became one of the inhabitants, more or less. But we went to Holland, France, Italy and Spain. Just in the university holidays, but people who were doing social work didn't quite have the holidays that the other students had because we had to do our placements in our holidays. But again, that was a way for me to see some of Britain. I chose to go out and live in different places. I wanted to find out what rural Britain was like.

You actually became quite proficient in Italian?

Only for that general region. I couldn't understand Italian anywhere else, but around Porto Venere, yes. I would always tell my friends about it and suggest they go to that village, and those who did all found it quite beautiful. And it is the people there that are so beautiful, too.

Byron stayed in Porto Venere.

Grotta di Byron. The romantic poets, Shelley…

Shelley died there, didn't he? I think he died in the harbour there.

And Byron, of course, practised swimming at Porto Venere to prepare for his Greek swims.

Now, after your study – can you bring us up to date? You obviously got married and you travelled to different countries.

Yes, I would like to say that after I finished college I worked for the London County Council in South London and what I did was actually school social work. I was a social worker in a number of schools, liaising with the Health Department. I worked with a doctor and a nurse as the social worker in these schools. I think this is an excellent scheme whereby you have a nurse, a doctor and a social worker doing preventative work in schools, and I really enjoyed that as well. Now, so many years later, they are just piloting school social workers in New Zealand.

What sort of things did you have to do?

We had clinics, and teachers or family would refer children to the clinics if there was a bed-wetting problem or a behaviour problem or a dysfunctional family problem, and then we would make a home visit and see that the child got the health treatment they needed. Whether they needed to be referred to a hospital, whether it was eyes or ears – everything was checked at that time.

Give them a good start in life.

Absolutely.

How long did you work there?

About four years and then my brother – who was in South Africa and was close to my father's eldest brother, who was 20 years older than my father and had no children of his own, we were like his children – wanted to spread his wings, and I went back to South Africa so that he could leave and I would be there for my uncle.

There was an uncle in South Africa as well as an uncle in London?
Yes, and an aunt in South Africa – my mother's sister was there as well, so I did have family to go back to.

What did you do when you first went back to South Africa?
I went to work for the Johannesburg City Council as a detached youth worker, and I worked in a park in a disadvantaged area of Johannesburg. I had a little office and worked with children who came to the park. My problem in going back to South Africa was that I had to start categorising what people were, what children were. Whether they were black, white or coloured. I found that very stressful.

Was that for administrative purposes? For what purpose did you categorise them?
I worked in a park that was for whites, and I couldn't bear to turn any children away so I accepted all children. This brought me to the attention of the authorities when a newspaper printed a picture, and I was told that I couldn't do that, although my employers were very sympathetic.

How was that dealt with then?
I had to go to the parents, and I burst into tears when I was telling them.

These were the black children?
Also the Chinese.

Even Chinese were not allowed?
Yes, and it landed up with a woman sort of comforting me, and I decided that I couldn't really remain there so I left and went to Zambia.

Why did you choose Zambia?
I saw a job advertised in Zambia, it was then Northern Rhodesia and, of course, I had met the man who was to be my husband on the boat going out to South Africa and he was in Northern Rhodesia and we were corresponding. So I went to Northern Rhodesia to work on a copper mine as a social worker. That was community development.

Who did you work with? The miners or their families?
I worked with the families of the miners in Luanshya. It was a mining town, that is what it existed for, and the mining company was quite paternalistic in that they looked after their staff with their own hospitals, their own social workers, their own schools – it was a company town and the company looked after you.

What was your role?
It was, in a way, training and health – public health and training African staff who were working with the miners' families. But then I got offered a job as a community development officer for Ndola Council, which was a local authority rather than a company office. I found working for the local authority, rather than for a corporation, was great. I worked in an African township called Chifubu and there I was in charge of all the welfare for that township. The only other European woman there was the nurse, who was responsible for that area. I worked with the schools, with youth groups, women's groups, and it was a complete community development. I had a staff of, I think, 25 – teachers and social workers, youth workers…

What year was this?
It was in the 1960s and it was the time when Northern Rhodesia was becoming Zambia. It was very political and I found it terribly exciting to be part

of the beginning of a new country. Although there was quite a lot of tension – particularly between UNIP (United National Independence Party), which was Kaunda's party, and the ANC. I once got caught in the middle of it, which was the most frightening time in my life. We had a big bare patch where all the youngsters used to play football, and I was walking across it when a whole impi, which is the Zulu word for a group of warriors, of UNIP was coming from one side and the ANC from the other side, and they were chanting. If you have an African group chanting it is very, very powerful, and the hot sun… my knees were absolutely knocking because I was in the middle and they were coming from both sides. Just a few months previously, a European woman had been burnt to death in a car not far from there, and I thought, "I am not going to see my children grow up." But the two groups just went around me. I got out of there so quickly, but they certainly did not threaten me. They were threatening each other and they absolutely ignored me.

I was busy talking with the women about voting and how you vote and what voting means, and democracy, and all that. The women were very active in the political sphere at that time because in Zambia men were in the ascendency, although the women did all the work; the men held the power and the men would also have multiple wives. But the women got a vote and they became very active, politically and commercially too – the women were very active. Of course, UNIP won and Kaunda became President.

We seem to have skipped over something very important… you got married, and you mentioned children!

I got married and I had three children. In Zambian society you don't have a place with all the women until you have children. Although I was running women's classes, I wasn't allowed to attend their meetings because I had no children. When I had children, I was then allowed to join the women and one of the things that I was promoting was breast feeding. It had become sort of sophisticated to use formula instead of breast milk because there wasn't any milk in Zambia then, and they made it from horrible New Zealand milk powder. One of the things I remember was showing La Leche films from England to promote breast feeding, and the women burst out laughing when they saw European women breast feeding their children. I said, "What's so funny? You go around with nothing on top." They said, "Oh madam, we didn't know that [they] were the same as us!"

Is that right? Well, that's an education. Did you have the three children in Zambia?

My eldest, David, was born in Northern Rhodesia in 1964, and the other two, Judith and Vigdor, were born in Zambia in 1965 and 1967 – same hospital! As I say, having children then got you status.

The other thing I didn't mention before was that the British Council used to send out books and information to Northern Rhodesia, and then Zambia, which was a tremendous resource for us, for community development work, and they also sent a youth worker to do youth leadership courses. I would go along with them and choose leaders from our youth groups, who were then trained to become youth leaders in recreation and youth leadership. Again, what I found terribly important in youth work was to educate the youth in community work, so it became part of their training.

Why did you leave Zambia?

Well, our jobs were taken away from us. It was part of Zambianisation – the jobs were given to Zambians. I think five people took my job. But I think we made a difference – in health, in promoting inoculations and the whole community development process of teaching people to help themselves, having women's groups doing nutrition and health, looking after family and parenting and that whole thing. The only ones we didn't have much effect on were the men. Certainly the women, the children and the youth. But we just could not remain in Zambia because there wasn't work, so we had to decide where to go from there. Derrick didn't want to go back to England because it was too cold. We certainly did not want to go back to South Africa. Friends of ours went to Canada and said it was too cold, after being in Africa. During the war my husband had been in Hong Kong and just loved it, and I had read all the Pearl Buck stories and I thought, I really want to get to know the Chinese better – I just love it through the Pearl Buck stories, so we went to Hong Kong.

Did you have work there?

No, we went on spec really. We went via Israel, where we spent some time in an orchard settlement, quite an old, established one, where everybody worked their own place but shared the work, so that there was a certain amount of independence and yet there was a sharing thing. When we landed in Hong Kong in 1967, it was a case of looking for work. They were having a youth festival when we arrived there and I thought, how fantastic to be able to work in the youth work field in Hong Kong. Then, through the rabbi I heard that the Hong Kong Council of Social Service were looking for a Youth Director. I went to apply for the job but I had to have a CV, which I didn't have, so I went to the alleys. They have an alleyway in Hong Kong with all the letter writers, so I went to this letter writer who could type up my CV for me in English. He said to me, "Oh, you are very highly qualified, aren't you? You will get the job." And he was right, I did get the job for the Hong Kong Council of Social Service as the Division Officer for the Division of Children and Youth. That was another whole new world opened to me, working with 80 organisations that dealt with the youth of Hong Kong. Education, recreation – you name it. There was another Division of Children and Family but mine was Children and Youth. What I found so fantastic was that in the Hong Kong Council of Social Service there was Director of Education, Director of Prisons – so you had education, because of the drug problem there were young people in borstals and they had a programme to actually re-educate these people – and then there were all the different churches, you had the YW, the YM, the Playground Association, all these different groups including the university – so you had the academic and the practical, everybody sitting around, including the Government Department for Social Welfare – and we could actually make policy, which Social Welfare then took back. Because it was a colony I think they were far more sensitive to what we said than ordinarily. Again, it was a very exciting time for me and, of course, because you have to be careful in Chinese society not to offend, I had a mentor in the Commissioner for the Scouts, Lawkwan Fook, who really taught me what to do and what not to do, how to behave and what the protocol was.

[New tape]

Joan, you were explaining about the Hong Kong Council of Social Service and how they managed to co-ordinate things. Can you tell me the programmes that you actually ran for the Youth Division?

Well, it wasn't so much that I ran them; different organisations ran them, but the co-ordination was done at Division meetings so that everybody knew what each other were doing and could co-ordinate with each other. For instance, we had holiday programmes and each agency would draw up a holiday programme and bring it to the meeting, and we would then co-ordinate it and bring it out in a booklet – and I would have a competition amongst all the youth groups to design a cover for it. When I came to New Zealand and I was interviewed by Bob Larking for Community Advisor at ARA, he asked me, "Have you been involved with holiday programmes?" and I said, "Yes." He asked, "How many children?" and I said, "A million." And that is how many children took part in the holiday programmes, it was one million.

What sort of things did they do?

They did everything – sport, art, games, camping and gambling! They would have fêtes at school and all sorts of activities.

Was it organised around schools?

Schools and youth groups and church groups. Don't forget there were Chinese who had sort of village community groups, of people who had come from the same village or who lived in places around Hong Kong – they had these local welfare groups and they had activities. And of course, all the different youth organisations would have activities.

I felt that there should be a voice for youth because in Chinese society they don't really have much of a voice, they have to respect their elders, so I inaugurated the Hong Kong Youth Council. I had a great deal of difficulty in describing voting and democracy because, of course, it was a colony and the young people were not brought up to vote. Then the Scouts Association had thousands and thousands of members. Do they have the same number of votes as a group that only has a small membership? I was quite involved with the Red Cross Youth and found them a tremendous group to work with in implementing the Youth Council. I also had volunteers from the university who would help in the youth work. One of the volunteers, in particular, I became very friendly with and close to, and I am still in touch with her, she is like a daughter to me. She was actually sent by Hong Kong to the United Nations, because that year they had a Youth United Nations, attended by youth from all over the world. In order to get Hong Kong to actually be recognised, not as a colony of Britain but with a Hong Kong representative, was quite a political thing that we did manage to do. She learnt quite a lot as well because it was the first time, I think, that she had left Hong Kong.

Something else I was involved in starting in Hong Kong was the Physically Handicapped and Able Bodied (PHAB) organisation, and that is how things worked. A youth worker from England came to Hong Kong because there was concern about the way physically handicapped children and youth were hidden. It was considered shameful to have a physical handicap and the idea was to integrate people with and without a disability so that young people with disabilities would be more accepted. This youth worker was the most magnificent woman and a wonderful speaker – I was given to her as a guide and went with her to all the schools and youth groups as she spoke about

PHAB. She was a very well-known youth worker and, in fact, because the British Army was stationed in Hong Kong she got a whole lot of phone calls from army wives and people in the army who had been in her youth groups, so her influence reached far. I promised her that we would have PHAB up and running in Hong Kong, and within a year we did; it was a joint effort of the Division of Children and Youth and the Division for Disability. So, the two Divisions together implemented PHAB by running a camp for young people both with and without disabilities. This was a tremendous undertaking and again the Scouts were most helpful. The leaders of the Scout movement in Hong Kong at the time had helped the British who were interned by the Japanese during the war, so the British were really very grateful to this layer of leadership and they were tremendous. We were given this YMCA campsite which was on an island, and was specially adapted for us by the Y's Men, which was a group of men who had belonged to the YMCA. They widened the doorways to make them accessible for wheelchairs. I then had to worry about how to get young people from Hong Kong Island onto this island where the camp was. The British Army in Hong Kong were very, very helpful in every field of social endeavour, and I went to the liaison people there and said, "Can you help me get people from Hong Kong Island?" "Yes, we will give you our landing craft." Ok – well the landing craft requires soldiers to jump out and race up the beach… how do I get people from there? In Hong Kong, young people from the schools and universities were paid to go and do Civil Defence. They had lovely uniforms, and were highly trained because so many natural disasters happen in Hong Kong. So they came as an exercise – all the young Civil Defence people would carry the people with disabilities off the landing craft onto the shore. But it was very hot and the landing craft had no cover, so I went to the police and asked them for a cover, and everybody was so helpful. We even got people in hospital beds to this island for the first PHAB camp, which was a roaring success, and I was later invited back by PHAB to celebrate their 25 years. They are still going strong, even stronger than ever and I was invited as an honoured guest. They have their own camps now, and a fleet of cars and vans, and are very acknowledged as one of the leading organisations in Hong Kong, with VIPS as their patrons. I actually went with a PHAB group from New Zealand to Hong Kong on two occasions.

That must have changed a lot of attitudes in Hong Kong towards disabled people.

I think it did, because at the last conference they had they invited people from China so that they could have that same… because in China it is very much disabled people together rather than them being integrated.

OK, so what else was there in Hong Kong? The holiday programmes, the Youth Council, PHAB…

Also, through my husband's work – because he worked for China Light and Power – I was offered a house that had belonged to one of the managers, a lovely big house at a placed called Tai Po. I came back [to the Hong Kong Council of Social Service] and said, "I have been given this house, can you turn it into a youth camp?" Lawkwan Fook, with his network of people who had belonged to the Scouts, finished it for us and the Young People in Prisons – they came and did all the work to turn it into dormitories with bunks – and it became a centre where we took groups camping. At that time camping

wasn't quite accepted yet for mixed groups and this was one of the ways to break down the barriers to Chinese families allowing their children to go to camps. We used it for the Duke of Edinburgh Awards scheme and it was a lovely place. Now, of course, it is gone and there is a whole town of high-rise buildings and everything is in a high-rise building – the shops, everything. Tai Po is a beautiful harbour, it was a fishing village.

Another thing I remember from Hong Kong is going out around Hong Kong and coming across a young Italian priest who was working with the fisher folk in this area. They used to ferry people across, and they would cut each other's fares; under the influence of the priest they formed a group and agreed on prices. They formed like a credit union to help each other with their boats and fishing, and to build houses for themselves. He just changed their lives and that, to me, was community development: actually working with people – not imposing on them – just giving them the resources, giving them the ideas that they could then develop. That is why I have always thought community development is such an exciting concept.

Then you left Hong Kong in 1971, after four years. Why did you decide to leave?

The children were of school age and schooling in English was not free. I had a very dear friend, Jean Stott, who had come to live in New Zealand and she wrote these fantastic letters about it. So it was arranged between us that we would come to New Zealand.

We came here and stayed with Jean in Bucklands Beach and through her connections found a place in Manurewa which belonged to the Foundation for the Blind, and we stayed there until we found a place on the North Shore. While there I applied for two jobs. One at the hospital as Senior Social Worker and one for the Auckland Regional Authority as a Community Advisor. The hospital job came through first so I accepted that, but after two months the ARA job came through and I decided community work was far more my thing than the hospital, which it seemed was mainly working with women having babies.

After all your exciting work in Zambia and Hong Kong that didn't have the same appeal.

Well, it was putting pressure on solo mothers to decide what to do with their children and I didn't like that. That was a big issue at the time, thank God things have changed a lot.

You then accepted this role at the ARA under Bob Larkin. What would your function be?

I think it was under the Town and Country Planning Act that there was a responsibility for women, for children, for education, for welfare and for social interaction. So that gave a very wide scope, I felt, and also Bob was very generous in introducing me to all his contacts, which led me to making contacts of my own. At that time there was a really amazing group of people involved in community, in local authorities and in some government departments, and in some voluntary agencies. Once again, it was an exciting time of starting new initiatives, of identifying needs and actually trying to do things about them.

How did you go about identifying needs?

Networking mainly. Networking with people in the field, meeting community

groups and talking to them, and it was also an exciting time in that women's groups were ascending. Women were becoming more active politically in the community. Women's voices were being heard more, they were getting involved in community houses and preschool – just more vocal I think, so being able to get together with them, with encouragement and a bit of administrative help they were able to do all sorts of things.

Would you say that was one of your key roles, giving encouragement and providing some back-up resources?

Yes, and also in the youth-work field and co-ordinating groups. There was a disability co-ordination group, setting up a Council of Social Services as a co-ordinating group. Running seminars on social issues.

Did you see your role as primarily supporting groups and doing that sort of work, or was it more policy and advocacy, and setting up new services?

I think it was a combination of everything. What you did was be out in the community with your antennae wiggling and you saw where some group needed resources or help. Where another group, if given some ideas and help and initiatives, could start something up. For another group it was being an advocate for them or being a channel to the local authority. I think what community advisors did, which was important, was take messages from one group to another so that you put people in touch with one another who could help one another. We perambulated. Because of being regional we could cover all the local authorities so that really gave one a whole lot of networks in which you could plug people into one another – does that sound funny?

You found that being a regional body was a strength?

Absolutely.

Because at that time there were about 30 local authorities, it wasn't like now where you have, say, five. There were 30-odd and most of them did not have a community worker, only the big ones. So, did you find that you tended to work more with the smaller local-body areas where they did not have a community worker?

I think so. I think North Shore area, with five boroughs, didn't have much in the way of community work, so I was able to start a whole lot of things on the Shore. Manukau, of course, already did, and Auckland City did, so it was more working with the ones that didn't. And of course, the Citizen's Advice Bureau was an ideal way of liaising and getting in touch with them.

I'd like to run through – just for the record because I think it is very impressive – all the things that you were involved in; for instance, training courses.

I think that was really started by Bob Larkin and it was training courses in recreation and community leadership, so these were leadership courses, and we got people to come and give talks and workshops on skills needed to train people in community leadership roles so that you enhanced their powers, if you like, to be able to carry out their ideas. These proved to be tremendously popular and a lot of people who were volunteers came for training, because there wasn't any training in that area at all. We started with basic training and found that there were people coming to us and wanting the next stage, so we went up to stage one, stage two, stage three and actually gave certificates to show that people had attended these courses. I was amused in later years, when I saw people's applications for jobs, that they had included our

certificates as the very first training in community and recreation leadership. We gave them a wide range of skills in budgeting, strategic planning and programme planning, and we could tailor the courses – whether it was for people who wanted to start an after-school group, people who wanted to start a community house, people who were in the recreation field. Before there was formal training there were our community leadership courses. It was a small group who actually identified resource people and we had a whole network of organisations that we would send out the curriculum to and get a tremendous response from. I think maybe 2–3000 people went through the courses.

> *You had some interesting characters that did this course, can you tell me about some of them?*

We had different people come as resource people, and they had different methods of doing things; one of these, I think, was making a machine that would do certain things. One of our more feisty students was by the name of Tim Shadbolt, and he invented The Great New Zealand Clobbering Machine, which was of course people-enacted, this machine. He was really a colourful student who completed our courses and one of the things was that the certificates we gave were proper certificates and we would get the Chairman of the ARA to present them at a ceremony. The ARA actually allowed us to have a proper ceremony with food and all the rest, and the Chairman would shake the hands of the people qualifying for the certificates. Of course, along came Tim in very big boots that were unlaced and very short shorts and looking a bit wild, and Tom Pearce was the Chairman at that time. He held out his hand for Tim to shake and Tim said, "I refuse to shake hands with you Tom, on the grounds that you are a racist." I think that was the time of the Springbok Tour and Tom said "Oh, grow up Tim."

> *But at least the Chairman could take it.*

Oh yes, he could. They didn't make each other wilt at all.

> *You had other people who have gone on to do work in community development.*

I have sometimes met people that I had forgotten, because there have been so many people, and they have reminded me, "Oh, we came to your course." Or, "Oh, I know you, you ran those courses." They have said how useful it was to them and they are now advisors and high up in the recreation field. We, of course, also inaugurated the Recreation Association and were very involved with playgrounds at one time, and looking at recreation facilities.

> *You also set up the PHAB organisation in New Zealand. You brought the idea from Hong Kong, so how did it work here?*

Well, I looked – because coming from England where there is this huge youth work organisation and in Africa and in Hong Kong – I came to New Zealand and thought, I am sure they have the same set-up here but of course there were no youth clubs as they had in England, with their own buildings and so on. Not only was there no organisation to integrate disabled and able-bodied people, but there did not seem to be any youth clubs at all. I found it difficult to get started with PHAB and I went to all sorts of organisations without any luck until I went to what was called the Extramural Hospital in those days, and Dr Lopdell, of the Extramural Hospital, thought it was a wonderful idea and put me in touch with the occupational therapist. With their help I eventually got a group together to set up a PHAB group, which was resourced by Auckland

Regional Authority (ARA) as a youth group.

[Turn tape over]

PHAB grew because of the camps. I had great help from the Red Cross, who had a nurse who came, and the Crippled Children Society (CCS) who had one of their field workers come, and because I was used to getting help from the army I went to the navy and got help from them in the way of transport and cooks. We ran camps for as many as 100 young people, and because there were schemes at that time where you could get young people jobs and get supplementary pay for them, I found great help through the Catholic Students' Association and one of their young leaders was one of the best organisers I have ever met – he is now a very well-known lawyer – and he organised staff and transport and all sorts of ancillary services. To many young people these camps were an eye opener – they had never been away from home before, they had never mixed with their own age group before and certainly, for many able-bodied people, they had never had anything to do with disabled young people. We also had Ani Pehima bring a group of young Māori to the camp. Hato Petera were tremendous at sending their Red Cross team, who came to camp after camp, and I think it helped many of the young people who came to choose careers such as nursing, support work, youth work. I sometimes see on television some of our ex-PHAB workers in positions where they are influencing policies. PHAB is still going but, unfortunately, I was unable to continue my work with them through the ARA and I thought that was very short-sighted of some people not to allow that work to progress. But there was no funding, as you can imagine, for this work: we had to raise funds.

Why did the ARA stop their support?

I think the director of planning did not see it as part of the core business and I was told to stop. I continued on a voluntary basis but it meant that I couldn't help with administration or supply the resources that were needed – and certainly not run the camps, which needed quite a lot of administration, as you can imagine. PHAB is still going, but in a different way, in that we now have a contract with the Auckland District Health Board for a certain amount – not enough, but it has its own staff now and I think they have about ten clubs all over Auckland. So, it is going strong. The week-long camps no longer happen but the work is done through clubs. Certainly the disabled young people are playing a greater role now, so it has gone from strength to strength. But it had a difficult period when I had to retreat from it and it went right down because there was nobody to carry it on.

And you also got involved in setting up a retirement village called Northbridge.

That was one of my first jobs with the ARA. An old colleague of Bob Larkin's came in with all this information about retirement villages and said that he had been all over the place to try and get support for starting one, and eventually came to the ARA. Bob said to me, "There you are – go ahead, do it." So, we did and that was a case of forming a group and looking at finding land on which to build the retirement village, taking in ideas from villages in Australia and the States. This was to be a non-profit retirement village. It was one of the first, I think, and what was remarkable about it was that the steering

committee had on it the Minister of Social Welfare and the opposition Social Welfare Spokesperson, which was Frank Gill. What was amazing to me as a newcomer to New Zealand, was that these two gentlemen treated each other with the utmost respect and backed each other up every inch of the way, and I thought, where else can you sit with a Minister? They were very helpful in finding land, which was Crown land, and getting permission for the retirement village to be put there. Then we had to go the ASB and ask for bridging finance, and in the meantime create publicity, because you needed people who would come in and put their names down. This took quite a while – we had gerontologists coming in, we had public meetings about housing for the elderly, we ran a seminar through the ARA on housing for the elderly – all to get ideas on what this retirement village should look like. The idea was that it was total care, that you went into your own place but you may become decrepit and then you would have other options open to you. There would also be a hospital, which was subsidised and was on the premises, so that if one partner went into hospital the other partner could still be in touch. That took some time. The architect drew up the plans and Margaret Russell of the Auckland Old People's Welfare Council – as it was then called; it's now Senior Citizens and Age Concern – looked at them and said, "Where do people put their suitcases? Where are their cupboards?" It was in fact aimed at people who had a little bit too much money to go into pensioner housing, but not enough money to go into the open market. Once it was all up and organised and running it was handed over to a group made up of representatives from the Hospital Board, the ARA and various other organisations and they took over the running of it, I think as trustees, and still do. Of course, it's no longer just for people who couldn't be in the open market, as the costs have gone up enormously, but it's still non-profit. It has been very successful. That is one thing about doing things involving buildings, you can actually see them when you go past. Other things that you start in the community are just wisps, ideas, or you can see them come to fruition.

One of the things I helped set up was the North Shore Council of Social Services – coming from having worked for a Council of Social Service and seeing that there was no Council of Social Services on the North Shore. We worked together with Vaughan Morrison, from the Department of Internal Affairs, and Jim Courtney, who was from the voluntary organisations; the three of us were local government, central government and a representative from the voluntary organisations. The North Shore Council of Social Services is still going, as the North Shore Community and Social Service Council – it has changed a bit, over the years.

> *And you did the same with the Auckland District Council of Social Services.*

I think the Auckland District Council was already established but I certainly was involved as secretary and many years later I still am.

> *And that is co-ordinating and advocacy?*

Yes, all the Councils of Social Services have different ways of working, really. One of the other interesting things is that I was involved in the setting up of the New Zealand Council of Social Services and that, again, is because most of these initiatives were put forward and helped and resourced by local-body community advisors. It was the local-body community advisors who provided

the impetus and the resources for the setting up of these groups and we had meetings in Wellington with David Robinson, who was the Community Advisor for Wellington, very active in setting these up. Very idealistic, very exciting networking and it was a wonderful experience to be at the beginning of these things which still go on today.

You were also involved with setting up quite a number of Citizens Advice Bureaus right across the Auckland area.

A group from Birkenhead wanted to set up something, some community group, and Bob said to me, "Here you are. Go ahead and do it." A meeting with the group looked at what it was they wanted to do, and the way to do it would be through a Citizens Advice Bureau. Peter Harwood was involved at that time in Auckland City Council, setting up Citizens Advice Bureaus, but the Birkenhead Borough Council said, "Over my dead body," or words to that effect. So, there was no support as there had been in Auckland or in Manukau, but because the ARA could resource it we were able to start CAB in Birkenhead with a volunteer supervisor who was, in fact, a qualified social worker. But, again, that was a community group who set it up. I helped identify trainers and I think I got the Community Advisors of other local authorities to come along as trainers. The premises were shared with the Plunket Society, so when we opened the Bureau we had to put away the potties and the paraphernalia. I think we got a $200 grant from the JayCees. So that was a real community initiative that could be brought to fruition because of the backing of the ARA. That CAB is still going after close to 30 years. Because I was involved with the CAB it meant when other local authorities, or groups in the local authorities, looked at starting I was always asked to come along and actually speak to the public meetings, because I had the experience of how to start one. I think I went to Mt Albert, Mt Roskill, certainly New Lynn – I was asked by the mayor to be actively involved in the setting up of New Lynn, even to interviewing the supervisor.

But didn't the mayor have an ulterior motive for this?

I am not sure. I just think he thought it was a lovely idea to be able to sit there and give advice to constituents, though there was quite a lot of resistance to CABs from some local authorities. One said the town engineer could answer any questions, so I said, "So, if somebody comes to ask about contraception, what is he going to tell them?" They looked nonplussed. I also addressed Glenfield and East Coast Bays when they set up their CABs. It took us five years to get Takapuna off the ground because the mayor did not think Takapuna had any problems that he or his wife could not sort out.

So, this mayor held back setting up a legitimate community organisation for five years?

Well, they could not open a bureau without premises and there was no way that he would back getting these, unlike New Lynn where the mayor was very active in finding them. Eventually, through the intercession of an Anglican minister, the bureau was given premises in a condemned building so the Takapuna CAB started there. Again, because it was a community endeavour, the local Lions group came and did the painting and refurbishing. Again, it was true community-initiative spirit that, in spite of no money, got it off the ground.

How did you actually overcome the mayor's resistance? Did you just wear him down?

I think it was because a religious minister interceded on our behalf that he eventually caved in to the point of… "Well, they can have these premises and that is it."

That was a cunning move. Rather than fighting it head on you decided to take a roundabout route.

I did try and fight it head on, which wasn't always such a good idea, but one gets fired up. I went to several public meetings where this mayor was attending and challenged him, and at one of the meetings he told me to wipe the silly grin off my face – I think I was looking ironic. Then I got quite a shock when he became chairman of the ARA.

In hindsight, do you think it was the wrong approach to argue with him in a public meeting?

I don't think there was any option because to keep quiet meant that nobody else there knew about it, whereas if you actually challenge and say 'this is a community thing' and he is seen, in front of everybody, to squash you, although you might be squashed at least other people are aware of what has been going on. Not everybody is willing to stand up and be squashed; especially when I stand up – you can't really see me! [Joan, by the way, is not of a very great stature.]

So, you were involved in setting up all these CABs or giving advice on them.

Well, I was involved on the periphery of some of them.

What do you see is the advantage of setting up CABs?

I think it does meet a need in the community. One, it harnesses the community people to actually come and offer their services so it gives them a forum in which to be trained and give their services to the community. It gives the community a place to come and be heard, to come and ask questions that perhaps in the old days you would have asked your neighbour or your family, or somebody like that, but those support systems are no longer there. You know you are going to get neutral, unbiased information and it is a shortcut through the frustration of trying to find things out for yourself. Nowadays, they say, people can look it up on the internet, but that takes time and CABs are trained in what is the latest legislation, how it affects one. The other thing that CABs can do is gather the issues people raise and bring them to the attention of the local authority, whether the local authority can deal with it, or central government, or the consumer organisations, or the Law Society, or whoever has influence in that particular direction. When the Disputes Tribunal put their prices up the CABs quickly sent tremendous submissions stating that the people who came to them, that they referred, couldn't afford it – so it is a voice for these people, it is advocacy.

Another community development approach you were involved in that has been successful in New Zealand has been the community house system. Can you explain that, and was there a link between the community houses that you were involved in and your ideas from London with the settlement house system?

A tenuous link I think. The community houses were already being promoted when I got involved through John Raeburn, who saw this as a mental-health initiative to have a community house where people could come who were under stress, or who needed neighbourhood help and support.

What was John's position?

I think he was in community health at the medical school. He was very much promoting the Ottawa Charter. But, of course, what happens once you start an initiative is it takes a life of its own, and what happened was that the community got a house and a local committee, which then ran the house. I was involved in setting up that local committee, for the Birkdale Community House. Anne Hartley was very much involved with that, she was the Labour MP for Northcote until 2005, but before that she was Mayor of Birkenhead and also Mayor of North Shore City… in fact she became involved in politics because of her work in the community, so this was before she became a local-body politician.

She was involved in a Playcentre?

She was involved in the Playcentre movement and also in the importance of preschool education, which is something the community house offers. What Birkdale also pioneered was getting school kids involved in the crèche, so they learned parenting skills, which was tremendous. Groups would meet in the community houses, and gradually classes were run there, so a lot of the community houses now have classes running there. I remember we had a budgeting class there and looked at setting up a support group for step-parents and step-children – whatever we found there was a need for. Sometimes it would work and sometimes it wouldn't.

John Raeburn's approach was always to investigate what the needs were and that was one of the strengths of his approach. Rather than just doing what you thought might be needed, he had a systematic way.

We did surveys looking at needs… we did a lot of door knocking. I began to know my own street quite well from door knocking for collecting, because you always needed to raise money. Certainly, Birkenhead Borough Council – as it was then – was very active in setting up these community houses, which other local authorities then also set up. The community houses are still going, not quite in the way that they were but they are certainly still centres for community and classes, a place to gather. Of course, the preschool is still very much part of what the community house does.

One of the other areas you were involved in was in training and job creation and you had links with Ōrākei Marae.

Well, the ARA got involved with the different schemes that the government was doing to promote work and subsidise various jobs, and we certainly took advantage of it in the youth field and the literacy field, and in the supporting of recycling, which was one of the YWCA's initiatives that we helped with. So, through the marae, through Ani Pehima, they were doing training courses for young Māori in various fields and I helped with the administration in those areas. I think Ani was doing very innovative work with young Māori girls. We also had youth workers under the department doing work, especially for youth at risk. In the literacy field we supported an outreach through the Labour Department and had really very good staff promoting literacy and programmes such as anti-violence among young people. In fact, many went through these schemes and into influential positions in the community development field.

I think one of the strengths must have been that the ARA could provide back-up resources, get those set up; even though it wasn't running the programmes, it was there to provide the advice and the administrative

background.

We could actually get people and projects off the ground. I think that was one of the strengths that we had, because we did all sorts of initiatives and the people that we got, because they were given the opportunity, just rose and rose and became very effective workers.

[New tape]

Finally, another activity that you were involved in that set off lots of other things was the Home Care 60s Plus scheme. Tell us about that.

I was invited to be part of a pilot project to look at home care for people over 60. The idea was that if you could give help at home you could keep people out of hospital, and save money in the long run. This was a Social Welfare Department initiative and I think I was asked because of local government; they had people from voluntary organisations and people from various other places who all had something to do with the elderly. I saw myself as putting community development principles to work. The idea was to get institutional organisations, religious organisations and – as far as I was concerned – community organisations to deliver home care into their own areas so that we could assess how the different organisations delivered the service. It was very much a pilot scheme and Social Welfare made money available that was needs based. Then halfway through it the government decided to transfer it from Social Welfare to Health. The money would still come from the Social Welfare budget but it would go to the Health Department. The minute it went to Health they capped it, so although the money was coming from Social Welfare it was not needs based, it was capped. Which meant that they had to work out exactly how much an hour they would give, and so on. But the pilot had two years of implementation, and it was a joy because, again, it was a new initiative. We looked at training of home-care workers because they worked with the most vulnerable group, and we looked at the monitoring and evaluation of the work. It was a social worker's dream, with everything in place but, of course, there is many a slip between dreams and them coming true, and certainly under Health it wasn't as free as under Social Welfare and many of the things had to be cut. I think what eventually happened was that contracts initially went out to all the different groups that we wanted, but as the years have gone by – it is still in process now – the money has been cut back and back so that the training and the monitoring aren't paid for, and it has difficulties. But the idea, the concept of care in the home to keep people out of hospitals, is certainly alive and well.

In a more philosophical mode, why were you involved in community work? What was the motivation? What did you want to achieve?

I think the exciting thing was that you were involved with community groups, you were involved with people – people have ideas, they want to reach certain targets, they want to do certain things – and in community development, if you have resources behind you, you can actually help them to get these things to happen, to go from paper into actuality, into reality. Sometimes you work like hell to get an idea going and it flops, then five years later that same idea takes off, because it was too soon then, they weren't ready for it, but another time it just goes. But the whole idea is that you can write something down on

paper, you can theorise, but then you can actually see it coming to fruition, you can see the people involved, you can see what actually comes out of it. So it is to help people to make things happen – for the good.

>*That is the important point isn't it? That it has got to be for some improvement in society and it is meeting community needs.*

If people identify what they need and what they are willing to work for, and not just say, "Yeah, we need this. Who is going to give it to us?" If they say, "We need this and this is what we are going to do to help to get it," then you can actually help with resources or, again, being a regional area, you know the people who have the skills. At the ARA we certainly had a tremendous amount of knowledge and experience in the staff that we could go to for advice, for information on a variety of subjects. We had experts in all areas.

>*You were at the Auckland Regional Authority – which became the Auckland Regional Council in 1989, then ultimately the Auckland Council in 2010 – for 20 years. It must have been exciting but there must have been some stressors during that period, because the ARA did change.*

From the beginning (when initiatives and new thinking were encouraged) to the time when more conservatives got power (and did not like new initiatives, and did not like things happening, and certainly were not encouraging) was a very difficult time, because you had to balance what the politicians would actually back with what you saw as the community wanting or needing. You either had to persuade the politicians, or persuade the senior staff to put the case to the politicians, or go to some of the politicians who were more sympathetic than others, or you had to get the community to actually speak on your behalf. There were different ways: for instance, for the government, some of the social workers would give us information that helped us to ask the right questions to influence policy. In the same way, we could give information so that politicians could be asked the right questions, or the community would give us the questions. It was a case of who could help whom to do what.

>*During that conservative period when the New Deal came in with the Mayor of Takapuna Fred Thomas, whom you had not seen eye to eye with, were there any consequences on you in particular?*

Yes, there were. I think I was being targeted because I had earned displeasure by being active in that community, and it was very, very difficult because I knew that the slightest slip was being looked for and I had to rely on senior staff to protect me.

>*Do you recall any specific instances when you felt under pressure?*

I did feel that when my secretary told me that she was being asked questions about me and about what I was doing.

>*That was by a politician?*

Yes, and I wondered about his motives. Well, I didn't wonder, I knew what his motives were, by the very fact that I was working in the community and the community was telling me things that they may not have liked about what the local authority was doing, or about politicians in that local authority, and they knew that I was getting this feedback. It is a case of, do I get cowed and not speak up and not say anything, or do I look at what my job is? My job is the community advisor, and if I am advising the community to stand up even though they are challenging a politician, then that is my moral dilemma – who

am I working for? Am I working for the community or am I working for the people who pay my salary? When the two are in conflict, what do I do?

And who did you decide you were working for?

Sometimes for one and sometimes for the other. Fundamentally your loyalty must go to your employer but if you feel that that employer or parts of that employer, because an organisation like the ARA is more than just the politicians, it is the whole administration…

Did you ever get any written instructions or was it all just insinuation?

I think it was insinuation, veiled threats.

They were not willing to put it in writing. And, of course, in those days the politicians had a bigger say in staff right through the organisation, rather than the current system which is just to appoint the Chief Executive.

But even then, if the Chief Executive is not sympathetic to community development it is very difficult for those in that field. I think that comes through in local bodies, depending on where the politicians are. Like in Manukau, where the politicians believe in community development, the staff there can go from strength to strength in that field. Where the politician looks with suspicion at the voice of the community you are going to have a dampening down.

Were there any pressures from the community itself? Were there high expectations that you could not deliver at times? Did you ever come across that?

On the whole I think people were sympathetic. They realised that you could only do as much as you could do, so I don't think there were any great demands made. Of course, the thing with community development is that you downplay your own role, you work from the back so you are really empowering people – often they forget that you are working there, supporting them and helping them, and making them think that they are doing it all themselves because you can't be the front leader in community development. That is why other people can say, "But what does she do?" Because so much of it is back-room work or support and administration, and information gathering and handing over, empowering all the time without making people feel that they need that empowering, so it is a subtle way of building people's confidence, of giving them the information, of giving them the confidence to go ahead and do things.

Were there any jealousies that you came across in your career? Even from other community workers?

I think sometimes there were but I don't think I paid very much attention to that. I was probably hurt at the time and then just went on anyway.

What about staff in the ARC, not the politicians but the senior management?

Well, the immediate management that I was accountable to, I got support and help from the immediate superiors. I got good advice when it came to political nous. As far as the higher-ups were concerned, I didn't find that they were empathetic to community development or that they used community development in the way that they should have. But then that also depended on who was in power at the time. There were certain planners who were helpful, but as you went higher up you could not always count on support. There was certainly a tremendous amount of knowledge and experience.

I found the librarian was a fount of knowledge, the Māori advisor was tremendous in being able to teach one about Māoritanga and the Treaty. I had one-to-one tutorials with different staff there, who were immeasurable in assistance and help.

> *So one of the ways that you dealt with these dilemmas was to ride them to some extent, but just keep going, not knuckle under.*

I think sometimes I got really depressed and I might have wept once or twice.

> *Did it affect your health at all?*

I suppose it did sometimes, but what would happen was that I would really get down because this wasn't working and there was no help there, and there were obstacles put in the way, but then I would go to another meeting and people would be enthusiastic and they would say, "Oh, that is a great idea!" Then my spirits would just rise again, so that was just some of the ups and downs… I never lost faith in the whole community development principle.

> *In the end, why did you leave the ARC?*

One, I had reached the age when they said I had to retire. Two, the whole community development section was no longer in community development, and I think with my leaving it ceased to exist because nobody was appointed in my place. In fact, when I looked at who was doing that regional community development thing I saw that the Department of Internal Affairs had, I think, five community advisors who were doing the one job that I had. I used to say to my immediate boss that I never had any money to give away, whereas other local-authority community people all had finances that they could actually give. Certainly, the Department of Internal Affairs had funding to give but when I said to my boss, "I have to go out there and do things and I never have any funding I can give," he said, "Ah, but that is a challenge for you, that you can be effective without giving funding."

> *This is the same story as in Zambia – you were replaced by five people!*
>
> *Are there any final things you want to say about your career?*

Well, just that community development is like a drug – I am addicted to it and I was really touched when the groups and organisations I was involved in asked me not to leave when I retired, but to continue in a voluntary capacity, because they felt I still had something to contribute.

> *Run through some of the organisations you are still involved with in your retirement.*

I am still involved with the Takapuna CAB, PHAB, North Harbour Home Care, YWCA, Auckland District Council of Social Services, North Shore District Council of Social Services, Birkenhead Community Facilities Trust (which I was one of the Trustees of before) and the Birkenhead Budgeting Service. What I have more or less retreated from is the youth work that I was involved in. However, I have been asked to join the board of Age Concern and just lately I was asked to represent Age Concern on the Auckland Council's Injury Prevention Advisory Group. When we had to introduce ourselves I said, "This is what happens to youth workers who go white, they join Age Concern!"

> *One of the big roles that you have taken on, I think since retirement, has been with Access Radio.*

That was really interesting, in that I was actually sent to Access Radio by the ARA – they had applied to the ARA for funding and I was asked by the then Chairman to go to a meeting and come back and report whether the ARA

should give it to them. I went to the meeting and I was absolutely rapt by this multicultural group who were doing Access Radio and I came back with a glowing report that yes, we should fund them. They then sent some politicians who said, "No, we can't fund them." So the ARA never funded them, but they got me and I have been involved with them for 13 years now and, in fact, I am now Chairperson of their management committee and have found that a most rewarding, exciting job.

How many groups have programmes on Access Radio?

I think we have got about 90 groups and there are 40 different languages, and it is a really exciting concept. There is a management committee of about 12 who come from 10 different countries. English is a second language for most of them and the interaction between the different cultures is fantastic and we support each other.

Are there any arguments or conflicts at all?

Conflicts and arguments seem to be mainly within the same group. Say you have a group that is putting on a programme, the people within that group might have disagreements with one another and complain about each other but you very seldom have conflict between two different groups. The Indians do their programmes and the Pakistanis do theirs. There are various religious groups – the Hindus, the Buddhists and Christian sects of all kinds – God has plenty of money for programmes. We stress the importance of community groups, so that people can hear their own language and news from their own group. For instance, the Irish group has an hour-long programme and they have news from Ireland that they get from the internet, they play Irish music, they give birthday greetings, and greetings to people in hospital, and it really is a family programme.

Do you run the Jewish programme?

I do the Jewish programme, Radio Shalom, which runs for half an hour on Sunday mornings. That will be religious if it is a festival – I get a Rabbi to do it – or I interview people in the community or visitors to the community. I have just been doing a series of matriarchs, some of the older ladies in the community talking about their early days, and also academics who are teachers in the various professions. You never run out of ideas. One of the things we are looking at now is migrants and refugees. It is really important that they can have a programme in their own language because it is also a way to get messages across to them. Unfortunately, refugee groups don't have the money and we have to sell air time because it is expensive to keep a radio station going. I met Lianne Dalziel at a function and told her about our problem, that we would really like to have refugees run programmes in their own languages because this is one of the ways you can disseminate information. Particularly to women, as the women are often home with the children and they don't get the opportunity to mix or speak English, and she said to write to her on that and we will see what will happen.

At one stage you were about to lose your frequency, what happened then?

That was a very exciting time. We were to lose our mast, which meant our frequency, and that meant we had to go onto FM but the government had not yet made the decision on who to give what on that FM band – in fact, they still haven't – and we had to get an FM frequency or go off air. Our marketing

manager is particularly good at this, the person who helped us was Phil Warren, the late Phil Warren of ARA, who was, of course, a showman and a leading light in broadcasting, and he got all the mayors together and they wrote supporting letters for us, as a regional radio station, to the government. We also went to the MPs and got their help and also the President of the Labour Party at that time, Bob Harvey, who was also a media person, and used everything we could until they gave us a frequency. In fact, we had a ceremony in Waitākere, in which Marion Hobbs actually handed over the licence to me.

> *So you are still working on community development in retirement? It doesn't matter whether you get paid or not, it just keeps going.*

That is because I love it. I think it keeps one alive, it keeps one up with the play – you know what is happening in the community and you feel that you can still make a difference.

[END]

David Haigh has a long career in community development. He is the former head of CD for the Auckland Regional Authority and has recently retired from Unitec New Zealand, where he taught in social practice, sociology and not-for-profit management. David is active in Auckland Action Against Poverty.

JOHN STANSFIELD

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Pūrākau: Our world is made of stories

Founded at Unitec Institute of Technology in 2015

Pūrākau: Our world is made of stories

JOHN STANSFIELD

Background

Raumanga is a suburb of Whangārei in the province of Northland, New Zealand. Northland is New Zealand's most impoverished province (Connelly et al., 2019) and has a significant concentration of Indigenous Māori and a growing renaissance of Māori-led governance and enterprise.

The name Raumanga means many branches, and refers to the dozens of streams and springs in this fertile valley. Lower Raumanga was once a vital swamp and river basin famous amongst local Māori as a food basket and place of recreation much favoured by children (Vallance, 1956).

Contemporary Raumanga is home to about 3300 residents. The most common ethnicity (60%) is Māori, and almost 20% of residents speak te reo Māori, the Indigenous language. The suburb is poor and has relatively low home ownership. Nearly 50% of houses do not have access to broadband internet despite being very close to a significant city. Fifty-one percent of people describe themselves as having no religion and 28.5% are regular smokers, as opposed to 16.4% in the greater Whangārei area (Stats NZ, 2018).

The suburb is young and poor, with a median personal income of $22,200 as opposed to $51,844 nationally. Unemployment is high at 10.9%, 16.2% for Māori and higher amongst men than women (Stats NZ, 2018), and it is the second most impoverished suburb in Whangārei. As a suburb with a large number of rental properties, many of which are owned by investors from out of town, Raumanga has a constant churn of residents and is sometimes a staging post for families escaping the large cities and moving back to rural Northland. This transience has been described in a local community meeting

as one of the principal barriers to developing a unified community able to identify, articulate and meet its own needs.

The Raumanga Community Group, sometimes known as the Raumanga Community Committee, has met regularly for more than a year and is currently undergoing incorporation as the Raumanga Community Roopu (group, committee or association). This practice note from the field is an attempt to record and understand the importance of story in the development of identity and to situate a small, local case study within a broader debate about the nature of community development.

The importance of story

Pūrākau, or storytelling, is an ancient form not just of transmitting ideas but of creating shared meaning and thus identity. Contemporary scholars have examined whether pūrākau can be employed both as a research method and as a tool for decolonisation (Lee, 2009).

Various academic disciplines have discovered or are rediscovering the importance of pūrākau in creating meaning. Storytelling is increasingly recognised internationally as a research method beyond those countries where it has been evident as such for all time. In the South Pacific, Melanesian storytelling is an established discipline in both education and news, and academic endeavour seeks not only to preserve existing stories but to use these to analyse and understand the culture (Sanga et al., 2018; Uvovo, 2019). Contemporary academic theory applies storytelling technique and finds it useful, particularly in the mapping of intangible cultural assets (Jeannotte, 2016). Writers in the discipline of community planning exhort planners to use and understand local stories as legitimate research tools that might facilitate local problem-solving (Sandercock, 2003; van Hulst, 2012).

The nearby Whangārei suburb of Onerahi has developed a new cultural treasure in the hugely popular work *True Tales of Onerahi*, gathered and written by Agnes Hermans. Onerahi is a much more established suburb then Raumanga, with some families having resided there for many generations. The stories have become a critical method of preserving and bringing to life family memories, and are used extensively in education and community development.

Stories about 'place' have a central role in community development and the establishment of identity (Shevellar, 2011). Place identity enables individuals and families to negotiate collective action in the absence of a genealogical whakapapa. Shared identity of place creates bonds that enable collaboration, and that are relied on increasingly in disaster response and preparing services. One Australian study found that the stronger bond of identity felt in rural communities was replicated in areas where there was a common threat of fire. In both cases, the importance of storytelling to establish and build identity contributes to an ability to co-operate and collaborate and muster resources to keep families safe in the face of a fire threat (Prior & Eriksen, 2013).

When working in Sāmoa, I learned a delightful saying from Sāmoan

scholars:

> Ua taʻu mai e Pālagi i a i tatou, o le lalolagi e faū i atoma [atoms], ae tatou Sāmoa e lē valelea-matou [tagata-Sāmoa] e te iloa o le lalolagi e tele tala.

> The white man has told us that the world is made of atoms, but we Sāmoans, we are not silly, we know the world is made of stories.

This reminds me of the importance of stories, and that storytelling is part of our culture and cultural identity. In community development the stories of the community are an important part of the its identity, and thus are a mechanism for members to identify with the community (Dixon, 1995).

Developing a common identity

Whilst there are some long-standing families of residents in Raumanga, there is also a significant transient population. The Raumanga Community Roopu identified this transience as a barrier to development of a common identity. We did not, however, immediately seek to resolve this by building identity using pūrākau or other methods. Perhaps this is because the use of storytelling has become lost and seems almost mystical in a contemporary setting with emphasis on plans and measurable objectives.

As a fledgling roopu, we were finding our feet, getting to know each other, and establishing shared values and purposes. The development of values and purposes was led, however gently, by the Whangārei District Council's community development team, and while this was identity building, it took place in a somewhat mechanistic and prescribed manner. The process was initiated with the announcement that the Council had available $100,000 to be spent in community-led development. While the prospect of significant funding in a poor community might be treated with excitement and joy, experienced community development practitioners rightly regard it with great suspicion. When organisations are young and unseasoned, the kind of trust that is required amongst membership is seldom present or robust enough to handle the destabilising effect of a large grant.

Community or community-led?

Community-led development is the latest iteration of engagement between councils and communities. It is, in my view, a far weaker and depoliticised method than its antecedents in community development. The principal differences between the two methods are described in different ways by the adherents to both. The community development primer originally written by Ewen Derrick and updated by David Haigh in the late 1990s contains a chapter explaining community-led development (Bijoux et al., 2015). In this chapter, the authors describe community-led development as an approach born out of a new collaborative approach:

> The essence of CLD is working together in place to create and achieve locally owned visions and goals. Rather than being a model or service, CLD is a place-based planning and development approach. From learning in, and with, a number of community-led initiatives in Aotearoa, five core principles of CLD practice have been discerned: 1. Shared local visions drive action and change; 2. Utilising existing strengths and assets; 3. Many people, groups and sectors working together; 4. Building diverse and collaborative local leadership; 5. Adaptive planning and action informed by outcomes. (p. 139)

Some adherents believe the fundamental difference between community development and community-led development is that the latter posits power firmly with the community whereas traditional community development might be directed or driven by the local authority.

From another perspective, indeed that enjoyed by the Aotearoa Community Development Association (ACDA) and the International Association for Community Development (IACD), the difference is far more concerned with analysis, social justice and rights. The agreed international definition for community development, which was affirmed at the 2017 Dublin conference, the 65th anniversary of the organisation, states:

> Community development is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes participative democracy, sustainable development, rights, economic opportunity, equality and social justice, through the organisation, education and empowerment of people within their communities, whether these be of locality, identity or interest, in urban and rural settings. (IACD, 2018, p. 8)

The champions of community-led development point to the risk of community development being imposed on a community, and most experienced practitioners will know of examples of this in practice. Externally imposed development is most likely when there are asymmetries of power amongst the partners. For instance, if the state or local government partners with the community and does not have the requisite training or skill at community engagement to exercise careful community development practice, which understands the asymmetries of power and works effectively to balance these.

A far more significant risk, in my view, is the loss of a focus on human rights and social justice, because it is these essential values that prevent community development from being itself an oppressive process. Under community-led development, there is no theoretical restraint to the exercise of practice that would privilege the powerful and further alienate the powerless.

For the moment, however, community-led development appears to be unhindered in its political ascendency. The promise of collaboration, and a distancing from a more activist community development that challenges power, has proven too appetising for central and local government. The Department of Internal Affairs, once the champion of community development in Aotearoa New Zealand, is now totally hostage to community-led development. Internal Affairs funds programmes in which the department selects the community, largely identifies the leaders and determines the resource allocation – all under the banner of community-led development.

Community priorities

Meanwhile, back at a local level, I was apprehensive about how the announcement of a large sum of council money might impact on the Raumanga group. I was also keenly interested in how the group might develop some priorities around this.

At the next meeting, there was a great deal of talk about the need for infrastructure in the community. Members argued for a swimming pool and a gymnasium. There is already a swimming pool in the community, and it is owned by the Ministry of Education, who choose to leave it empty so that residents are not able to use it and thus no risk occurs. Also, there is a gymnasium that is part of NorthTec, the local polytech, and at the time of our early discussions was also mothballed. As the meeting progressed, participants began to understand that $100,000 would not build a lot of infrastructure, and even if it did there would not be any money left to maintain that infrastructure.

At the next meeting, there was a great deal of discussion about the possibility of a party. Parties are of course great ways of celebrating and pulling a community together; however, they are unlikely to be a popular use of ratepayers' funds. Moreover, there are a lot of parties already in Raumanga, and some of these degenerate into drunken brawls and occasions of family violence. The group considered the many risks associated with a party and were unable to resolve a clear way forward.

At the next meeting, we began to talk constructively about the importance of neighbourhood pride and the sense of place. A young Cook Island woman stopped the meeting and said: "What we actually need is the story. Nobody can have pride in a place which does not have a story that they identify with." I thought this was a hugely wise contribution to the discussions and we began to talk about the stories of Raumanga.

At the next meeting, we discussed in depth some of the stories that we knew and some of the keepers of stories amongst older long-term residents. The pre-European stories of the place were discussed, as were early farming ventures and the beginnings of the subdivision. As a group, we became quite excited to discover that there were stories about our place, and that these could form part of our community building in place making.

The event

At the following meeting, we began to discuss how to gather and share the stories, and settled on the idea of a picnic in the park, celebrating Raumanga and telling Raumanga stories. This would be a family occasion where residents could come together for some food, hear local music, watch our kids perform, have some games and sports, and, most importantly, hear Raumanga stories. A date was set for February, and organising began in earnest. What was quickly apparent was that members of the group were competent community organisers. In no time at all the team had assembled publicity, a programme

of events, a large barbecue, other groups who could provide food, performers and, most importantly, storytellers.

Food, of course, is terrifically important in community development. At every meeting, plates of food are brought by the group members to be shared and enjoyed. But preparing food on a large scale can be expensive and challenging. A treasured whakataukī in community development is the saying "The community sector marches on its stomach." This whakataukī is not derogatory, it does not mean that we are snakes, but simply that food is culturally valued and very central to gathering people together.

A small grant from ACDA and the generous volunteering of friends and family made feeding the multitude a possibility. An experienced community worker once told me that if you want to know how to feed a large group of people with a small amount of money, observe migrant communities. So drawing on family experience, we set out to make buckets of falafels, vegetable fritters with spicy sauces, and pancakes with cream and jam. With this, and the generous donation of a box of pita bread, and a fantastic Lions Club barbecue, we were all set. Feeding a large group of people can be done for as little as a couple of dollars a head when we make food from scratch. Chickpeas are one of the cheapest staples on the market and are the basis of great falafels. Interestingly, in a very working-class area with no Middle Eastern migrants, the falafels proved to be a huge hit. Competition between the Man Up sausage cooks and the falafel fryers was intense but good-humoured.

Photos: Matariki Roche

Photos: Matariki Roche

The weather, however, was not kind. What began as an overcast morning with a little drizzle transformed itself in the middle of our event into an absolute thunderstorm. Kids thought this was terrific fun and created excellent opportunities for instant mudslides. Parents and the community committee were stoic and laughed the rain off good-humouredly. The tug-of-war was made all the more enjoyable by the inability to get any traction on the wet ground.

The performances were stunning. Act after act got up from the crowd to entertain us with their song and dance. The young people revelled in such a broad audience for the well-practised breakdances. And there were stories. Stories of the early days, of being one of the first houses in the district, and the sea of mud that lay between their house and the shops. Have you ever wondered about those old-style prams with their large, skinny wheels and boat-like shape? Apparently muddy tracks were no obstacle, and a pair of twins could be marched off to the store, and the twins and groceries marched back again, floating across the worst of the track. There were stories of home building and neighbours collaborating to put in driveways and paint houses. Stories of sporting and cultural achievements, of picnics past and picnics for the future.

Future plans

There were more community-building events in the following month, and the group was building a good momentum … Then came lockdown. The Covid-19 lockdown slowed things down, and after that a lot of time was devoted to forming a constitution and preparing to incorporate.

But now it is spring, and there are new shoots everywhere, the group has met at the NorthTec gymnasium and is planning a 'Keeping dads fit' programme. The NorthTec theatre is being eyed up for community shows, a community garden has been launched at the school, and there is talk of a community market in the NorthTec carpark. Reflecting on a year as a participant and observer in the group, I am very struck by the wisdom of beginning with the story. A good community memory captured in a story is like a common ancestor, our community can whakapapa to this, and our stories can be of achievements and aspirations, loved like an ancestor.

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John Stansfield (b.1958) is a serial social entrepreneur. He is currently acting Associate Director Products and Delivery and Head of Pathways for Community and Social Services at NorthTec Institute of Technology in Whangārei, New Zealand. John has worked extensively in the NGO sector in advocacy and leadership positions and has campaigned on sustainable-development issues for several decades. He recently retired as Vice President of the International Association for Community Development, IACD, and its Director Oceania. He serves as the President of the Aotearoa Community Development Association, ACDA. He is also Editor of *Whanake, The Pacific Journal of Community Development*. John holds a Master in International and Intercultural Management (MIIM, 1999) from SIT Vermont, USA, with a major in sustainable development; a Postgraduate Diploma in NGO Management and Leadership (NLM, 1997) from SIT, BRAC Bangladesh, and a Bachelor of Social Work and Social Policy (BSW, 1983) from Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand. He has recently completed a Postgraduate Diploma in Bicultural Professional Supervision at Te Wānanga O Aotearoa.

DAVID HAIGH

Book Review: Agency of Hope: The story of the Auckland
City Mission 1920 to 2020, Peter Lineham, Massey University
Press, 2020

Founded at Unitec Institute of Technology in 2015

Book Review: Agency of Hope: The story of the Auckland City Mission 1920 to 2020, Peter Lineham, Massey University Press, 2020

DAVID HAIGH, OCTOBER 2020

One hundred years ago, Christian denominations were important in the lives of Aucklanders, but in dealing with pressing social issues, there was little collaboration between them. The Methodists operated their missionary work in Freemans Bay and Newton (then the poor parts of town), the Salvation Army worked from Onehunga and Queen Street, and the Presbyterians were in Parnell and Grafton. At the same time, the Sisters of Mercy and St Vincent de Paul gave aid to Catholics. Anglicans focused on institutions helping seamen, women and children rather than alleviating poverty, and for this they were criticised.

However, along came Jasper Calder, son of the Anglican vicar of Ponsonby. He was an unusual cleric, interested in sport, acting, boxing, horse racing and yachting. As an acting vicar, he drew large crowds to hear his entertaining sermons. The parishioners at St Matthew's wanted him as their vicar but the Bishop refused to make the appointment. The choir went on strike in protest. In 1920, while the Bishop was overseas, Calder was appointed the first City Missioner for Auckland, with his support committee drawn from his friends at St Matthew's. His political views were complex but he is described as a Christian Socialist. As missioner he worked long hours while suffering serious health problems, and retired in 1946.

In the first stage of the Auckland City Mission's (ACM) work, the focus was on church services, which attracted huge crowds. Voluntary guilds were set up for men, women and girls. The ACM set up a hospital library, and collected furniture and clothes for needy families. Other activities included aid to prisoners and the accused, children's camps for the poor and sick, a 'down and out' fund for people in desperate need, e.g., for groceries and rent.

A medical and dental clinic was established. But when the Great Depression hit the country it came with a crisis of hunger, poverty and unemployment. The ACM responded with a soup kitchen and support for the homeless with a night shelter. During the depression, funds were short but needs were high. With the election of a Labour Government in the 1930s, and the establishment of the welfare state, the demand for aid subsided. After the Second World War, the ACM focused on the needs of older people. The new City Missioner, Canon Douglas Caswell, had a vision of establishing a village for older people and eventually, after enormous fundraising efforts and a subsidy from the government, Selwyn Village was built in Point Chevalier. The first residents arrived in 1954. Later, a youth hostel was set up in Greys Avenue. In collaboration with other churches, the James Liston Hostel for homeless men was established. But with so much happening the ACM took their eye off the original issue – the poor.

In the 1970s, church social services started to modernise. For example, many adopted a community development model of social action. There was a greater degree of collaboration; for example, the appointment of community worker Bruce Hucker to work in Auckland's inner city. The Anglican Methodist Social Services (AMSS) was established to focus on community work, which had expanded into suburbs such as Māngere and Henderson. Highly skilled staff were employed, including Gavin Rennie, Pam Bell, Warwick McNaughton and Jim Greenaway, who were all committed to the community model. But tensions between the more radical and the traditional services never went away and the AMSS agreement ended in 1981.

With the appointment of Don Cowan as City Missioner, the Hobson Street site became the venue for ACM activities such as housing the homeless for short periods. A detox centre was also established. In the 1990s, poverty became entrenched in Auckland and queues started to grow at the ACM Hobson Street centre for food parcels (over 10,000 in 2015). A respite centre for people with HIV/Aids was set up in Herne Bay. The most popular activity for the ACM was the yearly Christmas dinner, attended by well over 1500 people.

In 1997, Diane Robertson was appointed City Missioner and she brought stronger management and leadership; ACM became more businesslike. Chris Farrelly was appointed City Missioner in 2016. There was growing concern about the homeless and rough sleepers, which resulted in Housing First being set up to find permanent accommodation for the homeless. This was an activity brought together by ACM and Lifewise, and supported financially by the government. As this book was being published, the ACM was (and is) in the process of building a new centre for the homeless, Mission HomeGround, on the Hobson Street site.

Over the 100 years of the ACM, it has, by and large, managed to keep its values of service to the poor intact. It has striven to balance its image as both a church and secular organisation. This is a valuable book for anyone interested in the history of Auckland and changes in the delivery of social services.

David Haigh has a long career in community development. He is the former head of CD for the Auckland Regional Authority and has recently retired from Unitec New Zealand, where he taught in social practice, sociology and not-for-profit management. David is active in Auckland Action Against Poverty.

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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 APA style guide, 7th edition, for citations and referencing. A guide is available here: http://libguides.unitec.ac.nz/apareferencing

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Send tables or figures in Word or Excel format

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Images should be sent separately 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

Refereed papers:
3000 to 6000 words

Opinion pieces:
Provocations which challenge practice and/or theory

Practice reflections:
2000 to 4000 words

Practice notes:
500 to 600 words

Case studies and biographies:
1000 to 1500 words

Articles on emerging trends and research:
Up to two pages

Reviews (books, plays, films, poems, songs or contemporary culture):
One page or less

Call for submissions

Whanake: The Pacific Journal of Community Development invites submissions for the November 2021 issue (Volume 7, Issue 1). The deadline for submissions for refereed papers is 1 August 2021.

All submissions must adhere to the submission guidelines.
Please send submissions and correspondence to epress@unitec.ac.nz.

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Whanake is seeking expressions of interest from community development professionals in editing future issues of the journal. To increase the scope and reach of its content and the community, *Whanake* is inviting the input of guest editors or co-editorships for one issue per year. Guest editor/s could work with in collaboration with the existing editors if this is desirable to the interested parties. NB: Copyediting, proofreading and layout is provide by the ePress team. Contact: epress@unitec.ac.nz.