

At The Grassroots

COMMUNITY RESPONSES TO UNEMPLOYMENT

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At the Grassroots:
Community Responses to
Unemployment
By: Kate Boswell, Denise Brown

NEW ZEALAND
**Planning
Council**

*Te Kaunihera Whakakaupapa
Mo Aotearoa*

At the Grassroots:

Community Responses to Unemployment

by

Kath Boswell and Denise Brown

with

Jo Maniapoto and Tamati Kruger

New Zealand Planning Council
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Greetings

Nga maioha ki te tangata, nga roimata ki te whenua. E nga iwi o te motu anei ra a koutou kupu korero, tumanako kua kaupapatia hai wananga ma te tini, ma te mano. Ko nga mihi ki a koutou, tena koutou katoa. Kia pono ki te Atua, kua rongu ki te iwi.

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- the Department of Internal Affairs for support, both financial and advisory
- our co-interviewers Sandra Leyland and Rick Mihaere
- our colleagues at the Planning Council, especially Martin Lee who prepared the profiles of the study regions.

Above all we thank all those people who gave their time and energy to talk with us, especially those working at the grassroots.

Foreword

Energy and creativity abound in the small communities of New Zealand. Too often those qualities are stifled by the government programmes that are supposed to help them. If we want to rebuild sustainable full employment in New Zealand, one of the important challenges is to learn how to add confidence and resources to community initiatives.

The project on which this paper reports is part of a programme on one of the current themes of Planning Council work — the return to sustainable full employment with high incomes — which has strong links to the other theme — resolution of Treaty issues and improvements in Maori social and economic development.

The campaign for full employment is based on recognition of the serious, long-term social and economic costs of present unemployment. It asserts that full employment, while difficult to achieve, is feasible, and that no lesser goal is acceptable.

A return to sustainable full employment requires action from many different angles. The New Zealand Planning Council has identified five elements within its work on employment: the development of a scenario of a fully employed economy; an examination of the linkages between macroeconomic policy and employment; a new look at labour markets and the way workplaces are organised; the need for substantial improvement in levels of education and training; and identification of innovative community responses to unemployment. The last of these elements is the subject of this report.

Most Planning Council reports draw on data and research gathered and quantified at an abstract national level. This report took us into small communities and to groups of people who feel really alienated from the world of aggregate statistics and national policies.

It is difficult to do research at the grassroots level — and difficult to report it effectively. The gulf in perceptions of reality between the policymaker and the grassroots is very wide. But it is very important that those responsible for developing and implementing policies that affect the grassroots know what the world does look like from that perspective. For that reason this report frequently quotes the people at the grassroots.

For the Planning Council, I congratulate the four authors of the report, thank the people in the Wanganui and Eastern Bay of Plenty areas whose co-operation made it possible, and urge policymakers to read and hear what their clients at the grassroots say.

James Crichton
Convenor, Employment Working Group

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Executive Summary

This project is a piece of qualitative research which seeks to put a human face on the unemployment statistics. It is one aspect of the New Zealand Planning Council's ongoing work on the promotion of full employment at high incomes, the resolution of Treaty issues, and improvements in the social and economic position of Maori.

We have sought to identify and describe a range of innovative responses to unemployment at the grassroots level. The aims of the project have been to obtain information to empower unemployed people, and to assist decisionmakers develop more proactive policies to reduce unemployment.

The project originated from the two community-based people, Jo Maniapoto and Tamati Kruger, of the Planning Council's Employment Working Group who were seeking a better balance between economic and social issues. They agreed to act as project co-ordinators and work in partnership with Planning Council staff.

Wanganui and the Eastern Bay of Plenty were selected as the two study areas because the project co-ordinators had wide networks in these localities. A project methodology was designed for working in partnership with the tangata whenua and at the community level.

Job creation

Many individuals and groups are taking action to combat unemployment. They are trying to create viable enterprises, and provide worthwhile and satisfying jobs which contribute to the wider economic and social development of their communities.

The job creation initiatives were enormously diverse in terms of their activities, size, structure and stage of development. They included horticulture, fishing, forestry, eel and paua farming and the recovery of agar-producing seaweed (from the primary sector); the production of clothing, footwear, wood-turned articles, cane products, toys, Maori bone carvings and crafts (from the manufacturing sector); and the provision of services including retailing, recreation, health care, food preparation and the recycling of waste products (from the services sector).

Some of the initiatives have developed from ACCESS training courses. Others have arisen out of a desire to work in a non-alienating, non-bureaucratic environment.

An obviously successful response to unemployment is the

gaining of employment or the creation of new jobs, and a successful business is one which is commercially viable. However, for many of the people we interviewed, there are many interim successes along the way and different interpretations of success.

The types of success observed by the researchers and described by the people interviewed included growth of self-esteem, confidence, good work habits and cultural awareness; movement from dependency to autonomy; provision of support and advocacy for the disadvantaged in their communities; reduction of social problems such as alcohol abuse; acquisition of business skills including learning from business failures; provision of goods and services that are accessible and affordable to the local community; integration of economic, social and cultural development which can be described as holistic initiatives; survival of small rural communities; and a move towards alternative or complementary approaches to economic and social development that meet the needs of diverse groups in the community.

Despite positive outcomes, these employment initiatives have had their problems. The three most common difficulties are lack of access to 'start-up' finance, lack of administrative and management experience, and alienation from the people holding power.

Other difficulties were isolation, lack of access to information and advice, the burden of paperwork, staff employment difficulties, seasonality, tax policies, 'free' market policies and the economic downturn.

There is often a wide cultural gap between local entrepreneurs and decisionmakers in organisations such as government departments and banks. We also encountered racist, sexist and patronising attitudes, usually well rationalised, from people in positions of power. These attitudes have a considerable influence on the first two problems described, access to financial resources and training in enterprise skills.

Training programmes

Some of the ACCESS and MACCESS training programmes we learned about covered literacy and numeracy, administration, research and development, computer literacy, primary health care, home-based nursing, hospitality, basic and specialised farming, horticulture, forestry, seaweed collecting, opossum farming, track cutting, outdoor pursuits, engineering, carpentry, builders' labouring,

industrial sewing, leathercraft, interior decorating, music performance, Maori arts and crafts, Maori canoe carving, Maori language.

Positive aspects of the training programmes were the growing links between training and employment/job creation. Innovative responses to government restructuring and devolution were starting to occur. The trainees were gaining self-confidence, hands-on experience, good work habits and broader horizons. The programmes were also seen as helping to reduce social problems.

The major problems were the lack of jobs following courses and the constraints of the current economic climate; the lack of incentives, both financial and psychological, for further training; and inflexible policies which influence funding and responsiveness of courses to community needs.

Iwi development

Representatives from five iwi in the Eastern Bay of Plenty were interviewed. Respondents estimated that over 60 percent of people living within their tribal areas are unemployed. They see their existing and potential resources as the land, the sea and the people. Their economic prospects are in horticulture, agriculture, forestry, aquaculture, tourism and recreation.

One of the most positive aspects of iwi development initiatives is the greater visibility of the strength and continuity of the Maori culture.

Iwi spokespeople described a range of problems they are struggling with. The most basic is not being treated as a Treaty partner in terms of resources and being able to operate in ways appropriate to them. Government policies are seen as inconsistent, especially with regard to the devolution of resources and services to the community and to iwi authorities. There is ambivalence about devolution because, while the people are prepared to do the work, they fear they will not have access to resources to cater effectively for their communities.

Social support

In this study we were particularly interested in grassroots social support initiatives. We found the assistance and services offered are as diverse as the individuals and organisations offering them but they largely share a common philosophy of helping people help themselves.

A number of the groups are clearly struggling to meet the demands placed on them within their existing resources, and are working many unpaid hours and providing for clients out of their own pockets. This problem is being exacerbated by the increasing number of people being referred from official agencies. Concern was expressed about the lack of support systems for 14-18 year-olds and the inadequate financial support for those people who have the empathy and skills to work with these young people. There is a significant amount of unpaid work being done by 'unemployed' people and beneficiaries. There is a growing insistence that voluntary work be valued not only for its contribution to society but also for its contribution to the economy.

The two hui

A hui sponsored by the Planning Council, with funding assistance from the Department of Internal Affairs, was held in each of the study areas. The purpose of these hui was to bring together a wide cross-section of the community, including unemployed people and local and head-office decisionmakers; to provide information on topics relevant to those participating in the study; to report the findings back to the community; and to provide the opportunity for hui participants to make recommendations.

The pain of being unemployed and powerless came through clearly but there was also evidence of the energy of people helping themselves and each other.

Positive outcomes of the hui were the sharing of information and different perspectives, the building up of networks, and the confirmation, for many there, that being able to control their own destiny was preferable to waiting for central government to act.

CHAPTER ONE

Background

The project originated from a request by the two Maori members of the Planning Council's Employment Working Group, who work at the community level. They were seeking a better balance between economic and social issues by gathering information that would put a human face on the unemployment statistics.

They also wished to give visibility to some of the positive responses to unemployment that were occurring in communities at the grassroots level, and provide information to which many bureaucrats and academics do not usually have access.¹

Aims of the project

The project sought to identify and describe a range of innovative responses to unemployment at the grassroots level. The two main aims were:

- to obtain information on appropriate strategies and models to empower unemployed people
- to provide information for decisionmakers to help them develop more proactive policies and practices to reduce unemployment.

The project was grounded in an explicit concern for economic and social justice. We were therefore seeking to foster change, in a small way, by channelling the voices of unemployed people, and those who work with them, through to those people who hold power and make decisions that affect the lives of those most disadvantaged in our society.

How it was done

When planning this project we were in the fortunate position of being able to start from a strong base. Firstly it had been requested by Maori people who are actively working in their communities; these people agreed to work in partnership with us as local project co-ordinators.

Secondly, the project had the support of the Planning Council. Although the views of community groups have been canvassed in previous Council work (*Issues in Equity*, 1983; *Meeting Needs in the Community: the Central Government Response*, 1984), it was a comparatively new approach to go into the field and collect first-hand information at the grassroots level.

Nevertheless we kept in mind the questions that people who are tired of being researched keep asking, such as who benefits (from the research), and who will own the information. We needed to continue to ask ourselves what's in it for the 'subjects' of the research, and what's in it for the communities we are studying.

To address some of the dilemmas of both the 'researched' and the researchers, we wished to use a methodology which was acceptable to the people we were working with.

The approaches we were most indebted to were feminist research methods and participatory research, as they have empowerment as one of their goals and can provide a setting for two-way learning to take place. Definitions of these research methods and further details are in Appendix One.

The two areas selected for study were the localities in which the local project co-ordinators had wide networks at the grassroots level—the Wanganui urban area and the Eastern Bay of Plenty (the area covered by the Department of Social Welfare's Whakatane District Office). A high proportion of Maori people were involved in the project because

- the Maori population in the two areas is higher than the national average
- Maori have been hit harder by unemployment than non-Maori.

Pilot interviews were conducted in the Wellington area and over 60 interviews took place in Wanganui and the Eastern Bay of Plenty. The organisations, groups and individuals interviewed are listed in Appendix Two.

The key features of the project methodology were:

- We were working in *partnership* with the tangata whenua.
- It was *community- and grassroots-based* and was striving towards an empowerment model. Sponsorship of a hui in each of the two study areas was an attempt to give something back to those communities.
- We have *promoted the findings* of the study following the hui and will continue to raise the policy implications with power-holders following publication of this report.

- We would return to the two study communities to *monitor progress* with implementing recommendations arising from the project.

The study areas

Over the last decade both Wanganui and the Eastern Bay of Plenty have experienced an increase in unemployment as a result of the rural downturn, factories and businesses closing down or shedding staff, and public service cut-backs. In addition, the Eastern Bay of Plenty is also experiencing the return migration of many urban Maori to their home communities.

Unemployment has risen dramatically in both areas: in Wanganui from around 500 people in 1976 (two percent of the workforce) to over 3,000 in 1986 (about 10 percent); in the Eastern Bay of Plenty area from around 600 in 1976 (four percent of the workforce) to over 2,000 in 1986 (over 10 percent).

It should be noted that these are conservative figures and do not include 'hidden unemployment' such as people who are discouraged from seeking work because they believe that no suitable work is available, and young people staying on at school because they cannot get a job.

The unemployment which now exists has led to high concentrations of unemployment amongst particular groups and in certain localities. Maori and youth unemployment are especially high and the number of long-term unemployed has increased as a proportion of overall employment. Outlying rural areas, such as Ruatoki in the Eastern Bay of Plenty, have very high unemployment levels.

In Wanganui, business confidence has fallen as a result of the economic downturn combined with the processes of adjustment and restructuring in the manufacturing sector, and government reorganisation and cut-backs in public services. This has meant that there have been no major developments to stimulate employment growth in the area. There was a feeling amongst some of the people we met that this situation is about to change. They anticipate developments such as the Foodtown complex, the Wanganui port development, and Asian business immi-

gration could provide the confidence needed to boost the local economy.

Others, however, were less optimistic. They believe that many of the jobs created by these developments, assuming they go ahead, will be filled by people from outside Wanganui. Moreover, they argue that the developments will not put money back into the local economy.

The people we spoke with in the Eastern Bay of Plenty area felt that the employment situation is unlikely to improve significantly in the coming years although there is potential for growth in tourism, horticulture and the fishing industry.

There were conflicting views on how much the forest-based industries would contribute to employment in the future. Some thought that they would provide less employment as the industry becomes more automated to increase productivity. People in the forest industry, however, see potential for employment growth in the central North Island as many trees will be ready for harvesting in 12 years' time. They predict a move from industry-based to forest-based work which will counter the technological redundancies. Employment will be available for those with increased skills, such as using computer technology to maximise the value of the logs.

Further details of the two study regions can be found in Appendix Three.

¹ By 'grassroots level' we mean activities by individuals or groups that grow from within a community when that community seeks to meet its own needs. Grassroots activities differ from externally-imposed services or activities in that they work from the bottom up rather than the top down. People who operate at the grassroots level either do so because they are disillusioned with conventional ways of providing services and choose to work in an alternative way; or they do not have good access to conventional or mainstream services and are therefore disadvantaged. The first group makes a choice to do things differently. The second group does not have the luxury of choice.

CHAPTER TWO

Interview Issues

We deliberately did not go into the study areas with pre-set definitions of 'unemployed', 'employed', 'work', 'productivity', 'success' and so on as we wished to be as open as possible to the views of the people we interviewed.

We found that work of all types was being done, and goods and services provided, by 'unemployed' people. People on the dole were working at several voluntary jobs in their community, such as youth work, organising sport, board of trustees. The 'hidden' unemployed, who were not on the dole and had given up looking for a job, were often still involved in unpaid/voluntary work. Women on the Domestic Purposes Benefit (DPB) were doing voluntary work such as childcare for friends' children while looking for paid work; other beneficiaries and part-time workers were being paid 'under the table' for their labour. There were people who were full- or part-time self-employed who still needed the dole to survive until their business was able to support them, and there were those who were unable to find a job which brought in an income higher than the dole. We also spoke with people in paid employment and self-employment who were spending many hours a week in unpaid/voluntary work.

CASE STUDY _____

Working on the dole

The Peria Trust harvests a special agar seaweed, which has been a local tradition since the 1940s. The seaweed used to be gathered at low tide by the old people — now the young people dive for it. Four people on the unemployment benefit have been involved in the Trust over a two-year period. Over the last six months they have passed on their knowledge via a MACCESS course and now 10 Maori men, ranging in age from 19 years to two in their forties, have been trained.

Their diving equipment has been gradually built up over two years and they purchased more equipment for the MACCESS course. They had a \$2,000 grant from the Department of Internal Affairs for a feasibility study, and their marae gave them \$5,000 to help set up. They built a drying shed with their own labour and materials. Their aim is to earn enough to pay themselves but at the moment their income covers only operating costs. The Trust has a special permit from the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries (MAF) to use compressed-air diving equipment. They are dependent on good weather and clear water — other seaweed has to be trimmed back to get at the agar-producing seaweed. The seaweed is brought back to

shore, dried, baled and transported to Coast Biological in Opotiki who then process and sell it. They are paid \$1.80 per kilogram based on dry weight. The Peria Trust is required to monitor the re-growth patterns of the seaweed for MAF under the conditions of their permit.

Rangihera, spokesperson for the Trust, described three main problems they have come up against.

"There's not much work around here ... but we've got our ocean resource but even that's getting a hard time. A while ago I went to court for having under-sized crayfish ... I said to the rangatira on the bench: 'If we can't go out there and catch our oversized crayfish, what are we going to eat?'. It's all right for these outsiders to come in and rape the resource and leave the small ones — they give it heaps. There's no way we could keep them out — they come in and show their licences and help themselves to the ocean. If you go out to catch yourself a feed or feed the marae, what have you got — you get penalised .. It wasn't so long ago that you could jump in the water and chase the crayfish off the rocks, you didn't even have to dive for them ... Nowadays they [commercial and amateur cray fishers] come in and drop their pots among the rocks where it's shallow and take any oversized [crayfish]. And now the ruas [holes] are getting blocked because no crayfish are there to keep the kinas [sea eggs] out."

The result of the court hearing was that a boat and some gear used for gathering seaweed were confiscated (\$5,000 worth of equipment). This has penalised the whole group as they will have to operate with only one boat.

Mapping the ocean is another difficulty. This is essential for the future maintenance of the seaweed so that they know the areas they have covered. The seaweed grows faster on some rocks than others and they need to be able to record this. The early Maori lined up their fishing grounds with the hills to mark the areas, which is what the Peria Trust is doing, but most of the time the water in their area is not clear because of dirt from the rivers (the result of erosion and forestry).

Thirdly, although there is a constant demand for the seaweed, the work is seasonal and they are unable to earn an adequate income from the venture, as yet.

On the positive side, the Trust members are particularly proud of their invention of a vacuum machine which transfers the seaweed from the divers to the boat. They have been able to custom-build and improve the safety of

some of their equipment with MACCESS funding, and have the satisfaction of knowing that they have the skills and gear to swing into action as soon as the weather is right. Another pleasing aspect for the Trust is that they are gathering the seaweed in such a way as to enable it to regenerate.

Their plans for the future include gaining an understanding of the location and regrowth patterns of the agar seaweed so that they can cover the area once in a season, and finding other employment in the winter. They would like assistance with developing an accurate mapping system to locate the seaweed more quickly, and harvest it so that it regenerates. Once the areas are marked, the seaweed could be gathered even when the water was not clear. Aerial photographs and detailed maps would help. They felt that so far MAF and Coast Biological had not been of much assistance to them. They would also like the return of their confiscated boat and equipment to enable them to get on with their work. But their major support, they told us, is being able to stay on the dole. □

As with employment, definitions of success are also varied. An obviously successful response to unemployment is the gaining of employment or the creation of new jobs; a successful business is one which is commercially viable; and a successful outcome of a training programme is that trainees become employed.

However, for those most disadvantaged in society and many of the people we interviewed, there are many interim successes along the way and different interpretations of success. For example, the success of one individual Maori person in business is often not counted as success by other Maori if it is seen to be at the expense of the whanau or hapu.

The types of success described by people we interviewed included the growth of self-esteem, confidence, good work habits and cultural awareness; the provision of support and advocacy for the disadvantaged in their communities (by people who often had meagre financial resources themselves); the reduction of social problems such as alcohol abuse; the acquisition of literacy and numeracy skills; the acquisition of business skills including learning from business failures; the integration of economic, social and cultural development which can be described as holistic initiatives; and the survival of small rural communities.

Expectations and approaches

We encountered a wide range of values and expectations, from those of the dominant value system (especially among affluent, Pakeha men) to those which rejected the dominant or establishment culture to a greater or lesser degree. We spoke to people who were struggling to maintain their power in bureaucracies, or who were struggling for survival in isolated communities; some were working to maintain the status quo while others were working for radical social change. For example,

approaches to the unemployment benefit ranged from a total rejection of compulsory work for the dole, to volunteer community work, to using it as an enterprise allowance on the way to becoming self-employed, to employers using it as a wage subsidy for a limited period of time, to compulsory work for local bodies.

These different suggestions tend to reflect the level of societal disadvantage or advantage experienced by the interviewees. For many young people growing up in today's economic climate, the prospect of being unemployed and living off the dole is a very real consideration for the future, and is often seen as the only option. One iwi training provider felt that the benefit system has created people with no initiative for planning and no incentive to be self-sufficient.

"It takes a long time to motivate people. We're moving into third-generation unemployment in this area."

Responses to another controversial welfare benefit, the Domestic Purposes Benefit, also reflected a range of values. For the recipients themselves, however, it is essential to their well-being and that of their children for a specific stage in their lives. The women we spoke with planned to move into paid employment as soon as they could, children's needs and job availability permitting.

CASE STUDY

The DPB and work

Sarah is employed rearing her children, although she is 'unemployed'.

"I feel that I'm actually earning my living — bringing up two children — and that's really a full-time job. [It] makes me feel that I'm doing something worthwhile."

She believes, however, that society does not recognise that this is work. Sarah also works voluntarily at the women's centre which is, among other things, helping women to cope with some of the negative spinoffs of unemployment. Of concern to her are the difficulties of entering employment.

"You are only allowed to earn \$3,000 in addition to the DPB after which you are charged secondary tax. After you extract tax and childcare costs it's not worthwhile taking a part-time job. This system discourages women from developing their skills and encourages them to become dependent on the state. It perpetuates lack of self-confidence and poor self-esteem."

In Sarah's opinion, the major incentives for financial independence for women on benefits would be: lower tax rates, for example, being able to earn up to \$20,000 on the primary tax rate; an increase in the childcare allowance and more accessible childcare; and the option of receiving the training incentive allowance in a lump sum enabling attendance at a block course.

Being treated by Department of Social Welfare Benefits Section staff as "dumb, dishonest and bludging" is another

difficulty for beneficiaries. Sarah feels that a system based on mistrust encourages deceit, but she acknowledges that in cases where DSW staff earn less than beneficiaries they are not likely to be sympathetic towards them.¹ Another aspect of this is that information is not freely available from official agencies and is usually not offered. The women's centre is currently building up better relationships with the Benefits Section.

Sarah's suggestions for positive things that women in her situation can do to alleviate their situation are: share accommodation, join support networks and become members of the River Exchange and Barter System. She would like to become financially independent once her children go to school.

"I think there are a lot of things available — it's just having the free information about them and support to actually do them."

Meanwhile, Sarah says that "for a lot of people the only way to survive is by getting work 'under the table' and having to resort to things like that to get by". □

A diversity of approaches to community economic development and employment were also evident. Some people felt like victims and saw these matters as outside their control, some were getting on with planning and development and trying to access the various government schemes, some initiatives were operating as 'ordinary' businesses, while others were experimenting with alternative models, such as community businesses, which are described in later chapters.

For those currently or previously in low paid jobs, even paid employment was not always seen as the ultimate goal when it meant exploitation of individuals, and was not seen to be contributing to the economic and social development of the community. One respondent described it as "working for the fat man".

Some of the interviews highlight the clash between communal and capitalistic values. The former were seen as promoting the wellbeing of communities, while the latter were seen as benefitting individuals and elite groups at the expense of 'ordinary' people. There was criticism of the ideology of the 'new right', as it was seen to be promoting a materialistic society and widening the gap between rich and poor.

A different view again was presented by a representative of a financially successful Maori trust board who questioned the 'rat race' of traditional approaches to economic growth.

CASE STUDY _____

Economic growth — is it worth it?

A spokesperson for a tribal trust board gives an alternative perspective on economic growth:

"When Kawerau was being built it sucked everyone in

there and there was nobody to work on the farms. I saw a lot of social breakdown because our people had plenty of money ... following that were the jobs at Tasman and Caxton ... you had a lot of young virile people drawn in there. A generation and a half later you have one of the worst cases of unemployment ... what is the lesson? ... You've got to have the foresight to recognise that when you put a lot of young people together you're going to have children so the growth shock and tension must be taken care of ... We could get two or three good industries going and employ a thousand people; 500 stable families; the birth of more people; the planning to keep it going. In other words, you're a dog chasing your own tail. That's why the Japanese have growth. That's why every country must see an increase in GNP each year. I wonder whether it's worth it.

"At the same time as you have all those people there you have technology exploding so it starts to do away with people. You have a dual problem: a lot of young people growing up with no jobs and technology starting to take jobs away from those who are there. I don't know what the hell to do! I would like to think that we could quietly develop a society where technology ... should work for us and that employment is not necessarily the criteria ... where education should be centred around utilising your time creatively. What's the use of inventing all this fine technology if it's going to put you out of work. I think we've got the criteria wrong. Sure, create work. Maybe it should only be a 15-hour week. There's all that wealth floating around somewhere. The new technology is moving the wealth, power and control into fewer hands and the intelligentsia have not yet devised a system whereby the wealth can be shared equitably.

"I think the education system should change its emphasis. If a community was educated on how to take care of itself in terms of voluntary health work, voluntary assistance to sporting activity ... and educated to take care of leisure time, the hours required to earn a living would be few because the infernal machines would be doing it. I don't see the point of creating an industry like Tasman to end up creating another problem. Let's learn to live as people and get off the rat race because we're going nowhere." □

Aspects of alienation

Not surprisingly, we encountered feelings of mistrust, cynicism and powerlessness among the people we interviewed, particularly in their dealings with government departments, local authorities and big business. A number of people wondered whether unemployment was in the government's interest.

"They don't really mind unemployment — it keeps inflation down and the economy going. The biggest problem that we have here is that most of the people on the scrap heap are Maori and it doesn't look as if its going to change. And under them are Maori women."

Mistrust was evident concerning new government employment initiatives. Instead of building on worthwhile features of earlier programmes, they have been constantly discarded in favour of new schemes. Government department staff were seen as not being well enough organised to put the latest schemes into practice.

There was also mistrust about the way devolution of resources and services to communities is being handled. Many people who are already expending large amounts of energy in their communities feel they are being set up for failure. The government's approach is seen as "we'll give it back to the community and if they stuff it up we'll say they couldn't do it, give it back".

One community resource person from an isolated area spoke about the feeling of ambivalence concerning devolution:

"Because we've never had any service before, it [devolution] can only be an advantage to us. But I can see that there are disadvantages. The purse could dry up. When I look at education devolving back to the community and I look at how the budgeting is being done for that I think it is the cheap way out for government. I really do believe that. And that could be the same for social welfare."

There was also mistrust of central government initiatives by local government. A local authority representative said that his council was reluctant to renew its involvement in government training and employment schemes because of central government's lack of long-term commitment to these schemes in the past.

"The government, if they want us to participate, have got to come up with a firm policy statement—a commitment for x number of years and no arbitrary turning the taps off and on. I would prefer that to be spelt out in a contract ... So often the government ... leaves the other half of the partnership to pick up the pieces."

The alienation of people who work at the grassroots from bureaucrats and decisionmakers was very evident. Key people in public institutions have a major impact on how services are delivered. We noted that grassroots workers quickly identify those who are responsive to community issues and those who are negative and defensive. An ex-prisoner involved in helping street kids gives an example:

"As far as high-ups in Social Welfare Head Office are concerned, they've spent so many years on this problem its now 'point the finger time' at the [street] kids themselves. They say every time we help you you completely f... the operation. We don't want to help you no more. That is the thinking coming out of Head Office, from one person admittedly, but the higher up you get at Head Office one person can make quite a lot of difference."

Although we met with officials who were clearly sensitive to community needs and who were acknowledged by community groups as doing the best they could within the constraints they worked under, some interviewees had had numerous bad experiences relating to access to and

use of power. One interviewee, a fieldworker for a government department, felt there was a need to upskill departmental staff, especially those who are there to help people.

Those who were working for the rights of the unemployed or were challenging the regulations seemed to encounter the most 'hassling' from officials. For example, the difficulties experienced by unemployed people who require some form of income maintenance while they work at setting themselves up in business were described by a number of people we interviewed.

CASE STUDY

Unemployment to self-employment

"I've turned from being a person who thought a lot about the rights of the unemployed to being an ordinary business person. The difficulties of operating my business are no different from the 140,000 small businesses that Mike Moore has been talking about. I have limited financial resources, limited experience resources ... you only overcome those through years of experience, really."

Roger started the Whakatane Unemployed Rights Centre because he didn't like the way he was treated when he was unemployed. The Centre's high profile resulted in "hassling by Labour and DSW", so it gradually petered out as it was unable to achieve anything. His next step (to get off the dole) was to try and set up a small business making and selling a child's toy, using the different government schemes available to help unemployed people. Roger and his wife did a pre-feasibility study, prepared a plan and submitted it to SCOPE (Small Co-operative Enterprises Scheme, Department of Internal Affairs) but were rejected because they were not a community group.

They then formed a work co-operative with six people who were on the benefit, which soon reduced to three. Starting with lawnmowing, they bought lawnmowers on hire purchase and received a grant from SCOPE towards the purchase of a truck. They had to stay on the dole as the income from this work was not sufficient to support their families. At the same time, they were successful in their application for a grant for the child's toy and bought materials to make up models for marketing. These activities took place over a nine-month period.

The next step for the co-operative was to expand to forestry contracting and concreting. The group later fell apart through personality differences, but one member continued with forestry contracts, one with lawnmowing, and Roger bought an existing one-person recycling business. Roger had done a small business course at Waiariki Polytechnic over a period of three years while he was unemployed.

Whakatane Recyclers has been operating for nearly three years. Roger has also set up another recycling business from scratch in a nearby town which "required a huge amount of energy and capital". He now employs six people. Roger and one other person had been unemployed and the branch manager, who has since left, was

employed on a job subsidy scheme. The business recycles waste products: scrap metals, bottles and glass, plastics, paper and cardboard but 90 percent of their business comes from scrap metals.

"Although I'm probably as conscious as anybody of the environment, I can't involve myself in any activity which is going to be uneconomic ... until society catches up with the concept of recycling plastic there is not a lot we can do about it ... the community is going to have to work out the cost of recycling the rubbish it is generating ... I'm trying to position myself so that we're able to provide a solution to the recycling needs and as the community moves with the times we can recycle this stuff. Right at the moment we're finding it extremely hard to recycle plastics and paper."

Despite some major setbacks — two months after taking up the business they had the Eastern Bay of Plenty earthquake, and two months later their under-insured building was burnt to the ground— Roger is now running a successful operation which is structured like a "completely normal business".

"It's very hard to buck the system ... You'd have to have fantastic amounts of money to operate outside the normal business environment, which is probably the only way something like a work co-op would survive. As long as you have to work with other business people then you'll find it pretty hard ..."

Roger still feels angry about the lack of support he and others received in their efforts to move from unemployment to self employment.

"Because of what I was doing I had my benefit cut a few times and was threatened with being taken off the benefit which of course is the *biggest* resource that you've got ... It was a personality clash between myself and X [a local government department official] but I'm not the only one that has these problems. X has the sort of personality who will rubbish anything until it's up and running and once it's up and running he will identify himself as one of the supporters."

Roger hopes to see an improvement in the 'us and them' mentality when dealing with bureaucracies, but says he had found individual fieldworkers from GELS (Group Employment Liaison Scheme) and SCOPE supportive.

He would like to see more support for the key people in groups which are trying to set up in employment; access to a small business agency which could provide resources such as feasibility studies; a six-monthly or yearly pamphlet listing services available to small businesses; and the opportunity to take a person who is unemployed and capitalise on their benefit for a year, with the proviso that the employer guarantees employment for that person at the end of the year.

For his own future, Roger has several projects "on the boil" which could employ about six more people if he had the resources available.

"Through what I've achieved I've become a bit more

selfish because I haven't had support from the community as a whole. I've had to do everything by myself so at this stage I'm a lot less willing to share it around." □

Many people are trying to move away from conventional approaches to employment and economic growth and want new policies to be empowering to those most affected by them. Nevertheless there remains a huge gap between the dominant culture and grassroots or alternative activities. In the majority of small enterprises we examined, financial and/or moral support from the private sector, service clubs, local bodies and regional development councils were notably absent.

A different type of alienation is experienced by many young urban Maori. It is perhaps better described as an ambiguity or ambivalence about both Maori and Pakeha cultures, and confusion about where their allegiances lie. One young woman spoke eloquently and movingly about the expectations she was grappling with. Was she Maori or Pakeha? Should she stay at home with her children or get paid employment? Why did rural Maori not believe she could not understand te reo (Maori language)?

CASE STUDY

A young urban Maori woman

Mere and many of the women in her street are on the DPB but would rather have jobs. They are socially isolated in their own houses and often too proud to ask for help or seek out company — "you never get any help because nobody knows". The idea of support groups is foreign to them and 'coffee mornings' seem too formal and threatening. Mere knows that many of the women find their Housing Corporation units to be very anti-social and it is difficult to make contact with other women in the street.

"You go out to the letter box and someone else comes running out to their letter box and you know they're dying for some conversation ... It's like being in an institution ... it gets harder and harder to make the effort to go outside."

Mere described a number of dilemmas she and many other women are experiencing when contemplating the move to paid employment. Firstly there is the ebbing away of confidence when out of the paid workforce, which is felt by many women at home with young children. She gave an example of a woman on the local school board of trustees who is about to give up because she does not understand the procedures and is distressed about constantly having to ask for explanations.

Some of the women feel they should register as unemployed because they want a job but at the same time they are worried about not being able to hold down a job.

"When you're cleaning dirty nappies you just can't imagine someone taking you on and saying 'we'll train you and pay you \$300 a week'."

Secondly, they are getting conflicting messages from their

partners and from other Maori people. Their partners, who are looking for work themselves, are torn between wanting them to work and not. Mere has been criticised by other Maori people for wanting to earn wages. She explained that although the women she knows help each other with childcare if they get a temporary part-time job, they often meet with opposition if it interferes with their 'traditional' roles. "They [the partners] don't like it if tea's not cooked when they come in the door."

Thirdly, in terms of preparing themselves to re-enter the workforce, they are often not sure what to study and when they do take on a course of study, find it difficult to concentrate and set aside time because of the demands of partners and children. In addition, they are ambivalent about the value of further education because they are not convinced that it will lead to paid jobs.

Male partners are also often confused about their roles and no longer see themselves as breadwinners. Some of them help with the children but they cannot juggle the cooking, washing and house cleaning as well. This compounds the women's anxiety about balancing paid work and domestic chores. Mere thought that most women in her generation did the household budget and paid the bills.

"The men don't have control of the money because they are not responsible enough ... they buy [unnecessary] things instead of paying the bills. Women will worry into the night about it."

An example of role ambiguity was described. A women's rugby league team had been established but was an offshoot of the men's team. The after-match functions were modelled on the men's gatherings. Relationships were being strained by both partners going out separately to after-match functions and household budgets were being strained to pay for the alcohol. Mere felt the women were also taking on aggressive 'male' sporting attitudes.

Another dilemma described by Mere was that although the women often have difficulties in dealing with government agencies, they are usually too proud to ask other women to accompany them for support. Mere had been given misleading information by Housing Corporation staff about the possibility of a house transfer. She would like to see DSW more forthcoming about DPB entitlements. Some of the women have had no dental care for years but have recently found they are eligible for a dental benefit.

"If you go in and ask [about entitlements] they won't tell you. If they can't afford for everyone to be entitled them why don't they just cut it."

Mere is also experiencing a cultural dilemma and has feelings of being torn two ways. She has been criticised for not speaking te reo and feels that her personal ethics and morals are being questioned when she is asked: "Are you going to be Maori or Pakeha, Mere?". She is caught between feeling she should return to the marae but not wanting to, and also, "you get caught in the middle about how to raise your children".

The issue of dependence on the state and the worry that "the next generation will think that being on the benefit is the only way to live" is an over-riding dilemma for Mere.

"The benefit system encourages people to be sly and underhand — you lose money by being honest." □

Conclusion

A variety of interpretations of unemployment, work and success, for example, were evident in this study. Many 'unemployed' people were working at unpaid jobs and some were using the dole as an enterprise allowance as they moved towards self-employment. 'Success' encompassed more than financial success, especially when the development of those most disadvantaged in society was involved.

A wide range of values and expectations were encountered which made for a huge gulf between those with power and resources and those without. Among grassroots people there was considerable alienation, from central and local government officials and 'big business'. There was little evidence of support for grassroots enterprises from the private sector, service clubs, local bodies and regional development councils. This gap also makes it difficult for many people to enter the business sector of the economy. For progress to be made in community economic development there is an urgent need for agencies to employ people with the appropriate interpersonal skills to bridge this gap.

The most innovative responses to unemployment are coming from individuals and groups who are strongly motivated to move from dependence to autonomy. We would reiterate, along with many others who have consulted with community groups, the need for policies and practices that are supportive of self-help initiatives, particularly by those who are starting from a long way back — those who are struggling to get out of some very deep holes in the 'level playing field'. Policies, and their implementation, also need to be flexible enough to respond to the creativity, diversity and different ways of operating that are so often found among grassroots people.

¹ Information provided by the Department of Social Welfare indicates that it is possible for junior benefits clerks to earn less than beneficiaries in some circumstances: a sole parent supporting two children is entitled to approximately \$14,000 p.a. (after tax). This amount could increase to just under \$18,000 if that person was eligible for an accommodation benefit and a disabilities allowance. The basic grade clerical salary range is currently \$10,396 - \$21,412 p.a. (before tax), although most juniors would start on approximately \$17,000 p.a.

CHAPTER THREE

Job Creation

Faced with high and continuing unemployment, and the failure of government programmes to produce satisfactory responses, individuals and groups at the local level are recognising that they themselves need to take action to combat unemployment. They see the need to harness energies and resources and be imaginative and active in creating their own employment.

Eastern Bay of Plenty

In this area we interviewed people from 11 job creation initiatives. There was a wide range, in terms of activities, origin, size, structure and stage of development (see p.10). The types of activities included eel and paua farming; recovery of agar-producing seaweed; Maori bone carving; manufacture of clothing, footwear and wood-turned products; recycling of waste products; food preparation; stationery retailing; and health care services.

Several of the initiatives, including the Torere Wood Turners, the Contract Sewing Trust and the Peria Trust, developed from ACCESS training courses. Others, such as a paua farming venture and the Edgcumbe Bone Carving Company, arose out of a desire to work and produce in a non-alienating environment — that is, rejecting much of what is often associated with large-scale bureaucracies and mass production. The remainder developed in response to local needs, problems, opportunities and resources.

The initiatives varied widely in terms of their level of development. Some were still in the initial organising and research stages (such as the paua farming venture and Ruatoki Health Group), and others were more established although still dependent on government subsidies (such as Edgcumbe Bone Carving Company and stationery seller). Some businesses have been operating for several years and are self-reliant and commercially viable (such as Kerri Lee Shoes and Whakatane Recyclers).

CASE STUDY _____

Surviving in a small business

The Edgcumbe Bone Carving Company is a family business which has been operating as a private limited company since May 1989. It was formed in response to a growing disillusionment with working in a large bureaucracy and the desire to have greater freedom to be innovative and creative. Three people are involved in the busi-

ness and their aim is to make a living from the production and marketing of Maori arts and crafts.

The business was established with the assistance of funding from the New Zealand Employment Service Job Opportunity Scheme (JOS) wage subsidy. An application for Mana Enterprise funding was also made and approved but because available funds were limited the loan fell through.

The business received support from the former Department of Maori Affairs through the sponsorship of a stall at a crafts promotion show in Wellington, where the real potential for the business became apparent. The Company is now a regular vendor at these shows and has learned a good deal about how to market its products. Other sources of support have been whanau, the local community and the Regional Maori Tourism Council.

The business struggled through and survived its first six months of operation, and is now bringing in just enough money for those involved to make a living. They say they are no longer an 'arts and crafts' company but "just a workshop ... banging out the same old things that we know sell".

Perseverance, "through not wanting to be unemployed", is the main reason the business has survived so far. This has meant adopting disciplined work habits; guaranteeing orders are met, not only in terms of delivery but also quality, packaging and presentation; having a knowledge of the market; and producing for market needs and preferences.

Numerous problems and difficulties were encountered in the course of getting the business up and running.

- They received bad advice regarding the most appropriate type of legal structure for the business. Forming a limited company precluded the business from most forms of government funding.
- It was difficult to obtain information about the various funding options available for small businesses. There was too much paper work associated with some funding applications. Immediate funding was unavailable and there were bureaucratic delays in processing funding applications.
- There was a stand-down period to qualify for the JOS wage subsidy.

"The best thing I could find at that time was this wage subsidy scheme that the Labour Department had which is a good scheme. And I wanted the maximum

Initiatives Surveyed in Eastern Bay of Plenty

Venture	Origin	Activities	People involved
Kerri Lee Shoes	Previously set up a successful boot factory in Opotiki	Manufactures and retails shoes with hand-made clogs as a speciality	13
Contract Sewing Trust	Developed from Maori ACCESS course	Makes garments for a clothing company	3
A food business	Established new business after being made redundant	Bakes Maori bread (rewena); supplies sandwiches	5
Eel farming	Identification of local opportunity for economic development	Plans to farm eels and to process eel meat and eel skin products for export market	3 at present (potential for up to 30)
Edgumbe Bone Carving Company	Rejection of bureaucratic system; desire to be innovative and creative	Creates Maori bone carvings	3
Paua farming	Rejection of working in a bureaucracy; desire to be self-employed	Plans to farm paua for the export market	2-3
Peria Trust	Long-standing local tradition	Recovers and sells agar-producing seaweed	10
Ruatoki Health Group	Government restructuring of health service and growing concern about local health issues	Plans to provide primary health care services to Ruatoki community; not yet funded	12
Stationery seller	Established after attending a course in Australia	Sells stationery by phone	4
Torere Wood Turners	Developed from Maori ACCESS course	Creates wood-turned articles from driftwood	3
Whakatane Recyclers	Purchased existing business	Recycles waste products	6
			64

funding out of that which is \$200 per person per week. To get that for a whole year you have to be unemployed for a certain length of time. So that's what we did. We went on purpose on the unemployment benefit. That's the only way I know that we could have got started."

- It was difficult to combine the roles of craftsperson and manager.
- The business is seasonal, making it a struggle to survive in June, July and August.
- There was a lack of support and assistance from

people of high standing in the community.

- Taxes were demoralising.
- There was a lack of finance for marketing.
- Having to depend on a Pakeha salesperson for survival, when they'd rather do it for themselves.
- Competing with imported Taiwanese bone carvings.
- Distance from the major markets.

The Company's short-term plans are to establish a proper workshop instead of using a garage, and to employ someone to do the administrative work. In the long term they would like to try the international market. □

Wanganui

As in Eastern Bay of Plenty, most of the grassroots initiatives in Wanganui were Maori. These included horticulture, fishing and forestry from the primary sector; manufacture of clothing, toys, cane products and craft products; and services such as retailing, recreation and tourism.

Although there was wide variation in the initiatives we surveyed, there were a number of unifying characteristics:

- They were all established and are run by individuals and groups in the communities in which they are located.
- They all had as a central objective the creation of viable employment.
- Many of them were developed in response to local needs, problems, opportunities and resources.

Positive aspects

The creation of employment has been the most obvious and direct outcome of these grassroots initiatives. In addition to providing the individuals involved with worthwhile and satisfying jobs, it has also provided them with a challenge and sense of purpose in life. This has often been possible only with the assistance of government funds, but it is surely more productive to assist people make the transition from unemployment to business/self-employment than for them to be passively dependent on welfare payments. A spokesperson for a small company of predominantly young Maori people described the most positive outcome for them as being "the feeling of controlling our own destiny and not waiting around for the government to do something". The goal of moving from dependency to independence was a recurring theme in our interviews.

CASE STUDY _____

A women's co-operative

Katarina attended a Skills of Enterprise course (community initiated) to acquire the basic training needed for running a small business. The New from Old Co-operative was set up early in 1989 with the help of a SCOPE grant from Internal Affairs. They also received grants from their marae and the Regional Development Council.

The aim of the co-operative is to "try and get people doing their own thing, eventually without any grants". The idea of setting it up had been with Katarina for several years after observing that ACCESS schemes were not succeeding in getting people into jobs. She felt there was a need to

create employment for unemployed people.

The main activities of the co-operative are buying and selling of high quality second-hand goods and production of tie-dyed clothing. The women specifically chose these activities because they involved a low investment of capital and they wanted to avoid having to apply for grants. There are seven women involved on a regular basis, all of whom are beneficiaries and mostly Maori, covering a wide age range. Their skills include sewing, tie-dyeing, silk-screening and designing. Currently any profits from the business are used to buy new stock. In the future they hope to start an ACCESS sewing module which will supply the shop with goods and eventually be transformed into its own business.

The major difficulties they faced were the amount of paper work involved in applying for grants, setting up as a charitable trust and preparing an ACCESS proposal; the lack of business skills; feeling intimidated by the agencies which hold information; and having only one vehicle for collecting stock.

The women would like to see the process of setting up as a co-operative to be made easier by having advisers or consultants, preferably people who can provide clear and simple explanations and who are not intimidating.

The group would like to expand the business but is uncertain as to which direction. While realising the importance of establishment grants, they are determined not to become dependent on government funding. The most positive outcome of their work so far is their growing sense of pride and self-esteem. □

One outstanding example of personal development through employment is a stationary retailing business, run by an accident-disabled person.

CASE STUDY _____

Disability and employment

Donald became disabled 12 years ago as a result of an accident which confined him to a wheelchair.

"I didn't want to associate with anybody. I spent two years in bed because I didn't want people to see me the way I am. It took me five years to accept anybody even looking at me."

After about seven years, Donald got involved in answering telephones for a local businessman. Before long he was providing a home-based answering service for five or six businesses. He continued this for three years, until he went to Australia and spent eight months learning how to sell stationery by phone. Within a year of his return to Whakatane he was encouraged by the manager of the newly-established Disability Resource Centre to set up a stationery selling business at the Centre. Donald has been operating his business from there since April 1989, with the help of the staff.

Funding for setting up the business was obtained through

a JOS wage subsidy and a modification allowance of \$15,000, which was used to make alterations to furniture, install a new telephone system and purchase a computer. Donald's other main source of support and his "biggest motivator" is his wife. Another important source of support has been the Disability Resource Centre, which has provided him with encouragement and assistance. The District Council has also been very supportive through the provision of rent-free accommodation and allowing the business to operate without a licence.

In the very early stages the local stationery supplier, who had had a monopoly in the area, was unco-operative. However, they have come to a mutually beneficial arrangement.

"We're now working together. I buy a lot of stuff off them, they give us a big discount, and we sell it for the prices we want to sell it for. We don't sell it at their prices. They're not missing out. They're still selling to us and we're still selling to our clients."

The response from the community has been very favourable, with the local people more than willing to use the business. The speed at which it has grown has been quite unexpected and very encouraging. The number of clients has grown steadily from three to 33. Sales have also increased to just under \$5,000 per month, almost 10 times the expected value. The potential for further growth is thought to be large, especially as there has been no formal advertising to date. Knowledge of the business has been spread solely by word of mouth.

The success of the business so far is due to its reasonable retail prices and the willingness of the community to support it. The business has also had a very positive effect on Donald. Not only has it provided him with a job, but more importantly it has given him a sense of purpose in life and helped build his self-esteem.

The main problems for Donald in setting it up were the difficulty of coming to terms with his disability; his dependency on his wife for transportation; the lack of incentive to work because he was already receiving a regular income through an ACC 'life pension'; and the scarcity of funding for disabled people on such a pension for establishing a business.

"There's a lot of people who are disabled who don't qualify for ACC support, such as myself, because once they put you on a permanent pension they aren't obligated to help you in any way ... The biggest hindrance for a disabled person going into business is the way they put you into groups. One guy is eligible for \$25,000 to get a business off the ground and another guy like me is not. And yet our disabilities could be exactly the same. But because I've been in a wheelchair longer I get nothing. I reckon 10 years should be when they put you on a permanent pension, not five."

Donald plans to expand his stationery selling business, firstly through newspaper advertisements. It is hoped that by the time the JOS wage subsidy runs out in March 1991 the business will be able to pay the wages of two people. Another plan is to establish a telephone answering busi-

ness at the Centre, along the lines of the one he previously operated from home. Donald would like to see newly disabled people encouraged into work.

"Disabled people should be told what they *can* do rather than what they can't do." □

Job creation initiatives can have benefits for the community as a whole, by showing that new jobs can be created in areas with severe unemployment problems and low morale. They can have a positive regenerative impact on the social and economic development of the locality. By restoring confidence and the capacity for economic activity they can channel energy into meeting local needs. In Opotiki a shoe factory has created 13 new jobs.

CASE STUDY

Providing employment

Kerri Lee Shoes is a small shoe manufacturing company in Opotiki which has been in business for about two years. The company produces hand-made clogs as a speciality item. Malcolm, who is the owner, had previously run a successful boot factory. Kerri Lee Shoes was set up with backing from the Whakatohea Trust Board, providing rent-free premises for a year and a loan to buy machinery with no interest or capital repayment for the first year. The establishment of the business is a good example of Maori-Pakeha co-operation — the Whakatohea Trust has been very positive. "They explore the problems, discover the prospects and give encouragement."

The 13 staff (one in administration and 12 full-time in the factory) were all previously unemployed. Most are young people; four are men and 11 are Maori. Malcolm has opened three shops in Auckland, sells to about 10 other shops, and 'seconds' shoes made by trainees are sold in the Otara and Victoria Park markets.

Malcolm faces a number of difficulties:

- The uncertainty of the financial climate makes it too risky to expand and take on more staff. Also they are in effect providing their customers with free credit by not being paid until the shoes are sold. He can only afford small purchases of materials.
- The distance from the market and suppliers means that Malcolm spends 10 hours travelling every week taking the shoes to market.
- Staff are unskilled and have to be trained on the job. It is difficult to send supervisors on courses as there is no backup while they are away.
- The paperwork required is excessive.
- It takes time to establish a market niche, such as for the clogs. The free market philosophy has made it extremely difficult to compete with low-priced, low-quality imports.
- Tax burdens make it very difficult. Malcolm said it

was demoralising to build up finance and then lose it all to tax.

The positive aspects are the lower overheads in Opotiki; he is mostly able to maintain the machinery himself; he can offer delivery time of about two weeks; his weekly trip to Auckland enables him to keep up contacts; having their own retail outlets has helped their survival as it cuts out the 'middle men'; they are building up a system of worker participation in the business; the clogs are all New Zealand made; he has received a Community Employment Investigation Scheme (CEIS) grant from the Ministry of Commerce for a market survey on selling the clogs in Australia and hopes to export them in the future.

To make it easier to set up in business, Malcolm suggests that taxes be reduced for the first three (high-risk) years. He would like to see suspensory loans for exports and the wider availability of low interest loans similar to the support he has had from the Whakatohea Trust Board. Small businesses need some kind of 'mobile' advisory and training support to help with paperwork, and run middle-management and marketing courses to follow on from ACCESS 'vocational' courses. For himself, Malcolm would like a source of short-term loans to enable him to buy materials in bulk, and he could do with professional advice on how to handle the problem of providing credit without losing business. □

The provision of goods and services that are accessible and affordable to the local community is another positive outcome of local employment initiatives. For instance, the Ruatoki Health Group is planning to provide the local community with primary health care services five days a week, compared with the equivalent of only one day a week at present. These services will be made available at a minimal cost to the community. (Ruatoki is a rural area in the Eastern Bay of Plenty.)

CASE STUDY _____

A local health group

The Ruatoki Health Group was set up in August 1989 to take responsibility for the primary health care needs of the local community. There are 12 people involved. The Group was started as a response to government restructuring of the health service, together with a growing concern about local health issues.

"I guess we really started with the community itself wanting to gear itself up for the changes that are happening with the hospital boards, the closure of institutions, and in particular because Maori people are just sick and tired of living in a poverty situation.

"The other reason why the committee was set up was because we had the District Council here not so long ago telling us that our water supply is polluted. That was why it was so urgent to set up a health group."

The main focus of the Group is on Maori health; its catchment area is the Ruatoki District (this could be extended to other districts). Since it began, the Group has

concentrated mainly on drawing up a set of aims and objectives, identifying health issues which need to be targeted, and developing a set of action plans for each of these health issues. The four major issues are drug and alcohol abuse, the elderly, mental health and the disabled, and children at risk.

The Department of Social Welfare is the most likely source of funding, as well as the Tuhoe Trust Board and the Department of Internal Affairs. It is hoped that, in time, income generated from some of the Group's initiatives will lessen its dependence on government funds. The local doctor and health workers from the community and the hospital have given their moral support to the Health Group.

The most pressing concern is the need for a full-time co-ordinator and a base venue. The survival of the Group will depend on how successful it is in the community, and in promoting awareness of health issues among local people. The Group plans to set up a community house for 'children at risk'; provide locally-based services for the mentally retarded and disabled, to minimise travel and inconvenience; provide basic health services five days a week from the Ruatoki Health Clinic (now staffed by a general practitioner on two days each week for four hours); develop herbal 'Maori medicine' to provide an alternative to travelling to the nearest pharmacy in Whakatane; and run anger and stress management workshops.

It is hoped that these initiatives will create long-term employment for at least three full-time and two part-time workers. The skills and knowledge for the work will be gained from the primary health care course being run through the Tuhoe Kokiri Centre. This course is the first of its kind and recently had its first graduation. □

Many grassroots initiatives take an holistic approach to job creation, and attempt to synthesise economic, social and cultural development. This was most commonly seen in Maori communities.

CASE STUDY _____

Maori development

The Whanganui Regional Development Board Trust (WRDBT) was established at Te Ao Hou Marae, Aramaho, Wanganui in July 1985 and its Centre opened a month later. The reason for setting up WRDBT was "a desire for our people to move away from a situation of dependency to one of independence". Maori people in the region were encouraged to donate a small amount over a period of three years — \$10, \$15, \$20 monthly, whatever they could manage. This koha was a gift from the people with aroha. Regular donations from many people on meagre incomes helped to implement a wide range of activities. Te Wainui A Rua Finance Company was established from koha contributions and is used for small business enterprise and personal loans. In 1988 11 loans were granted ranging from \$500 to \$10,000.

The original aims of WRDBT were to seek ways of reducing unemployment; to promote, organise and pro-

vide work schemes and employment opportunities for Maori people; to facilitate development of economic initiatives and small enterprises, with a view to creating a Maori economic base; to strengthen the economic base of Maori people in the region; to recreate jobs for Maori people; and to encourage self-employment, co-operative ventures and worker participation, and shareholding.

The focus of WRDBT is pro-Maori. Its clients include unemployed people, secondary school pupils (with whom schools cannot cope), ACCESS trainees, women and young people at risk, active job seekers, prospective business people, ex-prison inmates, rape victims, drug addicts, alcoholics, redundant workers, women and families seeking shelter, and the homeless.

WRDBT is involved in advocacy, providing information on social welfare, acting as an intermediary, counselling, training, employment creation, negotiating and networking, and answering budgeting enquiries. It has sub-committees on employment development; community development and housing; education and training; and finance and business ventures. The sub-committees control their own finances but their overall accountability rests with WRDBT.

"The Board [WRDBT] is not there to be mates with everyone. It's there to be effective. If that means upsetting people that's what we do."

WRDBT has had to deal with the criteria attached to Maori grants, especially the Mana Enterprise Scheme, which they believe have not necessarily been beneficial to Maori people.

"The Board has been through a learning process. We have learned that it is very difficult to marry business enterprise and practise social concern."

This comment was made in the context of WRDBT's involvement with the Mana Enterprise Scheme, which members view as having diverted them from their original aims.

Positive outcomes of WRDBT's work are the reduction of social and economic dependency; the legitimisation of traditional Maori models of development; control by Maori people over their own development; and the creation of opportunities whereby Maori people can contribute in a substantial way to their local, regional and national economies.

"We know that what we do is effective with the people we work with ... we gauge our effectiveness on whether people are able to pick up their lives and get on with things."

WRDBT needs more resources, but would prefer not to be dependent on government grants because the criteria are not always in the best interests of Maori development.

"We've got so many hopes and aspirations but no money to do it ... The worst thing about it is that we try to talk our people into doing things on the cheap to try and stretch the resource.

"We think there will always be obstacles put in our way. Once you take on a pro-Maori focus you will always suffer the backlash of non-Maori people in the community who put obstacles in your way. I think if you talk bicultural and talk partnership and all the talk they want to hear then they're more likely to talk to you.

"My suggestion to non-Maori people is that in the past 150 years we have moved separately anyway, so what's the difference now. To me, they should just get on with what they're doing and don't worry about us. Let us do our own thing and let us get on with the things we want to do, and don't keep throwing spokes in our wheels because whatever we do that benefits our people will benefit them in the long term. And if they could only see it that way and respect that we are different, that we are entitled to develop in our own way, at our own pace and that our accountability should be firstly to our own people." □

We found approaches to community development which are alternatives to traditional economic systems, and which aim to empower people and overcome their disillusion with, and alienation from, conventional systems.¹ Examples are the Green Dollar movement, ethical investment, community-owned businesses, 'alternative' tourism (which aims to be ecologically sound and culturally sensitive), 'alternative' education, and the koha bank set up by the Whanganui Regional Development Board Trust.

The River Exchange and Barter System, Wanganui's version of the Green Dollar exchange, has a philosophy of encouraging development from within the community to mobilise resources for local development. Its method of operating provides a useful model, particularly in depressed areas where unemployment is high and where related social and community problems abound.

CASE STUDY _____

A complementary economy

The River Exchange and Barter System (REBS) was launched in Wanganui at the end of July 1989. REBS is a non-profit, local economic trading system which helps people to get what they want in goods and services, in exchange for skills and other things they have to offer. It is a system of barter and exchange which uses a locally-created currency (River dollars) between members to keep score of their trading.

The origin of REBS is closely associated with other Green Dollar exchanges throughout the country and with the Good Money movement, which emphasises co-operation as an alternative to the traditional organisation of work. The goal is to move from exclusive reliance on centralised control towards a more decentralised community-oriented economic sector.

How does REBS work? Membership is open to anyone, including individuals, households, groups and organisations, and local businesses. At the time of interview 60

households and businesses were members, making 90-100 people eligible for trading within the system. A file of members, together with a listing of the goods and services they are offering or seeking, is maintained on a central computer system. There is no limit on membership, and members have access to all other members' goods and services.

The goods and services that are traded through REBS range from basic necessities, such as food, shelter and clothing, to those which enhance the quality of life, such as singing lessons and holidays.

The actual trading process is simple. Members who want something contact another member who is offering it. When they have agreed on a price and completed the transaction, the details are recorded on the central accounting system.

If a member's account goes into debit there is no penalty or interest charge, it is simply a commitment to return goods or services to the value of the debit at some time in the future. The commitment is not to any particular individual but to the whole system.

The main strengths of REBS are encouragement and promotion of personal, community and regional development and empowerment; mobilisation of resources and skills within the community; promotion of networking by bringing together groups in the community with common bonds; and provision of an arena where Maori and Pakeha can work in partnership.

The main problems encountered by REBS so far are that many Wanganui people are reluctant to get involved, the lack of confidence in skills and abilities of people who have been out of the workforce or never been in it, and the widespread dependency mentality that government will provide. These so called problems stem from the very attitudes and beliefs in the community that the operation has been set up to challenge.

Of more concern is the possibility that REBS could founder in the future through 'burn out' of the organising committee; to avoid this REBS is training more than one person to do each task.

Another real danger is that REBS could come to be the preserve of white liberals, which would be 'the kiss of death' as it could lose sight of the needs of the unemployed and those on low incomes. □

One enterprise which is working towards a community-owned business model, with an alternative approach to tourism, is Jet Boat Tours.

Their method of operating has been self-initiated to meet the needs of the community. (It closely resembles the community business model described by Scottish community enterprise consultants Vivienne Hyndman and Colin Roxburgh, who visited New Zealand in 1989.)²

CASE STUDY

Alternative tourism

Jet Boat Tours is an enterprise which is not immediately profitable but is looking to the future. It is also about the survival of a small isolated community.

Hemi has second-mortgaged his home to purchase the business which is providing an opportunity for community members to become owner-operators of the jet boats. Six families are involved, all Maori, with ages ranging from 30 to over 70 years. In addition to the jet boat tours, the community offers horse trekking, tramping and canoeing trips and hopes to reinstate an outdoor education programme.

The major problems facing Jet Boat Tours are in the areas of business finance and business development training. Meeting financial commitments in the winter months is particularly difficult. Their business manager is unable to take time out for further training as she has no deputy.

Outdoor education courses for ACCESS students were discontinued as a result of changes to REAC criteria, even though they were seen as beneficial. Consequently they have the equipment but no finance to run this programme, and the five or six people originally employed are now back on the dole. Another problem has been the lengthy struggle to become a registered company, the result of inadequate legal advice.

Positive outcomes of their work are that they are providing employment, surviving as a community and "working towards a future where our mokopuna have no need to rely on the Government".

Of vital importance to them is that they are working with their kaumatua as cultural advisers. Their holistic approach to community development, as was practised in the outdoor education programme, is seen as another strength. They feel there is potential here for out-of-class education within the context of *Tomorrow's Schools* because other localities are already setting up similar services.

Other positive aspects are that their application for a Mana Enterprise loan has been approved, and the business manager has been able to get her initial training through a Skills of Enterprise course, and a small business course at Waikato University.

In future they would like to operate more closely within the community business model. They will need a funding support package (for two or three years) for a manager and receptionist-secretary to cover the administration. Staff will need more training in management, marketing and public relations. They would like to tie in with other businesses outside their area, and eventually plan to build a shop and motels to attract more business. □

Problems

Although there are many positive outcomes in the employment initiatives we looked at, they are not without their problems. Some of these relate to people who are moving from unemployment to employment, while others relate to those who are already running small businesses. The three most common problems are lack of access to appropriate types and levels of finance; lack of administrative and management experience; and alienation from the people holding power.

Finance

Appropriate levels, sources and forms of finance are the lifeblood of all enterprises. Yet significant barriers face local entrepreneurs seeking finance for new venture creation. Because many have no collateral, finance from conventional sources for the establishment and consolidation of activities is difficult to secure. This leaves government funding as the only realistic option for most.

However, gaining access to government funding is not always a straightforward matter. Because the funding is spread across a range of government departments, it is necessary to 'shop around' to get information on the various sources and types of funds that are available. A directory, listing details of the range of funds available across all departments, does not appear to exist.

For individuals living in geographically isolated areas and outside the mainstream of information flows, obtaining the information can be particularly difficult and time consuming. It is worth noting that there was no regional development council in the Eastern Bay of Plenty. Their nearest office was in Gisborne.

In Wanganui, critics of the government programmes argue that the criteria mean that it is not always possible to tackle economic development in a way which is most relevant and responsive to local needs.

Another specific problem raised is that those wishing to participate in the Job Opportunity Schemes are expected to pay an accountant to assess the viability of their business proposal, which is a significant barrier for the unemployed.

A further problem facing local entrepreneurs seeking government funding is the unavailability of immediate finance. Often applications for funding can only be lodged at certain times during the year, and this is usually followed by a lengthy delay while the applications are processed. Delays like this can be crucial to the success or failure of an initiative.

Other short-comings of government funding mentioned by interviewees include the lack of finance available for purchasing machinery and capital equipment, and for researching and establishing export markets.

In addition to the difficulty of obtaining venture capital, there is the problem of day-to-day personal survival as

well as business survival, a problem experienced by many small business people.

"They might be working full-time but they're actually not getting paid real rates ... They're getting the wage subsidy from the Department of Labour which takes them up to the level of the dole and anything they make over and above that is their 'real' money. But then out of that they've got to pay for their equipment, their rent, administration, accounting, legal fees so even now — and they've been working here for three months — they're still not getting a real wage."

A similar problem faces those on the dole who are in the early stages of setting themselves up in business. They often operate as trusts, with money from sales being paid into the trust to cover rent, additional tools and maintenance, as is the case with the Torere Timber Turners. As they are not making enough money to pay themselves they are trying to stay on the dole. One of them spoke for many people in a similar position when he said he would like to see a re-thinking of Department of Social Welfare policies so that "the genuine people who are trying to gear themselves for employment are not hassled".

Preparing comprehensive applications for funding can also be a daunting task, especially for people who have little or no experience of filling in bureaucratic forms.

"By cripes I got bogged down in the paper work. It just overwhelmed me. I don't usually give up but I gave up on one of them. I tried to get help from people."

The Ball and Chain Craft Company describe their difficulties when applying for a loan from the Community Enterprise Loans Trust (CELT):

"When we first asked CELT if they were prepared to loan us the money they were really keen because it fitted in with their whole reason for being. They were really enthusiastic but placed all these conditions on us, like T had to write a written description of his business, a budget, a long-term forecast, he had to provide three guarantors and maybe a couple of other things. T was sitting there totally lost by this because the guy can hardly read or write ... It's like a street kid being told to go and find her own dentist ... So here we have a community organisation that has funds available for people in the community to use, but totally inaccessible to a huge number of people in our community because of the processes they use."

Administration and management

People involved in local employment initiatives often have no skills and experience in business administration and management. Most of those we spoke with found this aspect of their work particularly difficult and burdensome.

"Trying to be a craftsman and a manager is very difficult ... [it's] very difficult to try and switch from

something creative to answering the phone because you've got to talk business to someone ... very frustrating."

Knowing where to go and who to ask for advice and assistance is often a problem. The high cost of professional advice precludes this as an option for many local entrepreneurs.

"I checked out a couple of firms who do research in marketing and after getting enormous quotes from them ... hundreds of dollars to give me this information ... we didn't have the money."

Advisory services need to be financially accessible, but they should also be socially and culturally non-threatening. A number of people interviewed had had problems with legal services, for example, advice that was seen as inappropriate and difficulties with obtaining legal entity. Forming a limited company is often recommended to those entering self-employment, as it offers the protection of limited liability for the personal assets of proprietors in their trading activities. However, although this is often a logical business step, it then precludes them from most forms of government funding.

One interviewee, who was looking at the feasibility of a paua farming project, noted that there is no apparent source of funding for market research, so there is no incentive for small businesses to study their markets. The Regional Development Investigation Grant (RDIG), from the Ministry of Commerce, and the Structural Adjustment Supplement (SAS) to this grant can be used for market research, but they are more often promoted as sources of funding for technical feasibility studies. This apparent lack of support for market research is a key omission in the range of enterprise assistance schemes offered by government.

Some of the local entrepreneurs we spoke with were aware of the importance of business-wise skills, and had taken steps to gain these skills by attending business courses. The cost of many of the available courses, and the level at which they are pitched, present significant barriers, particularly to unemployed people preparing to move into business/self-employment.

"When I was unemployed I did some business courses, but I had to be very selective because who the hell can afford \$140 for a course when you're getting \$130 on the dole."

"I started on an NZIM [Institute of Management] course — that was bloody frightening. It was a cultural shock and I culturally shocked them too by asking silly questions like how do you find the percentage of something on a calculator ... And it would stop the class and they would look at you as if you were mad."

One woman who had used her redundancy money to set up a food business, strongly recommended that anyone setting up in a small business take a course in business administration. She had not done so and felt seriously disadvantaged by it, particularly in the areas of management and marketing.

CASE STUDY

Redundancy to self-employment

Rangi would not recommend her experience to anyone.

"I've learned not to take people at face value ... its all been heartache ... they come forward with lots of suggestions but they turn their backs and forget about you."

Rangi took voluntary redundancy after working at Tasman for 13 years, and set up a food business in partnership with another woman. She makes rewena bread ('Maori bread') and cooks meat to make hot sandwiches at lunch time. A delivery service is provided and construction contractors rebuilding the pulp mill are the major clients.

Rangi rented a building shell from the local enterprise agency and fitted it out to comply with hygiene regulations, spending time and energy tracking down second-hand equipment. Other equipment was provided by various firms as farewell gifts when she left Tasman.

People working in the business in addition to Rangi are her husband and three part-time assistants. The original business partnership did not work out. It ended in a settlement out of court with Rangi subsequently having to raise two loans to pay her partner out.

To do this she first approached Mana Enterprise for a \$17,000 loan in 1988; following the settlement she was loaned \$10,000 by the bank and the balance by Mana. To obtain the full loan from Mana she would had to have 'signed over' the van, the shop, their house and her husband's shares in the company he worked for. In contrast, the bank provided an unsecured loan. Rangi told us that her bank manager had been very helpful.

Rangi is disappointed that the services offered by a local enterprise agency did not meet her particular needs. For example, she could not get her rent increase waived after paying out her partner, and she was reluctant to accept their offer of doing her books free for a month because it felt like an invasion of her privacy. Although she is meticulous with her accounting and has been congratulated on these skills by her accountant, she knows that she is lacking expertise in management and marketing. She does not have enough time after doing the books, the cooking, cleaning and shopping for the business.

Rangi is planning to sell the business as her husband is fed up with combining his job at Tasman with helping in the shop. She has been told that her prices are too cheap and "her heart is in the wrong place" for running a business. Her advice to others setting up in a small business is to take a course in business administration. □

This case study also illustrates shortcomings of the Mana Enterprise Scheme. Mana has not always been subject to flexible lending policies because the delivery agents' accountability is to Government. This works, in effect, as a barrier to many Maori gaining access to finance from a scheme specifically targeted at Maori people.

Alienation

For the unemployed, minority groups, and people working at the grassroots level there can be real alienation from individuals and institutions representing the dominant culture and holding power in society. There is often a wide cultural gap between local entrepreneurs and decision-makers in organisations, such as government departments and banks. People we interviewed spoke of their lack of self-confidence and lack of credibility with officials.

In the two study areas there was frequent criticism of local government as being out of touch with the realities of unemployment and unsupportive of enterprise creation. One local councillor said it was a waste of money for ACCESS trainees to attend a survival skills and outdoor education programme as part of their course, as the council provided parks in the city for them to use. One interviewee had this to say on her local government's priorities:

"The District Council are providing no support for unemployed people. They have chosen to rebuild the civic centre rather than upgrade the water supply at Ruatoki which has been condemned by the World Health Organisation. They planned to use a RE-START programme for renewing the water supply but have cancelled it and appear to be waiting for the work-for-the-dole scheme to be introduced."

Local body authorities were often either not aware of grassroots initiatives or not supportive of them. In some cases job creation initiatives were in direct conflict with the business interests of councillors.

"Wanganui is dominated by city fathers with a limited way of viewing the city and what should happen in it. Women are doing much of the work but are not in influential positions. A spirit of co-operation is lacking."

We found that people in positions of power, with access to resources and information, often had racist, sexist and patronising attitudes, usually well rationalised. These attitudes have a considerable influence on access to financial resources and training in enterprise skills.

Other problems

Employment initiatives face a number of other difficulties in addition to those already described (finance, administration and alienation):

- Isolation
 - psychological and social isolation, especially if the people concerned have been unemployed for some time;
 - physical isolation in terms of distance from major markets and suppliers.
- Access to information — the difficulty of finding and putting together the information they need, es-

pecially since it is often widely dispersed. This is particularly difficult for those in rural areas. The information kit, *Maori Women — Steps to Enterprise* produced by the Ministry of Women's Affairs, brings together useful information.

- Stand-down period — the various JOS subsidies have a requirement to be registered unemployed for a certain period, which inflates the unemployment figures by forcing people to register.
- Employment of staff
 - the difficulty of finding reliable staff;
 - the growing difficulty of employing people on subsidy schemes;
 - the lack of resources to train staff.
- Seasonality — the seasonality of markets can make it difficult for some to survive.
- Tax — the tax burden, both in terms of paperwork and the eroding of profits. At the time of interviewing, small businesses were required to make approximately 60 payments and returns in the course of a year. Since then, PAYE tax payments have been reduced from two to one per month for businesses whose PAYE deductions for the year are less than \$50,000. The Tax Simplification Consultative Committee is looking at further streamlining of taxation procedures for business.
- The 'free' market — the difficulty of surviving in the free market environment and competing with often low-quality, low-priced imports.

CASE STUDY

Hard times for a small business

Cane Incorporated has been through good times but was experiencing a bad patch at the time of interview. B was only 20, and unemployed, when he set up in business in 1985. He decided to make cane baskets, as there was a market for cane goods and the capital investment requirements were not great. With the help of a friend and books, he taught himself to make cane goods.

B was granted a JOS wage subsidy for six months, and began operating from home. Initially he sold to friends and the local cottage industry markets, and then established a stall in the Settlers Market in Petone. At this stage the business really got going. In Wellington he met a woman who was selling products on a party plan and B arranged for her to sell Cane Incorporated's goods. A network of operations was set up in Wellington, and in other areas later. The business expanded to employ nine salespeople and four others. After about 18 months the business was able to move into separate premises — a factory shop.

In 1988 the business hit hard times. The party plan system, instrumental in the crash of the business, was dropped. B left because of stress and anxiety from the problems the business went through. He is now unemployed and helps out at Cane Incorporated (now run by C) on a part-time unpaid basis. At the time of interview, any

profits were going back into the business to clear bad debts, build up stocks and slowly improve the shop. C hopes to be able to pay someone a wage again in the future — he has another business which supports him.

The main problems facing the business are lack of marketing skills, difficulty in finding reliable staff, availability of cheap finance, introduction of GST, free market policies, and lack of access to information. With hindsight, they suggest the Labour Department should stipulate attendance at classes to learn how to run and market for a small business, and provide back-up support.

“There is a small business association in Wanganui but it tends to cater for established businesses which often have a multi-million dollar turnover. It is not possible to relate their experience to a business which is only turning over a few thousand dollars a week ... There’s a big gap between a small business and a medium-sized business. You’re virtually on your own.”

The greatest satisfaction from the enterprise has been in making a product which is reasonably priced, is guaranteed for a year at full replacement value, and which is not mass produced. It is also satisfying to provide a service which includes free delivery and a follow-up service. “A lot of effort is put into customer satisfaction.” □

Strategies to overcome problems

The people interviewed suggested a number of interlinking strategies that are needed to promote the creation of new jobs.

- Central and local government must recognise that the types of initiatives documented in this report represent a potentially significant avenue to local employment and social wellbeing. The Community Employment Development Unit (CEDU) (Department of Labour) represents a measure of central government support and recognition. Central government policies will need to be more responsive to local needs, problems, opportunities and resources. CEDU, as it is currently operating, is responding to and being supportive of a number of local initiatives. Communities will also be looking to the new business development boards that are replacing regional development councils. Regional and district councils will also need to become more proactive in promoting community employment development.
- Assistance is needed to identify potential opportunities for development, and take a more planned and co-ordinated approach to job creation at the regional and community level. Many areas are lacking in local economic development plans which pinpoint the areas of employment growth and contraction. The Wanganui Regional Development Council would like to see the new regional council take on a planning and co-ordinating role.
- Accessible and affordable training in business skills such as planning, goal-setting, book-keeping and marketing is required. Unless courses designed for unemployed people moving into business/self-employment are made available, such as Skills of Enterprise courses, this section of the community will be further disadvantaged.
- Affordable ongoing advice and support should be provided on a range of issues affecting small enterprises, such as appropriate legal structures, government regulations, accounting and business record keeping, sources of finance and methods of applying for finance, business planning, marketing and distribution, insurance and taxation management. Agencies providing advice and support need to be flexible and sensitive enough to meet the needs of a diverse range of people, including those who are unemployed and those who have been failed by the formal education system. Mobile advice and support services are also needed to cater for those in outlying areas.
- Supportive financial assistance, including low interest loans and special purpose grants in the establishment and consolidation phases of small businesses should be available.
- The provision of some form of income maintenance for the unemployed during the first stages of establishing their business and those involved in unpaid work is required.
- Support for market research is a key component missing from the range of enterprise assistance schemes offered by government.
- Entrepreneurial spirit should be developed through the encouragement of initiative and risk-taking, and the dissemination of successful ideas and experiences. One way of promoting this would be to increase the access of local businesses to innovation through joint partnerships with universities, polytechnics, laboratories, large firms, and departments such as the DSIR.
- Paper work required of small businesses should be simplified so that they do not have to become tax offices.
- Tax rates should be reduced for small businesses for a defined period in their first high-risk years, particularly in areas with high unemployment.
- Policy inconsistencies, such as the mandatory stand-down period before eligibility for the JOS wage subsidy, should be remedied.
- There should be a redress of the imbalance between resources for job creation and resources for training. Members of the Wanganui Regional Development Council noted that the ACCESS budget was currently \$250 million and felt that it was sometimes used to train people for jobs that do not exist, whereas the Regional Development Investigation Grants (RDIG), even though they often in-

volve job creation, were capped at \$15 million nationwide. A spokesperson at the former Department of Maori Affairs said he would like to see the MACCESS and Mana funding ratio reversed so that it was two to one in favour of job creation, which was then *followed* by appropriate training.

¹ Bevin Fitzsimons, 1989. *Good Money Overseas: Report on a research visit to North America and Europe, May-December 1988*. Churchill Fellowship Trip Report. Contact: B.L. Fitzsimons; Gardner, Bradley, O'Neill, PO Box 37-425, Parnell, Auckland. Looks at successful alternative approaches in North America and Europe.

² A community business is a trading organisation which is set up and owned and controlled by the local community. It aims to ultimately create self-supporting jobs for local people, and to be a focus for local development. Any profits made from its business activities go either to create more employment, or to provide local services, or to assist other schemes of community benefit.

CHAPTER FOUR

Training Programmes

In recent years there has been a proliferation of training and retraining programmes for unemployed people. Most are financed by government. The institutions responsible for the majority of these in the two study areas are New Zealand Training Support (formerly under the Department of Labour), the Iwi Transition Agency (formerly the Department of Maori Affairs), Wanganui Regional Community College, and Waiariki Polytechnic which has an 'outpost' in Whakatane.

Under the government's policy of devolution, Training Support funding for ACCESS programmes is allocated by the local REAC (Regional Employment and ACCESS Council) and the funding for Maori ACCESS (MACCESS) programmes is allocated by iwi runanga or iwi trusts.

Funding tends to be provided on a course-by-course basis and is related to a variety of factors, such as the length of the course, the number of trainees, and the type of materials and equipment required. The maximum duration for most courses is 26 weeks.

While some of the courses are run along conventional lines an increasing number take place in less formal settings and use alternative teaching methods. Much of the teaching is based on 'hands-on' experience and tends to be more personalised than in mainstream institutions.

A number of courses we visited were based on the concept of 'student-centred learning' whereby the trainee sets his or her own goals. This approach to learning is considered to be more appropriate to the trainees, many of whom have been failed by conventional mainstream institutions.

Two Maori education advisers were of the view that *all* education institutions should take more of a student-centred approach, not just ACCESS and MACCESS courses. They spoke about what needs to change for young Maori to succeed in their primary and secondary school years (summarised below).

CASE STUDY _____

Tomorrow's education and training

We are asking schools to look at the total school environment and the issues involved (see p.22). The innovative changes planned under *Tomorrow's Schools* will not be effective if teachers' and principals' attitudes and expectations are negative. Simply changing structures is not sufficient. We would like to see training for teachers, principals and boards of trustees in awareness of the total school environment and the effectiveness of its organisa-

tion and management for a bicultural society.

For schools that want assistance we are preparing modules on bicultural relevance, the Treaty and its implications, a bicultural perspective on the total school environment and local tribal structures. We would like to see bicultural task forces available to help schools that want to change. The task forces would need a mix of educators and community people with a range of ages and perspectives and they could also be used to train reviewers, boards of trustees and the Ministry of Education.

One of the reasons why change is essential is that the traditional education system, the 'mugs and jugs' approach, has failed many children, particularly Maori children. (This approach assumes that the teachers' task is to pour knowledge into the learner and that the learner is an empty vessel waiting to be filled.)

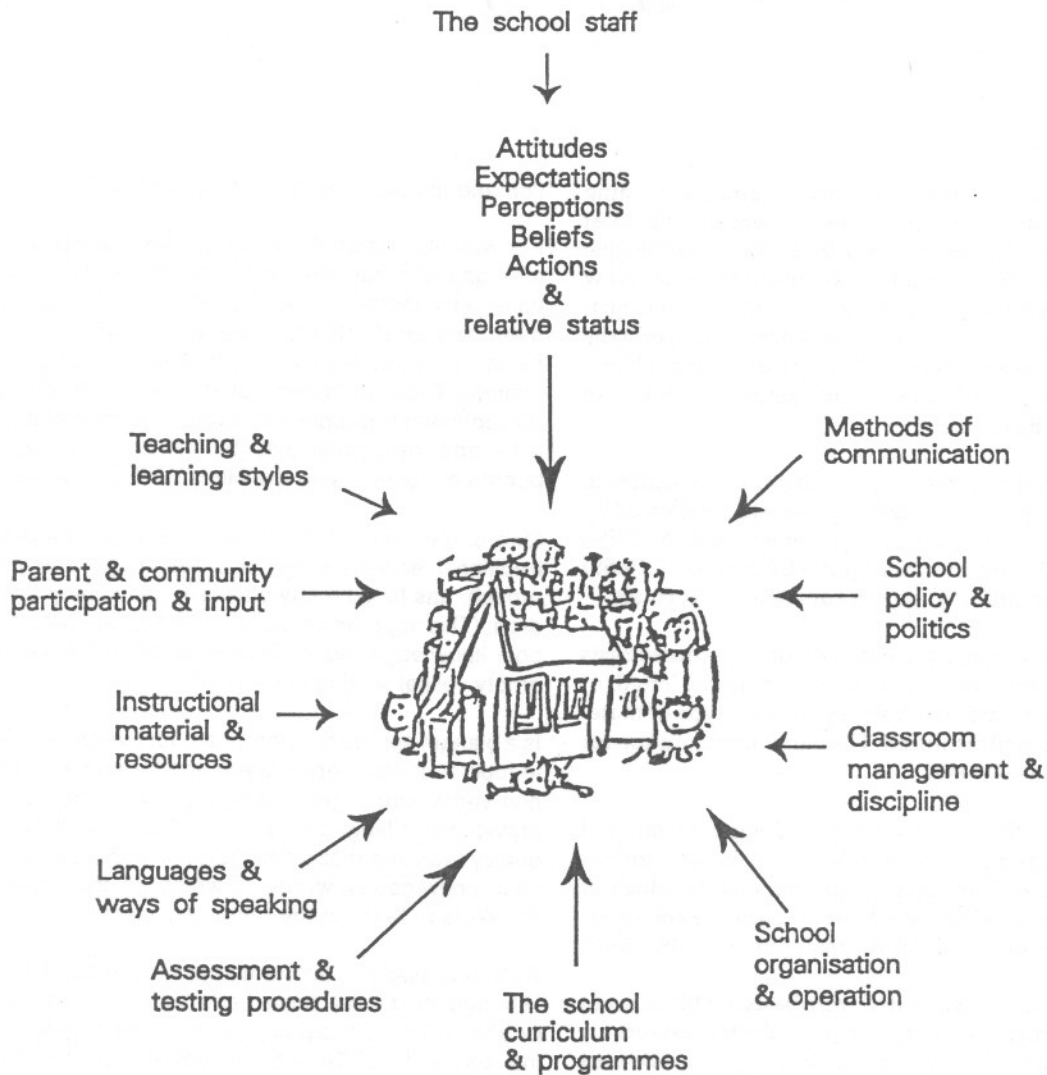
Is a blanket approach appropriate for everyone? We need to look at our delivery system and be aware of what our non-verbal language is saying. It will not be sufficient to provide Maori language for Maori children — they will need quality teaching that builds esteem and motivation. Next year a new course will begin which will train fluent Maori speakers to teach in the primary classroom.

As an example of a different approach, ACCESS tutors at Whangaehu Marae have been trained to move from a product-oriented to a process-oriented approach to learning and training. They have moved from the dominant transfer of knowledge (mugs and jugs) to a more reciprocal transfer, where the learners become involved in their courses rather than the course providers being the dominant source of information.

What we are aiming at is an educational climate that will raise the achievement levels of Maori children. This will need to be allowed to take place within existing schools and outside them, as in the new kura kaupapa Maori. The shortage of personnel and lack of material resources for bilingual programmes, total immersion programmes and kura kaupapa Maori will need to be faced up to be remedied. Lack of understanding and a user-pays environment will make this difficult. Even educators have difficulty understanding that all curriculum subjects can be taught in the Maori language.

We need to be confident about the direction in which we are paddling the canoe. I would like to see teachers raising the mana of Maori children by valuing their contribution, and the contribution of their parents, rather than just using them to prepare hangi on gala days. □

The Total School Environment



The diagram shows the many ways in which schools get their open and hidden messages across

Training providers we interviewed in the Wanganui area were the Te Awa Youth Trust (Whangaehu), the Whanganui Regional Development Board Trust, Te Arawhanui Learning Centre and the Whakairo Access Justice Programme. In the Whakatane area they were the Tuhoe Kokiri Centre (Ruatoiki), Rangitaiki Skills Centre (Te Teko — one of three Ngati Awa training centres), Whanau-a-Apanui Runanga (Te Kaha), Ngai Tai Runanga (Opotiki), Whakatohea Trust (Opotiki), Oteki Farm Trust (Ruatoiki) and Edgcumbe Community House.

Types of programmes

The subjects covered in the training programmes are diverse. In Wanganui they included literacy and numeracy, Maori arts and crafts, Maori canoe carving, advanced sewing, computer literacy, basic farming, hospitality, outdoor pursuits, engineering and Maori language.

Programmes offered in the Eastern Bay of Plenty covered

horticulture, forestry, sea weed collecting, opossum farming, track cutting, golf services, carpentry, builders' labouring, Maori arts and crafts, woodcarving, administration, research and development, sewing and primary health care. This last course is being run by the Tuhoe Kokiri Centre, and staff for the newly-formed Ruatoki Health Group will be drawn from the course.

We interviewed tutors, and in some cases spoke with trainees, of the following courses: literacy and numeracy, Maori arts and crafts, engineering, interior decorating, music performance, specialised farming, leathercraft, industrial sewing, Maori language and home-based nursing (caregivers).

CASE STUDY

Training for employment

Te Awa Youth Trust is based at Whangaehu Marae and provides training for work skills and social skills within the kaupapa of the marae. It was established in 1982 for young Maori people in response to the injustice and unemployment they were experiencing.

The Trust offers marae- and work-based training within the context of family support or whanaungatanga (fellowship). The government work skills programme started after the Trust was established, so they have been able to use this to help unemployed youth and "do the work they have always done with young people".

Approximately 65 people are involved with the Trust, including seven trustees, and at the time of interview 42 trainees were attending ACCESS courses being run by the Trust. Sixteen women and 26 men were attending courses in either engineering, arts and crafts or te reo (Maori language). The courses cater for a variety of ages, from 16 to over 55 years, and several ethnic groups — Maori, Pakeha, Samoan.

People come to the Trust because of its track record — about 60 percent of its trainees have gone into the workforce; it is marae-based and more appropriate to their needs — the Trust has its own youth worker; and the type of training they offer produces diversely-skilled people.

"Just because you come in here to do engineering, that doesn't mean that you'll do engineering totally. We're flexible enough to take them into other areas as well."

The major problems facing the Trust are its relationship with and the criteria set down by REAC, the rules of the various funding programmes keep changing, having to subsidise ACCESS programmes because funding has been cut from \$190 to \$140 per trainee, and reluctance by about five percent of trainees to accept the marae kaupapa. They also feel that the Trust's success has created some jealousies and personality clashes with funders. With devolution to iwi authorities the Trust may not qualify for funding as it is not an iwi authority and caters for many young people outside the iwi.

The Trust would like recognition of the education services

they provide and the opportunity to tap into some Pakeha educational resources like the Community College. They would like to be self-sufficient and not reliant on government funding but would need a one-off grant to set up an economic base. The Trust suggests that membership of REAC should be changed more regularly as many members are not fully aware of issues relating to job creation and Maori unemployment, or what training providers can offer their clientele.

There is also a lack of cultural awareness, for example, an ACCESS evaluation team from the Labour Department is only beginning to be aware of marae protocol. The Trust would also like to see iwi authorities helping all Maori people in their area, regardless of tribal affiliation.

The tutors and trainees feel that their courses are often more effective than those at the Community College, because of the family atmosphere and personal contact. For them, marae- and work-based learning helps counteract negative school-room experiences. The strengths of non-institutional learning are hands-on experience, variety, learning from a group rather than just one person, smaller classes, it caters for a variety of people and age ranges, tutors are more approachable, and learning and helping processes are taking place simultaneously.

Other positive outcomes, described by trainees, are that students are learning about other cultures, such as Samoan. Practical learning takes place — an older te reo student told us with considerable pride that he is now able to speak on a marae.

Problems for trainees with the Trust (also for ACCESS trainees) are that the courses are not recognised by employers. Young trainees told us they dislike having to remain financially dependent on their parents. Some felt that the course budget was insufficient for a quality education. For example, the engineering course had only \$500 for electricity for a six-month course, and this also had to run machinery for the farming course. They felt they were getting confusing messages from those in power.

"When the government gives [funding] with one hand and takes away with the other we start to wonder whether we are being set up for failure. Our people are always working under stress."

Many trainees told us they would have to enrol for the next course at the Trust as there were no jobs for them. Some said they would like to move on to business and enterprise skills courses. □

Positive aspects

There is a growing awareness of the need to promote the link between training and employment/job creation. This is particularly noticeable among Maori planners, who spoke about the need for programmes to be more flexible to allow tribal development initiatives. An example of such a programme about to get underway in one iwi is sawmilling and carpentry, in readiness for their own forestry initiatives and to provide skills to build their own housing.

Another initiative is a MACCESS caregivers course, which is teaching skills to care for people who have come out of institutions, and people who do not wish to go into hospital.

CASE STUDY

Community health care

The caregivers course is one of 10 training courses being run by the Whanau-a-Apanui runanga, and is the first health care course to be initiated by the iwi authority.

The course was developed over a two-year period after the results of a survey by the local doctor, which showed that the number of elderly Whanau-a-Apanui people who are likely to need care in the near future is growing, and that most of these would prefer to be cared for at home should they become ill. The course aims to equip the trainees with sufficient skills to provide home-based nursing care for sick and terminally ill people in the local community.

There are eight trainees on the first six-month course, each from a different hapu in the iwi (seven women and one man, aged from 16 years to over 40). All are long-term unemployed and two are domestic purpose beneficiaries.

Three of the trainees have decided to seek formal training in nursing at the end of the course, while another intends to apply for a two-year course in drug and alcohol abuse counselling. The remaining four will provide health care in the local community.

The caregivers course is funded through MACCESS and has also received a lot of support from the Opotiki and Whakatane Hospitals, and from the district health nurse, particularly in the provision of training resources and materials. The local community has also been very positive and supportive. The trainees are still two months from the end of the course, but their skills are already being put to good effect in the community.

"It's had a big impact, especially in those areas where the girls have taken care of people. Like in Maungaroa where they've taken care of Rusty, and in Omaio where one of the girls has taken care of her father until he died."

The course is also producing other beneficial effects, such as raising awareness about the dangers of smoking and the importance of health maintenance. For the trainees, the course has increased their self-esteem and motivation to learn.

The runanga intends to run the course until there are enough trained people to fill the needs of the local community — the target being 13 to one for each hapu in the iwi. Discussions are underway with the Department of Social Welfare to pay the graduates when they start work in the community.

It is planned to approach the Opotiki Hospital for resources, such as bedding and equipment, and expand the programme to include specialist training in the care of the

intellectually handicapped. This is seen as a priority if people in institutions are returned to the community. The Whanau-a-Apanui Health Committee is already developing a strategy to cope with this, and is negotiating with the Housing Corporation to build a unit to relieve families caring for severely handicapped people. □

An industrial sewing course, run through the Tuhoe Kokiri Centre, is an example of a successful link between training and employment creation. The Contract Sewing Trust provides employment for three former trainees, and extra work from the contract sewing provides some of the current trainees with work experience.

Work trusts are sometimes set up following a course, such as the Torere Timber Turners, or in parallel with a course, such as the Rainbow Rhythm Trust (music performers). Two successful outcomes from the Rangitaiki Skills Centre at Te Teko are that trainees from the builders' labourers ACCESS course have built \$250,000 rugby clubrooms and a \$180,000 sports and cultural pavilion, and a horticulture contracting group of former ACCESS trainees has been set up, involving 96 people.

Another positive aspect is that courses are providing practical skills and hands-on experience. Trainees on an interior decorating course, although pessimistic about their job prospects, felt that the course had provided them with skills they would be able to use. A leathercraft course was attempting to meet demand for new saddlery and repairs. As well as passing on practical skills, tutors can sometimes be effective role models.

"What they [the tutors] have learned they've passed it over to us ... If I'd tried to learn everything [by myself] that I know now it would have taken me about seven years ... They've helped me cut through the bullshit." (Music trainee.)

Courses can make a significant contribution to building self-confidence. One training provider described how some former forestry workers, who had had bad work experiences as contract workers, were gradually developing good work habits as the course progressed.

By providing opportunities and incentives for young people to develop, courses can provide a 'ticket' out of rural areas with no job prospects. Successful courses also develop a desire for learning and widen the trainees' horizons.

"I don't want it [the course] to stop ... I want to keep learning. There's nothing much to do around this place except pack frozen asparagus ... no permanent jobs around here. I want to keep working, to support the family ... my grandmother." (Music trainee.)

"I've known some trainees who have come on the courses because they're going to get an extra \$20 for the week, actually start thinking a bit more about the course and about what they're actually doing. They appreciate some of the skills they can pick up on the course. Some of the trainees are thinking more long-term with what they can do with some of the skills they are learning." (A training provider.)

"Many of the trainees have found jobs or positions on other ACCESS courses when they have left the prison. The course has provided them with a whole new outlook on life ... It has taught the trainees how to get along with each other and to work together as a team. Some modules have had members of the Mongrel Mob and Black Power gangs working together in harmony." (Maori arts and crafts tutor, Kaitoke Prison.)

Another positive aspect of the training schemes is the part they play in reducing social problems.

"Before the Maori ACCESS schemes started it [unemployment] was really bad, particularly among the younger people. They just had no direction — no desire to do anything. It was really bad. There was a lot of dope smoking and a high incidence of drinking. But that seems to have cut back now."

Problems

Many of the trainees, tutors and training providers interviewed in this study were critical of the training programmes. Their main criticism of ACCESS and MACCESS courses is that there is no guarantee of employment following the course. Most trainees return to other schemes or go back on the unemployment benefit.

"There is a breakdown between the scheme and the job ... one of the problems is that there is no marketing vehicle following the course."

Trainees often say they would like to follow trade training with business skills training to set themselves up doing contract work, for example. In the Eastern Bay of Plenty there are no Skills of Enterprise courses of the type which have originated from community employment groups, no follow up for ACCESS trainees for business plans or to help people "round off and start selling themselves".

We encountered considerable pessimism about job creation and self-employment in the current economic climate.

"It's difficult to have confidence in starting a business after seeing so many [big businesses] fall down."

"Some Maori people are tackling businesses that Pakeha have been in (and failed). If it's not going to work for them I cannot see it working for us."

A problem described by some adults (often older men!) was the lethargy and lack of motivation among young people. It is likely that these are related to other factors such as lack of confidence, feelings of hopelessness and confusion, and cultural alienation — many young Maori have already been labelled as failures by the conventional education system. Many have low expectations of themselves and their job prospects. For some, their prime motivation for attending a course is to get an extra \$20 per week from the travelling allowance.

Training providers, too, can have low expectations of the training courses.

"To me, the only good thing is that we can get them doing things here rather than sitting at home. That's about the only positive thing ACCESS gives them."

The lack of incentives, both psychological and financial, for further training was another cause for concern.

"There's no difference between being on the dole and being on a MACCESS programme ... There's no incentive ... It makes it very difficult for us to instil punctuality and control absenteeism. If we're talking about holding people together for this so-called economic lift that's coming, then they need to have good work habits ... If someone doesn't come to work and doesn't give a proper reason we have to dock their pay otherwise they'd all stay home. One or two shots like that and the person says 'stuff it, I'll go back on the dole' ... We're hoping that enough people are interested in MACCESS because they have the pride and determination to do something rather than nothing for the same money."

Difficulties caused by insufficient funding and funding cutbacks were frequently mentioned. One training centre's budget has dropped from \$250,000 in 1985 when they trained 172 people, most of whom are now out of the district and working, to \$96,000 in 1989.

"We've really had to fight for survival in this place. The bureaucracy is such that if we rock the boat too much they cut us off at the knees."

Some groups are unable to participate in RESTART (a Department of Labour scheme for long-term unemployed) because of the capital required to become involved, which counts out many community groups. A representative from one small runanga pointed out the increasing competition for funding:

"We're scrapping for resources and we've got REAC ape-ing the same thing ... they're in here trying to set up courses to prove to the politicians that they're doing the same job as iwi authorities, so why shouldn't they be given it all."

There was considerable criticism of the inflexible criteria for ACCESS programmes, both in terms of the funding and in the types of training courses approved by REAC.

"They've got to take into account that we are an area with limited resources and don't have the capital to build on those resources. The funding, especially with REAC, should make allowance for our situation."

Practical application of the courses is often a different matter from the criteria set down by REAC.

"There is a difference between what you can do on paper and what you can do practically ... If they don't give you the necessary equipment, no matter how hard you try, you're never going to get there."

Plans for courses based on community needs and with commercial potential had also been thwarted by policies perceived as inflexible and short-sighted.

"An upsurge in forestry jobs is predicted but nobody is picking up forestry training. Two years ago we submitted a forestry course to REAC which was turned down. Now, last month, REAC approached us to prepare a forestry course!"

A specific policy problem is the mandatory 15-week stand-down period before people coming off ACCESS courses are eligible for the JOS wage subsidy. This further affects people's motivation.

Many of those actively involved in community development and Maori economic growth feel their energy, ideas and resources are being exploited by big business and government alike. This example, from a training provider, concerns the Tasman forestry training scheme, Tane Mahuta, which was abandoned when Tasman restructured. The equipment and tutor had been provided by the three Tasman subsidiaries.

"Now they're screaming around saying we need forestry people — the projections for the next five years are that there will be 2000 jobs — and yet they want us to train them for nothing ... Fletcher Challenge had the highest profit ever, and yet they want small people like us to train people to go to their forests so they won't have to pay for it, to make money for them ... If they want us to train people, that's fair enough, that's what we're here for, but at least recognise our ability to train people. Like everyone else, we need finances to make the thing go."

The training providers have estimated a cost of \$350 per week per trainee for 20 weeks (including equipment purchase), but they have been offered only \$138. They are precluded from additional funding because they are seen to be running a business and setting up a contracting gang. This illustrates the gap between funding for training and local economic development initiatives. In this case the people they want to train are from families who have shares in forests "so the harder they work the bigger the payout they will get back".

A number of tutors felt that the courses were not long enough for some people and were concerned that trainees were not eligible to attend more than two courses. The tutor of a leathercraft course, which specialises in saddlery repairs, was adamant that a five-month course was too short as the trainees could not learn enough to "go out on their own", even though there is a demand for this type of work.

"You can get a really good person by the end of the second course, with heaps of promise, and then you lose them. It's a waste of time."

A spokesperson for Te Arawhanui Learning Centre, which provides tuition in literacy, numeracy and learning assistance (such as getting a driving licence) for ACCESS trainees, said:

"An obvious problem with ACCESS is how much realistically can you impart to your trainees over a period of 26 weeks. The Centre is in the situation where, because it is dependent on REAC funding,

once the trainees come off an ACCESS module it is not supposed to work with them, so they are forced to drop out of the literacy and numeracy programme. This is a real problem, particularly since quite a lot of the trainees would like to continue on with the programme. Some of the tutors have continued on with the trainees in their own time."

One training provider mentioned that it was sometimes difficult to find tutors in rural communities because of the small number available. Another had skilled local tutors available but the course had not been approved.

A problem raised by Training Support officials is that the certificates awarded on completion of ACCESS courses are not recognised by employers or tertiary institutions. They want to see an improved public image for ACCESS and for trainees to be able to 'staircase' to tertiary level courses. Grassroots community people, while they agree with this, also want those who have been most disadvantaged by the conventional education system to have the opportunity to take part in alternative forms of training. There is a real concern that polytechnics may become agents for ACCESS courses.

"They've never been there for the grassroots unskilled unemployed. Their motivation may be financial, as they are already taking on ACCESS courses to subsidise their other less successful programmes."

Strategies to overcome problems

The people we interviewed have recommended the following:

- Greater policy flexibility to allow closer links between training and job creation.
- Greater flexibility in terms of course funding, length of courses and types of courses approved by REAC.
- Training courses that support the economic development of the community and, where appropriate, are an integral part of iwi development plans — greater sensitivity to grassroots community requirements is needed.
- A move towards more work-based courses which would make the training more relevant to employment opportunities — safeguards will need to be negotiated so that both employers and trainees get a fair deal.
- The opportunity to follow technical/trades training with business skills training, such as Skills of Enterprise, for those who are investigating the possibility of self-employment — courses will need to be accessible and affordable.
- The removal of policy inconsistencies which prevent ACCESS trainees moving directly into wage-

subsidised employment.

- The need, expressed by trainees, for more information about other courses and services available to them.
- Opportunities for ACCESS and MACCESS trainees to 'staircase' to tertiary institutions.

- Access to education and training outside the conventional or formal system.
- Resources for the type of training that helps people move from dependence to independence.

"You feed a person a fish: you feed him for one day. You teach him how to fish: you feed him for a lifetime."

CHAPTER FIVE

Iwi Development

The five iwi represented in the Eastern Bay of Plenty study area are Whanau-a-Apanui, Ngai Tai, Whakatohea, Tuhoe and Ngati Awa (see below). The Maori population living in the local tribal areas ranges from 210 (Ngai Tai) to over 7,000 (Tuhoe).

There is a small but significant move 'back home' from urban areas. It is thought that this is motivated by retirement, redundancies, improved quality of life, cultural reasons and greater housing potential. Being able to build on jointly-owned land (for example, under the Housing Corporation's Papakainga Housing Scheme) has made it more attractive for people to return to their ancestral lands. Housing requirements in the iwi have increased and there is greater pressure on schools.

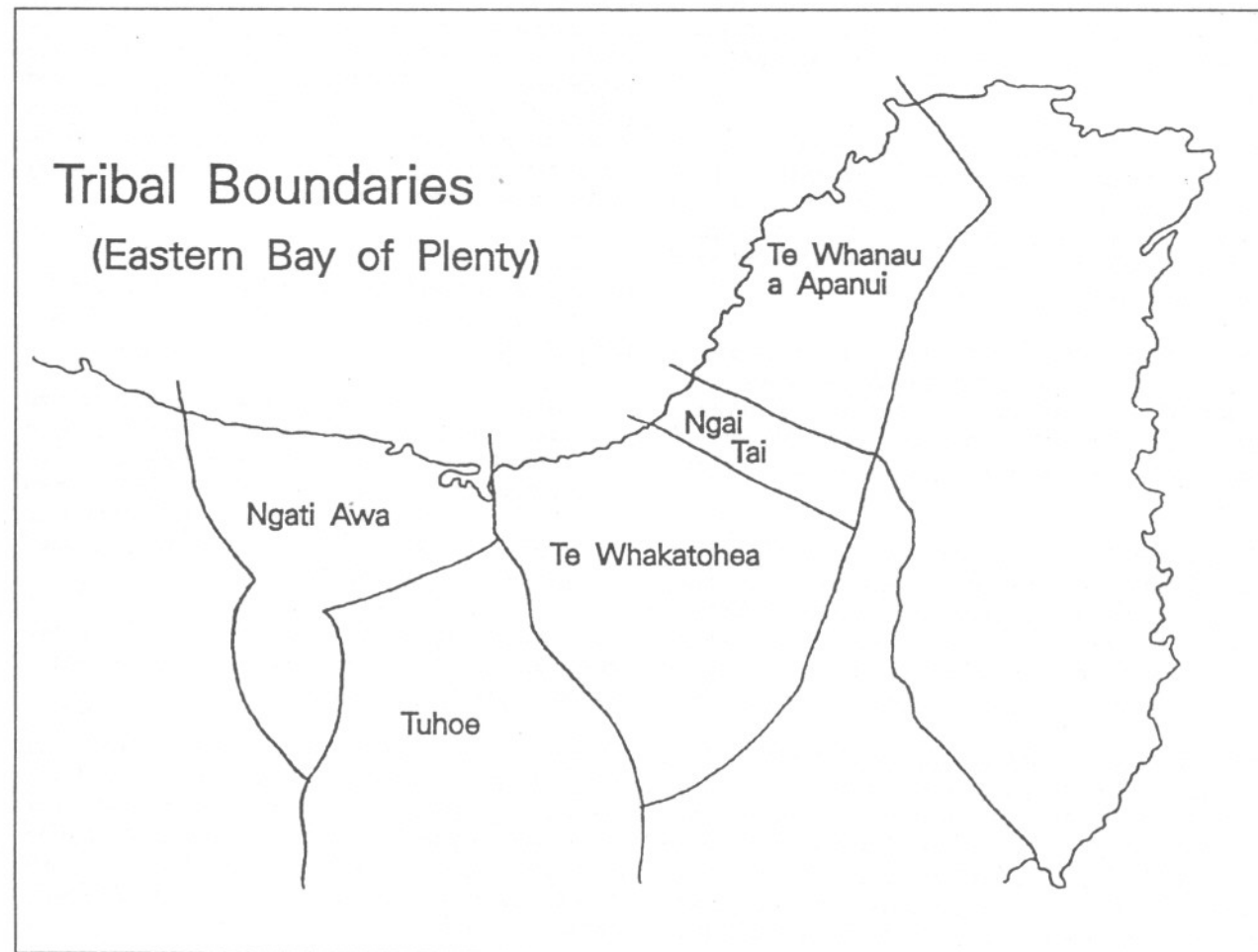
It is estimated that a large proportion of people living

within the tribal areas are unemployed, perhaps 60 percent in Whanau-a-Apanui, 70 percent in Tuhoe and up to 90 percent in Ngai Tai.

Those we talked with say their resources are the land, the sea and the people; their economic prospects are in horticulture and agriculture, forestry, aquaculture, tourism and recreation.

Positive aspects

One of the most positive aspects of iwi development initiatives is the more visible foundation and continuity of the Maori culture, described as "the strength of our tipuna [ancestors] ... the strength of our women, nationally". One



person spoke of Maori people's patience and endurance in keeping tribal identity and cultural awareness intact despite the adverse economic climate.

The research and planning activities for tribal development and consultation with the local community are very positive moves. Planning for devolution is going ahead in some iwi, and people are keen to get on with it as long as resources are devolved along with the responsibilities.

"... we've been derailed for such a long time and now we're getting on track, so let us get on with our in-housekeeping ... We don't expect anything from the system because that's dependency, but we expect what is due to us and what is equitable."

CASE STUDY

Planning in a small iwi

Whanau-a-Apanui is a relatively small iwi; about 1,300 people live within the traditional tribal boundaries, which encompass a remote rural area extending about 120 kilometres from Potaka to Hawaii (between Opotiki and the East Cape). Most people are aged between 5-12 and 30-59 years; over 85 percent are Maori and a large proportion is unemployed. Of those over the age of 15, 76 percent earn less than \$20,000 per year.

Almost all the tribal land is in Maori ownership. Unlike neighbouring Whakatohea and Ngati Awa, much of the land was not considered good enough for confiscation. About 10,000 hectares is leased out for forestry — in some cases 10 percent of the stumpage will be returned to the Maori owners in 10 years.

The other main uses of the land are horticulture and dairying. Coastal fisheries were an important source of food and employment for several hapu in the 1960s, but on a small scale. The coast is still an important source of kai moana and there are several sheltered bays which are being investigated for aquaculture.

The role of the runanga is to provide a more formal link between the hapu (there are 13), with overall responsibility for iwi affairs. A high priority is to prepare an iwi development plan, starting with the base of cultural and physical resources, and the experience and aspirations of the people.

The objectives are to advance the social and economic development of the iwi (in education and training, community development and housing); to promote and foster a spirit of unity, support and co-operation; and to encourage and promote the recognition of tribal customs, values and practices (in cultural, spiritual and whanau development).

The approach is holistic and recognises that all aspects of life — social, cultural, economic, environmental and political — are profoundly interconnected. The first stage of the plan involves setting up a comprehensive database of demographic, social and economic information relating to the iwi. This will provide a sound basis from which to prepare a development strategy, building on local opportuni-

ties, skills and resources, and incorporating the needs and preferences of the hapu.

One of the priorities of Whanau-a-Apanui is developing the skills of its people, which recognises that social and economic development are dependent on securing appropriate skills. For example, in the employment area, training programmes in sawmilling and carpentry have been developed for forestry. A horticulture module is also being run so the iwi can develop its own land rather than lease it out.

However, the training programmes are not solely focused on labour-intensive job creation. It is recognised that manual labour, even with significant skills, is not enough to provide the basis for ventures which can earn enough to be viable. There is also emphasis on skills in management and administration, such as accounting and marketing, as well as on skills in research and development and computing.

In the areas of health and social welfare training programmes are being developed and carried out. The aim is to provide primary health care for the iwi by their own health practitioners — people who can combine a solid background in Whanau-a-Apanui with health care. High priority is also being given to the care of the elderly and to the provision of mental health services.

One of the biggest problems facing Whanau-a-Apanui in its development is lack of resources. With virtually no income, funding for the iwi at present depends on government grants. People feel that this makes them more accountable to the taxpayer, the government and Pakeha audit systems than to the iwi. People are concerned that devolution will be about "hanging onto the power and giving all the work to us — we want both". For successful iwi development they require "resources, understanding and a commitment by 'the others' to let us develop in a way we see as appropriate". □

On the less positive side, a woman from another iwi felt that her trust board was taking too long to respond to grassroots needs.

"Each Maori trust board has some kind of overall view of the unemployment status in their own region ... they have an overall iwi development plan. That has come about because of devolution and the creation of ITA [Iwi Transition Agency]. They've been forced to do it ... it helps bring them out of their apathy and complacency."

Iwi-based training courses have been successful in developing initiative and self-confidence, and have also helped reduce some social problems.

Other examples of positive iwi initiatives are the setting up of an employment resource centre based on a self-help trading system; the provision of a loan by an iwi to a local business employing 13 people; and the recent formation, by another iwi, of a rangatahi (youth) group which will have the role of supporting the kaumatua in developing that iwi.

Problems

Government policies are seen as inconsistent. In some circumstances government is prepared to recognise the channels for servicing Maori people, such as social welfare, but in other programmes, such as housing and education, they don't get a look in.

At the same time, partly because of the speed of restructuring, there can be a lack of motivation by Maori people to become part of an iwi-based development. Many do not think of the things they do in terms of social, economic and cultural development. An iwi development researcher said:

"We want to give the iwi information they can think about in a framework they can relate to ... there are lots of gaps about life and people. The relationship exists at the macro level but people who have lived here for a long time don't see the relationship ... The job is to identify the human and other resources and work out ways of developing them."

There is ambivalence concerning the devolution of resources and services to the community. People believe that while devolution may be good in theory, they fear that in practice the resources will not be sufficient to allow them to cater effectively for their own needs.

The attitudes of the dominant Pakeha culture pressurise Maori to "be like us, do it our way", and the resulting alienation is a constant problem.

"The dominant culture's methods and behaviour are creating angry young people ... They call it racism but it's got nothing to do with race ... We need planners in government with the wisdom to see ... that the speed of technological change accounts for some of the antisocial behaviour we see ... If people can't be creative they will be destructive."

There are far too few initiatives by policymakers to consult with people at the grassroots level when they are likely to be most affected by policy changes.

"They [government departments] ask other Maori people who live in Whakatane who don't know about what is going on in this particular area .. or they ask the Residents' Association, all of whom have got jobs and don't give two damns about unemployment in the area."

Some of what passes for consultation sometimes feels like exploitation. A number of grassroots people were fed up with having their creative ideas and solutions usurped by those with better access to resources, with no apparent benefit to their communities. Government objectives, goals and conditions can be imposed over local grassroots initiatives.

"One of the things that happen to Maori people if we come up with ideas, like *we've* come up with, and we talk to government departments, they want to fund us all right but the big problem is that we lose control

... Like most government organisations they're controlled from Wellington and don't know what's going on."

Throughout this study we encountered a variety of anti-Maori attitudes, especially among people in 'respectable' positions of power. One woman said that "if you are Maori and unemployed you get a hard time, but if you are Maori, unemployed and a woman you are a nothing". Others were concerned about the lack of understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi and a lack of acceptance of kaupapa (Maori way of doing things).

"We've even had Pakeha saying 'but you were a conquered race'. There is not enough education about it."

Media coverage of Maori people is seen as negative, promoting negative stereotypes. For example, the collapse of large businesses often receives less adverse publicity than the failure of Maori enterprises.

The area of training, and its relationship to community and iwi development, is often problematic. Maori ACCESS programmes are considered to be underfunded and there is concern that they will be withdrawn altogether, or taken over by ACCESS.

"It would be a shame if a new government came in and said Maori ACCESS is finished, we'll think of something else. There are people genuinely trying out there and genuinely benefitting from it."

People who run ACCESS courses (as distinct from MACCESS) are critical of the attitudes of some REAC members and see the criteria for ACCESS allocation as inflexible and short-sighted.

"There is sometimes dissension in the community because we cannot get permission to run the courses the community wants, and yet the papers are splashed with 'let's take things back to the community' — that's not happening."

Grassroots people who are involved in training perceive that there are different rules for different people. For example, the level of accountability required of training providers is seen as being greater than that required of government agencies.

Within the broad area of economic development a number of difficulties were highlighted. A specific example of an adverse effect on Maori economic development is the 'locking in' of tribal territory by regional and local authorities (with planning regulations, for example).

There is a lack of information on the range of funds available to iwi and lack of advice on how to use funds effectively and efficiently. There should be better monitoring and follow-up by government agencies, although some interviewees complained of too much interference by bureaucrats.

There is a lack of services for the rural iwi population which, in terms of economic development, is isolated

from the major markets. Another problem is the shortage of administrative, planning and management skills, especially in rural areas.

"One thing that Maori organisations lack is administration. We're paying big money to New Zealand Insurance to administer a 77,000 hectare forest. If we had the buildings here we could do it. We've got the people ... All our trained lawyers and accountants are in the cities making big money for private enterprise."

Some we spoke to thought that the Mana Enterprise Scheme had been given an impossible task. Mana was set up at a time when Rogernomics 'started to bite'. The failures can partly be attributed to lack of skills but there have been business failures throughout the country.

There are a number of philosophical and ideological differences between Maori and Pakeha, and among Maori people concerning approaches to business. Big business often conflicts with local economic and social development. For example, a number of Maori people expressed concern about the poor quality pre-cut housing that is being brought into their localities.

"They're building the ghettos of 15 years hence ... This is related to unemployment and the unsolicited reputation we have [as a mostly-Maori community]."

This provides no employment for local people, who are trained builders' labourers and carpenters and would like to build their own homes. The ACCESS trainees who built the rugby clubrooms and sports pavilion in Te Teko cannot be used to build good quality local houses as it would involve a conflict of interests.

There are also different approaches within Maoridom. One Maori woman notes the individuality of her people when it comes to working co-operatively in business:

"They are collective in certain ways but they are very, very individual when it comes to doing things which involve money in business."

There is a potential conflict of attitudes between cultural values and conventional capitalist business activity, between enterprises which benefit individuals and possibly their whanau, and those which benefit the hapu. This is why many Maori groups are investigating alternative business approaches such as community-owned enterprises.

Strategies to overcome problems

The following strategies have been put forward by iwi spokespeople:

- Iwi want an equitable partnership with government, with the resources and understanding to

control their own destiny and move from dependence on social welfare funding to independence.

- There should be the freedom to integrate economic, cultural and social development, so that economic development is not at the cost of people. The community-owned business concept may be a useful model for certain aspects of iwi development.
- Training programmes, employment and job creation should support the economic development of the iwi and also benefit other Maori living in the area. Specifically the REAC criteria need to be more flexible (see Chapter Four, pp.25-6).
- Educational practices are needed to raise the achievement levels of Maori children. Some positive suggestions from Maori educators are included in Chapter Four, p.21. It is more productive to attack the root cause of the problems of young alienated Maori people than to employ more social workers and police.
- Iwi-based employment resource centres are needed to provide an advisory and advocacy service for post-ACCESS initiatives and small businesses.
- They should have the opportunity to learn administrative, managerial and marketing skills in an acceptable and appropriate setting.
- There should be more resource sharing between tribal groups, and better communication in relation to the distribution of resources. It was noted that if the allocation of welfare benefits were devolved to iwi authorities then they would need to communicate with each other about who was receiving benefits from which iwi.
- They need access to information and support when requested. It is important "that government appreciates that they are quite capable of making decisions for themselves. However, more often than not they did not know who to turn to when they needed advice and information".
- They need support from the Planning Council in helping to counteract the negative images of Maori people as portrayed in the media.

CHAPTER SIX

Social Support

For most people unemployment is a negative experience. It often leads to stress, hardship and alienation among the individuals and families concerned, and in some instances to violence, alcohol, drug and solvent abuse, and crime.

There is a sizeable number of individuals, groups and organisations that offer support to unemployed people and their families, but in this study we were particularly interested in the grassroots social support initiatives.

In the planning stages of this project we met with representatives from the Wellington Unemployed Workers' Union and the national co-ordinator of Te Roopu Rakakore in Auckland, to consult with them and to acknowledge the extensive support and advocacy work done by unemployed people for beneficiaries and unemployed people over many years. There were no unemployed workers' unions in our study areas.

In Wanganui we interviewed community health workers, community volunteers and representatives from Prisoners' Aid Preventative, the Women's Collective, Wahine Toa and the Whanganui Regional Development Board Trust.

In the Eastern Bay of Plenty we took the opportunity to look more at job creation activities. However, social support was one of the many roles of Edgcombe Community House and the five iwi authorities we spoke with. For example, one runanga was working with the Probation Department on a trial anger and stress management programme, Ko wai ahau (Who am I). Service agencies in both study areas were contacted; those which responded are listed in Appendix Two.

The assistance and services available to the unemployed are as diverse as the individuals and organisations offering them. They include:

- therapy and counselling for unemployed people and their families
- provision of a caring and supportive environment for sharing problems, ideas and experiences
- advocacy, negotiation and liaison for the unemployed
- development and promotion of self-help systems and structures, such as food co-operatives, barter and exchange systems

- organisation of seminars and workshops on a variety of topics, such as assertiveness and confidence building, anger management and health
- provision of food, clothing and shelter where necessary
- networking with other groups in the community
- facilitating access to information and resources
- provision of budgeting advice and assistance.

Many of those involved in the delivery of these services share a common philosophy. They are concerned with empowering unemployed people and "helping them stand on their own two feet and do things for themselves". Several of the people we spoke with were or had been unemployed. They know what it is like to be jobless and dependent on the state. They are able to empathise with their clients and win their respect.

Another frequently observed response from those at the bottom of the social and economic pile was that people with the least in material terms often gave the most. For example, regular donations to the koha bank from people on meagre incomes; the work of unemployed rights centres; a woman disabled by a stroke who is an active community volunteer working in a soup kitchen, the prisons, Anglican Social Services and Wahine Toa; a young unemployed bone carver who is working informally with 14-18 year-old 'drop outs' who are given the use of his bone carving equipment and garage.

Some of the most highly organised forms of social support were seen in groups that have moved beyond 'band-aiding' urgent problems to integrating social support with training and job creation. Good examples of this approach are seen at Te Ropu Kamatiri Inc (formerly the Buller Unemployment Centre), the Ball and Chain Craft Company interviewed in the Wellington pilot study, and the Whanganui Regional Development Board Trust. An experienced community worker (now employed in the head office of a government department) commented:

"The holistic view and strategies that are promoted by community initiatives in enterprise and employment creation have not arisen as a fashion or novelty. The grassroots know what people of ages old have always known — society can only prosper if it is well balanced in all spheres."

All of the groups we met received some measure of state support. The level varied substantially from one group to the next. On the one hand there were groups like the Community Health Workers, funded originally by the Primary Health Care Programme of the Department of Health and then by the Wanganui Area Health Board, yet even this group uses the services of voluntary workers.

On the other hand were groups such as the Women's Collective, Wahine Toa and community volunteers who are dependent on minimal grants for funding. A number of the groups were clearly struggling to meet the demands placed on them within their existing resources. This means having to work many unpaid hours and to provide for the needs of clients from their own pockets.

CASE STUDY

Grassroots social support

Sam is a fieldworker for Prisoners' Aid Preventative. After his release from gaol in 1984 he was asked to take in a 15 year-old boy who had been born in prison and brought up by the Mongrel Mob. The court remanded him to Sam's custody for three months. Sam worked voluntarily for 18 months and was eventually appointed to the fieldworker position he now holds.

Sam is answerable to the Prisoners' Aid Committee, which is a voluntary organisation funded by the Justice Department, and is required to work to a set of guidelines. These include keeping day-to-day records and providing a written report to the Committee each month. Prisoners' Aid provides him with a budget of \$100 per month and \$300 for food parcels. He works with youth at risk and their families, and had 77 people on his books in July 1989. Clients are put in touch with him through the police, Social Welfare, the Justice Department, the courts and by word of mouth.

Sam is involved in counselling and social work, sometimes providing food, clothing and accommodation; training (he has run courses on networking, anger management, communications and committee skills); and job creation in the form of bartering arrangements. In one exchange with a local orchard Sam provided labour to do the weeding in return for petrol and produce. In another he set up sandblasting and scrubcutting operations in which labour was exchanged for a car, petrol and meat.

"One of the biggest problems with these types of operations is that once they are set up and functioning successfully someone else steps in and takes over."

Sam is hampered by lack of money (bartering is an attempt to overcome this), lack of a vehicle, too small a house (he and his wife have had up to 14 children living in their house at any one time), and being taken advantage of by the authorities who tend to off-load their work onto him.

His main resources are his network with voluntary youth workers, "mostly guys who have been in prisons, gangs and druggies etc. who want to make a positive contribution to the community"; Jo Maniapoto and Associates; local businesses which provide clothes and food parcels; good

relationships with the police and Justice Department; and good personal contacts with a psychiatrist and doctor. He would like more support from the ground level, in particular from the families of the people he works with.

"Families often tend to undo all the good work."

Sam has set up a trust called Wanganui People and Development. When this is fully established he hopes to move into training community volunteers. The aim of the trust is "to establish a service in the community for reskilling our workers", and he hopes it will be self-sufficient within three years. Sam sees it as something constructive, positive and ongoing. □

Lack of resources is clearly the most important problem facing providers of support services to unemployed people and their families. Several groups commented that this problem is being exacerbated by an increasing number of people being referred from official agencies.

"Institutions pile on the work and provide nothing, in return. It's always us supporting them."

"We've noticed recently that the Department of Social Welfare has been referring people to us — people in real dire situations. We're lucky that we've got a reasonable network and can ring around and get food, clothing, furniture ..."

A number of interviewees expressed concern about the lack of support systems for 14-18 year-olds who require alternative learning situations, and the inadequate financial support for people who have the empathy and skills to work with them.

CASE STUDY

Meeting economic and social needs

The Ball and Chain Craft Company is a self-help work environment for ex-prisoners and the long-term unemployed. The people working there are involved in wood carving, bone carving, glass painting, tattooing, sewing, costume making, fabric design and furniture making. At the time of interviewing the tattooist was having the greatest financial success as customers paid him in cash.

The Company was started by one man who had the idea for it when he was in prison.

"Setting it up took a lot of scrounging. We had minimal government funding. We pay market rentals [for the buildings]." (A)

"The communities that we live in and the services that communities provide don't provide for people like us so we're having to do it, with support, by ourselves. We get some support from the Labour Department and Internal Affairs and from wherever we grab it, but essentially the drive and motivation and initiative comes from us." (B)

Their plans to open a late-night dairy to subsidise their

craft activities were thwarted as they could not afford to bring the building, a condemned dairy, up to regulation standards. They then converted the premises into a workshop, also with difficulty.

"There's been many a day when we've been building this place that we've ground to a halt halfway through with no money to buy nails or timber. It used to happen about one day a week. There'd be nothing to go on with, no paint ..." (B)

Having set up the premises, with the craftspeople operating as small businesses, they have now also established From the Wall — a trust to work with street kids who are not being catered for by funded agencies.

"We know their older brothers — we've been in gaol. Twenty years ago I was living under a bridge in Porirua ... I suppose a few of them still live there for all I know ... but we know when they're bullshitting us, when they're trying to be sneaky on us. They know they can't get away with it so most of the time they don't try." (A)

"One of them is a 15 year-old that the system totally denies and refuses to say she needs anything because she's 15. To Social Welfare she doesn't exist. If I can find her mother and get a letter saying she will allow the trust to take responsibility for that girl then I can go to Social Welfare and apply for some benefit for her. Until then the only other way is to take her down the road, give her a couple of rocks and tell her to start throwing them through windows. In other words, she has to become a criminal, go through the courts, before Social Welfare will allocate her a social worker or any such thing. Basically she's being paid enough money for the little things in life that everyone needs, out of our pockets. She is housed by us, and she is learning to bone carve. That's her job." (A)

As with many grassroots initiatives, the participants are providing unpaid services and often working with clients that other agencies have given up on.

"The thing is, in terms of the service that we provide, we save this government probably hundreds and thousands of dollars in the short time that we've been open already. When we turn around and point that fact out and say how about paying our rent on this place we virtually have to kiss arse to do it. And there's scaremongering happening ... people are waiting for us to fail and [are] really scared to help us in case we do fail ..." (B)

One fieldworker, who works with the group, notes:

"A lot of people like the idea of what's going on [here] ... they say yeah yeah those guys are doing alright but when it comes down to getting them [the funded agencies] to do anything they never actually come up with the goodies, do they?" □

Several of the groups interviewed felt they were being exploited by 'the system' and that the amount of money they are given is inadequate for the work they do. Devo-

lution of health care services to the community is already increasing referrals from official agencies to community groups. There is a growing insistence that voluntary work be valued, not only for its contribution to society but also for its contribution to the economy.

A long-time worker for the unemployed and co-ordinator of a newly-established employment resource centre said:

"There needs to be a wider recognition that there is a community sector of the economy ... Much of the work that takes place in it is unpaid and the value of this is hard to quantify, but it can actually play a more important role. It is a legal part of the economy. Economic statistics and economic planning ... are not counting the part where you can't see dollars on the balance sheet ... There is a potential for job creation and for improving people's lives in a whole lot of ways by having a policy of actually encouraging that sector and spending in it and developing it ... It's not just a whole lot of do-gooders running around with good ideas."

Strategies to overcome problems

The types of changes required, and support requested, are as follows:

- There should be more resources for unpaid and low paid initiatives, especially those which are operating within an empowerment model.
- More resources and recognition are needed for the work of self-help groups working towards independence and self-determination, including unemployed workers' unions.
- Greater support is required for initiatives integrating social support with training and job creation.
- There could be contracting out of work to groups already actively serving community needs and relating to their clients, as one way of recognising and valuing their work. There needs to be recognition of the 'community sector' of the economy and its potential for job creation.

Conclusion

People who have goodwill and not much in the way of financial resources are often left to deal with the disastrous social and economic effects of unemployment.

The most striking aspects of social support at the grassroots level are:

- the diversity of self-help initiatives
- the amount of unpaid work being done, much of it invisible and done by women

- the amount of community work being done by 'unemployed' people and beneficiaries, especially by and for Maori people.

The more exciting initiatives are seeking a social and eco-

nomical balance, as they are of the view that economic development and employment is about people first, not just about goods and jobs. Once again, the courage and perseverance of grassroots responses is in evidence.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Community Networking — The Two Hui

As an integral part of this research, the Planning Council sponsored hui in Wanganui and Whakatane to give something back to the communities that had taken part in the study. Significant funding assistance was provided by the Community Development Division and the Research Unit of the Department of Internal Affairs.

The purpose of the hui was to facilitate networking by bringing together a wide cross-section of the community, to provide information on topics relevant to the problems experienced by those participating in the study, to report the study finding back to the community, and to provide the opportunity for participants to make recommendations following workshop discussions.

Both hui were structured in a similar way. The Director of the Planning Council, Peter Rankin, outlined the Council's work and explained how this project fitted into its activities. The project co-ordinators at the Council, Kath Boswell and Denise Brown, described the aims, methodology and major findings; key speakers spoke on subjects requested by the study participants and local project co-ordinators; workshop discussions were held on topics related to the key speakers' presentations; a final feedback session took place in which recommendations were presented; and the local co-ordinators summarised and commented on the day.

The Wanganui hui

About 200 people attended the hui held on the Putiki Marae on November 22 1989. Two local small businesses were employed to do catering and floral arrangements, and to videotape the key speakers and summary session. The range of people attending the hui was diverse, from district councillors to unemployed people, from Black Power to government department staff. Also present were some of the people involved in the Wellington pilot interviews.

The key speakers' addresses are summarised below.

Tomorrow's skills

— Lesley Haines, Planning Council Secretariat

Lesley presented information on economic trends and changing patterns of employment. Planning Council economic forecasts have certain implications for future employment patterns and the kinds of skills that will be

required. The services component of world trade is growing, for example, tourism, education, health, information services, financial services and intellectual property. These areas will have a bigger share of world trade. Our traditional agricultural products are decreasing in importance, while other areas like horticulture are increasing.

Our markets are changing too. The Planning Council expects employment to grow in business services and finance, wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels.

Lesley illustrated the position of Maori in overall employment patterns and showed that a small proportion are employed in the service areas listed above. Food processing, mining and logging employ a high proportion of Maori workers but, in terms of growth, it is predicted that employment in food processing will decline, and mining and forestry will have very little employment growth.

Information on manual and non-manual occupations was presented, showing Maori workers more heavily concentrated in the manual group. The most common occupations for Maori are those most vulnerable to changes in the economy, and they are poorly represented in the fastest growing jobs.

Lesley concluded with data on participation in tertiary education, showing the low participation rates of 16-19 year-old New Zealanders, and the low retention rates of Maori in secondary schools.

What you can do about unemployment

— Vivian Hutchinson, Taranaki Work Trust and Starting Point, New Plymouth

Vivian acknowledged what people in Wanganui are already doing about unemployment. He suggested people should change their approach to unemployment from *reaction* (stage 1) — such as work schemes and dole payments, through *proaction* (stage 2) — such as self-help initiatives and positive community action about job creation, to *visionary action* (stage 3) which includes co-operation right across the community.

He made five points:

- We are going through a fundamental economic change which is not a re-run of the 1930s.
- There will never be full employment again as we know it.

- We are participating in a crisis of the welfare state.
- The community and business sectors will meet our needs better than bureaucrats and politicians.
- We want 'deep investment' in people, in initiatives that help us help ourselves.

Vivian presented a diagram (p.39) on community action on unemployment which distinguishes between organising the problem (*reaction*, stage 1) and healing the problem (*proaction*, stage 2). Palliatives are part of organising the problem, they create dependency and are based on the notion of winners and losers. Healing the problem is proactive and holistic, and is about winners and winners.

We are trying to move from stage 1 to stage 2 through *community action employment networks*. This is what will drive stage 3 (*visionary action*) as people will have to sit down and talk with those they do not like, for example, employers with unions and community groups with bureaucrats.

Maori economic and social development

— Tari Ana Turia, Whanganui Regional Development Board Trust

Tari acknowledged that the unemployed, those living on \$80-137 per week, should be speaking about solutions to unemployment. She noted that Maori have become a dependent people, and fill every negative statistic because of the loss of their economic and spiritual base over the last 140 years. This has created a growth industry of highly paid jobs for others to look after Maori people.

The Whanganui Regional Development Board Trust was set up six years ago by Maori people who responded to the call to take charge of their own lives and control of their future by developing an economic base. Within a short time 400 Maori people were contributing between \$5 and \$50 a month to a koha system which financed small business loans. The former Department of Maori Affairs promoted the Board as a model and the Department of Internal Affairs paid the modest salary of the first co-ordinator.

The Board had to help people create their own work because they were not in control of either the public or private sector of employment. They were asked to manage the Mana Enterprise Scheme and Maori ACCESS. They were able to finance 27 businesses. Not all have been successful but they have learned a great deal. In the past year, eight young people have been assisted into tertiary education through their koha fund.

The Mauri Ora Health Centre, another Board initiative, is the first Maori health group in the country to effect a contract with an area health board for services to Maori people.

Tari challenged us as Treaty partners to accept an exciting time of change, to support the tangata whenua to achieve their autonomy, and to recognise and respect our differences.

"We offered your people a place right here beside us — not in front of us, not above us — and we offer you that again."

Community-owned businesses

— Ian Ritchie, Manawatu Resource Centre

Ian praised the employment initiatives already occurring in Wanganui, for example, the work of the Whanganui Regional Development Board Trust. He described the community approach to employment as being about claiming back our power, our rights, our lifestyle and our community.

The community business movement in Scotland arose from within poor, isolated communities who realised that if they did not take control of their shop, fuel supplies, accommodation and transport they would no longer have them. Appropriate business structures were developed to enable them to do this.

In New Zealand we now have nursing homes, supermarkets and horticultural enterprises being run on this basis. The two community business consultants from Scotland found that some of the Maori trusts had longer standing community businesses than those in Scotland. Ian encouraged the hui participants to look for solutions in their own communities and not wait for answers from the Beehive.

The community business concept in Scotland has seen communities with 70 percent unemployment creating their own jobs. This model allows people to work for themselves and their community at the same time, and recognises that even long-term unemployed have the ability and vision to help create that package. It contrasts with many government programmes which require people to be alienated before they qualify for funding.

Ian recommended that organisations in the public and private sectors, services groups and churches that have under-utilised resources (whether they are buildings, equipment or staff) share them with community initiatives. In Britain, some of the large transnationals are deeply involved at the community level because they recognise that localities full of anger and with little spending power are not good to trade in.

Ian said the challenge is to get alongside people we've found it difficult to work with in the past, link hands and work out how we can do something because it's our future. Models where this is happening are already in place.

The education system: what needs to change?

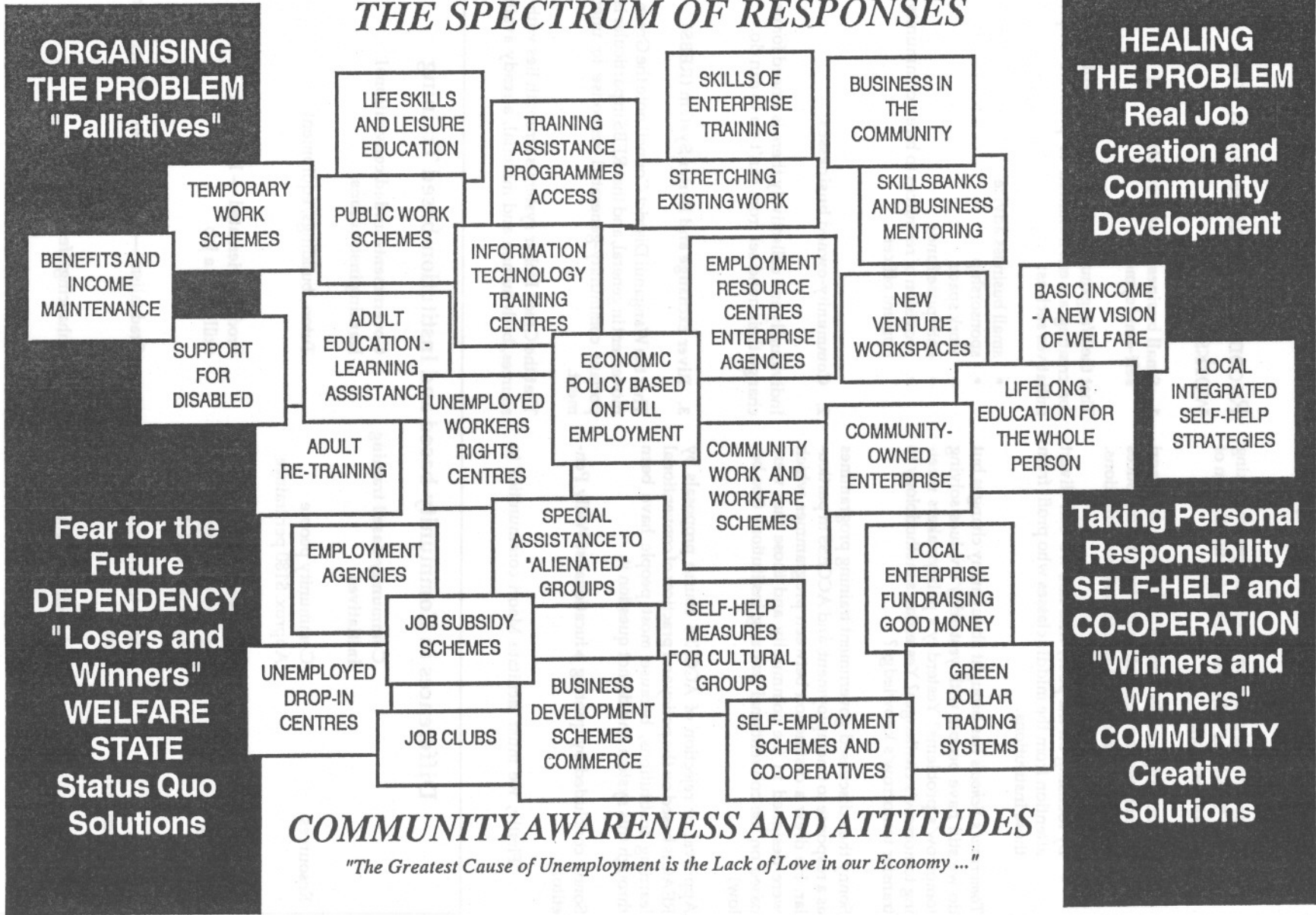
— Sonny Mikaere, education consultant

Sonny reminded us that education is a lifelong process. In his presentation he focused on Maori education, and put forward several propositions:

- The education system has persistently failed Maori children, and can be considered as a system des-

WHAT YOU CAN DO ABOUT UNEMPLOYMENT

THE SPECTRUM OF RESPONSES



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igned for failure, as 50 percent of all children have to fail School Certificate.

- Those who are most vulnerable to educational failure are not in positions to make and implement change.
- Those with the power to make changes are making only 'band-aid' adjustments to give the illusion of transformation.
- By focusing on the individual failure of Maori learners we can direct attention from the injustices of our social, economic and education institutions.
- By focusing on the poor, who fail, we can divert attention from the middle classes who profit from these institutions.

Tomorrow's Schools has brought about many changes but do we still have people with yesterday's values solving tomorrow's problems? Yesterday's policymakers meeting tomorrow's challenges? Yesterday's methodology to transfer tomorrow's knowledge?

Sonny then discussed government training programmes as a response to unemployment, and ACCESS in particular. He drew a distinction between programmes which were designed in the community and those that were based on the conventional learning institutions (see below).

Approval or rejection of ACCESS course proposals by REAC is based on the policy and practices of conventional learning institutions, because most people have been through this system and do not question it.

Sonny concluded by quoting educationalist Wally Penetito:

"Firstly, we must facilitate Maori communities to

take education decisions in their own best interests. Secondly, we need to clarify the essence of an education that makes valid tangata whenua knowledge so that it becomes a central part of what it means to be educated in this country."

Recommendations from the workshops

1. Small businesses, co-operatives and self-employment

That the Wanganui District Council accept responsibility for creating an environment to promote employment initiatives such as:

- small business advice
- sponsorship
- work space
- enterprise funds
- provision of resources to hire a community development officer.

2. Community-owned businesses

Individually and collectively there is a need for people to change their mind set from can't do to can do.

3. River Exchange and Barter System (REBS)

That the Wanganui District Council note the Green Dollar movement in general, and that REBS in particular is an important community-generated response to unemployment.

That the Green Dollar system's strength lies with the resources, both human and material, already available in

Differences in Community-based and Institution-based Training

	Community-based training initiatives	Government-funded/conventional learning institutions
Resources	Community people Approx. \$180 per trainee	Tutors, buildings, equipment
Learning & teaching style	Process-orientated — "as they're doing it they're learning it"	Product-orientated — learn the skill to get a job
Strategic and alternatives	Access to knowledge issues	Gradualism — trivialisation of Maori approach
Policy orientation	Enhancing life chances	Enhancing life style
Value emphasis	Real communication and empowering	Self-esteem, self-image, 'partnership'

the community — resources that are often locked up by the competitive, shortage-based conventional economy.

That the Green Dollar movement receive recognition of the benefits, both social and financial, that it generates.

4. Training and education

Training for employment

That more Maori participate in decisionmaking.

That more resources go to community-based training initiatives.

That there be more effective co-ordination of the existing range of resources.

That there be more subsidised wage schemes suitable to community organisations, similar to the Vocational Opportunity Training Programme.

That less rigid benefit criteria be introduced, especially for the stand-down requirement.

Education

That parental skill building be developed to enhance learner performance in schools.

That kura kaupapa Maori be actively promoted.

5. Maori development

That the use of alternative structures be recognised as the only way to achieve Maori development.

That the Maori community be resourced adequately to enable economic and social development to take place.

That the processes government departments use to appoint staff be monitored closely so that Maori people have an equitable chance of getting jobs.

That Maori people have the opportunity for training in social, cultural and political development, as this is the key to Maori development.

The Whakatane hui

About 80 people attended the hui which was held in the Salvation Army Citadel on December 12 1989. Catering was done by trainees and tutors from an ACCESS catering course. A wide range of people attended, including a representative of the Mayor of Whakatane, government department staff (local and head office), service agencies from the Eastern Bay of Plenty area and further afield, and local grassroots people who were working on employment opportunities for themselves and others.

Summaries of the key speakers' addresses follow.

What causes unemployment?

— Lesley Haines, Planning Council Secretariat

Unemployment in New Zealand is not new; it has been rising steadily here since the mid 1970s.

Why? Partly because during the 1970s and early 1980s our labour force grew very rapidly. Partly because of the unsustainability of our past sources of prosperity. Since the 1960s, living standards have slipped compared with other countries because our productivity performance was poor.

Our economy, based on providing farm products for Britain and a protected manufacturing sector, failed to keep up with the times. We borrowed time by borrowing internationally. New Zealand's 'think big' strategy turned out to be a poor investment. This approach was unsustainable and the result is a prolonged period of adjustment to get us back in balance.

How do we return to full employment? The key is increasing productivity more quickly than our competitors. We need to become more efficient in everything we do, improve the quality of our products and services, and produce them cheaper. This will demand better workplace management and more highly skilled workers, the adoption of new technology and, above all, increased adaptability to our rapidly changing environment.

The Mataatua area: a position statement

— Tamati Kruger, local project co-ordinator,
chairperson of the District Executive Council,
Department of Social Welfare

The district covered in the survey extended from Kawerau, Te Teko and Edgecumbe through Whakatane, Torere and Opotiki up the coast to Te Kaha and other townships. Five iwi were included in the study: Whanau-a-Apanui, Ngai Tai, Whakatohea, Ngati Awa and Tuhoe, all of the Mataatua waka. Two other iwi, Ngati Manura and Ngati Whare, which are also within the area of the Whakatane District Council were not included in the study.

The iwi are autonomous and independent and are the appropriate political level for negotiating with the government, but the dynamic operating level within the iwi is the hapu.

Whanau-a-Apanui has a dual heritage with strong links to the Horotu canoe and Ngati Porou. There are more initiatives in this area than in the rest of the Whakatane district.

Ngai Tai, based around Torere, has Tainui links and survival is one of its strengths. Its most important resources are the sea, the lowlands and the forests on the hills. The main resource, the sea, has been exploited and a major thrust is re-development of this resource.

Whakatohea is based around Opotiki. There are none as enterprising, and the Trust Board has been in existence for a long time. Businesses have been established in seaweed processing, safety shoes, boxes for kiwi fruit, re-forestation, agriculture and the iwi has prime real estate in Opotiki.

Ngati Awa includes some pan-tribal areas with a strong Tuwharetoa and Te Arawa presence which need to be accommodated in development planning. They have recently established a trust board.

Tuhoe are an enigma in that they wish to remain in the second or third rank in development. They are fortunate in having retained their culture. Their physical environment gives them strength but offers little to assist economic development. There is a need for each iwi to define its relationship with government and to re-identify its situation and role.

Maori comprise 33 percent of the population of Whakatane, 45 percent of Kawerau and 42 percent of Opotiki. Government is making large social welfare payments within the area, including \$800,000 for unemployment. Could that money be spent in more positive ways?

The people are in dire straits and no one is there to help, so people are deciding they must help themselves. There are many problems and barriers on the road. Information can help overcome those barriers but unbridled enthusiasm can be a dangerous thing. We can help by setting up signposts and drinking fountains on the road.

A Maori woman's perspective on employment

— Rose Pere, education consultant

Rose shared the main elements of her philosophy:

- acknowledgement of the creator and recognition that this implies faith in oneself
- the challenge to give the best to each and every person regardless
- replace the negative with the positive
- know from whence you came and where you are going.

Responding to Tamati's comments on Tuhoe attitudes to development, Rose said that to the Tuhoe the past, the present and the future were all the same.

Education is the foundation of growth and development. We need to recognise and develop Maori skills in languages. This requires continuing emphasis on bilingual education and continuing commitment by tribal groups to work with their young people.

It is important that the skills of women are recognised, particularly their skills in management. With the notable exception of the Iwi Transition Agency, Maori women are everywhere. The community needs these skills and needs to be told to pay for them.

Rose concluded by emphasising the importance of the dreamer in showing the community where it should aim to go.

Community-owned businesses

— Ian Ritchie, Manawatu Resource Centre

Ian appealed to the unemployed people of the Eastern Bay of Plenty to take control of their lives through the creation of their own employment. He explained that the community-owned business concept, which originated in Scotland, is about communities of interest taking the initiative and getting into business.

The model is based on the co-existence of profit-making and charitable components. Profits from the business organisation are ploughed into the charitable organisation which means that community-owned businesses are able to contribute to both the economic and social development of the community. Another feature is that local resources are used to create jobs for local people.

Ian warned against reliance on external support and a 'they must provide' mentality. The setting up of the Manawatu Resource Centre, over five years ago, was used as an example of a community meeting its own needs. The Centre runs its own Skills of Enterprise course and has a voluntary skills bank of professional people.

In terms of finance, Ian encouraged communities to look to themselves rather than to the government for support — the koha bank in Wanganui was a successful example. Ian concluded by emphasising the importance of developing and maintaining networks in the community.

Creating work with a Green Dollar system

— Tony Hansen, Taranaki Green Dollars

Taranaki Green Dollars has been operating for about 18 months and now has more than 130 members. Over the past year \$20,000 worth of transactions took place. Tony said that a minimum of 100 people taking part is necessary to make the system viable.

The scheme is a local employment and trading system in which people provide services to members of the group in return for other services given by members.

There is a central computer registry in which records are kept of all transactions. For example, if Joe provides plumbing services for Tony to the value of \$30, this transaction is recorded as a credit to Joe and a debit to Tony. Later Tony may provide services such as book-keeping to any other member of the group and thus pays off the debt. Joe may receive services of some other kind, for example, lawn-mowing or typing, thus balancing up his account. Only services enter into the exchange. In the case of plumbing, for example, the parts are paid for in Kiwi dollars in the usual way.

The Green Dollar scheme requires a core of people who strongly believe in the idea to get it off the ground and to keep it running. Taranaki has a management group of six with a wide range of skills. Some Kiwi dollars are required to run the scheme, for pamphlets, advertising and stationery.

The scheme was brought from Canada by David James and first operated in Northland. Now there are about 20 networks throughout the country. For further information write to Tony Hansen, Taranaki Green Dollars, PO Box 274, New Plymouth.

Small business marketing

— Garry Watson, Greater East Cape Promotions and Marketing

Garry explained that he was now running a promotion and marketing service because he had been unable to find anyone to provide the service he had needed for his own ventures. A marketing plan is essential to the success of a business, but to get good professional help on a marketing plan, you must know what it is you want to achieve and be able to describe that goal clearly.

Businesses can be either production-driven — as in the meat industry, or consumer-driven — as in the production of a specific piece of equipment such as the Tullen cutters. The first step is to decide what you want to do. You need research to define the product you are going to sell (and it may be an idea or a service, as well as a physical product), who you are going to sell it to, and how you can sell it. Market research is a headache, but it is better to do it first, while you still have your starting capital, not later when you have lost it.

You need a marketing strategy at the beginning, and to stay successful you need research, research and research.

A market plan must include the following elements:

- **The market place:** supply and demand is shaped by population, economics, regulations, technology and competition, which relate to consumers and their social and cultural factors, their personality and psychology — much of which depends on their point in the family cycle.
- **Segmentation:** dividing up the market by geographical area, population, behaviour; deciding between blanket coverage and concentrated segment marketing, which will be influenced by available resources, product lifecycle, competitors' strategies and so on.
- **Research:** gathering, organising and recording information on buyers' behaviour, competitors' operations and perceptions of the product so that you can monitor progress and make good decisions.
- **The market mix:** your practical strategy depending on budget and market position; opportunities for promotion, and price; whether your product offers a core benefit, tangible features or extended features; whether it is durable, consumed or industrial; and whether you can develop your product and its position, by branding and packaging, to achieve the slice of the market you are aiming at.

Recommendations from the workshops

1. Tomorrow's skills

The education system

That the Spirit of Enterprise programme (from Britain) be introduced into schools, at all levels, to foster skills in problem solving, communication, goal-setting and planning.

That business courses, including marketing and trading, be taught from the third form upwards.

That education policies and budgets allow more movement and flexibility within the education system.

ACCESS training

That appropriate support be provided after ACCESS courses.

That the performance of REACs be evaluated against the manual guidelines.

That the system of ministerial appointments to REAC be dropped and the Councils be made responsible to the community.

2. Small business marketing

That a central organisation or centre be set up in the community with a register of information, and skills to which the whole community has access and input.

That a mobile unit be set up (possibly attached to the centre) to meet the needs of isolated communities.

That initial funding should come from government departments, particularly the New Zealand Employment Service. Ultimately the centre would be self-funded.

3. Creating work with a Green Dollar system

Tamati Kruger and other interested people plan to visit Wanganui and Taranaki in the new year to investigate the feasibility of starting up a Green Dollar exchange in the local community.

4. Community-owned business

Those attending this group will network with each other.

However, in the feedback session following the workshops it was pointed out that:

- some community business initiatives need work-space

- the community does not need to wait for the Planning Council before holding another hui on employment. There are skills, abilities and enthusiasm in the community that can continue to be shared.

5. Surviving in small businesses

That the district council establish the position of a facilitator for an enterprise agency. The facilitator would:

- service the entire Mataatua area, not just the towns — a mobile agency would be required
- share information and communicate with all interested bodies, such as educators, business interests and runanga
- establish a skills 'bank', which could include retired people, for example, to provide advice for prospective small businesses
- organise courses when requested
- assist in finding finance for small businesses
- monitor the businesses after they have been set up.

Conclusion

The pain of being unemployed and powerless came through clearly, particularly at the Wanganui hui, and feelings of isolation came through strongly at the Whakatane hui. However, there was also evidence of the energy being expended by grassroots people on helping themselves and each other.

Those speakers who had worked at the grassroots level for a number of years were particularly well received by the hui participants, because of their proven record and forward-looking and empowering messages. They reminded the audience that innovative ideas and actions are more likely to come from the grassroots than the Beehive.

Positive outcomes of the hui were the sharing of information and different perspectives, the building up of networks, and the confirmation, for many, that being able to control their own destiny was preferable to waiting for central government to act. The majority of recommendations were directed at local decisionmakers and often took the form of a request for recognition and support for self-help initiatives already underway or being planned.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Policy Implications

The policy implications in this report come from the project interviews and have been brought together from the Strategies sections at the end of Chapters Three to Six for ease of reference. Recommendations from the hui workshops are also included. They are grouped under four headings:

- job creation, enterprise and employment
- training, education and employment
- iwi development
- social support and employment.

There is, inevitably, considerable overlap among the four groupings. The policy implications are directed at decisionmakers in the relevant government departments, district and regional councils and business development boards.

Job creation, enterprise and employment

1. That central, regional and local government recognise that the types of grassroots initiatives documented in this report represent a potentially significant avenue to local job creation, employment and social wellbeing.
2. That the people most affected by policy changes relating to employment, unemployment and income maintenance *be consulted* throughout the various stages of policy development *and* when new policies are put into operation.
3. That Maori economic development be fostered through understanding, support and sharing of resources by the dominant Pakeha culture in accordance with the Treaty of Waitangi. To assist them in their economic planning, Maori people will need better access to information and increased resources for data gathering.
4. That decisionmakers be employed with the skills to bridge the wide cultural gap between local entrepreneurs and organisations holding power, such as government departments and banks.
5. That local economic development plans which pinpoint future areas of employment growth and contraction be prepared and made accessible to individuals and groups within the community.
6. That local and regional authorities be encouraged to become more proactively involved in community development planning and enterprise initiatives. Further opportunities are needed for people in the community with enthusiasm, skills and abilities to meet with others to share information and build networks.
7. That alternative business 'cultures', unconventional approaches to economic development, and community-initiated support structures be promoted and supported. For example, community-owned and run businesses, different types of worker co-operatives, community banking and community development loan funds.
8. That funding be made available for community-based responses to restructuring and devolution. For example, the contracting out of community-based health services or social services to iwi-based groups or other community groups by area health boards or the Department of Social Welfare.
9. That incentives to encourage the private and community sectors to continue to provide enterprise finance be investigated. Access to enterprise finance is one of the major concerns raised in this study: that funding support or enterprise finance, whether government or commercial, be accompanied by advisory support, with contact continuing past the business establishment stage.
10. That joint partnerships between local enterprises and universities, polytechnics, laboratories, large firms and the DSIR be fostered to encourage and support innovation.
11. That funding be made available to small enterprises and potential small enterprises for market research and marketing and distribution aspects of new businesses.
12. That business information and advice be accessible and affordable; that agencies and individuals providing support and advice be sensitive enough to meet the needs of a diverse range of people including those who are unemployed, those who have been failed and alienated by the formal education system and those who are involved in non-establishment 'alternative' initiatives. Advice will be needed on appropriate legal structures, government regulations, accounting and business record keeping, preparation of business plans, sources of finance, methods of applying for finance, marketing and distribution, insurance and taxation. The 'culture' of the support agency will need to match the culture or personality of the individual or group

who plan to set up in business. Advisory services will need to be affordable to unemployed people.

13. That grassroots initiatives to set up local enterprise agencies, which develop a register of skills and information to which the whole community has access and input, be supported and resourced. Some communities would like their local district or city councils to establish the position of a facilitator for an enterprise agency (some local authorities have already created such a position). Community enterprise agencies should also meet the needs of people in isolated areas by, for example, sponsoring a mobile unit and training local people.

Tasks of these agencies could include:

- providing advice for small businesses
 - establishing a skills 'bank' which could use retired people as business mentors (they would need to be acceptable to people from other cultures and to women)
 - assisting in finding enterprise finance for small businesses
 - sharing information, making connections and empowering local people, as well as communicating with all interested bodies such as educators, business interests, service clubs and runanga
 - disseminating information about successful community-based initiatives
 - assisting in linking small enterprises with markets
 - providing ongoing monitoring and assistance after the establishment phase
 - sponsoring work space
 - organising or contracting out courses when requested.
14. That business skills training, such as Skills of Enterprise courses, be widely available in a form accessible to a diversity of people, including those alienated by the conventional education system.
 15. That central and local government regulations be simplified, and form filling and paperwork be kept to a minimum to suit clients and remove stumbling blocks.
 16. That those who are unemployed or involved in unpaid work be eligible for some form of income maintenance, such as an enterprise allowance, during the early stages of establishing their business.
 17. That demotivating factors resulting from inconsistencies in government policies and programmes be remedied, such as the 15-week stand-down period before people coming off ACCESS courses are eligible for the JOS wage and self-employment subsidies.

Training, education and employment

18. That closer links between training and employment or enterprise creation be fostered, and that the imbalance between resources for job creation and resources for training be redressed.
19. That funding be provided for courses that support the economic development of a community or a tribal group.
20. That more training courses be work-based to ensure that training is more relevant to employment opportunities.
21. That ACCESS and MACCESS trainees who plan to become self-employed have the opportunity to follow technical courses with business skills training, such as Skills of Enterprise courses.
22. That ACCESS and MACCESS trainees have the opportunity to 'staircase' up to tertiary institutions.
23. That education policies and budgets allow more flexibility and movement within the education system, and that provision be made for access to alternative forms of education and training outside the conventional or formal system.
24. That an entrepreneurial spirit be developed in young people through appropriate courses, including the dissemination of successful ideas and experiences; through the encouragement of business initiatives and risk-taking; that business courses including marketing and trading be taught from the third form upwards.
25. That more Maori people be encouraged, and given the opportunity, to participate in decisionmaking in the areas of education and training.
26. That the performance of REACs be evaluated and the system of ministerial appointments be revised so that they are accountable to their communities.

Iwi development

27. That a proven equitable partnership with government be established in terms of resources and understanding (see also 3, 4).
28. That Maori be given the freedom to use alternative structures and to operate in ways appropriate to them, for example, to integrate economic, social, cultural and spiritual development (see also 7).
29. That iwi development initiatives be acknowledged and supported and permitted to proceed in parallel with, or separate from, regional and local development.

30. That the government and officials recognise that iwi are capable of making decisions for themselves but will require access to information and support to do this.
31. That obstacles impeding iwi development be removed, for example, the 'locking in' of tribal land by local body regulations.
32. That policy and funding criteria for training, employment and job creation programmes be flexible enough to encourage the economic development of the iwi and also benefit other Maori living in the area (see also 18).
33. That educational practices be flexible enough to meet the needs of Maori people of all ages; that Maori have the opportunity for training in social, cultural and political development (see also 22, 24).
34. That support be given to the setting up of iwi employment resource centres that provide an advisory and advocacy service for small businesses and initiatives, including those that follow ACCESS and MACCESS courses.
35. That Maori people have the opportunity to learn administrative, managerial and marketing skills in an acceptable and appropriate setting (see also 13, 20, 21).
36. That the skills and resources of different tribal groups be recognised, as the sharing of these would be of considerable mutual benefit.
37. That the processes government departments use to appoint staff be structured so that Maori people have an equitable chance of getting jobs.
38. That individuals and organisations in influential positions help to counteract the negative images of Maori people portrayed in the media.

Social support and employment

39. That there be greater recognition of the 'community sector' or 'third sector' (neither public nor private) of the economy and its potential for job creation.
40. That there be more resources and recognition for the work of unpaid and low paid self-help groups who are operating within an empowerment model, and are working towards independence and self-determination. Included here is the work of unemployed workers' unions.
41. That there be more contracting out of work to groups already serving community needs as one way of valuing their work (see also 8).
42. That greater support be given to initiatives that integrate social support with training and job creation.

Conclusion

Policies that reflect many of these recommendations have been announced, for example, the establishment of the Community Employment Development Unit (CEDU), iwi devolution and tax simplification measures. However, policy announcements are one thing, practical implementation is often different. In presenting a variety of grassroots suggestions, we hope that this report will help with the implementation of measures to increase employment opportunities.

APPENDIX ONE

Research Methodology

Qualitative methodologies were selected because one of the original aims of the project was to put a human face on the unemployment statistics. The usual dilemmas for social researchers were encountered. Bev James¹ has summarised them as:

- the power relations between the researcher and the researched
- the lack of fit between theory and individual experience
- the 'objectivity' of research
- the connections between research and social change.

As an attempt to address some of the dilemmas of both the researched and researchers, we have swung more towards 'alternative' (or feminist) research methods rather than 'conventional' (or patriarchal) methods as defined by Shulamit Reinharz² (see p.52).

The methodology used in this project is indebted to the type of feminist research that is "committed to increasing the probability that those who provide information about their lives benefit in some way from the research process and have some control over how it is done and the way the information is used. Ideally the research is seen as directed towards empowering those who participate in it by enabling them to use the information generated to affect their present situation" (Christchurch Branch of the Society for Research on Women).³

The project also draws on participatory research methodology for similar reasons.

"Participatory research has as its goals the empowerment of people. Researchers play a part as facilitators in a process enabling this development".⁴

Participatory research is not primarily aimed at getting information *from* people, but enabling those who participate in the research to acquire a better understanding of their own situation and some means whereby they can address the issues which have generated the research".³

We realise that in putting research theories into practice they will inevitably fall short of the ideal. In terms of the power relations between the researchers and the subjects of the research, for example, we need to acknowledge the inevitable gap between us as researchers (two white middle-

class women currently on good incomes) and many of the people who agreed to speak with us.

Outline of the methodology

The first main aim was to obtain information on appropriate strategies and models to empower unemployed people. To achieve the various objectives the following processes were used:

Objectives

1. To consult with unemployed people in planning the project.
2. To use a research methodology appropriate to working with communitygroups at the grass-roots level.

Processes

Meet with representatives of unemployed workers' unions and conduct pilot interviews.

Use a non-hierarchical co-operative research process.

Investigate various qualitative methodologies.

Appoint the two community-based Employment Working Group members as local project co-ordinators.

Use local project co-ordinators' networks to select a range of job creation initiatives, training activities, and social support and self-help initiatives.

Interview approximately 30 groups or individuals in each study area using a semi-structured interview schedule.

Use the principle of informed consent.

Two NZPC interviewers to work in pairs with local co-ordinator and one other local person.

Objectives	Processes
	Provide interviewees with a written version of their interview and a preliminary synthesis of the interviews for their comment and amendment.
3. To work in partnership with the local project co-ordinators and their networks.	Ensure on-going consultation, information-sharing, joint planning and decisionmaking with the two local project co-ordinators.
4. To acknowledge the expertise of community self-help groups and give validity to their experiences.	Work alongside participants by consulting, listening, reflecting back and sharing, rather than taking the role of 'outside experts'.
	Acknowledge alternative/grassroots ways of working.
	Report back to interviewees prior to releasing any interview material.
5. To document some of the difficulties and problems experienced by unemployed people and those who seek to help them.	(see 2) Carry out in-depth interviews. Analyse and write up the interviews.
6. To ask study participants about their requirements for the future and changes they would like to see made.	(see 2) Carry out in-depth interviews. Analyse and write up the interviews.
7. To counter some of the negative stereotypes about unemployed people and present some of the 'good news'.	Give visibility to the positive initiatives by speaking and writing about them.
8. To put something back into the community in return for the information provided by the study participants.	Sponsor a hui in the two study areas.
	Present preliminary findings to the community at the hui.
	Select key speakers at the hui on the basis of the relevance of their topic to the needs of the community.

Objectives	Processes
9. To promote the study findings to channel the voice of the people to those holding power.	Encourage workshops to put forward recommendations from the hui directed at local decisionmakers.
	Present preliminary findings at hui, both verbally and written.
	Liaise with government departments.
	Prepare a written report based on both study areas.
	Offer briefings to regional and national policymakers.

The second main aim of the project was to provide information to assist decisionmakers to develop more proactive policies and practices to reduce unemployment. The objectives are being worked through using the following processes:

Objectives	Processes
10. To consult with policymakers, service providers and other researchers in formulating the project proposal.	Circulate draft proposal widely for comment.
11. To prepare a demographic and economic profile of each study area.	Bring together existing statistical data in a written profile.
12. To invite statutory and voluntary agencies in the study areas to provide a statement on the services they offer unemployed people.	Send out a letter explaining the project and asking for a written statement on services provided to support unemployed people and assist them to find employment.
13. To invite relevant government departments to make a financial contribution to the project.	Invite Department of Labour to contribute to local project co-ordinators' fees (one self-employed, one unemployed) and Department of Internal Affairs to contribute to the community hui.
14. To invite policymakers and service providers to the community hui.	Send invitations and programmes to all local agencies, service groups, district councillors and relevant head offices of government departments. The latter also sent information about the project.

Objectives	Processes	
15. To promote the study findings and recommendations with local, regional and national policymakers. (see 8)	<p>Liaise with government department and district council staff.</p> <p>Bring together all project material in written report with an executive summary.</p> <p>Publish and distribute report.</p> <p>Provide briefings.</p>	<p>¹ Bev James (1986), 'Taking gender into account: feminist and sociological issues in social research'. <i>New Zealand Sociology</i> 1 (1), 18-33.</p> <p>² Shulamit Reinharz (1983), 'Experiential analysis: a contribution to feminist research'. In Gloria Bowles and Renate Duelli Klein (Eds.) <i>Theories of Women's Studies</i>, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.</p> <p>³ Christchurch Branch of the Society for Research on Women (1989), <i>Study of the effects of unemployment on women in Christchurch: A research proposal</i>. Study group convenor Rosemary Novitz.</p> <p>⁴ Dell Small (1987), 'Working class women'. <i>Race Gender Class</i>, No.5.</p>
16. To carry out a small follow-up study one year after the hui to look at progress with implementing recommendations.	Not yet decided.	

Research models in contemporary sociology

	Conventional (or patriarchal)	Alternative (or feminist)
Units of study	Predefined, operationalised concepts stated as hypotheses.	Natural events encased in their ongoing contexts.
Sharpness of focus	Limited, specialised, specific, exclusive.	Broad, inclusive.
Data type	Reports of attitudes and actions as in questionnaires, interviews and archives.	Feelings, behaviour, thoughts, insights, actions as witnessed or experienced.
Topic of study	Manageable issue derived from scholarly literature, selected for potential scholarly contribution, sometimes socially significant.	Socially significant problem sometimes related to issues discussed in scholarly literature.
Role of research:		
• in relation to environment	Control of environment is desired, attempt to manage research conditions.	Openness to environment, immersion, being subject to and shaped by it.
• in relation to subjects	Detached.	Involved, sense of commitment, participation, sharing of fate.
• as a person	Irrelevant.	Relevant, expected to change during process.
• impact on researcher	Irrelevant.	Anticipated, recorded, reported, valued.
Implementation of method	As per design, decided a priori.	Method determined by unique characteristics of field setting.
Validity criteria	Proof, evidence, statistical significance; study must be replicable and yield same results to have valid findings.	Completeness, plausibility, illustrativeness, understanding, responsiveness to readers' or subjects' experience; study can not, however, be replicated.
The role of theory	Crucial as determinant of research design.	Emerges from research implementation.
Data analysis	Arranged in advance relying on deductive logic, done when all data are 'in'.	Done during the study, relying on inductive logic.
Manipulation of data	Utilisation of statistical analyses.	Creation of gestalts and meaningful patterns.
Research objectives	Testing hypotheses.	Development of understanding through grounded concepts and descriptions.
Presentation format	Research report form; report of conclusions with regard to hypotheses stated in advance, or presentation of data obtained from instruments.	Story, description with emergent concepts; including documentation of process of discovery.
Failure	Statistically insignificant variance.	Pitfalls of process illustrate the subject.
Values	Researchers' attitudes not revealed, recognised or analysed, attempts to be value-free, objective.	Researchers' attitudes described and discussed, values acknowledged, revealed, labelled.
Role of reader	Scholarly community addressed, evaluation of research design, management, and findings.	Scholarly and user community addressed and engaged; evaluate usefulness and responsiveness to perceived needs.

APPENDIX TWO

Groups and Individuals Interviewed

Auckland

Auckland Employment Resource Centre
Te Roopu Rauakore o Aotearoa

Wellington area

Ball and Chain Craft Company/From the Wall
Porirua Employment Resource Centre
Porirua Business Development Council
Te Ropu Kawatiri (formerly Buller Unemployment Centre)
Wellington Unemployed Workers' Union

Wanganui

ACCESS trainees, Wangaehu Marae
Cane Incorporated
Carey Smith and Co., Chartered Accountants
COGS Committee, Department of Social Welfare
Community health workers
Department of Maori Affairs
District Executive Committee (DEC), Department of
Social Welfare
Diverse individuals at community centre
Humdinger Toys
Jet Boat Tours
Kaiwhaiki Marae
Maori Women's Collective
Maori and Pacific Island education advisers
Parakino Marae
Prisoners' Aid Preventative
River Exchange and Barter System (REBS)
Skills for Enterprise Ltd.
Te Arawhanui Learning Centre
Te Awa Youth Trust
Training Support, New Zealand Employment Service
Voluntary community worker
Wahina Toa Wanganui Regional Development Council
Wanganui City Council
Whakairo Access Justice (Kaitoke prison)
Whanganui Regional Development Board Trust
Women's Collective
Young mother

Eastern Bay of Plenty

ACCESS tutor and trainees, leathercraft course
ACCESS tutor and trainees, interior decorating course
ACCESS caregivers' course
Contract Sewing Trust
Disability Resource Centre
Food business
Edgecumbe Bone Carving Company
Edgecumbe Community House
Eel farming
Former CEIS facilitator (Community Employment
Investigation Scheme)
GELS fieldworker (Group Employment Liaison Service)
Kawerau Enterprise Agency
Kerri Lee Shoes
Ngai Tai Runanga
Ngati Awa Runanga
Oteki Farm Enterprises
Paua farming
Peria Trust
Rainbow Rhythm Trust
Rangitaiki Skills Centre
Ruatoki Health Group
Torere Timber Turners
Tuhoe Kokiri Centre
Tuhoe Trust Board
Whakatane Recyclers
Whakatane District Council
Whakatohea Trust Board
Whanau-a-Apanui resource person
Whanau-a-Apanui Runanga

Additional discussions

At the time of the feedback visits, additional interviews or discussions took place with:

Mayor and councillors, Wanganui
ACCESS Liaison Officer for REAC, Wanganui
Five recipients of Regional Development Investigation
Grants (RDIGS) and Community Enterprise
Investigation Scheme Grants (CEIS) approved
through the Wanganui Regional Development Council
Community Services staff, Department of Social Welfare,
Wanganui
Ian Ritchie, Manawatu Resource Centre
Tom Butler, Waihou Bay

Responses from service agencies

The Planning Council sent letters to a wide range of service agencies in the two study areas. Information was requested on the services they offered unemployed people in assisting them to find employment and providing support while they are unemployed.

Wanganui

Replies were received from:

Director of Community Services, Wanganui City Council
Wanganui Regional Development Council
Wanganui Family Counselling Service
Carey Smith & Co
Wanganui Regional Community College
New Zealand Employment Service
Department of Social Welfare
Marton Borough Council
IHC Wanganui Branch
Citizens' Advice Bureau

Eastern Bay of Plenty

Replies were received from:

Whakatane District Council
Anglican Parish of Tauranga
Department of Justice, Whakatane
CEIS facilitator, Rotorua Employment District
Kawerau District Council
New Zealand Employment Service
Housing Corporation, Whakatane
Department of Social Welfare
Waiariki Polytechnic, Whakatane
Whakatane Citizens' Advice Bureau
Kawerau Community Resources Trust
Kawerau SAFE Association
Health Development Unit, Bay of Plenty Area Health Board
Bay of Plenty Polytechnic, Tauranga
IHC Eastern Bay of Plenty Branch
Kawerau College
Whakatane Baptist Church
Opotiki District Council

APPENDIX THREE

Profiles of the Regions

Eastern Bay of Plenty

The people

Between 1966 and 1986 the population of the Eastern Bay of Plenty region grew by about 17 percent, to 48,000.

The area has reflected the national trend of population ageing — in 1986 about half the region's population was under the age of 27, compared to under 18 years in 1966. However, the population is relatively younger than the New Zealand population as a whole (27 years compared to 30).

In 1986 two out of every five people were of Maori descent. The numbers of Maori have grown more rapidly than the region's population overall, and numbered 18,500 in 1986.

Employment

Just under two-thirds, or 21,000, of the region's population aged 15 years and over were in paid employment in 1986. About 17 percent were in part-time paid work. These figures are very close to the national average.

In 1966 the unemployment rate for the region was about 1.5 percent. By 1986 this had risen to over 10 percent, or around 2,000 people. More recent figures are much less clear, with the number of registered unemployed in the Rotorua employment district (which includes Taupo and Rotorua as well as the study area) at 10,800. Feedback from the study suggests that the unemployment rate is much greater than the 10 percent in 1986.

Primary sector industry employs about a quarter of the working population. The biggest employer is the service sector with just under a half; the rest work in manufacturing industries. Primary sector employment is significantly greater than the national average of 11 percent.

The economy

The Eastern Bay of Plenty region has a wide range of primary industries. There is mixed farming in cropping, sheep and dairy, and a strong horticulture industry — mainly kiwifruit. There are also significant, though

immature, plantation forests; on the region's boundaries is the largest plantation forest in New Zealand — Kaingaroa.

Most of the manufacturing industry is linked to primary production. For instance, pulp and paper is an important processing industry which draws much of its resource from Kaingaroa.

In the service sector, both the distribution industries (such as retail and wholesale trade) and community and personal services, are the most important. These two groups provide much of the employment in the service area, but not the greatest number of businesses. Other important service industries are construction and transport. The region is also popular for domestic tourism.

Wanganui

The people

Over the 23 years from 1966 to 1989, the population of the Wanganui local government region fell by less than 2.5 percent, from around 70,000 to about 68,500. The population has grown older, mainly due to a fall in the numbers of births. The share of young people under the age of 20 has fallen from 44 percent to about 35 percent. Although the population in the region has aged, it is still younger when compared to the national population overall. The Maori population increased dramatically since 1966, to about 18 percent in 1986. Maori are about 12.4 percent of the New Zealand population as a whole.

Employment

In 1986 nearly two-thirds of Wanganui's population aged 15 years and over were in the labour force. Over three-quarters of all those in the labour force earned wages or salaries, and 14 percent were self-employed or employers.

Unemployment has become an increasing problem in the region. In 1966 the unemployment rate was under 1 percent. In 1990, according to registered unemployment figures, the rate is around 10 percent, or about 3,200 people.

Service industries, such as construction, retail and whole-

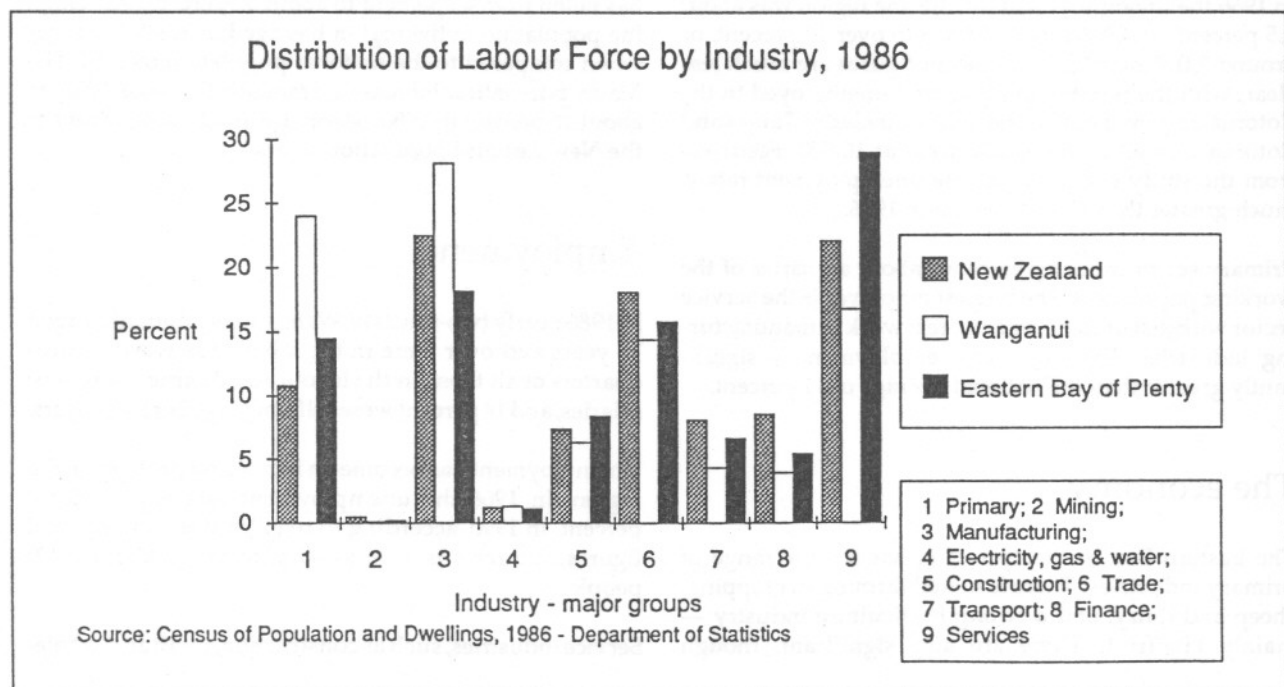
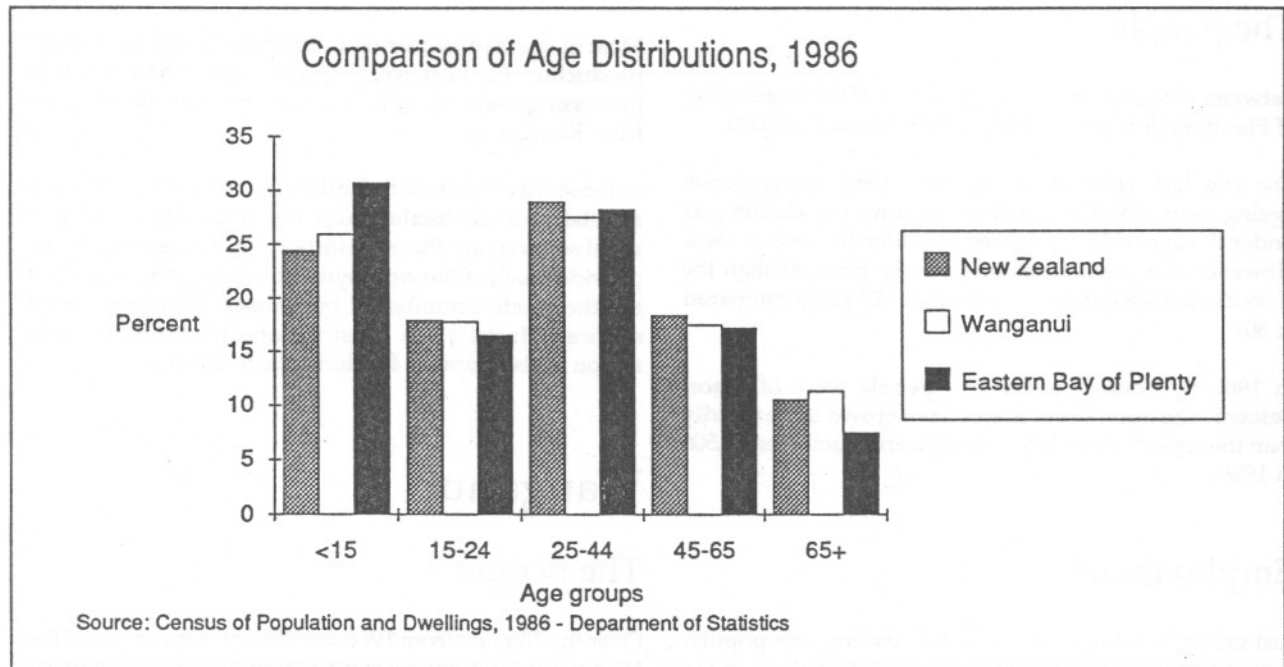
sale trade, transport, employ about two-thirds of workers in the Wanganui region. Manufacturing industries employ just over 18 percent of the workforce. Primary industries employ just under 15 percent.

The main types of manufacturing are linked to primary products, such as food and beverages, textiles, wood and paper products, but machinery and equipment manufacturing is also important.

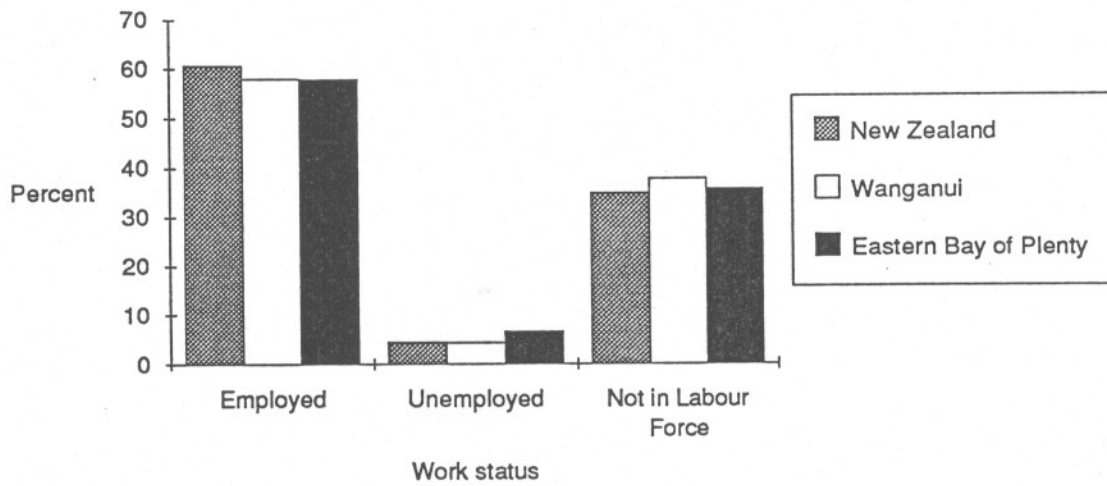
The economy

Pastoral farming — mainly hill country meat and wool farms — is an important part of the region's economy. But kiwifruit and other subtropical fruits are part of a developing horticultural industry. The contribution of forestry and fishing is small.

Among the service industries, those in the category of distribution, and community and personal services, are the most important. Distribution industries, such as retail and wholesale trade, employ a fifth of the workforce and account for a third of the businesses. For community and personal services those proportions are reversed.



Work Status of Population Over 15 Years



Source: Census of Population and Dwellings, 1986 - Department of Statistics

NZPC
July
1990