

Identity, Culture and the Politics of Community Development

Edited by

Stacey-Ann Wilson



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PREFACE

The idea for this book project came about when I coordinated a community development course as Senior Research Fellow at Queensland University of Technology (QUT). The course was geared toward Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, and those working in Indigenous communities. The intent of the book was for community development practitioners – not necessarily academics – to be able to reflect on community development practices in the context of identity, culture, politics and globalisation. When the project was eventually pitched to academics, it was geared primarily to those who were active in community development so that it was not merely a theoretical exercise, but where theory met practice.

There were concerns that the topics were too eclectic and not focussed enough on the usual preoccupation of community development in a globalised world, that of north-to-south development. The strength of this book is that it is preoccupied with a localised politics of community development. Another strength is that it focuses attention on an aspect of community development that is often overlooked: identity and culture.

While the project went through different iterations, the focus on identity and culture did not waiver from its initial articulation to my Community Development course participants at QUT. Happily, two short papers in this volume are from participants in that course. I also need to make special mention of my colleague Camille Nakhid at Auckland University of Technology in New Zealand, the contributing editor of this volume. Despite her own schedule, she provided invaluable support in the mid-stage of the project. She gave of her time to review and comment on chapters and I thank her greatly for that.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank my assistant on the community development course, the deadly Darren Brady, now Program Director (Queensland) at Australian Indigenous Mentoring Experience (AIME); who provided tremendous support during and after the course at QUT.

Finally, but certainly not least, I want to thank the contributors for sharing their original work for this publication and for their patience as this project went through its different iterations. This book quite literally could not have happened without you.

INTRODUCTION

THE IMPORTANCE OF IDENTITY AND CULTURE IN THE POLITICS OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

STACEY-ANN WILSON

> If the only tool you have is a hammer, you tend to see every problem as a nail.
> —Abraham Maslow

The relationship between identity, culture and community development is immeasurable and yet community development planners and practitioners often ignore these connections in their homogenising development initiatives. Project designs, especially top-down community projects often do not take into account the nuanced ways in which cultural identity and the associated traditions and ways of being impact on the ways communities respond to development initiatives, which ultimately affects development outcomes. Consultation with communities is too often done after the project has been conceived, asking communities to simply rubber stamp project designs. Consultation has to give way to incorporation if development efforts are to be successful. Communities will need to be able to inject their cultural identities and sometimes even their community politics in the design in order to overcome the homogenising and exclusionary nature of many top-down community development initiatives.

The underlying premise of this book is that community development in nearly every society must take into consideration identity and culture, be it national identity, clan, tribe, ethnicity, indigeneity or professional identities or location-based identities. Identity and culture are important and relevant to national and regional development efforts and outcomes, they are not separate. It is important that community development practitioners not just passively acknowledge culture, but be mindful of the political imperative of incorporating cultural systems, cultural values and

traditions into community development initiatives. These efforts will have positive impact not only on getting community buy-in, but also increases the likelihood of project success as community members commit and take responsibility and ownership for the outcomes.

The politics of community development in relation to the exclusion and inclusion of identity and culture is most evident in big budget top-down (government and non-governmental organisation) initiatives. However, bottom-up (local) development projects have also been guilty of selective exclusion/inclusion particularly in diverse communities. The politics that goes along with community development cannot be ignored. Power relations within communities determine who gets included and who gets excluded. At the national level, minority groups, particularly Indigenous people and recent immigrants tend to be excluded from the gains of national economic development. When effort is made to include such groups, the effort is often insensitive to the needs of the communities and sometimes marginalises aspects of community culture, values and traditions in an effort at integration. On the other hand, particularly in relation to Indigenous people, there is a tendency of top-down approaches (when not engaged in assimilationist efforts) to engage a protectionist and preservationist narrative about Indigenous communities.

The chapters in the volume highlight that including identity and culture in community development design is not about treating cultural identity as a commodity in economic development but rather as social capital in community, as an intrinsic asset for all types of community action from social cohesion to community economic development. Neither is it simply about the protection or preservation or even promotion of a culture or identity but about their incorporation, their non-exclusion in the community development design and implementation.

This book is an effort to rethink and reconceptualise "community" in an international context and interrogate what community building, community engagement and community development would entail in this context. The contributors in this volume address identity, culture, and community development in both developing and developed countries from multidisciplinary perspectives. The chapters in this volume explore different conceptual and theoretical frameworks in analysing identity and culture in community development and also provide empirical insights on community development efforts around the globe. Furthermore, the chapters explore different community engagement processes, different development models and different stakeholder participation models and processes in an effort to demonstrate that there is not one-size-fits all design when it comes to community development.

Overview of the Book

The book is thematically divided into four parts. Part one of the book, which contains three chapters, covers issues relating to identity, politics and Indigenous community development. In Chapter 1 Tania Kihl explores the effects of globalisation on community development practices in remote Indigenous communities in Australia. She argues that globalisation provides an interesting challenge for community development in rural and remote communities. Her concern is that within the context of an urban-biased national development agenda, what support and resources will be made available to ensure community development in rural and remote communities and who will ensure that these efforts will both support needs and provide resources to support growth within those communities. A key consideration within the Australian context is the disproportionate concentration of Indigenous peoples located in rural and remote communities in comparison with non-Indigenous Australians. Utilising the asset based community development (ABCD) model, Kihl focuses on physical, human and social assets and explore the difference and challenges between urban and rural/remote communities. She also highlights specific opportunities present in discrete Indigenous communities; and considers appropriate community development approaches for this particular group.

In Chapter 2 a team of Indigenous and non-Indigenous educators explore the issue of cultural identity and development within a remote Aboriginal school community in South Australia. Nicky Prosser, Janine Litchfield, Penny Dadleh, and Tracey Warren reflect on the journey to build a school cultural identity in collaboration with the community**,** which is owned and celebrated by the community. These educators have concluded that cultural identity is perhaps the most important characteristics for their students and as educators they needed to embrace it in order to enable them to celebrate the school consensus: "Culture Keeps Us Strong." This small but diverse remote community, made up of Aboriginal, Afghan and European residents, has a school site which covers crèche to senior secondary education. Having cultural cohesion is therefore an essential component of any development effort whether at the school level or in the community. The educators believe that by developing their unique cultural identity and vision for the future it will go a long way toward providing ongoing success for the students at Marree Aboriginal School.

In the last chapter in this section Chapter 3, I discuss the potential for community development through community, that is band-level mobilisation and Aboriginal rights claims in Canada. I consider how First Nations political mobilisation at the local level gives us insight into the

nature and scope of group rights claims for social change and community development. In mobilising and asserting group rights, Aboriginal people are reimagining democracy not in its traditional liberal or socialist forms confined to notions of the nation-state, but instead a kind of post-statist democracy that recognises multi-national sovereignty on the one hand and co-occupation and peaceful co-existence on the other. It is in the context of rights claims that many First Nations bands are pursuing expanded community development mandates in Canada, including reconciliation and self-help efforts.

Part two of the book, which contains three chapters, looks at the changing characteristics of community and community activism. In Chapter 4, Jane Verbitsky discusses Antarctica as a community. Antarctica is not only the fifth largest continent in the world but also the coldest, windiest, driest, and most remote place on earth. Despite both its isolation and the physical difficulties of voyaging to and surviving in the territory, the white continent is host to communities of scientists and support personnel who staff the research stations that are scattered across Antarctica. Permanent national scientific research stations were first established in Antarctica in the 1940s as a corollary to the claims by seven states (Australia, Argentina, Chile, France, New Zealand, Norway, the United Kingdom) to sovereignty over parts of Antarctica. However, since the establishment of the 1959 Antarctic Treaty formalizing governance arrangements in the southernmost territory, their numbers have swelled and there are now thirty research stations operating in Antarctica. These stations and the work undertaken by the scientific communities across the continent reflect the Treaty's designation of Antarctica as a non-militarized area dedicated to cooperative, international scientific research. Although the stations are established and operated by state signatories to the Treaty, the Antarctic scientists represent a unique, multi-national epistemic community based upon cosmopolitan arrangements. This chapter traces the origins and evolution of the Antarctic scientific community, the impact of the Antarctic Treaty, the changing characteristics of the community, and the tensions between the cosmopolitan norms and values underlying the construction of the modern Antarctic scientific community and the communitarian politics of nationalism and sovereignty.

In Chapter 5 Heather Devere deals with the issue of peace building within and between communities. She argues that while international peace building relies on well-coordinated diplomatic and military efforts it is usually insufficient. The place of the community in peace building she argues is crucial. Conflict is inevitable within any community, no matter how small. What is important for peace building is to work with and

through the conflict to transform conflict into stable peace. The same sort of skills and knowledge that are needed for international peace building can be applied to working with conflict in local, religious, ethnic, or even family and communities. In fact, the flipside is also true. The international community can learn from processes that have been in place in many traditional societies that work towards resolving community conflict. This chapter explores some of the options for peace building within communities and between communities, whether they are international or local.

In Chapter 6 Ursula M de Jong, Robert J Fuller, Fiona Gray and David Jones explore the topic of community activism and place in Australia. Their research is located in the context of the "sea change" phenomenon, which is fundamentally changing the coastal towns of Australia. Their contribution is in the context of research findings that have concluded that detailed research is needed to develop new responses to coastal development, particularly in terms of promoting community wellbeing, strengthening social cohesion, avoiding socio-economic and socio-spatial polarisation and preserving sense of place. This chapter considers the theoretical frameworks of place and identity and community activism and place, in addition to examining a number of specific case studies. The authors acknowledge that the efforts of ordinary people are vital to community and place but are seldom recognised or celebrated. Their focus is on the twin historic coastal townships of Sorrento and Queenscliff, located either side of Port Phillip Heads, in Victoria, Australia. Four local community organisations, the Queenscliff Community Association (QCA), the Queenscliff Historical Museum (QHM), the Nepean Historical Society (NHS) and the Nepean Conservation Group (NCG) provide diverse case studies for their analysis, highlighting different aspects of culture and place identity. The case studies demonstrate that communities possess local knowledge that must be respected. The authors highlight that in three out of four case studies this was ignored in the top down decision-making. Local communities participate both proactively and reactively in the planning process to change the outcomes of proposed developments in order to achieve a result mindful of a holistic approach to place, and respectful of the historical roots of the present. The authors conclude that it is critical that participation and community consultation be meaningful, not just a perfunctory process.

Part three of the book, which contains three chapters, is mindful of Maslow's caution as quoted at the beginning of this introduction. In this section we look at some tools used in community engagement and community development. In Chapter 7 Marilyn Lashley examines the

parallel development of culturally anchored strategies aimed at spiritual and material uplift of African American and New Zealand Maori communities in the twentieth century. The central focus is the role culture plays in African American and New Zealand Maori community development and political mobilization. The chapter discusses racial advancement aspirations and efforts by the Black Church and the Maori Marae that promote community development and identifies similarities in ideology, political mobilization and self-help strategies pursued by Maori and African Americans. In particular, she identifies contributions to community development by Maori leaders in the early twentieth century—Pai Marire, Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana, Princess Te Puea Herangi and Sir Apirana Ngata and highlights the role and contributions of the Black Church. The chapter describes the impact of these earlier approaches on contemporary community development by situating contemporary approaches in their appropriate historical contexts. Lashley outlines striking similarities in the role shared culture plays in advancing the economic, social and spiritual wellbeing of Maori and African American communities. Foremost, she finds that culture is the seamless nexus of sacred and secular that makes the material uplift of these communities possible and real.

In Chapter 8 Mary Okocha explores the role of community radio in national development in Nigeria. Despite the country's natural resource wealth, Nigeria is rated one of the most underdeveloped countries of the world. This, Okacha argues shows the imperative need to construct social bridges that will positively link the country together, bearing in mind the diversity and plurality of the Nigerian society and the importance of seeking a more convenient way of communicating effectively with the people. The grassroots, that is the rural areas, home to the bulk of the country's population and the source of her wealth and strength, remain largely marginalized and voiceless. Mainstream media have been unable to provide adequate coverage and engagement for grassroots governance and development, thus the rural people are denied access to modern communication channels and consequently denied credible information on issues which affect their lives and communities and denied the opportunity to participate in nation building. This chapter attempts an appraisal of ways through which community radio can address topical developmental challenges. Through interview in select communities in Oyo State, Nigeria, Okocha examines the problems of information dissemination, and explores ways of breaking these barriers and encouraging community participation. Using a community based programme *Abiye* on the federal owned radio station, (Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, Ibadan

National Station) she appraises the level of participation by the target audience and how this has been able to proffer solutions to their local problems.

In Chapter 9 Selin Mutdogan discusses a movement to create sustainable communities in Turkey. The Cittaslow movement, which was founded in Italy in 1999, is a way to create sustainable community with all aspects of social, economic, environmental and cultural characteristics in mind. The movement is against the 'fast' lifestyle and tries to preserve the towns' cultural, natural and social values and re-establish the bonds between them. The movement has expanded rapidly with some 147 cittaslow towns in 24 countries including the United States and South Korea. In Turkey, the first cittaslow town was accredited in 2009 and since then there are four more towns that have joined up. These four towns are completely different geographically, economically, socially and ecologically but they have become more sustainable, more liveable and economically more self-sufficient places than before. This chapter explains what the cittaslow movement is, its goals and how it affects the city, community and environment.

Part 4 of the book contains the last 2 chapters, which discusses immigrant re-settlement and community integration efforts in New Zealand. In Chapter 10 Adesayo Adelowo looks at African women's experience in creating a new home in New Zealand. She notes that community development starts from the principle that within any community, there is a wealth of knowledge and experience, which if used in creative ways, can be channelled into collective action to achieve the communities' desired goals. Since the immigration of African women to New Zealand is a recent phenomenon, Adelowo argues that it is important to know how these women have used their wealth of knowledge and experience to achieve their desired goals of migrating and that of participating in the economic growth of New Zealand. This chapter explores barriers African women have experienced in the process of migration to and integration within New Zealand and how they have used the social-cultural ethos of communalism from Africentric perspective to overcome these barriers and integrate.

In Chapter 11, the final chapter in the book, Shoichi Isogai and Camille Nakhid describe the resettlement experiences of eight female Japanese settlers living in Auckland. Both policy-makers and mainstream social service providers in New Zealand poorly understand the Japanese community settlement needs. This chapter explores the settlement needs of Japanese settlers in the Auckland region in an effort to assist social service providers and policy-makers to understand the important challenges facing

Japanese settler communities in Auckland and to enable non-governmental organisations to develop services to address these identified needs.

PART I:

IDENTITY, POLITICS AND INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

CHAPTER ONE

THE EFFECTS OF GLOBALISATION ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PRACTICE IN REMOTE INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES IN AUSTRALIA

TANIA KIHL

Globalisation provides an interesting challenge for community development in rural and remote communities. As services and populations grow amongst urban communities, what support and resources are required to ensure community development in rural and remote communities in both supporting actual needs and providing true resources to support growth within that community? A key consideration for this question within the Australian context is the disproportionate concentration of Indigenous peoples located in rural and remote communities in comparison with non-Indigenous Australians.

One of the tools in relation to community development is the asset based community development (ABCD) model. ABCD defined by Kretzmann and McKnight outlines assets as "the gifts, skills and capacities of individuals, associations and institutions" (Phillips and Pittman, 2009, 40). Seven classifications of assets have been determined – physical, human, financial, environmental, political, cultural and social. This chapter focuses on only three of these assets – physical, human and social as it sets out to broadly explore the difference and challenges between urban and rural and remote communities. The chapter also examines the specific opportunities present in discrete Indigenous communities and consider appropriate community development approaches for this particular group. Discrete Indigenous communities refer to geographic locations that are inhabited predominantly by Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander peoples with housing managed on a community basis (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2002).

There is a dominant argument that an urban community offers far more tangible opportunities for community development than a rural community. Resources in the form of people, time and money are readily available, opportunities to partner with business and government are often stronger and technology gains are frequently more prevalent and of a higher standard in urban communities. However, despite the apparent over-supply of physical assets, there is not always a corresponding population of residents willing to engage in community development activities. Changes in the composition of local communities, which are prompted by population migration to urban areas – often in search of employment or further education – can have an adverse effect on people's ability to connect to and engage with their community. Increasingly, with population migration, we have seen the closure of key physical assets in rural and remote communities with factories, schools, banking and postal services declining over recent years. The closure of such assets can reduce the sense of community support and physical space in which to undertake activities.

Interestingly, whilst the physical assets may not be as prevalent in rural/remote communities, there is a growing sense of combining remaining assets and developing real partnerships to deliver desired (or required) outcomes. In his book *Community Development around the World: Practice, Theory, Research, Training*, Campfens (1997) acknowledges:

> [I]ncreasingly, local authorities, non-profit NGOs, the business sector, and community organisations are working together through partnership councils. These groups recognise that local communities must develop their own resources and skills to address not only local economic and employment needs but also the needs of children, young people, the elderly, young families and others (449).

In the discrete Indigenous communities of Doomadgee and Mornington Island in the Gulf of Carpentaria this was particularly evident in 2012 with key representatives from within the community, organisations who service these communities and government representatives establishing Local Implementation Plans. These plans focussed on existing physical assets, opportunities to share these across the region and the identification of specific activities to address community needs. A strong people-development focus that supports the establishment of horizontal partnerships was taken to ensure that community buy-in existed, cultural considerations were in place and a sense of co-operation existed for all stakeholders.

An interesting point for consideration around community assets is that for the most part in urban communities, the human capital is mobile. This

mobility in community members allows for new skills and talents to be brought to the pool and allows for richer attempts at community development. In remote communities, this is often not always the case due to lower levels of mobility (in some cases – non-existent levels, particularly in discrete Indigenous communities) thus the opportunity to develop human capital and explore new ideas can be somewhat limited. Human capital is defined as:

> the skills, talents, and knowledge of community members . . . In contrast to physical capital, human capital is mobile. People move in and out of communities, and, thus, over time, human capital can change. In addition, skills, talents and knowledge change due to many kinds of cultural, societal and institutional mechanisms (Phillips and Pittman, 2009, 41).

Human assets certainly exist in remote communities but the opportunity for skills, talent and knowledge to grow via education or work experience is somewhat hampered and may have an influence on the types of community development activities undertaken. Whilst urban communities may present more opportunities in terms of physical assets and human capital available to support projects, what though of the social capital? Phillips and Pittman (2009) note:

> the quality of social relationships is essential for solidarity building and successful community initiatives. Friendships, trust, and the willingness to share some resources are integral to collective action (22).

Rural and remote communities offer community development practitioners pockets of rich bonding social capital,

> which ties individuals to others like themselves (race, economic status, nationality). However, unless amalgamated with the social capital of others in the same community, it does not necessarily produce benefits for that community (Phillips and Pittman, 2009, 50).

The bonds of race, economic status and nationality certainly appear strong within remote Indigenous communities. In most circumstances these social bonds create a platform for interest and engagement in community development activities. Uncovering a common area of interest for change within these communities requires the practitioner to develop their own social assets with community members, to be seen as someone with a genuine interest in change within that community, and to be able to have the support of key elders within the community to whom others look to for leadership and approval.

In addition to size and location, local culture is an increasingly important area within rural and remote communities. "Local culture provides a sense of identity for rural communities and residents. This identity facilitates common understandings, traditions, and values, all central to the identification of plans of action to improve well-being" (Brennan, 2005, 1). Within remote Indigenous communities, local culture is very evident from traditional art and totems, strong inter-generational ties, song and dance, hunting and cultivating the land (the customary economy) and the use of traditional oral language. With 28% of the Australian Indigenous population living in remote and very remote areas, community development practitioners need to understand the importance of local culture and the existing social bonding capital as very strong community assets. These assets should always be considered and weaved into proposed projects to ensure the strongest opportunity for success. This approach – a territorial approach – is gaining increased recognition as a best-fit model to support "bottom-up" approaches to community development.

With globalisation, use of technology – particularly that of social mediums is whittling down the historically held view of community. Residents in urban areas are often too busy with their daily lives to build these important relationships. Despite this, collective groups within urban areas still create capacity for change and for community development to have a role to play. Increasingly social assets are creeping into the area of technology, particularly with the growth of social networking mediums.

The growth and acceptance of technology is having an impact on social assets – particularly within urban communities where access levels are high.

> People are becoming less attached to their place and more linked to communities of interest. The growth of the Internet, for example, provides new opportunities for individuals to connect with other people who have similar interests and concerns. Many issues that concern residents, however, are place based, such as schools, housing and environmental quality (Green and Haines, 2008, 2).

Whilst technology is an ever-present asset and function of urban community development projects, this is not always the case for rural and remote communities. Some remote communities within Australia are hampered by the availability of strong Internet connections, mobile phone coverage and even more so, by the availability of actual hardware. Despite this there is growing evidence of these communities beginning to embrace technologies. Increasingly such technologies provide an opportunity for community members to connect with family and friends, feel that they are

participating in society on the same level as inner-city residents (e.g. internet banking, SMS, on-line news services, Facebook) and to preserve community history and culture. Two strong examples of communities creating access and availability of technology for residents include the Ration Shed Museum in Cherbourg and the provision of XO laptops[1] to discrete remote Indigenous communities.

The Ration Shed Museum in Cherbourg has become a community hub for access of technology, recording of oral histories and traditional languages via the use of film and the development of an online timeline brought to life with photographs and recorded stories. In addition to capturing local history the Ration Shed Museum takes pride in building a strong sense of history and common social assets amongst the community members. Across Queensland, similar facilities exist in some discrete Indigenous communities via Indigenous Knowledge Centres, which seek to provide a similar function. The provision of XO laptops to school-aged children in similar communities allows for the hardware to exist and for community members to have the opportunity to interact in the global society. Such physical assets provide an avenue for community development activities to be explored and to further build on social assets within the community. An important consideration within the provision of technology to rural and remote communities (and particularly Indigenous communities) is that of "negotiating the fine line between supporting communities in the use of broadband and telling them what to do with it" (O'Donnell et al, 2007, 6).

There is a growing argument that the differences between rural and remote and urban community development are diminishing – with little difference seen to be in place in today's modern society. Campfens argues that "rural community development is moving away from a locality-focused, communitywide, village development approach, and toward a more integrated regional approach that emphasizes target groups" (Campfens, 1997, 447). This argument certainly has some substance but for the remote discrete Indigenous communities in Australia, activities with a community development focus are still required to provide basic self-help and to work towards self-reliance. The work that FaHCSIA[2]

[1] XO Laptops have been specifically designed for the harsh Australian outback. Through the charity One Laptop Per Child, they have been progressively distributing these laptops to primary school aged children in remote Indigenous communities in the Northern Territory and Gulf regions of Queensland.

[2] FaHCSIA (Department of Families and Housing, Community Service and Indigenous Affairs) under their 'closing the gap' initiatives funded the development of community capacity building and community engagement

undertook in their remote service delivery communities provided good opportunities for community development practitioners to establish programs from the ground up to support individualised capacity building within these communities.

Within rural and remote communities particularly, local culture remains strong and a key component for consideration in community development projects. Local culture plays a central role in shaping community development, local character, and responses to needs. Continuing to ignore culture's critical role will constrain development efforts, rendering them little more than short-term solutions for endemic rural problems (Brennan, 2005). Settings in urban or rural and remote communities provide their own unique opportunities and challenges for community development. Certainly gains can be made through the growing prevalence of technology, physical assets and human capital available via urban communities. The challenges that the lack of these resources can present in rural and remote communities allows for strong relationships to be built and for rich examples of inter-community connectedness and buy-in to develop – often resulting in stronger outcomes and greater opportunities for sustainability for community development projects in these communities.

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programs within the discrete communities of Doomadgee and Mornington Island in the Gulf of Carpentaria. In 2014, this Department ceased with the creation of Department Social Services and Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet taking full responsibility for policy and outcomes relating to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

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CHAPTER TWO

CULTURAL IDENTITY AND DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE COMMUNITY OF MARREE ABORIGINAL SCHOOL IN AUSTRALIA

NICKY PROSSER, JANINE LITCHFIELD, PENNY DADLEH AND TRACEY WARREN

Marree Aboriginal School which covers crèche to year 12, sits in a rural and isolated area approximately 660km north of Adelaide at the junction of the Birdsville and Oodnadatta Tracks. The population of just over 100 permanent residents derive from Aboriginal, Afghan and European heritage. Marree Aboriginal School is classified as a category 1 disadvantaged school with 94% Aboriginal enrolments. The school enjoys strong community support with families prepared to be involved in all relevant aspects of teaching and learning programmes and operational practices.

Students at Marree engage in a range of activities under the Jane Goodall Institute "Roots & Shoots" umbrella and are involved in a variety of projects informed by the philosophy of "connecting young people with their community, teaching them that they can make a difference in the world, increasing their confidence, and instilling new interest in protecting the environment, animals and their community" (Roots & Shoots, A program of the Jane Goodall Institute). The school consistently pursues relationships with local organisations in Australia that support us in delivering a high quality curriculum that incorporates strong cultural values.

Acknowledging cultural identity

As a site we support the psychology that tells us we learn best when we feel good about who we are. As a result, we pose the following question:

who are our Marree students in terms of their culture? In answering this question we find it important to first explore how we understand culture. We continue the discussion on Marree and what culture and a cultural identity means for the people who call themselves the "Marree Community."

As Brennan (2009, 2) states, culture "is often used broadly to represent entire ways of life…including rules, values and expected behaviours." For the purpose of this chapter, we concur with Brennan's definition of culture, and define it as "the shared products of society" (2009, 2). However, Brennan also maintains "culture has many definitions and interpretations"(ibid). We found that defining culture in the specific context of Marree is as difficult as defining it in the broader sense. What began as a simple task of deciding on a definition soon turned into a heated discussion between the authors of this chapter and onlookers.

As a project to explore the concept of culture, our students were involved in a song writing and music workshop, which resulted in the production of a booklet and CD "Culture Keeps Us Strong" (Marree Aboriginal School, 2010). This was created to symbolise the strength and importance of culture and togetherness within our community. Students developed lyrics that discussed the things that make them happy, what they enjoy doing together and their hopes for a strong community while acknowledging the difficulty of getting along with others and being together.

On examining other documents, such as The Marree Community Plan (Marree Progress Association, 2009) that exist in our setting to address the issue of community development, it is interesting to note that others, too, seem to have experienced difficulties in defining what the Marree "culture" actually is. As it turns out, the word "culture" is only briefly mentioned in these documents, and when it is, there is no explanation given as to what the term actually refers to. It seems culture is a word we use freely, without perhaps fully understanding or examining what it actually stands for in our community. If we take Brennan's definition at its simplest level, then we are to understand that the culture of Marree must be the "shared products" of the community. But what are those shared products? Marree sits in a unique situation. It is not a closed community on Aboriginal land, and yet a large proportion of its population identifies as being Indigenous. It is not a town that has solely come about through the history of a particular industry (namely, the old Ghan Railway), and yet, many of the residents recall this history. It is not a town that solely exists to service farmers and station owners, and yet, many station owners and workers engage in our community. We are not a community who

completely affiliates with one particular group or another. We cannot, as a community, be defined as Aboriginal or Afghan or European. And yet, we have common, deep-rooted historical understandings of how we interact, behave and relate to each other. This is where we as a community are comfortable operating and we rarely step outside of this.

To be a Marree person, is not to assume a certain race. It is more about a feeling, or certain behaviours that you exhibit. It seems then it is easy to define what we are not, but it is more difficult to state what we are. Let us not forget, also, that the word culture carries societal connotations. It is often assumed that people of the same cultural identity will also be of the same race. This is not the case in Marree. Whilst we rarely speak in terms of race in Marree, it would be naïve to think that people of similar creeds did not see a similarity between themselves and others of the same race. These sub-cultures hold a cultural identity of their own. However, it is not the Marree cultural identity, which this paper is focussing on. However, we propose that different sub-groups in Marree are likely to develop unique definitions of Marree culture. Staff, students, parents, and even individual community members would all have varying views of what they define as culture in Marree. It is therefore unreasonable to assume that as purely a staff body we can make a definitive statement of what our culture is.

In defining what makes up our culture, it is useful to examine what Lawrence (2007) terms "community identity." She states that there are three common uses of community, which refer to community as a geographic location, a network of people or organisations or an administrative category (2). The Marree community incorporates some of these into their cultural identity. It also incorporates ideas such as the shared values, rules, experiences and behaviours (Brennan 2009, 2) of those within the Marree community. We propose that a community development model for Marree must account for our cultural identities as well as and distinct from our community identity. For the purposes of this chapter, a broad and basic understanding of some aspects of our cultural identity, we feel, is enough. Regardless, it is obvious that as Brennan states, "culture plays a critical role in local community action" (ibid).

Embracing cultural identity

As a school community, to embrace cultural identity at the local level, there are important questions that need to be considered. How do we get beyond an initial reluctance to engage with the local community and how do we develop the strength and adequate skills to broach the difficult

conversations with community about cultural issues? There is need to build a systemic culture where people not only feel okay about asking challenging questions but expect them.

Chambers (n.d.) discussed the effects of 6 models of bias on community interactions. He identified biases related to space, seasons, accessibility and geographic positioning, project biases centred upon new and developing projects, and biases related to interactions between people, on professional, diplomatic and personal levels. We have identified that many of these have a considerable impact upon the way personal and professional relationships develop in Marree and the gap that exists between the school and community. The impact of our geographic position is particularly felt when dealing with bureaucracies and agencies from outside of Marree, in both the frequency and durations of visits and their single outcome focus. These biases work to compound the difficulty in forming and maintaining effective professional relationships over time.

These are the known and accepted norms of Marree. Each of these issues can be viewed from a deficit model and our challenge is to enable an asset based approach to be applied in these situations. Haines defines an asset based approach as one that focuses on "a communities strength and assets [and]…is focussed on a communities capacity rather than on its deficits" (2009, 40). It is due to the inherent bias of location and geographic positioning, and the difficulty accessing professional support services that leads isolated communities to focus solely on fulfilling their specific needs. This leads to the development of a common reliance on expertise from outside to solve problems often unique to the community. We acknowledge that this is an issue in our own school and community. Green and Haines state "the concern with an exclusive focus on needs is that a community often jumps immediately to problem solving, rather than identifying its goals and strengths"(2008, 8). There is a need to identify and value the skills our community possesses and find ways of utilising these for productive, positive outcomes. There are many disadvantages to always looking outside the community to address community issues. Green and Haines recognised that "relying on professionals and others, communities become dependent on outside resources and often lose control over the development process" (2008, 7). Subsequently, "communities become further weakened by a reliance on outside institutions to solve their problems and … those institutions develop a vested interest in maintaining this dependency" (Mathie and Cunningham 2003, 2). This reliance on outside institutions to develop and solve local issues, works to dilute and weaken the influence of local culture and cultural identity within the local community.

Mattessich (2009) identified a relationship of mutual trust as a key component in communities with high community social capacity. Trust is hard earned in Marree, due, in part, to the length of time that is needed for it to develop. A common theme impacting on sustainable community development in Marree is the difficulty in developing a trusting, meaningful relationship between long-term intergenerational residents of the area and short term visiting professional services based both within and outside of the town. It takes time for visitors to familiarise themselves with the cultural identity of Marree, our priorities, goals and concerns.

Informal social gatherings, sports events and school celebrations have an important role in community building; providing an opportunity to bring community members together and help develop some mutual experiences and common understandings. Gardner identified community building as "the practice of building connections among residents, and establishing positive patterns of individual and community behaviour based on mutual responsibility and ownership" (quoted in Mattessich, 2009, 52). We think community ownership is the vital component for Marree. As a school, our staff is a mixture of intergenerational Marree families, long-term residents who have a range of past experiences and short-term transient professionals. Our student cohort is also a mix of core residents, transient students who have firm links and view Marree and its surrounds as their country, and others who are attending our school for a defined short period of time. This blend of experiences plays a part in establishing a cultural identity within our school and maintaining this balance eases the process of preserving our school's unique cultural identity.

Developing a sense of cultural identity at Marree Aboriginal School

In Marree, our Community Plan states its vision as "a united prosperous town, proud of its unique heritage, culture and folklore" (Marree Progress Association, 2009). How can our school support and add value to this mission, engage with it and work with the community to put this vision into practice? There is much merit in the dismantling of boundaries between school and community, as our goals are the same and our visions are parallel to each other.

"Community developers know inherently that the quality of social relationships is essential for solidarity building" (Hustedde 2009, 22). This aspect has a significant influence on the cultural identity of our site. The challenge faced is to ensure there is true community ownership of the

school rather than the common perspective of teachers being the power and only authority. We commonly support the Vincent (2009) position that people "can think and work together to fashion their own future" and attempt to create opportunities for discussions to occur. Vincent also states, "there is a fine line between facilitating meetings and manipulating meetings. This is a particularly difficult task for those professionals who live and work full-time in communities" (63). This issue has particular relevance for us at Marree and is faced daily by our staff. To manage this process well requires a highly honed and practiced skill base, which is unique in its inherent knowledge of the Marree community. It would appear obvious that when formulating a plan for developing a sense of cultural identity, the local community would be consulted, engaged and key in leading the process. The realities of this are sometimes less than the ideal vision. It is therefore poignant to look for strategies for ensuring any process and conversations are meaningful.

Engoori (Gorringe and Spillman 2009) is one of the strategies of local leadership for cultural renewal, which has merit in our community and could be an asset-based framework for exploring aspects of our community engagement. Questions asked include: What assets do the community value? Which patterns, behaviours and practices do they want to change? What do we have the capacity and power to change? Which behaviours do we need to embed? Through the implementation of such a framework communities are given a tool to have all voices heard, discussions and debates about historical perspectives and value adding to assets identified within the community. In using Engoori we are encouraged to collectively value identities, relationships, diversity, multiple perspective, sense making and buy-in, challenging assumptions, decision-making and multiple initiatives (Gorringe and Spillman 2009).

In conclusion, if we celebrate the uniqueness in historical make up, culturally rich backgrounds and passions of professional entities within our community, then join together for the good of our children, what a future they could have!

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CHAPTER THREE

REZ POLITICS: SOCIAL CHANGE THROUGH COMMUNITY MOBILIZATION AND ABORIGINAL* RIGHTS CLAIMS IN CANADA

STACEY-ANN WILSON

Introduction

> Indigenous peoples have demonstrated extraordinary resilience in the face of historic programs and policies … that were meant to destroy their cultures, [and] they must still live with the largely unresolved legacy of the harm that was done (Amnesty International Canada, 2013).

Cultivating Transformative Change

Aboriginal Canadians have a long and winding history with the British Crown and the Canadian state, which is not the direct focus of the discussion here. However, it is useful to have a basic sense of the foundations of the matter at hand. In the sixteenth century the English (and French) occupied and settled in what is now called Canada. There were a series of treaties signed between the English and different First Nations tribes across the region. In time the British Crown would pursue the progressive restriction of the customary livelihoods of Aboriginal Peoples, it would violate treaty obligations and it would create policies and programs to destroy Aboriginal languages, identities and cultures. According to Usher (2003), the English interpretation of the treaty is that First Nations peoples ceded land to the English in exchange for reservations, "(1% of the original land base), continued hunting and

* In reference to the First Peoples of Canada, this paper uses the terms Aboriginal Peoples, Natives, Indigenous Peoples and First Nations Peoples interchangeably.

fishing rights subject to regulation, annuities and supplies and in some cases education and medical care" (368). The Aboriginal peoples' understanding of the treaty was vastly different. It was their understanding that they would continue their "traditional livelihood … manage their own resources and activities" (ibid). Furthermore, "many Indians understood the reserve concept to mean areas almost as large as the traditional territories themselves, in which they would have exclusive harvesting rights" (ibid). Aboriginal peoples understood and accepted the notion of separate livelihoods. However, based on the English interpretation of the treaties, First Nations' lands were encroached upon and their livelihoods and communities forever disrupted (ibid) and in many instances extinguished (ibid: 378).

Community development for Aboriginal Canadians therefore is necessarily a political undertaking. It must address not just the state but also the ideologies that underpin the decision-making of the political and economic systems. This chapter explores social change through community mobilisation and how such developments have been thwarted by the Canadian state. Specifically, this chapter examines how First Nations' political mobilisation at the local level gives us insight into the nature and scope of group rights claims and the state's reaction to it. This gives a useful context to analyze whether and how a democratic capitalist society built on undemocratic colonial policies and occupation can come to terms with group differentiations, especially with respect to sovereign nations for the restoration of their livelihoods and community development.

Community development is about problem solving and problem solving entails developing strategies to enable social change. Information and knowledge sharing is critical to sustain mobilisation for social change and the actions undertaken has to be closely aligned to maintain both transparency and interest on the part of the mobilised and the target of the mobilisation action. Checkoway (1995) identifies six strategies for community change: mass mobilisation, social cohesion, citizen participation, public advocacy, popular education and local service development. Rez (reservation) politics in Canada, as discussed here, has utilised all six approaches at various times with varying success.

Looking at the potential for social change through rights-based claims is useful because it expresses the thinking, decision-making and aspirations of First Nations communities. It is an avenue through which social change can be imagined, (both within First Nations communities and within the larger society), and Aboriginal community development aspirations can be realised. Community mobilisation and rights-based claims are to address unresolved treaty agreements and obligations

between the Canadian state and Aboriginal communities. These claims and mobilisation efforts to address those claims occur within a broader context in which oppressed, marginalised and poor communities can very rarely elevate themselves out of oppression and poverty without radical or aggressive intervention. While coordinated mass mobilisation and social movements are not new to Canada's First Nations, it is clear that mobilisation efforts have become not only more organised locally, but have garnered more national, regional and international solidarity. The potential for social change through Aboriginal community mobilisation is therefore vast not only for First Nations communities but also for Canadian society at large.

Mass mobilisation and social movements, however, are vulnerable to state cooptation, oppression and deepening of extreme positions in the face of violent state response. Such vulnerabilities make it even more essential to have a broad-based approach to social change. While mobilisation entails social cohesion within particular First Nations communities and often across First Nations communities around the country, it has also fostered solidarity with minority communities and the wider Canadian mainstream society. This solidarity can be significant in the articulation of reconciliatory objectives and can aid in negotiations with the state, provided that such communities are invited to participate by Aboriginal people and not imposed on them as a condition of the negotiation. First Nations' mobilisation also helps to popularise not only their claims and platforms but also the mission and vision for their communities. All of this is predicated on constant self-research and self-knowing, which is an essential component of Aboriginal community actualisation. Because of the devastating history between the Canadian state and Aboriginal peoples there is a fair bit of learning and unlearning that must happen not only for Aboriginal peoples but also for the society at large who have been taught a version of Canadian history that marginalises and in some cases excludes First Nations peoples.

Aboriginal Communities versus the State?

It is more than two decades since the end of the Cold War and the so-called triumph of liberalism – free market economics and liberal democracy. However, the new world dominance of individualism has not been reconciled with the persistence (and in some cases, the resurgence) of group rights claims whether based on ethno-nationalist, religious, linguistic, cultural or racial differentiations. Liberalism has been unable to come to terms with the strained relationship between the state and the

individual and their communities. Moreover, many are engaging the state not as individuals but as groups, which is said to threaten the stability of the liberal democratic political and economic system.

The expansion of international free market economics to communities who were isolated from it (or marginalised within it) and the expectation of political inclusion promised by liberal democratic theory has inadvertently fuelled group assertiveness especially among Indigenous communities across the globe. Indigenous groups have become politically astute over the past two decades in their attempts to ensure their survival, protect their cultural distinctiveness, environmental stewardship, treaty rights and their lands. These communities have sought political enfranchisement on a group (rather than individual) basis, challenging the very notion of private enterprise, individual private property and individual consent. This movement is evident in both established liberal democratic societies in North America and in less established and peripheral democracies such as those in Latin America.

However, the assertiveness of group rights has not negated the viability or the importance of individual rights. For some groups the demand for group rights and group recognition is often an attempt to secure individual advancement in the existing political and economic systems, based on preferential access or changing the rules to allow access. Nevertheless, no political theory, neither the liberal nor the Marxist varieties have come to terms with group identity and the persistent calls for group recognition amid expanded economic individualism.

It could be argued that we could get a better sense of group rights and the state by looking at institutional politics, looking at parliamentary debates and legislations, but that is not enough. Institutional politics through courts, federal lobby associations matter, however their activities are constrained by openings in the political arena that allows participation on some issues while ignoring others. At the local level, political mobilisation is issue-based and not dictated by any institutional arrangements but which always requires an institutional response from the province or the Canadian state in terms of police and security forces, judicial review or political remedy. As a result, “rez politics” that is, reservation or band-level political mobilisation is highly effective in not only bringing the issue to the public, but also confronting and forcing the government to act in instances where they would otherwise not and forces the government to address group claims that have either been pushed aside by the judicial or the political system. In many instances, these group claims informs the sustainable community development aspirations of First Nations communities.

While this chapter is interested in the potential of rez politics for community development, the treatment of it here is broad. The chapter utilises two community mobilisation efforts of the Six Nations of the Grand River and the Mohawks as points of reference. However, it is beyond this chapter to deal with the actions and the disputes in detail, but they are useful in understanding the nature and the politics of Aboriginal community development in Canada as one in defence of sovereignty as well as survival. The Grand Rivers dispute in Caledonia, provides an example of Aboriginal land claims, while the Mohawk disputes at Oka and at the US-Canada border offers a remarkable example of Aboriginal claims to and defence of sovereignty and protection of their community gains.

Liberal Democracy and Rights Claims

> In the liberal tradition, rights are properly held only by individuals – to protect them against the state and against each other and to enable individual flourishing. The idea of group rights is that individuals can have different rights depending on which group they belong to. ... Group rights are controversial. ... Conservatives and communitarians ... believe group rights fracture the national community that should be associated with the state (Dryzek and Dunleavy, 2009, 202).

Robert Dahl identified many years ago that liberal democracies are built on unequal power relations such that, "if you examine carefully any policy, you will always discover, I believe, that only a quite tiny proportion of the electorate is actively bringing its influence to bear upon politicians" (Dahl, 1956, 130). He argued that individuals could influence politics by forming groups, that is, interest groups to lobby politicians. The argument is that the plurality of interests in a democracy would be supported by multiple avenues available to access the state so that those shut out of the formal political process for instance, could mobilise informally to get their issues heard. This assumes that interest groups, however formed will have ready access to the political process, but this is clearly not so. The fact that groups have differential access historically to the formal political process is not fully appreciated. Not everyone in settler states (like Canada and the United States) enjoyed the right to vote at the same time for instance, which affects not only when different groups have access to the formal political system, but also how they can effect changes in their favour. Politics in settler states has always been centred around issues of identity and access based on identity.

"In identity politics ... identities that pervade society are often the product of politics – especially when it comes to identities that either lay claim to or dispute the legitimacy of the state" (Dryzek and Dunleavy, 2009, 188). In *The Moral Force of Indigenous Politics*, Courtney Jung argues that Indigenous identity is not a matter of biology but a matter of politics. The "moral force" of Indigenous claims is therefore not based on their identity but instead on their history of exclusion and selective inclusion at different points in history. Their moral force "flows not from who they are, but from what has been done to them" (21). Jung argues that instead of preferential treatment, that is, protection or privatisation of cultural identities, Indigenous groups are better served by engaging "critical liberalism," which she says forces states to address structural injustices, rather than cultural differences.

> Critical liberalism argues for establishing the legitimacy of particular claims through the language of structural injustice rather than cultural difference, contestation over consensus as a source of liberal democratic authority, and the category of membership rights as a strategic alternative to collective and individual rights (21).

While the notion of critical liberalism is attractive, and while we can agree that identity is constructed, it is difficult to accept the argument that Indigenous identity or any other cultural identity for that matter is simply a matter of political construction of exclusion/inclusion. This would suggest that Indigenous identity in all its various forms is only conceivable in the colonial/post-colonial continuum and not before. The conversations in Canada among Aboriginal peoples highlight commitments to culture and environment that pre-date the Canadian state.

As Dryzek and Dunleavy point out "societies are formed by states. That is, the state is historically prior to the national identity that normally accompanies the state" (188). The post-colonial settler state is prior to the nation, but Indigenous social and political organisations are prior to both. Despite the colonial and post-colonial assimilation politics, First Nations of Canada have not been convinced that they are anything other than Cree, Dene, Ojibwe, Mohawk etc. Assuming liberalism is conducive to the Aboriginal agenda in the first instance, "critical liberalism" would only marginally benefit Native peoples in terms of addressing grievances dealing with treaties. It would not be enough to address "structural injustices" in the Canadian sense, without recognition of cultural distinctiveness, which is built into the language of self-determination, self-governance and sovereignty of Native claims. In fact, First Nations

Canadians are not asking for preferential treatment, but rather recognition of the legal (treaty) framework of co-occupation and peaceful co-existence.

Liberal democracy is not equipped to deal with differences or group rights. Even where it has been theoretically modified – democratic pluralism – to accept that politics is based on group interests, it is assumed that "in-groups" are somewhat homogenous and that the state is the ultimate sovereign. This does not translate well in terms of Aboriginal aspirations and it does not recognise the heterogeneity of Aboriginal Canadians. In a broad institutional sense, there are four categories of Aboriginal Canadians – Treaty/Status people (who are called First Nations), Non-status people, Metis people (mixed Aboriginal and European ancestry) and the Inuit who are culturally and linguistically separate. First Nations issues dominate the Aboriginal politics landscape in Canada because they have specific grievances connected to treaty and land disputes that have become part of the public discourse.

Throughout the Americas, Indigenous peoples are attempting to rework democracy so that they are actually included rather than marginalised as they have been historically. In Ecuador, Indigenous communities have been engaged in a social movement that has ensured that they are included in the politics of the country without having to give up their cultural distinctiveness. It is argued that recognition of cultural diversity is strength, rather than a weakness in Ecuador's democracy (Selverston-Scher, 2001). In 2005, Evo Morales became the first Indigenous president in Bolivia since Spanish colonisation more than 500 years ago. His ascension affirmed a new activism among Indigenous people in the Americas in general and in Bolivia in particular. Bolivia has shown that even the most economically marginalised can have a voice, even the most politically disenfranchised can restructure the way in which democracy, citizenship and the nation is understood (Postero, 2006). Olthuis and Townshend (1994) have pointed out that Canada has never really been a "liberal democracy" in the first place; therefore there has always been room to manoeuvre politically. In addition, the legitimacy of the Canadian national identity is always under threat as it was never complete as a nation-building project. Beyond Aboriginal sovereignty issues, the question of Quebec and their occasional quest to separate from Canada has always served as a reminder that the Canadian settler state is made up of distinct societies.

Indigenous Sovereignty and Self-determination

Barkin and Cronin (1994) identifies that there are two types of sovereignty – state and nation. The two are often in conflict with one another because it is "impossible to completely satisfy the statist and nationalist principles simultaneously" (108). For the state, set within clear boundaries, its legitimacy comes from "possession, in the absence of claims of others" (111). The legitimacy of the nation comes from solidarity, "group sentiment" not boundaries. Whether statist or nationalist, each will lay claims on rights. In relation to Aboriginal rights within the sovereign Canadian state, rights are viewed as either contingent or inherent. The inherent rights approach to Aboriginal rights accepts their sovereignty as being in existence before European settlement and continues after the formation of the Canadian state. Whereas,

> under a contingent theory of aboriginal right, self-government is a bale for a bundle of rights that attach to Native people as a result of legislative or executive action. ... [A] contingent theory of aboriginal right implicitly denies any assertion of First Nations sovereignty by viewing the existence or non-existence of aboriginal rights, including rights to self-government, as dependent upon the exercise of Canadian sovereign authority (Asch and Macklem, 1991, 502).

The contingent rights approach is based on the settlement thesis, that is, "the settlement or acquisition of territory that was previously unoccupied or is not recognised as belonging to another political entity" (Asch and Macklem, 1991, 511). This thesis of course is built on the belief in European cultural and institutional superiority such that all others are inferior. Under such pretext, even if others occupy the territory, their inferiority is such that they cannot be considered to be capable of forming a "political" entity. It is under this ruse that Aboriginal sovereignty is denied.

The denial in the post-colonial era has been no less tricky. Jeffrey Simpson, a long time journalist with the *Globe and Mail* claims:

> We have been living a myth in aboriginal policy: that "nations," in the sociological sense of the word, can be effective "sovereign" entities, in the sense of doing what sovereign governments are expected to do. When the population of a "nation" is a few hundred people, or even a few thousand, we are kidding ourselves, aboriginal and non-aboriginal, if we think that sovereignty can be anything more than partial (Simpson, 2009).

This is a familiar line of reasoning in colonial politics; this type of argument has been used to justify the continuation of colonialism in the Caribbean and the South Pacific for example. Small population size, it was argued would not permit these people to develop functional governments nor effective economies. So it is no surprise that such an argument would be used to justify continued subjection of Indigenous peoples to European values and colonial institutions. European colonial (and post-colonial) politics is such that rights are something that only states can give to Aboriginal people on the one hand but which is something that they, the superior being have inherently for themselves. In other words, Europeans have inherent rights; Aboriginals and others have contingent rights. This is expressed in different ways in settler societies from outright denial of Aboriginal sovereignty, to ad hoc or partial recognition. In the United States, for example, Native Americans are recognised in law as semi-autonomous, having "domestic dependent nation" status. "Inherent in the domestic dependent nation concept are two contradictory principles: Indian sovereignty and Indian dependency" (LaForme, 1991, 265).

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which was adopted by General Assembly in September 2007, offers the international framework on Indigenous sovereignty and how it might translate to national aspirations. Sovereignty means having the right to self-determination.

> Article 4: Indigenous peoples, in exercising their right to self-determination, have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, as well as ways and means for financing their autonomous functions.
> Article 5: Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions, while retaining their right to participate fully, if they so choose, in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the State.

The UN declaration confirms that assumptions about superior-inferior civilisations "are not valid criteria for determining if the inhabitants have rights, such as the right to self-determination. The relevant consideration is if they have social and political organisations" (Tully, 2000, 54). Since Indigenous groups can lay claim to their social and political organisations pre-colonisation, they can lay claims to their sovereignty. Importantly, Indigenous notions of self-determination are transformative; it seeks to "resist colonisation" on the one hand, and "modifying the system in the short-term and transforming it from within in the long-term" (Tully, 2000,

50) on the other hand. For Indigenous Australians, Mick Dodson (1994) made the following point:

> The dominant theme of our lives since colonisation has been that we have been deprived of the very basic right to determine our future, to choose how we would live, to follow our own laws. When you understand that, you understand why the right to self-determination is at the heart of our aspirations (44).

Indigenous Sovereignty a threat to Canadian Sovereignty?

The rights of First Nations Peoples are entrenched in the Canadian Constitution, including recognition of the treaties that were entered into. Over the years, political and judicial rhetoric have consistently claimed that there is national commitment to Indigenous peoples and the resolution of outstanding issues in Aboriginal communities. The actions and inactions taken by the Government of Canada, however, have shown their reluctance to take responsibility or to engage Aboriginal communities as equals.

At the heart of our modern political discourse on group rights is: Are First Nations claims a threat to Canadian sovereignty? The short answer is: Hardly!

> What is entailed is a *functional* sovereignty where First Nations are treated as sovereign for the purposes of entitlement and engagement. The intent is not to demolish Canada or overturn its sovereignty ... but to dismantle that part of the "house" that has precluded them from their rightful place as the original occupants and the nominally sovereign co-founders of Canada (Fleras, 2000, 129).

What the politics of the Canadian state has created is a situation where Aboriginals view the Canadian government as a foreign entity. Olthuis and Townshend (1994) maintain that peaceful co-existence is within reach if the Canadian government accepts Aboriginal sovereignty.

Within our international system, we already have multiple, overlapping and conflicting claims to sovereignty (Anderson 1991). Furthermore, Canadian sovereignty has always been in jeopardy faced with intense pressure internally from the francophone separatist movement in Quebec. Quebec has in place cultural and language protection policies such that the province has its own immigration controls for instance. Externally Canada has to contend with U.S. encroachment through its commercial and military expansion into Canadian territory.

Canadians have long debated the take-over of Canada through American branch plant businesses, which was made all the more prevalent with the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1994 between the United States, Canada and Mexico. However, most Canadians are not aware of the 2002 and 2006 U.S. - Canada agreements, which expanded U.S. military operations in Canada to cover land, air and sea. Furthermore, the "Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America" signed by Canada, the United States and Mexico envisages a "North American Union". SPP operates outside the normal oversight of both the Canadian parliament and the U.S. Congress and as such gained criticism from politicians on both sides of the border. According to the SPP website, the initiative was cancelled in August 2009, but left a message that they would build on the "accomplishments" and improve co-operation between the North American partners (www.spp.gov), which is to say business will continue, under a new name. Arguably, Canadian sovereignty, the Canadian nation-state and whatever claims it may have had to respect for human rights and its social justice folklore is in peril.

If the Canadian government is happy to share power with the United States within Canadian borders, and also have differential relationships at the provincial level, then First Nations' sovereignty should be just another division of power.

> For First Nations people the reestablishment of social governance is an endeavor in finding a balance between First Nations' culture, custom, tradition and protocol and Canadian social, economic, political and social systems. In a manner of speaking it is the process of "getting the best of both worlds" – whereby the developments create a synergy between First Nations cultural traditions and European Canadian systems (Missens, 2008, 1).

Rez Politics: Mobilising for Change and Development

> Despite living in one of the world's wealthiest countries, Indigenous families and communities in Canada continue to face widespread impoverishment, inadequate housing, food insecurity, ill-health and unsafe drinking water (Amnesty International Canada, 2013).

At the 2010 Opening of the 9th Session of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon remarked:

> Every day indigenous communities face issues of violence, brutality and dispossession. Indigenous cultures, languages and ways of life are under constant threat from climate change, armed conflict, lack of educational

> opportunities and discrimination. Elsewhere, your cultures are being distorted, commodified and used to generate profits which do not benefit indigenous people, and can even lead to harm. This is not only a tragedy for indigenous people. It is a tragedy for the whole world.

At every juncture of Canada's development, Aboriginal peoples have petitioned the state for respect of their cultures, their lands, their treaty rights, and their sovereignty. At every juncture, the Canadian state has dealt with Aboriginal issues with paternalism. Natives are not engaged as equals, but as junior partners in the negotiations. Aboriginal Canadians recognise that "the years of being excluded from Canada's formal political process has left First Nations Peoples with an incredible void to fill in order to attain a level of political, social, and legal knowledge that is on par with other groups in Canadian society" (Assembly of First Nations). This so-called institutional knowledge and capacity void has not deterred social or political activism at the local level. Many activists feel very strongly that future gains in Aboriginal social justice will be based on community level resistance. One such activist, Arthur Manuel of the Secwepemc Nation in British Columbia, states, "that's where the real pressure is, for pushing the government – through action" (Macdougall, 2009). He has a point, but the undertaking can be challenging because the communities under attack tend to be isolated and marginalised (Usher, 2003, 371). The power of local resistance is that for the First Nations communities under assault, it is not just a matter of community development; it is a matter of national defence and a proclamation and protection of their self-determination.

Six Nations of the Grand River: The Caledonia Occupation

The most common community mobilisation tactics at the band level involving non-institutional and non-routine activities include blockades, "marches, demonstrations and protests" as well as "occupation of land and buildings" (Wilkes, 2004, 451). The Caledonia land dispute in Ontario incorporated all of these. On February 28, 2006, Aboriginals from Six Nations of the Grand Rivers held a demonstration to protest the sale and proposed development of a 40-hectare plot of land near Caledonia. Six Nations had previously sued the government over the plot of land in 1995, they lost, but the case revealed that all was not right regarding ownership details of the land. The Crown and Six Nations have contradictory legal documents on the status of the land. The developer (Henco Industries Ltd) maintained that whatever issues existed was between the government and Six Nations. Six Nations maintained that the land was not sold and was

instead leased to the Crown, which meant they would benefit from long-term financial arrangements with the Crown (CBC, 2006). The government maintained that the land was sold to them but the financial accounting for the land was not clarified to any satisfaction, neither for the presumed sale nor the lease. From the developer's point of view, it was an "accounting" issue between the Crown and Six Nations. To end the dispute, halt the destruction of property and the stand-off between Six Nations and the nearby reservation and non-Aboriginal residents in Caledonia, the Ontario government bought the land four months after the dispute began and compensated Henco Industries for damages. The land was bought with the view of returning it to the Six Nations Band Council.

Six Nations protestors were heavily criticised for being aggressive and "menacing" in their occupation stand-off and were allowed to do so with impunity because the police were given orders from the provincial government, it seems, not to engage. The government was heavily criticised by non-Indigenous people for negligence, that is, not allowing the power and force of the law and police to come down on Aboriginal protestors. In so doing, this left non-Aboriginal people at the mercy of the protestors. Starting in 2009, more than 400 non-Aboriginal residents and 400 businesses operating in the Caledonia area filed a class action lawsuit against the Ontario government and the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP). In 2011 the Ontario government settled, providing compensation to those who reportedly suffered direct losses as a result of the protest and occupation.

While the government has sought settlement with non-Aboriginal people affected by the Caledonia occupation, as of September 2014 no decision has been reached on the return of the land to Six Nations, and members of the Six Nations continue to protest what they view as foot dragging by the province. There is no occupation in Caledonia in 2014 per se and non-Aboriginal people have moved out and moved on, but the issues remain unresolved for Six Nations who must continue to live in legal limbo. These kinds of decisions leave communities unable to properly plan their futures as they are continually trying to correct what they view as past injustices.

There is no shortage of white Canadians who were incensed by the occupation at Caledonia. There is also little room for historical positioning and context. When Indigenous folks were (and are) being driven from their lands, it's for the good of everyone we are told, including the Natives. There is little respect for Aboriginal land rights claims in the general public so it's not surprising that white Canadians would view the protest and occupation as aggressive. This is certainly not to say that people's

human rights and sense of security doesn't matter, it does, and in fact my argument is that it matters for everyone, including Aboriginal peoples. The folks compensated for their losses were non-Aboriginals; yet the group most affected by the dispossession of the land are Six Nations of the Grand River who still has not gotten compensation. The government had an opportunity to provide social justice and legal settlement for both non-Aboriginal residents and businesses that were affected by the occupation and the occupiers. Instead it choose only to resolve the issues with the non-Aboriginals and refuse to return the land to Six Nations to do as they wish or compensate them for it as was the treaty agreement. Such outcomes not only stalls social change and community development efforts at the band-level, it also harms reconciliation efforts between Indigenous communities and mainstream Canada.

Mohawk Sovereignty Under Threat

Twenty-four years ago, on July 11, 1990 the Mohawk community of Kanesatake took to the streets of Oka, Quebec to protest the development and extension of a golf course, which was to be built over a sacred Mohawk burial ground.

> With their assault rifles, gas masks and handguns, as well as the huge piles of earth they have dumped on the bridge with captured front-end loaders, the Mohawks are seen as having put the rest of Canada on notice that native people will no longer wait patiently for the federal and provincial governments to deal with their grievances (Burns, 1990).

The Oka crisis lasted 78 days and was a well-publicised dispute between the Canadian government and First Nations. It involved support from Aboriginal communities across the country and from the United States. In addition, the state responded with the provincial police who were overpowered by the Mohawk warriors and protesters. This led to the provincial government invoking national defence calling in the Canadian military. Surprisingly no shots were fired between the Warriors and the Canadian military. The golf course expansion was cancelled and the Oka crisis was seen as a turning point in Native nationalism.

> What started out ... as an apparent Indian claim to land around Oka, Quebec soon transformed into a question regarding the very relationship between the Mohawk people on the one hand and the federal government of Canada and the provincial government of Quebec on the other hand. The Mohawk people claimed they represented a "sovereign nation" who were protecting their rights and territory against alien governments who

> had no legal jurisdiction to impose their laws on Mohawk people residing within Mohawk territory (LaForme, 1991, 254).

In July 2009, Mohawk sovereignty was again under threat, this time directly from the Canadian state. In line with Canada's security commitments to the United States (more so than to its' citizens), the Canadian government had undertaken to arm border patrol officers with handguns starting June 1, 2009. The Mohawk community of Akwesasne, which borders Ontario, Quebec and New York, had a Canada-US border crossing on its reservation. The Mohawks protested the militarisation of their territory especially since there are documented cases of abuse and intimidation of Aboriginal residents by the security forces, which had not to date been remedied. Furthermore, "70% of border crossers are Akwesasne Mohawks. [The border crossing] is adjacent to a bus stop for children, recreational fields, play area, large number of homes, the only convenience store, several small businesses and other features of a populated and highly trafficked area" (MNN, 2009). For their part, Canada Customs and Immigrations officers walked off the job the night before they were to be armed, preferring not to place themselves in the middle of the dispute. This left the border unmonitored. The Canadian government in collaboration with the New York State Police blocked both sides of the border, which provided to be significantly disruptive to the Akwesasne. Not only were state security forces militarising the area, they were also interfering with the free movement of Akwesasne on their own territory. During the months of the blockade, Akwesasne were subjected to state harassment whenever they left their homes. The Mohawks, however, remained adamant that the border would need to move, as they will not allow armed guards to enter their territory. The border remains closed.

In this case, there is no question as to whom the land belongs to. This is Mohawk territory and their position is that arming guards on their territory is a violation of their sovereignty. Furthermore, it would also increase the power imbalance and increase the likelihood of violent confrontations between customs officers and Aboriginal residents. In 2009, the Grand Chief and the Mohawk Council viewed the arming of Canadian Border Patrol guards as an "act of war" against a sovereign people. This is not an exaggeration. The Akwesasne, like the Kanesatake Mohawks, are part of the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) Confederacy, who are sovereigns straddling the Canada-United States border and are neither American nor Canadian. The Iroquois have their own special passports for travel, which gives them international recognition as sovereigns. Their claims to sovereignty are very much cemented in their interactions with the Canadian state, such that you will find much of their media releases

refer to the Canadian government as "your" or "their" government, making it clear that they do not consider themselves part of the Canadian state. Mobilisation on Mohawk territory is fundamentally about preservation of their livelihoods and sovereignty. It is through those lenses that we can understand how they conceive of and pursue community development in its broadest sense.

Conclusion

Coates and Poelzer (2012) have argued that Canadians should take "ownership of the challenges facing first-nations communities" and stop waiting for miracles that will "solve all aboriginal problems, reverse the crises and assuage our collective guilt." Leaving aside the fact that non-white Canadians share no part in the "collective guilt" of conquest, genocide and the marginalisation of Aboriginal people, they are correct in that there are no panaceas and the nature and structure of the state and the governance arrangements therein guarantees that varied approaches are required. Coates and Poelzer also note the need for "collective responsibility" among Canadians, specifically; they argue that Canadians should not simply sit by and wait for either the government or First Nations to resolve the problem but that Canadians have a responsibility to invite "First Nations fully into the fold as neighbours, friends and full partners in Confederation." They continue, "it's about time all Canadians began to live as treaty peoples." While I am generally sympathetic to calls for reconciliation, such action does not happen in a vacuum. If the government continues their disrespect of First Nations peoples in their ancestral homes, ignores their agency in their social, economic and political affairs; and consistently violates the treaties and the sustainable stewardship of the land and the environment not to mention the selective historical narrative that continues to marginalise First Nations peoples, then reconciliation is but an objective with no sponsors or advocates except those with no institutional power. Reconciliation does not and cannot happen in a bubble and it does not work without addressing institutionalised state oppression.

Indigenous community mobilisation invariably relates to claims to sovereignty. However, there has been some debate as to whether or not sovereignty, a European political concept, is the appropriate instrument for achieving the goals envisioned by Aboriginal peoples. Boldt and Long argue that "stateless nationhood" offers the best framework to achieve internal self-determination. The problem with that framework is that it could negate Aboriginal land claims and negate environmental stewardship

that many Aboriginal communities assume as part of their responsibility to the land. If any group in this post-colonial settler society is to be labelled "stateless nation" it ought to be the European settlers and all the immigrant groups thereafter. Additionally, as the Assembly of First Nations highlight, fighting for Aboriginal rights "is not merely about fight for natural resources and self-determination, it is also a fight for human rights, human dignity and cultural survival."

> All aboriginal peoples want to live in a just and equal society wherein (a) their cultural lifestyles and languages are protected from assimilationist pressure, (b) select elements of the cultural past can be incorporated within the realities of the present, (c) bureaucratic interference within their lives is kept to a minimum, (d) they are not victimized by racism or by indifference among politicians, bureaucrats, state agents, or general public, (e) there is reliable and culturally appropriate delivery of government services, (f) there is a collective access to power and resources, and (g) they retain meaningful involvement in decision making and power sharing (Fleras and Elliot, 1996, 220).

What the Canadian government has shown over the years, is a lack of political creativity as it relates to Aboriginal issues, they have opted instead to sticking with the colonial script and the colonial assumptions of European superiority, expressed now in economic terms rather than cultural ones. The basic assumptions underpinning the nation-state need to be challenged if we are really interested in being inclusive. That is, assumptions about European superiority in cultural and political organisations must be continuously contested. This is being done at the community level, which is necessitating response at the provincial and federal levels of government. Furthermore, in mobilising and asserting group rights, Aboriginal peoples are reimagining democracy as a kind of post-statist democracy that recognises multi-national sovereignty on the one hand and co-occupation and peaceful co-existence on the other, without adhering to the artificial (colonial) boundaries drawn between their communities. It is in this way that Native Canadians hope to engineer social change not just in their communities but also in the larger society so that they can be free to develop sustainable communities at the band-level.

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PART II:

THE CHANGING CHARACTERISTICS OF COMMUNITY AND ACTIVISM

CHAPTER FOUR

ANTARCTICA AS A COMMUNITY

JANE VERBITSKY

Introduction

Antarctica is not only the fifth largest continent in the world but also the coldest, windiest, driest, and most remote place on earth (Trewby 2002, 51-52). Despite both its isolation and the physical difficulties of voyaging to and surviving in the territory, the white continent is host to communities of scientists and support personnel who staff the research stations that are scattered across Antarctica. A handful of national scientific research stations were first established in Antarctica in the 1940s as a corollary to the claims by seven states (Australia, Argentina, Chile, France, New Zealand, Norway, and the United Kingdom) to sovereignty over parts of Antarctica. However, since the establishment of the 1959 Antarctic Treaty (Washington 1959 402 UNTS 1961 72) formalizing governance arrangements in the southernmost territory, their numbers have grown, and there are now over sixty permanent and semi-permanent facilities operating in Antarctica with even more planned for the future (Antarctic Treaty Secretariat, *Permanent information*). These stations and the work undertaken by the scientific communities across the continent reflect the Treaty's designation of Antarctica as a non-militarized area dedicated to cooperative, international scientific research. Although the stations are established and operated by state signatories to the Treaty, the Antarctic scientists represent a unique, multi-national community based upon cosmopolitan ideals.

This chapter traces the origins and evolution of the Antarctic scientific community, the impact of the Antarctic Treaty, the changing characteristics of the community in the Antarctic continent, and the tensions between the cosmopolitan values underlying the construction of the modern Antarctic scientific community in the area south of 60° South and the communalist politics of nationalism and sovereignty. It also

considers the various ways in which Antarctica can be conceptualized as a community, reflecting the evolution of the term in recent times and the characteristics associated with its various iterations. Additionally, it looks at the gendered construction of the Antarctic community and the way in which global social changes in the role and status of women have manifested in the southernmost continent.

Antarctica: Before the Antarctic Treaty

Antarctica has been described in many ways, often with a mixture of awe and fear. For instance, Captain James Cook wrote of voyaging among icebergs that filled his "mind with horror" (Griffiths 2007, 43). To Captain Robert Scott, Antarctica was "an awful place" (Scott, 1912), while Sir Ranulph Fiennes pithily described it as "Hell" (Griffiths 2007, 17). Nick Johnson (2005) called it the "big, dead place". But, for the community of scientists who live and work there, it is simply "home".

The community is one of the most remote in the world. Although there were sporadic visits to the continent by sealers and whalers, the first humans only managed to penetrate the interior of Antarctica in the late nineteenth century, and it was not until December 1911 that a Norwegian explorer, Roald Amundsen, reached the South Pole. The extreme nature of the environment and the inability of humans to survive indefinitely in Antarctica without technological intervention accounts both for the lack of an indigenous population, and the fact that habitation of the territory has occurred only recently–a consequence of the establishment in the twentieth century of permanent scientific research stations.

Permanent national research stations were created in the wake of sovereign claims by different states upon parts of Antarctica. Beginning with the United Kingdom in 1908 and again in 1917, a total of seven states laid claim to the continent. Four more European and British colonial states (New Zealand, 1923; France, 1924; Australia, 1933; Norway, 1939) made claims in the early decades of the twentieth century, while two South American countries, Argentina and Chile, staked claims in 1943 and 1940 respectively (Hillerstrom and Hillerstrom 2003, 233-234; Berkman 2002, 34-49). Together, these claims account for eighty five percent of Antarctic territory with only the most isolated and inhospitable part of the continent, West Antarctica, still unclaimed land. Three of the claims, those of the United Kingdom, Argentina and Chile, overlap and tensions between the three states over contested Antarctic territory became explicit in the years immediately following World War II. These tensions exacerbated to the point that the government of the United Kingdom initiated proceedings

before the International Court of Justice on May 1, 1955 against the governments of Argentina and Chile concerning disputed sovereignty in Antarctica (Beck 1986, 30-41; Suter 1991, 17).

Claimant tensions, though, were subdued and put to one side during the International Geophysical Year (IGY) of 1957-1958. During this period twelve states (the seven claimant states plus Japan, Belgium, the United Soviet Socialist Republic, the United States of America, and South Africa) worked together cooperatively in Antarctica.

The success of the project encouraged the United States to invite the other eleven states to Washington in 1959 to try and perpetuate in the form of a multilateral treaty the international scientific cooperation that had characterized the IGY. The outcome of the deliberations and negotiations at the Washington Conference was the Antarctic Treaty signed in 1959 by the twelve states that participated in the IGY, and which came into being in 1961 when all of those states had ratified the Treaty.

The Antarctic Treaty 1959

The Antarctic Treaty is a notable convention in many ways. Although comprising only a short document of fourteen articles, it was a 'first' in several ways: the first arms agreement of the nuclear age; the first treaty to declare a nuclear-free zone on earth; and the first to designate that a former 'terra nullius' become a territory to be used henceforth "for peaceful purposes only" (Antarctic Treaty, Article I).

From a scientific perspective the central importance of the Treaty is its emphasis on freedom of scientific investigation and international scientific cooperation in the continent. These were the foundational ideas of the IGY, and Article II of the Treaty notes that these "shall continue, subject to the provisions of the present Treaty". To help facilitate these ends, Article III promotes information exchanges about Antarctic scientific programmes, exchanges of scientific personnel between expeditions and stations, and "freely available" (Antarctic Treaty, Article III (1)(c)) exchanges of scientific observations and results.

The number of states that are party to the Treaty has increased significantly since 1959. From a small group of just twelve states, the number of signatories has risen to fifty-one (Antarctic Treaty Secretariat, *Parties*). Similarly, a number of legal instruments have been introduced since the early nineteen sixties which together supplement and support the Antarctic Treaty. These include, *inter alia*, the Convention for the Conservation of Antarctic Seals, 1972 (29 UST 44 1, TIAS no.8826), the Convention on the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources,

1980 (19 ILM 841), and the Protocol on Environmental Protection to the Antarctic Treaty, 1991 (30 ILM 1461). Collectively, the Antarctic Treaty, the subsequent legal instruments, and the agreements (or Measures) generated from the regular meetings of the State Parties to the Treaty comprise the Antarctic Treaty System (ATS).

Of the states that have signed the Antarctic Treaty, twenty-one are Contracting Parties and the remaining twenty-nine are Consultative Parties (Antarctic Treaty Secretariat, *Parties*). The Consultative Parties are, effectively, the decision-makers for Antarctica. The Consultative Parties, unlike the Contracting Parties, have the right to propose and vote on Measures (agreements that will be recommended for incorporation into the municipal law of all Treaty states) at the regular Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meetings (ATCMs). Although the twelve original states that signed the Antarctic Treaty automatically designated themselves as Consultative Parties, any state that has subsequently acceded to the Treaty and wants to become eligible for Consultative Party status must satisfy the Article IX (2) criterion-that is, it must demonstrate "its interest in Antarctica by conducting substantial research activity there, such as the establishment of a scientific station or the dispatch of a scientific expedition."

Antarctica as a community

In the era of globalization, defining community is no easy task. Plant (1978, 79) has argued that the "vagueness of the concept has become an embarrassment", a complaint repeating the point famously made by Hillery in his 1955 study examining 94 separate definitions of community which had in common only the feature that "that they all dealt with people".

Nevertheless, various strands can be identified among the notions of community. According to Barrett (2010, 116), "conventional ecological approaches to community" included "two minimal elements: territory (geographical area and physical boundaries), and solidarity (shared values and feelings of identity and belonging)". From the 1960s, however, scholarly examinations of community contested the assertion that territory, physical proximity and direct interaction were necessary components of the concept of community. Bradshaw's description (2008, 5) of the "post-place" community as a community that can be defined by "networks of people tied together by solidarity, a shared identity and set of norms, that does not necessarily reside in a place" is consistent with this shift in understanding of the concept.

More recently, challenges to the idea of community as being a spatial construct have further evolved to acknowledge contemporary globalization dynamics and the establishment of communities in the context of transnational migration, activism, and knowledge production and diffusion (Djelic and Quack, 2010). For instance, professional communities, epistemic communities, and communities of practice are all types of communities that can be discerned within the framework of transnational knowledge production and diffusion.

Professional communities are occupational groups pursuing a "common professional project" involving "exclusive control over the exercise of particular knowledge and expertise in a specific jurisdiction" (Djelic and Quack 2010, 19). This has historically involved recognition by a state, but in a globalised world Djellic and Quack (2010, 19) suggests "the possibility of a more profound transformation of professional communities" through the vehicle of transnationalisation. Communities of practice are like-minded groups of practitioners operating "within a knowledge domain that endows practitioners with a sense of a joint enterprise" and are "oriented towards a shared interest in learning and applying a common practice" (Djelic and Quack 2010, 21). In this type of community, relationships of engagement bind members into "social entities of collective learning". Epistemic communities involve transnational professionals with acknowledged expertise in a specific domain involved with issues of global concern who help shape policy preferences within the international community of states. Similar to communities of practice, members of epistemic communities interact and engage with each other around common enterprises and have a sense of group consciousness and identity.

These conceptualizations of community within just one defined area also demonstrate the fluidity and flexibility of the term "community", and give an indication of the multiple theoretical lenses through which "community" can now be viewed and applied. For example, the scientific community in Antarctica can be described variously as a post-place community, a community of rooted cosmopolitans, an epistemic community, a network of transnational activists, and a transnational community of practice. Just as an individual member of a community may have multiple identities–for instance as a citizen, a scientist, an Antarctic expedition member, a policy analyst, a teacher and an environmental protection advocate–so, too, a community may take on a plurality of forms and meanings.

Thus, "post-place community" is a description that fits the Antarctic scientific community well, as it incorporates both scientists around the world who research Antarctic issues and interact with others in the same

field-but who may never visit Antarctica-and those scientists who physically undertake research in the Antarctic continent. Equally useful is the description of the Antarctic scientific community as an "epistemic community",

> a network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue-area (Haas 1992, 3).

This is an apt definition as it captures the important roles that Antarctic scientists play in NGOs such as the Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research and the Committee on Environmental Protection (both of which are components of the ATS architecture), as members of Antarctic national scientific research programmes, and as lobbyists who work in pressure groups (such as the Antarctic and Southern Oceans Coalition and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature) to try and influence the policy directions taken by the Consultative Parties about the continent. A community of rooted cosmopolitans is yet another description that can be applied to the scientific community in Antarctica. According to Tarrow (2005, 8), rooted cosmopolitans are individuals who, although they "move cognitively and physically outside their spatial origins" continue "to be linked to place, to the social networks that inhabit that space, and to the resources, experiences and opportunities that place provides them with." This definition is congruent with the aspirational ideas expressed in the Antarctic Treaty about scientific internationalism and the superordinate goal of international scientific cooperation. It also acknowledges the reality, however, that the individual members of the community return to their own states after their Antarctic expedition, to jobs, lives, and relationships that are grounded in other places, and to the milieu that provided them with the resources, experiences and opportunities that enabled them to spend time in Antarctica.

The Antarctic community, cosmopolitanism, and change

The community of scientists in Antarctica has changed considerably over time, with two key aspects of the development being the growth in number of scientific research stations and concomitant increase in the size of the scientific population in Antarctica, and the incursion of women into what was once considered to be a males-only preserve. These developments have taken place within a framework that is cosmopolitan in its genesis and orientation, but within which there are tensions deriving from nationalism and sovereignty issues, and from changing ideas and

expectations around the issue of women's role and place in the Antarctic community. They demonstrate two factors: firstly, that although Antarctica's community may be physically remote from the metropolis, it too is affected by social change in the wider world and, in turn, these changes become reflected in the Antarctic community; and, secondly, the potency of communitarianism and nationalist politics even in a community founded on cosmopolitan goals and objectives.

Cosmopolitanism has a long lineage dating back to the Greeks and has taken on different emphases as it has evolved. At its heart, though, is a commitment to a common humanity that transcends nationalism and sovereign states, and a universalism that is far from the communalism defined by Esman (quoted in Lustick, 1979, 325) as "competitive group solidarities within the same political system based on ethnic, linguistic, racial, or religious identities". As Lu (2000, 245) puts it, cosmopolitanism "presents a clear and provocative challenge to the ethical particularism of national and other more parochial sources claiming our moral allegiance."

In this context, a cosmopolitan community must wrestle with communalist challenges that manifest in the form of resistance to the transcendent goals of scientific internationalism and cooperation, and to changing notions of gender and identity.

Growth in research bases and scientific population

Prior to the Antarctic Treaty, the number of national scientific research bases in Antarctica was very small and limited to states that had long-standing involvement in the continent. The population of these research bases was often just a handful of people, with those working there in a scientific capacity necessarily performing multiple jobs and tasks to keep the bases functioning. The singular exception to this was the IGY of 1957-58 in which a record number of 5,000 scientists and support personnel were involved. As Summerhayes (2008, 325) notes, the IGY "revolutionised scientific research in Antarctica by establishing a number of permanent scientific stations there." Warr (2005), who spent two years with the British Antarctic Survey from 1963-65 notes the primitiveness of conditions then, compared to contemporary bases, which can include features such as saunas, spas, and dedicated braai rooms. Since 1959, the number of research bases has continued to expand, as has the number of people employed at the bases.

The recruitment of Antarctic scientific and support staff differs from state to state. For instance,

> The UK, Germany, Russia and Japan all have major polar research institutes, which provide most of the scientists and the support staff. Other countries such as the US, Italy, New Zealand, Sweden, Argentina, Chile and Brazil hire most of their scientists from universities, while civilian or military sources make up most of their support systems. Australia and Norway have a mixed system, with a research institute that organizes the programs and provides a limited number of scientists, with the balance of the researchers coming from universities. Two countries, the Netherlands and Belgium, have neither stations nor ships, but instead reserve places for their scientists on the expeditions organized by other countries (*Life on an Antarctic station*).

Employment specialization in some of the Antarctic programmes with staff being directly recruited to specifically undertake the cooking, cleaning, engineering and other work needed to maintain the bases has led to the development of what Johnson (2005) observed as an employment hierarchy at the US bases and a division between the "beakers" (scientists) and the ancillary, or maintenance, staff. By contrast, smaller national programmes, such as those operated by South Africa and Australia, have maintained a strong focus on integrated, cohesive teams and the recognition of the intrinsic value of contributions by all members of the expedition (Hofmeyr, 2014; Rode, 2014). A sense of community and communal endeavour is fostered by rostering systems which allocate various duties to all the people living on the station so that everyone involved in an expedition is seen to be equally part of and contributing to an interdependent group who rely on each other, not just to complete a successful expedition but, very literally, to remain alive and well in a dangerous environment. In addition, there is a strong tradition among the national programmes of common events and celebrations - for instance mid-winter dinners, film festivals, themed nights and station competitions- that provide opportunities for expedition members to socialize and bond together. The Australian Antarctic Division (*Station life and activities*) notes on its website about its research stations that

> Everyone within the community, no matter what their job, undertake a range of voluntary duties to ensure the smooth running of the station. Various celebrations and local events are held throughout the year to reinforce group cohesion and a sense of community.

The permanent stations are run like small settlements with their own power generation, waste, water-making and vehicle maintenance facilities. Typically, they also have dedicated communications, medical and scientific facilities as well as a mess, kitchen, recreation areas, workshops,

storerooms, and accommodation and living quarters for residents. Some stations also have a hydroponic area for growing fresh vegetables, a resource in scarce supply during the over-wintering period (Australian Antarctic Division, *Station life and activities*; Landcare Research, *Living in Antarctica*).

The scientific population in Antarctica is subject to seasonal variations. During the austral summer period from November to March ships are able to navigate the Southern Ocean and waters around Antarctica, and supplies for the research stations and personnel can be brought in by sea transport to supplement the scheduled air flights. How many scientists work in Antarctica over the summer period varies from year to year, depending on the number of projects funded by each of the states undertaking research in the continent at that time, the duration of the project, and whether the work is to be carried out in summer-only research stations, in the year-round permanent stations, or both. The number of projects can be extensive. The A

ustralian Antarctic Division (*Science*) confirmed in 2011 that

> More than 100 projects are undertaken in Antarctica, the subantarctic and in Australia, involving scientists from some 28 countries and 176 institutions.

Up to 4,400 scientists work in the Antarctic in the summer season, alongside another 1,000 support staff (World Population Review, 2014). However, once the austral summer with its continuous daylight passes, conditions change substantially. Frozen sea ice in the Southern Ocean makes the waters un-navigable, effectively isolating Antarctica. As Parker (2011, 8) has observed, "winter varies from twilight to permanent darkness". The Antarctic population during this period is reduced to the scientists and others who staff the year-round research bases and usually numbers 1,100 people, while another 1,000 scientists and ships' crews are present (World Population Review, 2014).

However, these numbers are likely to be in a state of flux over the next several years. The global recession has impacted severely in a number of long-established "Antarctic" states upon funding for scientific research. National scientific programmes in the USA, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and Japan, for example, have experienced budgetary cuts that have compromised their ability to conduct planned research in various parts of the world, including Antarctica and the Southern Ocean (Gorman, 2011; Vergano, 2011; Ward, 2012; Davison, 2013; Eltham, 2014, ABC News, 2014).

In comparison, though, countries such as China and South Korea have increased their budgetary allocations to Antarctic research and have

expanded their Antarctic scientific presence and activities. (Morah, 2014; World Review, 2014) This exemplifies an increasing interest among some states about Antarctica and its future, and a consequent desire to have a more prominent Antarctic presence and stronger voice in decision-making about the continent. China's engagement with Antarctica since it signed the Antarctic Treaty in 1983 reflects this. As Brady (2010, 761) notes, since 2005 China has sought "more of a leadership role in Antarctic affairs", and its establishment of four scientific bases, including the most recent, the Taishan summer field camp, is an indicator of this objective (Science World Report, 2013).

Different countries are planning more Antarctic scientific bases but they are, like earlier stations, to be established as national bases, not international ones. This is ongoing theme in states' engagement with Antarctica since 1959 and contrasts both with the frequent establishment of international scientific teams to undertake projects at the bases and with Consultative Parties' rhetoric about scientific internationalism in Antarctica. It is notable that there has only ever been one international base (that operated by Greenpeace, World Park Base, from 1987-1991) despite the Treaty's dedication of Antarctica as a continent for science and peace and the multilateral condominium governance arrangements of the ATS. As Elzinga (2012) has commented, "the placement of Antarctic research stations may be seen as a surrogate expression of colonialism", and this is consistent with what Dodds (2006, 60) has described as post-colonial engagement in twenty-first century Antarctica:

> the term 'post-colonial' does not refer to the ending of European imperialism in the post-1945 period; rather it highlights how systems of colonial domination (whether in the form of knowledge production or the prevailing geopolitics of international order) persist in the contemporary era.

"Sovereignty performances" (Dodds 2011, 231) in Antarctica are not limited to the placement of research stations and post-colonial engagement of states in the continent. Such performances can be seen in state activities like: flying heavily pregnant women down to Antarctica to give birth upon the continent to bolster a state's claim to a section of the continent (despite the Treaty placing in abeyance all sovereign claims to Antarctica); reconfiguring maps to show an extension into the Antarctic region of a country's geographical jurisdiction; the public naming by a state of a part of the continent and dedication of that part to the current monarch of the state; or including Antarctica in publicly available documents as part of a

country's Military Command areas incorporated into their national defence plans (Dodds and Hemmings 2007, 173-177; Dodds, 2011; Dodds, 2014).

They can also be observed in Antarctic tourism, which has grown exponentially since the early 1990s, and, as Scott (2001, 970) notes, "has the potential to reinforce Antarctic claims." Despite the Treaty formally placing the issue of sovereignty in abeyance via Article IV's 'freezing' of claims, sovereignty-centred tourism (Verbitsky 2010, 71-78) nevertheless occurs in Antarctica and is likely to be further emphasized in the future as tourist numbers and the Antarctic tourism industry continue to grow (IAATO, 2013).

Tensions between the cosmopolitan arrangements of the Treaty and the communalist politics of nationalism and sovereignty, illustrated in the location of research stations, post-colonial engagement by states in Antarctica, sovereignty performances and sovereignty-centred tourism, and even the differing Antarctic priorities, principles and precepts of the diverse national communities that Antarctic scientists return to after a southern polar sojourn continue to be problematic for Antarctica's future. Although there was much public and media celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Treaty in 2009 and emphasis on its internationalist, multilateral character, Rothwell (2010, 20) warns that

> Whilst the Antarctic Treaty has been remarkably successful in suppressing sovereignty as an issue throughout its duration … it is never far from the considerations of many delegates attending Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meetings, or from the decisions that are made within that forum and more broadly within the ATS. Whilst the effect of the treaty has therefore been to make sovereignty a dormant issue within the ATS, it has the potential to reawaken and become a matter of major significance, which could rock the very foundation of the treaty and the Antarctic regime more generally.

Women in Antarctica

One of the most striking features about the development of the Antarctic community is the gendered nature of the community. For most of its recorded history Antarctica was a continent considered the sole preserve of men–an unforgiving, dangerous land that only the strongest and most determined of men could conquer. This was especially true during the "heroic" age of national expeditions from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century. The people famously associated with Antarctica during this time period, such as Roald Amundsen, Robert Scott, Lawrence Oates, and Ernest Shackleton, are men in the "boy's own adventure" action-hero mould, who were publicly lauded in their lifetime

and continue to be venerated for their deeds long after their deaths. By contrast, Lewander (2009, 90) notes that even although female explorers and travellers were present in Antarctica (in contrast to the received public perception of Antarctica), "men's biographies, travel accounts, reports and so on have simply failed to present" these women, and that on the rare occasions they do so "they are marginalized or even made fun of."

Even after the heroic age of exploration came to an end in 1922, Antarctica was still perceived as a land suitable only for males. The inception of the Antarctic Treaty made no difference to this situation. It was not until after the introduction of the contraceptive pill in the early sixties and the growing impact of the women's movement worldwide brought about domestic changes in social status, educational opportunities, employment and political representation for women in Consultative Party states that slowly the possibility of women actually working in Antarctica became a feasible idea. Global changes thus provided the catalyst for eventual changes in the Antarctic community.

Burns (2001, 15) comments that "wives of some senior men were given specific roles" in Antarctica in the late nineteen forties and the early nineteen fifties. However, these women were in Antarctica only as adjuncts to their husbands, not as women specifically employed to undertake work in Antarctica. Just as the idée fixe of the era proselytized women as suited only to the private sphere of the household, and consequently excluded from or marginalized in the private sphere, so too were women considered to be fundamentally unsuited to any formal, or government-sponsored, role in Antarctica.

Until relatively recently women were forbidden by some states-such as Australia, the UK, the USA and New Zealand-to be employed in Antarctica in their own right. As Collis (2009, 514) expresses it, "a key requirement for Australian Antarctic work was a penis". The ostensible justifications for denying women employment in the continent were summarized by the British explorer, Sir Vivian Fuchs, who "stated that the facilities were not appropriate, women could not carry heavy equipment and would, moreover, affect the psychological atmosphere at the bases", and by Admiral Dufek of the US Navy who asserted that "women would wreck men's illusions of being heroes and frontiersmen" (Lewander 2009, 95).

Although the prohibitions on women's Antarctic employment began to be relaxed from the late nineteen sixties when the women's movement began to have significant impacts globally, women still had a struggle to be allowed to "winter-over" in Antarctica and only began to make incursions into this last bastion of southern polar masculinity between the

late nineteen seventies and the nineteen nineties. Even then, this was often only reluctantly permitted. Similar challenges faced women applying for positions of authority in Antarctica, such as Officer In Charge of a research station, with perceptions among male colleagues that a woman appointed to such a position must be a token appointment made under political pressure (Patterson, 2010).

Nowadays, women are increasingly present in Antarctica, although not in equal numbers to men, and tend to be more frequently employed as support staff than as scientists. As Lewander (2009, 102) points out,

> women continue to be a minority of those doing research in polar areas, but this is also a consequence of the uneven distribution of men and women in disciplines of relevance for modern polar research. In most countries, such research is still not a natural arena for female researchers since traditional gender ideologies have tended to survive and take on new guises with regard to women in Academia.

Today, women make up approximately one third of summer season scientists and support staff at the United States' McMurdo Base (Harment, n.d.). Although this represents a significant change from earlier times, there are still clear disparities in terms of the sectors in which women are employed. Writing about her experiences in the United States Antarctic programme, Williams (2000) notes that

> On the ice, one department, Fleet Operations is regarded as a "good old boy" haven. It boasts four women out of a staff of 37. None of the women holds any of the four foreman positions. The trades are also dominated by men. Only a handful of women work as carpenters, plumbers, electricians, utility/maintenance techs, or painters, or hold any of the helper positions related to these occupations . . .The swell in the ranks of women in Antarctica is in part the result of their employment in traditionally female jobs. Of the 53 new hires in food service at McMurdo for the 1999-2000 summer season, 33 were women.

Similar disparities are to be found in the Australian Antarctic programme. Although the Division makes a conscious effort to recruit women,

> the ratio of wintering men to women remains at about eight to one and the profile of an average Australian expeditioner is still male, white and aged between 29 and 32. Many occupations, particularly the trade and technical positions, are fields traditionally dominated by men in the Australian community, and so it seems likely that the participation rate of women, particularly in wintering groups, will not increase dramatically unless the

jobs change and women can take their children (Classroom Antarctica, *Women and Antarctica*).

Although it is almost eighty years since Caroline Mikkelsen, the wife of a Norwegian whaling captain, became the first woman to set foot in Antarctica, as Hament (n.d.) writes, "It's only recently that women have arrived, literally and figuratively, on The Ice". While the women's movement provided the catalyst for women to be able to make incursions into the closed community of men in Antarctica, progress towards full equality is occurring belatedly and lags behind advances made towards equality for women in other parts of the world. Still, a female presence has become established in the white continent and a change in attitudes is occurring, albeit slowly, towards women living and working there. The discrimination and harassment that were common when women first began working in Antarctica are abating as a female presence becomes the norm, rather than the exception (Phillips, 1999-2000), and as women form larger proportions of Antarctic expeditions. In what might be a sign of hopeful times to come, International Women's Day 2012 was able to be celebrated in Antarctica by-among others-the more than fifty women who that year made up seventy percent of the International Antarctic Expedition (Eaton, 2012).

Conclusion

The introduction of the 1959 Antarctic Treaty crafted a new framework for the future of Antarctica with the dedication of the territory as a continent for scientific internationalism and cooperation. The Treaty's suspension of sovereignty claims and designation of the continent as a non-militarized territory suggested a future in which the cosmopolitan arrangements of the Antarctic Treaty would create a new template for international scientific collaboration in the frozen continent. However, while international scientific cooperation has occurred since the advent of the Treaty and continues to the present day, communalist tensions stemming from nationalism and sovereignty issues have never been absent from state engagement in Antarctica. The scientific community in Antarctica can certainly be described as cosmopolitan based on the orientation of the group toward transcendent scientific goals and the transnational collaboration evidenced in multi-national scientific projects, but it occurs within a framework of global politics in which cosmopolitanism is more often obvious in rhetoric than reality. The linkage of the permanent research bases with a singular, exclusive national identity is an indicator of the resilience of communalist politics in a

cosmopolitan space, and the way in which local particularism can persist even in a universalist project. In a similar vein, the introduction of women into Antarctica via national expeditions revealed a communalism that is at odds with the cosmopolitan values that the community is founded upon. Despite successfully challenging the governmental exclusions that prevented them access to Antarctica, women have encountered resistance from within the gendered Antarctic community to their presence on the continent. Ideals of common humanity may be a core part of cosmopolitan philosophy, but in Antarctica women have been exposed to competitive parochialism and reminded repeatedly that they are regarded as uncommon inhabitants on the ice. In that context, women's struggle for acceptance and equality in Antarctica mirrors women's struggles for the same goals in other parts of the world. Antarctica may be physically a remote place, even in today's globalised world, but the tensions between cosmopolitanism and communalism exhibited in relation to permanent scientific bases and the presence of women on the continent are a reminder that just as proximity is no longer a requirement for community neither is distance an inhibitor of change.

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CHAPTER FIVE

PEACEBUILDING WITHIN AND BETWEEN COMMUNITIES

HEATHER DEVERE

Introduction

I will be defining the terms such as peace and violence with reference to the approach adopted by the pioneering peace and conflict scholar, Johan Galtung, as well as peace activist, trainer and research, John Paul Lederach, both of whom have defined the discipline of peace and conflict studies and the approach to conflict which is broadly termed "conflict transformation." While both these scholars have their critics (see for example Cody, 2008) their work forms the basis for the academic study of conflict that itself critiques the realist international relations approach that focuses more specifically on state-based conflict.

What counts as "the community"?

The term "the community" can be traced back to the 19th century. The contemporary concept of the community has positive connotations that are to some extent associated with "the hope and the wish of reviving once more the closer, warmer, more harmonious type of bonds between people vaguely attributed to past ages" (Elias, 1974 cited in Smith, 2001). Communities can be territorial or based in a particular location or locality. Interest based communities share common characteristics that may be for example religious belief, sexual orientation, occupation, or ethnic origin. A third type of community might consist in a sense of attachment to a particular idea such as is used in the phrase "a spirit of community" (Smith, 2001). Other ways of referring to communities are as "social networks" or informal relationships (see for example, Lee and Newby, 1983; Allan, 1996; Putnam, 2000).

Functioning and effective communities are connected to public participation (Blair, 2004); citizenship (Blair, 2004); local involvement and corporate social responsibility (Eweje, 2006). Community development includes identifying unmet care and support needs (Quilgars, 2003); building up relationships and partnerships (Quilgars, 2003, Eweje, 2006); developing capacity (Quilgars, 2003); increasing resources (Quilgars, 2003), in particular education (McCaffery, 2005).

With globalization and mobility of peoples around the world, increasingly nation-states are faced with culturally more diverse communities, a situation which itself can raise fears of potential conflict. Communities themselves are attempting to maintain their own identity and resist any homogenizing policies of national states. Theorists such as Walzer argue that different communities with different language, history and culture can come together most closely as a political community that can produce a "collective consciousness" (1983, 28). Kymlicka (2009) emphasizes the importance of minority rights within nation-states to ensure that different ethnocultural communities are properly represented and able to have their needs addressed. However, other theorists, such as Young (1990) and Benhabib (2002) criticize this "group autonomy" approach, arguing that this fails to recognize the dynamic nature of communities and cultures. MacDonald (2010) suggests that we need to focus more on the relational aspects of community that consider intersecting social determinants such as race, class, gender and ethnicity as well as inter-subjective and social dimensions of individual autonomy and moral and political agency.

For this chapter I will be applying the notion of community broadly, looking at both the international community and local communities in the context of peacebuilding after internal, intranational and international conflict. I will be examining the role of these local communities in assisting national peace-building in post-conflict situations, as well as ways in which peacebuilding can occur within local communities as a conflict prevention and what Burton (1996) refers to as conflict "provention".

What is conflict?

Some definitions of conflict suggest that it should be distinguished from "dispute" where dispute is "an argument or quarrel, which may be settled by legal processes whereas a conflict operates at a deeper level involving inherent and non-negotiable human needs." (McCaffery, 2005, 450). John Burton (1996, 8) argues that conflicts involve:

> …Issues on which there can be no compromise. At all social levels from the family to the international community, there are problems in social relationships that involve emotions and deep-seated needs in respect of which there can be no compromise. Such conflicts must be resolved, rather than settled.

Rather than avoiding conflict or preventing conflict, there is the sense that conflict reveals something that needs to be addressed and that suppressing this conflict could be a form of oppression. For Alinsky (1971, 12) "Conflict is the essential core of a free and open society". Burton adopts the term "conflict prevention" to argue that prevention implies containment, settlement, deterrence, coercion or legal power that can in fact lead to escalation of conflict. Provention is based on a theory of human and social behaviours, which can reliably predict the conditions that provoke conflict. Burton argues that by addressing the denial of needs fulfilment of individuals and communities, alongside conflict resolution, a fairer situation could be created.

The other main issue that needs to be identified when referring to conflict is the issue of the use of violence or non-violence in peacebuilding. Violence can be the cause of conflict, can be the result of conflict, and can be used as a way of addressing conflict. This chapter will not be discussing the role of physical violence as a way of addressing conflict, but will be focusing on non-violent solutions to any kind of conflict as the way of enhancing or bringing about a stable peace.

However, there is also the need to address other kinds of violence. Galtung classifies three types of violence: personal, structural and cultural. This classification has, according to Vorbej (2008), become "one of the prevailing paradigms guiding research within the field of Peace Studies." Personal violence is more easily identified, as there are obvious victims and perpetrators. Structural violence is less overt harm that is caused by institutions or groups whose power is maintained through discriminatory and oppressive economic and political policies. Cultural violence is the dominance of a particular group that "asserts it's own renditions of personhood at the expense of others who are often blamed for their misfortunes." Galtung claims that positive peace will be achieved with an absence of personal, cultural and structural violence replaced by a system of social justice. Power is maintained through economic and political policies that cause avoidable harm but there is often no definable perpetrator of the harm.

What is peace?

Peace is more than just an absence of war or violence. This is the bare minimum and has been identified as negative peace by Galtung (1964). Positive peace or stable peace requires that structural violence as well as physical violence needs to be addressed. Peace will not be sustainable if social inequalities as well as bodily harm are not averted. Positive peace requires the integration of human society. Peace will be precarious if the causes of the conflict are not addressed.

The approach that emphasizes the importance of the local community in peacebuilding argues that it is vital to focus on community processes if the peace is going to be "authentic, sustainable, and durable" (Mica, 2008). The predominance of transitional justice processes that operate almost exclusively at the top leadership level are unlikely to address the real concerns of communities that might have been on opposite sides of the conflict, and now have to work out a way of living side by side in the post-conflict era.

Peace in communities relies on the ability to reconcile the search for peace with the sometimes competing values of justice, truth and mercy, according to Lederach (1997). Building peace is for Lederach a long-term process for establishing an infrastructure across all levels of society. As he states" constructing the house of peace relies on a foundation of multiple actors and activities aimed at achieving and sustaining reconciliation" (xvi). There is both time and space needed for dialogue to take place about these concepts, and this is how peace and trust can be developed. Quilgars (2003) suggests that if support and care networks are added to the mix of community development and regeneration policy, sustainability might be achieved.

Essential for peace building, therefore, is the re-building of relationships. This can only be achieved by "sustained dialogue" and "encounter". According to this approach, the different sides of any conflict should not be kept apart, but need to engage with each other as humans in a relationship. This means that there need to be specific locations and times for this to happen. Lederach argues that people need to have the opportunity to express to and with one another the trauma of loss and their grief at that loss, the anger and the injustices. There can be acknowledgement through hearing each other's stories. In communities, people's futures are ultimately going to be linked and so concerns about both the past and the future need to be addressed.

However, there are obvious challenges to this approach that are very different to the challenges of getting some of the top leadership together to

negotiate. Diplomacy skills need to be enhanced by facilitation skills for those who are planning to practise this "conflict transformation" approach which Lederach names the "praxis of reconciliation".

What is Peacebuilding?

In his *Agenda for Peace* address to the Security Council of the United Nations in 1992, Boutros Boutros Ghali, the Secretary General, added the concept of "post-conflict peacebuilding" to the issues that he had been asked to consider, that had included preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping. The term "peacebuilding" gained currency as a subfield of academic study only in the 1990s. Although it enjoyed quite a rapid rise in policy circles, it was only at the beginning of the 2000s that international relations specialists "began to pay more rigorous attention to the relationship between peacebuilding and political governance" (Call & Cook, 2003, 233).

Peacebuilding is currently usually referred to in association with peacekeeping and reconstruction in the post-conflict context, as part of a liberal state-building agenda. The liberal agenda has meant that peacebuilding now involves not just "keeping former enemies from going back to war, but also addressing the root causes of conflict and even fostering development in non-postwar societies." This has included involvement in "constitution making, elections within two years of the end of hostilities, funding for civil society, and extensive state institution building" (Call & Cook, 233).

However, there have been some significant problems with this model. UN peacekeeping missions "with a political institution-building component between 1988 and 2002" have resulted in some form of authoritarian regime in the majority (72 percent) of the countries involved (Call & Cook, 234). Richmond (2007) claims that

> …It is clear that liberal peacebuilding cannot succeed unless it achieves broad consensus among its target population. Creating institutions without legitimacy or local participation has – so far – not succeeded anywhere since the end of the Cold War (460).

He suggests that in order to be successful, international peacebuilding requires the involvement of the local community and, for local legitimacy, this peacebuilding should reflect the indigenous facilities of local communities that are committed to a form of peace in order to achieve a more advanced and emancipatory result (ibid). Call and Cook agree and stress that this is not a "naïve call for greater local participation, but

recognition of the hard work needed to ensure that national models of governance cohere with and selectively build on local institutions." (234).

It is also true that those most affected by current wars are not necessary the military as most wars are not now fought on the battlefield, but the front lines are in the "villages, towns and cities, where the civilian casualty far exceeds professional military casualty." (Mica, 2008, 41). It is Johan Galtung's pioneering work in the peace studies field (1975) and John Paul Lederach's ideas of conflict transformation (1997) that focus on the conflict prevention and resolution initiatives at levels beyond and below the state, and the importance of the social, psychological and religious dimensions that need to be taken into account at the local or community level. The role of the community in peacebuilding is thus vital.

What is needed for the long process of Peacebuilding?

While a liberal peace agenda focuses on the building of democratic institutions, the conflict transformation approach focuses on the building of relationships. This is not to deny that failed states require assistance with the physical rebuilding of housing, facilities, and institutional structures, as well as assistance with reformed political arrangements. However, the rationale is that none of these things will transform the underlying issues of the conflict, and without the restoration of good relationships, the chances for an enduring peace are slim. Building good relationships is a complex and intertwined, long-term process that will involve a number of steps that are not necessarily sequential. The metaphor of "weaving a web" is appropriate for describing the threads that need to be linked together, in order to ensure that peacebuilding includes the various vital elements. The robustness of the web itself will be reflected by the strength of the threads and the thoroughness with which the threads are interwoven. The threads that I will be considering are consciousness, recognition, resources, dialogue, shared activities and justice.

1. Consciousness

On the whole, we build good relationships subconsciously. However, in times of conflict and in post-conflict communities, the relationship development needs to be much more deliberate. Without a consciousness of the importance of relationship building, entrenched hostilities and resentment will remain. Susan Allen Nan (2011, 239) argues for bringing a "theory of consciousness to the understanding of individual transformation

in conflict resolution practice". She identifies consciousness as referring broadly "to sensory and emotion perception, memory, volition, aversions and desires, cognition, and especially, to awareness within each of these areas and beyond." (240). Consciousness in a peacebuilding situation is an increased awareness of the dynamics and influence of culture, power and poverty. Part of the conflict resolution or transformation process is a shifting of consciousness structures. Nan (2011, 240) expresses it thus:

> The enemy becomes the colleague in solving a problem; the returning child soldier again becomes a member of his or her community; the pie of options for settlement expands; the inhuman evil becomes human; everyone's needs begin to matter far more than one's own position; a weight lifts from the parties' shoulders.

Consciousness also needs to take account of power dynamics within and between people and groups at all levels of conflict and peacebuilding. Questioning key assumptions needs to be a continuous part of the understanding and learning from peacebuilding processes. Mitchell (2011, 1645) as part of a debate about hybrid forms of peace processes, points out that norms that may appear desirable from one perspective as perhaps caring or emancipatory, may act as "forms of affective control" that may "diminish the quality of life and the ability of [local] actors to fulfil their immediate needs". In addition, she suggests that local ways of control that might be dismissed as recidivism or violence by international actors "may be crucial to maintaining the quality of life in contexts where the threat of violence is likely to persist".

Consciousness-raising in communities would be part of a broader process of increasing awareness. The best place to start with consciousness-raising is usually on the self, on the strengths and weaknesses of one's own community, beginning to realize the flaws in any one particular stance, and the growing understanding of the perspective of the other. Placing oneself in the "shoes of the other" is one way of trying to view things from another point of view.

2. Recognition

The transformation of relationships begins to take place with the recognition of the "other" as human. This is the recognition of individual people as both similar and yet different. In order for reconciliation to take place similarity is not necessary. There is no likelihood that people will be the same, but the concept of a common humanity allows the acknowledgement of the differences as well as the similarities between

groups, whether they are nations, religions, ethnicities, genders, classes, clans or local communities. War and conflict create a dehumanizing of the other party and a conscious effort is needed to re-humanize the "enemy". The key to recognition and acknowledgement is respect. Treating each other with respect might involve an acknowledgement of the importance of cultural traditions, rituals and language.

Simich (2006, 190) points to the richness of the emotional and sensitive nature of ritual and symbol and Schirich (2005) discusses the overlooked importance of symbols and rituals that are elements of successful conflict resolution and peace-building and the "palpable significance of symbolic expressions of solidarity and hope." Schirch identifies three aspects of ritual as part of peacebuilding: it occurs in a unique social space; communicates through the senses and emotions: and can mark and assist the process of change. Horstmann (2011) gives the example of the multi-religious ritual traditions that have developed in the Songkhla Lake area of southern Thailand which are slowly evolving to incorporate both elements, independently and together. For example, Buddhist and Muslim villagers "express their reciprocal interest by preparing sweets for each other's feasts or by giving donations to a funeral ceremony" (504).

However, there also needs to be recognition of inequalities in resources or power. John Burton (1996) argues we now have enough information to be able to predict conflict, but if there are attempts to prevent that conflict by containment, settlement, deterrence, coercion or legal power, that can in fact lead to an escalation of the conflict. He argues that there needs to be a paradigm shift and a focus on "needs" that include improved environment and conditions, rewarding jobs, suitable accommodation, the stimulus of education as well as opportunities for valued relations. Needs that are material needs, or require the provision of services such as education, health and housing, will also require the allocation and fair distribution of resources.

3. Resources

Very often the roots of conflict are based in very basic needs and therefore, without addressing these needs, a stable peace will be very unlikely. There is overwhelming evidence that community peacebuilding needs to address broader concerns such as widespread poverty, crime and housing shortages, before the community is able to address more specific community care issues. (See for example Quilgars, 2003).

When peacebuilding is related to violent conflict, then the needs of the victims are paramount. Even though dialogue can be a healing process, it is unlikely that severe cases of trauma can be dealt with without trained professional help. The costs of war are horrific for the population involved with loss of loved ones, loss of home and income, and physical and psychological injury. If the needs of those worst off in any community are not addressed, the moral worth of that community is called into question. Studies continue to assess how corporate social responsibility as well as government aid can assist in peacebuilding, such as Eweje's (2006) analysis of the role of multinational enterprises in Nigeria and South Africa. The resources of the wealthier countries must be made available in the form of aid, for any justice to prevail.

Education can both build on the resources available in a community, but also needs to be high on the priority of funding. Freire's (1970) model of transformative education is particularly relevant for peacebuilding. He identified three stages of learning: task related activities; activities concerned with personal relationships and "conscientisation" activities where dialogue and action are essential to the learning process. McCaffery (2005) reports on peacebuilding processes in Guinea, Sierra Leone and Sudan to argue that adult literary programmes based on a transformative model constitute an important element in the peacebuilding. Some of the education should be concerned with mapping and explicitly addressing the causes of any conflict.

Peace education incorporates and intertwines with development and environmental education so that there is an understanding of the complexities of peacebuilding, knowledge about options and alternatives for peacebuilding, and skills development of conflict resolution practices, both indigenous and western, in a way that empowers individuals and recognizes community values.

Political and juridical institutions also require resources. However, the form of the institutions should not be imposed from outside, but developed from within, with assistance as asked for by the local community. This is not to deny the need for some kind of accountability to ensure against corruption. But trust is more likely to develop with a gradual process of debate and discussion than an imposed solution.

Warnings however are issued about the dangers of "misguided" aid with high-visibility projects based on shorter implementation time that are primarily aimed at advancing the foreign policy interests of the donor countries. So, for example, Tawil Souri (2006, 75) argues that peace-oriented American funding in Palestinian territories focused on peacebuilding "has not strengthened the Palestinian economy but marginalized indigenous civic

institutions, resulting in further impoverishment of Palestinians and the continuation of a political conflict invoked as a reason for global terrorism." It is important therefore that funding is not used just to mitigate the effects of the conflict, but is part of an understanding of interaction between other peacebuilding initiatives, and the underlying conditions, both political and economic of the conflict.

4. Dialogue

Most conflict resolution theory focuses on the form of the dialogue, discussions or negotiations that are advocated as an alternative to armed intervention or some form of coercion as the means of addressing conflict and oppression. Dialogue involves both talking and listening, and the different models of conflict resolution provide different mechanisms for ensuring that parties to the peacebuilding efforts are both heard and allowed to speak. All dialogue can be enhanced by the learning and practice of skills in both the listening and the speaking part of this form of interaction. This speaking and listening can be a negotiation that does not include a third party, or the dialogue can be facilitated or mediated.

Maori scholar, Linda Tuhiwai Te Rina Smith (1999, 19) emphasizes the importance of narrative and storytelling for indigenous peoples in addressing the past. "The 'talk' about the colonial past is embedded in our political discourse, our humour, poetry, music, storytelling, and other common sense ways of passing on both a narrative and an attitude about history." The Nuu-chah-nulth peoples of Canada use haa-huu-pah as teaching stories or "sacred living histories that solidify ancestral and contemporary connections to place" (Corntassel et al, 2009, 137).

Conditions and opportunities for dialogue also needs to be incorporated into the educational structures and learning outcomes. Constructive dialogue and generation of realistic and creative options for peacebuilding can be part of the teaching and learning process. It is useful to have specific opportunities for discussion topics that are of particular interest to specific communities. Starting with the familiar, and building up people's confidence to discuss things that they know about, can also create an environment where more difficult issues are eventually discussed. Creating environments of trust within and between communities can also be enhanced with opportunities for shared activities that are also based on common interests.

5. Shared Activities

As part of conscious engagement, the importance of activities outside of the main negotiation/dialogue of peacebuilding needs to be acknowledged explicitly. The sharing of each other's rituals is part of the activity that builds communities, as well as acknowledges and respects each other. Hospitality in the provision of food is a form of sharing and welcoming that can be both ritualistic and practical. Whether there are difficult discussions, sensitive negotiations, or controversial decision-making, everyone needs to eat, an example of our common humanity! Providing refreshments and breaking bread together is a communal activity. Food also provides an opportunity for learning about each other's cultures and traditions, and the activity of eating and drinking also provides a space for interaction.

There is increasing literature on the role of art, song and dance in peacebuilding, again, another opportunity for learning about the importance of these activities in each other's cultures. The sharing of serious as well as light-hearted entertainment can bring people together, and act as an antidote to the hurt and harm of conflict. The use of ceremonial songs has been seen as a way of empowering local elders in peace initiatives on the Lodwar Border in the Horn of Africa. Frank (2002, 79) describes the singing and answering of each other with ceremonial peace songs as representing the commitment of the local elders to "recreate peaceful linkages with elders from other groups" as well as demonstrating their influence in a setting with government officials that otherwise would have been a foreign and potentially intimidating experience.

But shared activities can also be physically building and creating resources that are valuable to individual communities. Specific needs can be identified during dialogue and recognition processes of relationship building, and the Marxist mantra of "from each according to his ability to each according to his need" can be put into practice in a community setting, without the need for fear associated with of ideological socialism to be raised. This is turn could form the basis for dialogue about recognizing that alternative ideological positions can serve the common good of the community, if one can identify the positive aspects of alternative perspectives.

6. Justice

Developing a peaceful society requires the acknowledgement of wrong-doing too and some form of reprobation to indicate the unacceptability of

certain actions and behaviours for communal interaction. As well as recognition of the positive aspects that come from peacebuilding, there needs to be recognition that some behaviours and ideas that are harmful to particular communities need to be confronted directly.

From the Western conflict resolution portfolio is an array of models that can be used for different circumstances, for different levels of the community, at different stages in the peacebuilding. These include negotiation, track one and two diplomacy, facilitation, mediation, arbitration and adjudication. But Western models do not need to be imposed on communities that have their own justice systems. An analysis by an unnamed young Native American law student of a case involving the Brule Sioux tribe of Northern America demonstrated the differences between the justice of the Brule Sioux as being "all about healing and peacemaking" whereas justice for the Anglo community: was all about punishment and retribution" (cited in Pimentel, 2010, 33).

Transitional justice processes, devised from the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission model are now being adopted as part of the post-conflict peacebuilding in several countries including Timor Leste and the Solomon Islands (Guthrie, 2011). These processes are not without their difficulties, dangers, and failings, but used and applied wisely can form part of the overall peacebuilding goal. Conflict transformation needs to be applied at all levels of the community, and in cases of higher profile leaders guilty of war crimes there is the availability of the International Criminal Court at The Hague. This forum for international accountability itself may not be as fair and unbiased as would be ideal, but it can be part of the truth-telling part of conflict resolution – another form of storytelling, and the historical narrative.

A review of community-based restorative justice initiatives aimed at reducing paramilitary punishment violence in Loyalist and Republican working class areas of Northern Island finds that these programmes compared favourably with processes carried out in other venues. However, it was in the communities that indigenous expertise was found among both professionals and community volunteers. Mika (2008, 52) points out that these local projects set "the bar very high" and expanded on the affective aspect of restorative justice to "more comprehensive considerations of community peacebuilding, community justice and community regeneration."

Conclusion

Creating conflict is easy. Peacebuilding is much more difficult. But it is recognition of this as a complex and long-term, continuous process that sets the basis for building and weaving together the elements that are likely to be beneficial in this endeavour. Globalisation did not work to create the utopian global village that earlier commentators had anticipated, but it does present an opportunity for global learning and global interaction in the peacebuilding process. At the other end of the scale, are the local communities that have lived and learned ways of interacting together. The academic discipline of peace and conflict studies also works to itemize, analyse and assess both international and local processes. Sharing in these many varied and intricately designed and developed processes does offer undreamed of options for creative community and global peacebuilding.

Rather than being idealistic and unachievable, this peacebuilding works with conflict to address and transform it, rather than the suppression or escalation associated with violent responses. Peacebuilding using the conflict transformation approach focuses on not only personal and physical violence, but also on the structural and cultural violence that needs to be explicitly addressed if communities are to experience stable peace. This approach incorporates not only the top level leaders, but also local and community leaders, as well as the grassroots of the community in a complex interweaving of the various elements required to achieve sustainable peaceful communities.

These elements are identified as consciousness, recognition, resources, dialogue, shared activities and justice. Consciousness is important in terms of being aware of and gaining knowledge about the causes of the conflict, the opportunities for transformation, as well as consciously building and rebuilding relationships. Recognition of each other as humans with similarities and differences begins a process of respect and developing trust, and might include rituals, symbols and traditions shared and acknowledged. But there also needs to be recognition of specific needs, inequalities and power differentials. Without resources, these needs cannot be met. Resources are required for provision of health services, as well as educational, political and justice institutions. Resources will have to come from the redistribution of wealth, from both governments and corporations, requiring political will and moral motivation. Education is vital to the process of raising awareness, empowerment and the learning of skills for engagement in discussions and decision-making about community development, the distribution of resources and the engagement

in consciousness-raising, healing and relationship building. Dialogue is the means for giving and receiving of information, ideas and options for peacebuilding, as well as being the learning process that builds understanding about each other, and process for devising mechanisms for interaction and mutual benefit. Sharing of what Lederach calls the "everyday" activities that includes food and drink, also provides education, learning and understanding of cultural differences and similarities. And the justice element addresses the most difficult cases, also acknowledging and recognizing the shared values and behaviours that are needed for peaceful community existence.

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CHAPTER SIX

THE LURE OF LOCAL: COMMUNITY ACTIVISM AND PLACE IN AUSTRALIA

URSULA M DE JONG, ROBERT J FULLER, FIONA GRAY AND DAVID JONES

Introduction

The intertwined relationship between the built and natural environments characterises and defines coastal towns, especially those with significant heritage values. Our research is located in the context of the "sea change" phenomenon, which is fundamentally changing the coastal towns of Australia. Barbara Norman, a past national president of the Planning Institute of Australia (PIA), summarised the current struggle occurring in many of Australia's coastal regions when she wrote: "the Australian coastline is littered with exhausted communities battling to save the character and environment of their townships" (Norman, 2008). The Australian National Sea Change Taskforce was established in 2004, as a response to these wider community and professional concerns, and seeks "to ensure that coastal development is managed with a focus on the sustainability of coastal communities and the coastal environment" (Gurran *et al.*, 2006) concluded that more detailed research is needed to develop new responses to coastal development, particularly in terms of promoting community wellbeing, strengthening social cohesion, avoiding socio-economic and socio-spatial polarisation and preserving sense of place.

This chapter considers the twin historic coastal townships of Sorrento and Queenscliff, located either side of Port Phillip Heads, Victoria, Australia. The blend of the natural and historic settings is a powerful draw card for those who can afford to purchase properties in these locations.

However, the values and aspirations of many of the new owners have been formed elsewhere and can be in conflict with those of long-established residents. The new owners often have a strong desire to renovate, upgrade and/or enlarge their new purchase, occasionally demolishing to rebuild. This often leads to an incremental erosion of the essence of place. The difference in values and aspirations often results in conflict with long-time residents and the local council. The communities of Sorrento and Queenscliff are adamant that one size does not fit all when it comes to planning and development.

A key principle of sustainable development is participation. This was articulated as a principle in the 1992 UN Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit recommendations. Indeed, Fowles (2000) claims that community participation in local development can strengthen social sustainability. Scholarly discussion of the concept generally revolves around the idea of inviting community participation in the initial stages of developing new local planning policy and a number of Victorian municipalities and planners are starting to adopt this idea as standard practice. This differs somewhat from the type of participation our case studies illustrate, where the community is already governed by policy, but that policy and associated overlays are discretionary. This means that their participation tends to be more re-active than pro-active. Our paper considers the theoretical frameworks of (i) place and identity and (ii) community activism and place, before examining a number of specific case studies.

Place and identity

Place as a notion is complex, multi-layered and not at all clearly defined. Place has many layers of being. Topographical mapping is relatively easily and objectively accomplished. The facts of history can be documented. In contrast, the more subjective evocative and poetic qualities of a place do not reveal themselves so easily. Only over a period of time can one begin to fathom its moods, its soul, its many colours and touch its memories. Yet as Jeff Malpas (1999, 41) observes, "We are often led to view places as if they were just the static backdrop to action and experience, rather than being the very ground and frame for such." In *Landscape: beyond the view* (www.naturalengland.org.uk 2006/2012), "landscape" is defined as being "about the relationship between people, place and nature"; and is diagrammatically represented as multi-layered, building on natural form, biodiversity, land use, history and experience.

Edward Relph's central interest is the human experience of place. Places, he writes, "are fusions of human and natural order and are the

significant centers of our immediate experiences of the world" (Relph, 1970, 141). One of Christian Norberg-Schulz's key themes in *Between Heaven and Earth* (1971) is the question of what it means to be at home and bonded emotionally to particular places (Akkelies van Nes, 2012). His main point is that "to protect place one must be open to its identity. A phenomenological approach means that dwellers and builders must take into account a place's qualitative, mostly unmeasurable, aspects" (Akkelies van Nes, 2012, 8). Yan Xu (1995, 2) argues that sense of place may help "to protect a region's cultural heritage and promote cultural awareness and strong kinship ties".

Place also shapes individual identity. David Salvesen (2002, 41) argues that

> A sense of place provides a sense of belonging and of commitment. It is the repository for our shared memories, experiences and dreams. It is a place of family and community ties - of roots - that stems from our connection to a particular location and its people. And when people feel connected to a place - emotionally, culturally, and spiritually.

They care deeply about it. Indeed community action is supported, because without it the community would die. Gone would be the places and things that communities value and love. Community activism allows ordinary, un-influential people to shape their world and their future.

Relph (1976, preface) argues that, in our modern era, an authentic sense of place is being gradually overshadowed by a less authentic attitude that he calls "placelessness": "the casual eradication of distinctive places and the making of standardized landscapes that results from an insensitivity to the significance of place". Relph considers the deepest kind of place experience to be "existential insideness", a situation involving a feeling of attachment and at-homeness. Here place is "experienced without deliberate and self-conscious reflection yet is full with significances". One feels this is the place where one belongs (Seamon, 1996). Yan Xu (1995, 2) considers the crisis "as the erosion of local culture and that our response [as designers and planners] must involve a recovery of sense of place". Seamon (1996) goes further, stating "the great majority of academics and professionals, as well as the producers of popular media, continue to ignore the importance of place both as a powerful conceptual structure as well as an integral part of everyday human life". Jennifer Carter *et al.* (2007) through their research argue that "place identity is subjected to an imposed, created and manufactured place construction, while sense of place remains personal, found and grounded in the lived experience of many residents".

Community Connectedness and Collective Action

A person's attachment to place is integral to their sense of community (Pretty, Chipuer and Brampton 2003). Through shared experiences of place, emotional bonds are forged, giving rise to feelings of connectedness and belonging. These emotions often manifest themselves behaviourally in the form of community involvement (Manzo and Perkins, 2006). Participation in local community endeavours helps to build and strengthen social relationships, which, in turn, help garner the valuable community asset of social capital. While the concept of social capital lends itself to multiple interpretations and uses, in this context the term is used to describe "the ability of people to work together for common purposes in groups and organizations" (Fukuyama, 1995, 10). Social capital has the capacity to catalyse community action in order to improve, preserve or protect a community, making it more sustainable. Social networks and community organisations can also act as a source of collective agency that cultivates the stewardship of place. Regardless of the backgrounds, skills and experiences of a group's individual members, such structures allow people to come together in a spirit of shared concern and mutual trust. This coming together offers a way of achieving specific goals, which can be seen as a form of indirect community activism (Pink, 2008). Rather than staging a direct demonstration, the very act of coming together to work co-operatively on a communal cause constitutes a powerful statement of collective will. Their work is collegial and non-violent, but nonetheless passionately considered purposeful.

This shared purpose and active collaboration is frequently invoked by disputes over local planning developments. The extent and desirability of change associated with new developments can often be contentious. In changing the physical fabric of a town, peoples' sense of place can feel threatened. In historic coastal townships such as Queenscliff and Sorrento, this sensitivity can be heightened by concerns that the rich local histories and unique coastal environs on which their cultural identities are largely built and dependent, may be damaged or even erased. In the face of such threats, community groups are often the first to lead the charge in mobilising the fight against what they perceive to be inappropriate development. Seeing themselves engaged in something of a battle, the outcomes of such disputes are often judged on a win/lose basis (Campbell and Marshall, 2000). Yet, planning disputes, by their very nature, tend to deal with complex and interrelated concerns, making win/win solutions difficult, if not impossible, to achieve (Campbell and Marshall, 2000). The cumulative effect of small victories can however, have a significant

impact. The dogged persistence of actively-engaged community groups can challenge and modify proposed developments to produce outcomes that are more in keeping with the sense of place they strive so hard to defend. Since their collective insights and experiences are firmly situated in the context of place, they bring to the planning process a type of knowledge that may well be underrated, but should not be overlooked. Robyn Eversole (2010, 33), an anthropologist who specialises in the study of development issues, contends that

> Citizens, communities, and small organizations are typically characterized as having energy, legs on the ground, and opinions - even opinions with a bit of political weight - but they are seldom characterized as having knowledge.

Eversole describes how knowledge is broadly understood as coming from experts. Expert knowledge is generally perceived as more reliable than community-based knowledge, which often tends to be embedded in a reservoir of local stories and anecdotes. It is less transparent and more difficult to articulate and analyse than the codified rules and fixed propositions of planning laws. Yet Eversole (2010, 33) perceives this type of knowledge, as being "highly relevant to development processes" because it can do things that traditional expert knowledge cannot. She argues that

> First, local or community knowledge is situated or *placed* deeply in a particular landscape. This may be a geographic landscape, but can also be a cultural one. ... The community and its members *know* and respect the particular constraints and possibilities of a given physical ecosystem or cultural value system. ... Outsiders seldom have this deeply placed knowledge, and may too easily suggest 'solutions' that are inappropriate, unsustainable, or from a local perspective, clearly ignorant.

Further to this, Eversole (2010, 33-34) adds

> [T]he knowledge that local people or community members acquire from their lived experiences involves an ability to see and understand the nature of connections and interrelationships more clearly than professionals can do working from within the conceptual frameworks of their particular silos of expertise. While professionals struggle to bridge the various sectorial or disciplinary silos and jargons to take a more holistic approach to interrelated community issues, community knowledge grasps such connections instinctively.

This knowledge bias is sharply drawn into focus in the Victorian Civil and Administrative Tribunal (VCAT) (the State of Victoria's government planning adjudication agency) hearings where technical knowledge presented by articulate and educated planners and lawyers is given greater credibility than the heart-felt pleas of lay community members. Community groups find themselves in an arena that is specifically designed to extract expert knowledge. This is not to suggest that such knowledge is not an important or necessary part of the process but it may not provide a complete understanding of the subtleties and complexities of each case. Both forms of knowledge are needed, however constraints of cost, time and access to information can exclude community group participation in the planning appeals process. Nevertheless community campaigners tend to take a long term view that allows them to face disappointments squarely and get on with the job, knowing that seldom are their efforts entirely in vain.

Case studies: challenging or protecting the local?

While the historic coastal towns of Sorrento and Queenscliff have a long shared history they are also quite distinctive, each with their own identities and sense of place. Today both are popular seaside holiday destinations for the residents of the greater cities of Melbourne and Geelong, as well as interstate and international visitors. Huge development pressures come from tourism, sea-changers and metropolitan expansion. Carter *et al.* (2007, 758) argue "place packages combine different aspects of the urban experience … but often indicate the growth of sameness in different localities, leading to geographies of nowhereness, otherness, and a crisis in place-identity." While these two places are fundamentally local, they are, in Kim Dovey's words, "lived and embodied; they are structured, ordered, transformed, infiltrated and negotiated; they are symbolized, packaged and marketed" (Dovey, 2010, 11). In actuality the marketing of the coastal idyll is often self-destructive and leads to the smothering of local meanings. We acknowledge that the efforts of ordinary people are vital to community and place but they are seldom recognised or celebrated. Four local community organisations, the Queenscliffe Community Association (QCA), the Queenscliff Historical Museum (QHM), the Nepean Historical Society (NHS) and the Nepean Conservation Group (NCG) provide diverse case studies for our analysis, highlighting different aspects of culture and place identity, and identifying the role of communities in shaping place.

Sorrento: Koonya Hotel and Apartments

A proposal to expand the *c*.1876 era simple two-storey verandah-less limestone Koonya Hotel was lodged in August 1998. In the 1950s brick extensions to the rear of the primary structure included a drive-through bottle-shop. Spatially, the existing hotel and associated site form a key visual gateway to both Sorrento's foreshore (bayside) and Ocean Beach Road (the main street central spine from bay to ocean beach). Its visual and aesthetic values are high. While the historic hotel fronts The Esplanade, to the north-east of the combined allotments, little development historically occurred on the majority of the steeply upward sloping land and for over 100 years it remained an open, largely tree-less paddock, affording views to the houses and shops on the rise to the south-west. From the town, views and vistas down to Port Phillip Bay are stunningly beautiful.

The project proposed extensive redevelopment of the vacant land to the rear of the hotel as well as major renovations to the hotel's catering facilities, comprising overall new bars, restaurants, cafes, motel units and apartments with Wrightian roof and façade design references, with associated car parking and vehicle access routes spread over 8982m² (MPSC, 1998b).

This site had been subject to various similar development applications in the preceding years, 1995-1998, including a change of zoning in 1998 of part of the land to permit intensive mixed commercial/residential development. A planning scheme amendment exhibited in 1995, which proposed the use of the land as a residential apartment complex, was abandoned after considerable public outcry. The community controversy "focused on the form and scale of the proposed development and the retention for significant view lines through the site to Port Phillip and the head of the Sorrento Pier" (MPSC, 1998a, 7). This controversy prompted the formation of Save Our Sorrento (SOS) as an umbrella group for local community groups and individuals with the objective of securing "the retention of views across the site by the purchase of a significant portion of the subject land" (MPSC, 1998a, 7). This community action and associated negotiations resulted in a successful agreement to excise a portion of the site to be purchased by Trust for Nature (a public trustee agency) and vested in the Mornington Peninsula Shire Council (MPSC) to be developed as a public park. The community raised $100,000 towards this purchase and exercised a proactive consultative role in the subsequent design and development of the park.

The hotel expansion proposed in 1998 saw the applicant undertake on-going consultation with representatives of a number of different community organisations: SOS, municipal Collins Riding [ward] Ratepayers, Sorrento

Portsea Blairgowrie Conservation Group (subsequently renamed the NCG), NHS, and the Sorrento Portsea Chamber of Commerce. Despite this consultation, the MPSC procedurally advertised the proposal to 40 adjacent and adjoining property owners resulting in six written representations (four objections and two submissions). The MPSC undertook a Planning Conference – a mediation meeting – with the representors from which no resolution was achieved, and thereupon determined the proposal recommending its approval. Key issues raised by the objectors were: preservation of views, reinforcing the spatial link between the Town Centre and Foreshore, compliance with the "Sorrento Historic Township Policy" (*Mornington Peninsula Planning Scheme* Clause 22.17), retaining amenity of the surrounding residents, controlling vehicular access and parking, and proper effluent disposal and associated environmental impacts (MPSC, 1998b).

In addressing character, the MPSC considered the proposal's compliance with the *Planning Scheme* and the "Sorrento Historic Township Policy," together with their consultant Heritage Architect's report that supported the development subject to a Conservation Management Plan for the heritage building assemblage and that "the design of the motel should be altered to break up its visual bulk and create a more interesting north elevation to the site" (MPSC, 1998b, 15).

The development proceeded, achieving general community satisfaction in terms of its sympathetic scale and integration into the topography and streetscape of Sorrento. The project demonstrates the value of co-operative community participation in the initial design process, which drafted the terms of reference and performance standards of what type, and form of development could and should occur on the land. The community recognised that development would happen at some point in time. In this case, they had an opportunity to argue pro-actively for an outcome that addressed their aspirations about historic character and streetscape conservation.

Sorrento: Continental Hotel extensions and Constitution Hill residential flats

The proposal to expand and redevelop the 1875 era two-storey Continental Hotel on the corner of Constitution Hill and Ocean Beach Roads was lodged in July 2002 and MPSC determined not to support the application in April 2004. The State heritage-listed four-storey landmark limestone hotel building with tower was established by key local and state personality, George Coppin (1819-1906), who was instrumental in making

Sorrento a 19th century seaside resort town. The complex sits on a prominent high point in Sorrento on the Ocean Beach and Constitution Hill Roads intersection, and affords sweeping views across Sorrento and to Port Phillip Bay. Spatially, the hotel forms a key entry focal point to the town. Further, its visual and aesthetic values are integral to the character of the townscape of Sorrento. While the significant historic hotel fronts the main shopping street of Ocean Beach Road, eclectic *ad hoc* development occurred across the sloping land over 100 years.

The proposed development comprised extensive redevelopment of the existing hotel and land (an irregular allotment of 3563m²), to construct 35 residential apartments on five levels with two levels for 64 cars and major internal and external changes to the entertainment facilities of the hotel including the cessation of a nightclub to enable these redevelopments (MPC, 2004). This site had been subject to various similar development applications over the 1995-1998 period including a change of zoning in 1998 of part of the land to permit intensive mixed commercial/residential development in accordance with the "Policy" (MPSC, 1998a).

Because the MPSC took longer than the 60 days allowed to process the application, the applicant exercised their right to lodge a "notice of review" with VCAT against MPSC's failure to determine the application within the specified time. This meant that MPSC could no longer decide upon the application but had to notify the Principal Registrar of VCAT of their determination to support or not support the proposal (MPC, 2004). In drawing together the extensive evidence and issues, MPSC decided not to support the proposal as documented because of a major compromise of heritage values wherein the "design and built form does not reflect the particular characteristics, aspirations and cultural identity of the community" expressed in the various policies and their clauses, despite recognising that the physical alterations and use scenario were "reasonable ... [and that] many components of this proposal … have significant merit and potential benefits to the community" (MPC, 2004, 25, 27, 29). Given the high heritage and place values of this site, and the lack of a robust community and stakeholder consultation, MPSC was caught between idealistically wishing to enable redevelopment but at the same time needing to respect the philosophy and intent of their historic character policies and guidelines for the precinct. A very different outcome resulted two years later.

In 2006 the Nepean Ratepayers Association, the NCG and the NHS called on their members to fight a neighbouring development proposal which they considered to be destructive of the character of place: a multi-storey residential proposal adjacent to the Continental Hotel at 21

Constitution Hill Road, a prime location in Sorrento on top of a high sand dune. Objections included: failure to meet significant planning requirements including urban design, heritage, commercial, sub-division, cultural heritage places and the "Sorrento Historic Precinct Policies"; exceeding the mandatory 8m height limit by 5.2m; encouraging further over height development throughout the Sorrento township by setting a prejudicial precedent; and flying in the face of other permits already issued for the construction of units adjacent to and behind the Continental Hotel which maintained the 8m height limit. This proposal would undo the combined efforts of MPSC and other developers to maintain the landmark features of the Continental Hotel and restrict significant views of the building. Because of its proximity, the general bulk and scale of the proposal would be detrimental to the landmark features of the Continental Hotel and detract from the distinctive skyline. After consulting with the community, the developer bypassed the MPSC and went to VCAT.

VCAT (2006) granted the permit to build the multi-story residential apartments at 21 Constitution Hill Road, arguing that it was "a relatively straightforward development of no great magnitude", except that the MPSC and the community opposed it. Heritage overlays were considered to be general in their definitions and this proposal was considered not to have a major impact on historic values. It was suggested by VCAT that the existing heritage policies should be applied with considerable flexibility to the commercial precinct. For Norberg-Schulz, a phenomenological approach to place involves an understanding of local and cultural context (Akkelies van Nes, 2012, 12). VCAT has yet to learn to respect that knowledge which is held in and by communities.

Queenscliff: The Ozone Hotel

The small historic coastal town of Queenscliff has a number of magnificent old buildings, particularly hotels. One of these is the Ozone Hotel. The building was constructed in 1881-82 and was originally called Baillieu House, after its builder, James Baillieu. It was re-named the Ozone in 1887 following the arrival of a new passenger paddle steamer – the *Ozone*- that brought visitors to the town from Melbourne (QHM, 2003). The town had already established itself as a popular destination for day-trippers.

The Ozone Hotel has been described as "a successful blend of the French Renaissance and Italian Renaissance palazzo styles" (Allom et al., 1984, 37). The Ozone complements an equally imposing and adjoining building called "Lathamstowe". Both buildings sit on a cliff top with

commanding views of Port Phillip Bay and access to the beach. In 1980, the Ozone Hotel was listed on the Australian Heritage Register, and in 1995 it was added to the Victorian Heritage Register under the state *Heritage Act 1995*, administered by Heritage Victoria (HV).

In early 2005, the owners of Ozone submitted a planning application to convert the hotel into eight luxury apartments, and to build two apartments and a separate two-storey shop and residence on the rear of the site. The owners claimed that the hotel was no longer financially viable. The development was opposed by many people, both within and outside the Borough of Queenscliffe (BoQ). Their opposition covered cultural, economic and social concerns. The great-grandchildren of the builder, Kate and Ted voiced their opposition to the development. Ted Baillieu, a former premier, and then the Opposition Planning Minister, spoke out against the development. Opposition to the development within the town's community was spearheaded by the QCA. Its members made a detailed submission to the Borough and organised a "Save the Ozone" petition, which was signed by 203 people. The QCA were also prominent in a subsequent appeal to VCAT.

The BoQ was also opposed to the development. In an extensive submission to HV, the then Manager of Planning and Development in Queenscliff expressed the BoQ's strong opposition to the application. The BoQ believed that the proposal did "not respect the important spatial, symbolic and cultural characteristics of the site and surrounding area" (Walker, 2005). Despite good publicity, including an appearance on a prime-time television program to voice their concerns to this and other changes in the town (ABC Stateline, 2005), the campaign to save the Ozone as an intact building available to the public was not successful.

In May 2005, HV granted a permit for the development, arguing that since the exterior of the building was not going to change, its cultural significance was unaffected. Similarly, the new two-storey building did not detract from the original building's cultural significance. However the front of this new building, constructed at the rear of the building, is directly on Queenscliff's main street, Hesse Street, on which many of the town's most important historic buildings are located. Access to, or a view of, the original building from Hesse Street, has been lost. The only concession made to the representors was to limit the height of a tower above the original roofline of the hotel, which was claimed to be necessary to accommodate a proposed internal lift. In a follow-up letter to the then Minister of Planning, Rob Hulls, the then Mayor of Queenscliffe expressed the "anger and amazement" of the BoQ (Bugg, 2005). The

decision was appealed at VCAT late in 2005 but to no avail and the development proceeded.

What did the community learn from its failure to save the Ozone? The principle lesson for those involved was misunderstanding and underestimating the role of HV. It surprised and disappointed the opponents of the development that this was sanctioned by an organisation which they had believed would have been sympathetic to their argument. Other lessons include: resisting the rezoning of commercial premises to residential; protecting the interior of heritage buildings as well as the exterior; listing on-site vegetation on the local historic tree register to prevent its destruction; and finally safeguarding historic hotels from becoming financially unviable. The leverage of this position appears to have been noticed by others wishing to develop historic buildings in the town. Other iconic hotels have subsequently threatened to turn their premises into apartments if their respective development applications were not approved. The dilemma of preserving heritage buildings, particularly grand historic hotels, operating in a competitive commercial environment is one that is likely to continue into the future.

Point Lonsdale: Stockland Housing Development

Large-scale housing development poses a significant threat to the original character of coastal towns, which are usually small, discrete and separated from each other by some reasonable physical distance. Driven by the prospect of financial gain, developers buy land on the outer boundaries of these towns and/or the local owners of this land become involved in the process of proposing its redevelopment. Usually the land has previously been used for farming or some other non-residential activity, and so for housing development to occur, the land must be rezoned. In many coastal areas, particularly within reasonable access to major urban centres, the process of land re-zoning and re-development has been occurring at unprecedented levels. One of the dangers of this is the so-called "coastal ribbon sprawl" where the desire for housing expands out around the boundaries of existing small coastal towns.

A controversial major housing development immediately adjacent to the BoQ, in the City of Greater Geelong Council (CoGG), has been the Stockland proposal. The site, a 192ha piece of land located on the western boundary of Point Lonsdale, was formerly a rubbish tip and shell grit mine. While the land sits within the boundaries of the neighbouring council, and is therefore not administered by the BoQ, the impacts of this development will be experienced by the latter not the former. The

developer proposed building 598 houses, 170 retirement units, an aged care centre for 120 residents and a convenience store on the site. When the development is complete, it will increase the local population by one third. Critically, the land also sits between two major water bodies that are Ramsar-listed (the Ramsar Convention is an international treaty for the conservation and sustainable utilisation of wetlands). A feature of the development will be a one-way tidal-driven canal system, the water from which will ultimately discharge into the unique ecosystem of Swan Bay in the BoQ.

When the development was first proposed it was the focus of concerted community opposition involving individuals and organisations, as well as State politicians. The Deputy Premier of the then Victorian State Government, John Thwaites, a regular visitor to the area, attended a local public meeting together with more than 300 people on Easter Saturday in 2005 and, acknowledging the strong feelings to preserve a green wedge around the BoQ, promised to take this message back to the Government (Rip Rumour, 2005). Ted Baillieu, then an opposition politician, once again weighed into the development debate in this tiny municipality. He claimed that the proposed development " … breaches town boundaries, it contradicts coastal policy and it threatens internationally recognised wetlands" (Waldon and Millar, 2006).

Two community groups led the opposition to this development. The Point Lonsdale Civic Association is a long-established citizens' organisation that promotes and maintains the interests of the residents and ratepayers of Point Lonsdale. The second group, the Point Lonsdale Coastal Spaces Group, was founded specifically to oppose the development. They organised a door-knocking of approximately 1800 homes, over half of BoQ's total, and 74% of those residents expressed opposition to the proposal. A fighting fund to employ a senior legal counsel in planning and environmental law was established, and approximately $100,000 was collected from residents. A CoGG panel hearing on the environmental impact of the development was held in Geelong in May 2008. Nearly 230 submissions were received by the panel from various bodies and individuals, with most community-submitters opposing the proposal. This opposition did not prevail, however, and the development was approved in late 2008. Construction has now commenced and it is anticipated that the development will be completed over a 10-year time frame.

In this case study, the community demonstrated a considerable level of energy and sophistication in its lobbying, and a willingness to commit resources. As in the case of the Ozone Hotel, the view of the majority of

the community was ignored in favour of development. Decisions were made by individuals who did not live in the community or may never experience the outcome of these decisions. When proposals are disputed by communities and are referred to official government disputation bodies or panel hearings for formal adjudication, the community is greatly disadvantaged because it does not have the resources (lawyers, experts, money, etc.) that can be mobilised by a proponent and their agents.

Community and place: a few conclusions

All places change! While we acknowledge contrasting understandings of what might be a satisfactory response to place, the case studies demonstrate inconsistent development outcomes from community participation. Where outside bodies have been given the statutory responsibility of making decisions regarding proposed developments in either of the historic coastal towns of Sorrento and Queenscliff, there has been a clear lack of understanding, valuing and recognition of the local. Fritz Steele (1981, 36) posits that

> The classic difference in expectation and perceptions of settings may be that between residents and visitors. Residents see their settings as living histories of their experiences, struggles, and accomplishments, while visitors see the same setting through eyes that have very different sets of expectations and responsibilities (or usually lack of responsibilities).

Long-term residents perceive that VCAT often acts as a 'visitor'. Amsden *et al.* (2011, 33) observe

> The idea of place is ultimately constructed around what a particular place means and how people evaluate it based on those meanings. It is a complex recipe that includes settings, behaviors (including interactions with others and with the local landscape), and evaluations of interwoven personal and social contexts. Place attachment, as a component of a larger sense of place, can be highly personal, incorporating individual interactions with the surrounding world. … Even when built upon shared places, people or experiences, place attachment will be felt and understood differently by different people.

Day (2007, 118-119; 162) reflects that "The impact of place on us and us on place is reciprocal: the more we damage our environment, the more damaging it is on us. Likewise, the more we care for and heal it, the more nourishing, health-giving, even healing, its influence upon us". He acknowledges that "Development is an inevitable consequence [of

change], but it doesn't have to be destructive. While to 'develop' means to enhance what's there …", "development by demolition assaults that web of memories underpinning place identity …". Fritz Steele (1981, 8) suggests "In many instances, modern society is tending to destroy the rich variety of places, replacing them with homogenized 'efficient' settings that have no variety, surprise, or traces of their own history and development". Seamon and Sowers (2008, 43-51) ask us to ponder one of the crucial questions of our age: "How today to have insideness and place when change is constant, society is diverse, and so many of the traditional 'truths' no longer make sense".

In spite of the dramatic societal and environmental changes that our world faces today, our case studies demonstrate that place continues to be significant both as a vigorous conceptual structure as well as an irrevocable part of everyday human life (Seamon and Sowers 2008, 43-51 referring to Horan 2000). Communities as we have seen are vital co-shapers of place. Indeed "the more communities take part in the processes which shape where they live", Day (2007, 149) argues, "the more culturally meaningful, identity confirming, place enmeshed and economically viable – namely sustainable - the outcome. This is about social *inclusion*; about valuing people, culture and place". The communities discussed above have actively participated in their local planning processes. In each case study presented here, they have called for a holistic approach to place, and for an understanding of the historical roots of the present. We have also observed the communities of Sorrento and Queenscliff strive to go beyond being gatekeepers and watchdogs to being enablers: to encourage and nurture appropriate development through pro-active participation, ultimately striving to manage change.

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PART III:

TOOLS OF COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

CHAPTER SEVEN

IN OUR OWN WAY: THE PARALLEL DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURALLY ANCHORED SELF-HELP IN AFRICAN AMERICAN AND NEW ZEALAND MAORI COMMUNITIES IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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In this chapter, we discuss the parallel development of culturally anchored self-help strategies aimed at spiritual and material uplift of African American and New Zealand Maori communities in the early twentieth century. The central focus is the role culturally anchored self-help plays in social and economic development and political mobilization of African American and New Zealand Maori communities. This chapter derives from comparative study of racial and ethnic inequality using interviews, archival data and field research in New Zealand and United States to compare racial advancement ideologies and efforts by the Black Church and Maori Marae (meeting house) which build upon shared culture to promote community development from 1860- 1970. The primary premise is culturally anchored self-help is instrumental to political mobilization of marginalized minority communities.

In addition to basic definitions of community development, we identify political mobilization processes in both communities and describe the role Christianity plays in the emergence of both an intrinsically "Maori Church" buttressed by the *marae* and an intrinsically "Black Church." Therefore, we identify the most influential Maori and African American advocates of culturally anchored self-help during this period; respectively, Pai Marire, Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana, Princess Te Puea Herangi and Sir Apirana Ngata and W.E.B. DuBois, C. Eric Lincoln, E. Franklin Frazier

and James Cone. In closing, we discuss the legacy of early twentieth century culturally anchored self-help on contemporary approaches to community development and situate them in historical context. Thus we demonstrate that culturally anchored self-help, expressed as the nexus of sacred and secular, makes the material uplift and thereby, political mobilization of these two communities possible.[1]

Community Development as Culturally Anchored Self-Help

Community development is primarily a "vocation" (calling) to promote self-help. Among New Zealand Maori and African Americans there is a rich and long tradition of being called to promote culturally anchored religion-based group advancement as community development by means of voluntary leadership. Historically Maori people and African Americans are "called" by means of divine revelation to lead in the moral, spiritual and economic development of their communities. However, culturally anchored religious callings that promote resistance to oppression as well as spiritual and material uplift are seldom perceived as genuine endeavours of self-help and community uplift but often are dismissed or discredited by whites as "nationalist, socialist or communist movements." Such dismissals are common in the early history of race relations in New Zealand and over the course of race relations in the United States. Notable examples include but are not limited to W.E.B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X in the United States and Te Ua Haumene, Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana, and Te Kooti in New Zealand.[2]

Contemporary community development is studied as though it is a recent phenomenon and focuses more on process than outcomes.

[1] Use of "communities" here merely denotes collectivity and recognizes neither the Maori nor African American communities as monolithic or representing solidarity.

[2] According to oral history, Te Kooti Arikirangi was visited by the Archangel Michael who's divine interventions and revelations led him to found the Christian-based Ringatu church while wrongfully imprisoned for spying. On July 4, 1867, Te Kooti led the escape of 167 men, 64 women and 71 children fellow prisoners; seized a supply ship, ammunition, arms and money and sailed to Poverty Bay. In reaction to unflagging pursuit by the British militia, Te Kooti attached and killed 54 people at Poverty Bay declaring, "God would give Turanganui country, and all the best places of the Europeans, back to him and his people." Te Kooti's successful military battles and executions attracted many followers to his church because many Maori believed he was endowed with divine retributive powers (DNZB p. 195).

Community development theory primarily is defined as a process of self-help, asset base or self-development. Much of this literature further defines community development as a political process—a "process, operating within the political arena to provide a more resource rich route to empowerment."[3]

However, such definitions are impoverished by their (1) neglect of the historical context of grassroots culturally anchored self-help; (2) neglect of relevant interdisciplinary research (principally sociology, economics, ethnic/race relations and divinity); and (3) victim-centred perspectives of group powerlessness and dependency. Generally, this literature focuses more narrowly on the empowerment efforts of citizens dependent upon government largess in necessary partnership with private institutions via community development corporations (CDCs) (Halpern 1994, HUD 1996 and Vidal 1992) and less on these racially concentrated communities as primary catalysts in their own material and spiritual uplift, e. g., Boston's Dudley Street Initiative (Medoff and Sklar 1994). In addition to emphasizing the focus on self-help, asset based or self-development processes, recent research also finds that race is the predominant factor in community development whereby African American congregations are significantly more engaged in providing social services (food, shelter, homeless, health and education programs) than white congregations (Chaves 1998, Chaves and Higgins 1992, and Vidal 20001).

To the contrary, community development is an age-old process of adaptation by means of self-help aimed at material and spiritual uplift. According to Biddle and Biddle (1965), community development is a social process by which human beings can become more competent to live with and gain some control over local aspects of a frustrating and changing world (78). They further define community development as a process that refers to a progression of events planned by the participants to serve goals they progressively choose and that results in changes in a group and individuals that reflect growth in sensitivity and competence (ibid, 79). "It is an educational process that reaches into the cultural patterns of people,

[3] See M.L. Owens, *Black Church Affiliated Community Development Corporations* (2000), B. Ferman, *Challenging the Growth Machine: Neighborhood Politics in Chicago and Pittsburgh* (1996), J.A. Christenson, K. Fendley, and J.R. *Robinson Community Development in Perspective* (1989), Kimberly Zeuli and Jamie Radel, "Cooperatives as a Community Development Strategy: Linking Theory to Practice," *Journal of Regional Analysis and Policy* (2005), Love M. Chile, "The historical context of community development in Aotearoa New Zealand," *Community Development Journal* (2006) and Marion Orr ed. *Transforming the City: Community Organizing and the Challenge of Political Change* (2007).

examining them and testing them as principles of faith ... A building within the hearts of men, not a recreation center in the middle of a playfield" (ibid).

In sum, community development is defined as culturally anchored self-help that seeks to uplift, spiritually, morally, socially and materially and, thereby, empower. Several New Zealand Maori and African American scholars acknowledge the pivotal role culture plays in the social, economic, moral and spiritual uplift of their communities (in NZ, Sorrenson 1988, Cox 1993, Hazelhurst 1993, and Chile 2007 and in US, Frazier 1963, Lincoln 1963 and Cone 1975). Culture is the sum of core customs, beliefs, values, meanings, knowledge, language, technology, artefacts and symbols shared by a group (Ogburn 1957). Here, culture is the seamless nexus of scared and secular that makes development of these communities possible and reality. This nexus of sacred and secular finds fullest expression in Maori communities via the Marae and in African American communities via the Black Church.

Culturally-Anchored Self-Help: The Maori Marae and the Black Church

The Maori Marae

In New Zealand, the Marae is the cornerstone of Maori culture. More than the physical structure of a sacred meetinghouse, the Marae is at the centre of *Maoritanga* (things Maori) and provides spiritual, economic, social and political organization. It is both the genealogical and spiritual repository as well as forum for discourse and debate and centre for teaching and learning. The Marae offers shelter and sustenance for the body and soul and connects the past and future to the here and now. According to Apirana Ngata, "the Marae formed the assembly place for certain political and social needs and for religious observances . . . The first thing the missionary did after establishing himself was to attack the Marae because it was the center of the rival religion that he sought to destroy root and branch . . . Owing to our retaining certain social customs with tenacity, holding huis and weeping for our dead, the marae has continued to function to the present day . . . Scattered people need a rallying place of assembly where certain customs can be carried out, where the people of one blood or descent may rejoice or weep together and where their hereditary leaders may take their place in a proper atmosphere" (Sorrenson, 1988, 219-220).

Prior to European contact, colonization and settlement, Indigenous Maori were the dominant ethnic group resident in *Aotearoa* (New Zealand) until 1858 when colonial administrators' records estimated the total resident Maori population at 56,049 distributed among approximately 51 tribal groupings, *iw*i (tribes), located in the North and South Islands. However, processes of colonization and settlement destroyed social cohesion and social organization within *iwi* and *hap*u (sub-tribes)—detribalization—nearly extinguishing Maori people. Since signing the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, Maori-European relations were marred by wars over land settlement and confiscation, sovereignty, and abrogated treaty rights that jeopardized the viability and survival of the Maori people until the 1930s (Lashley, 2000). Despite the Treaty of Waitangi's guarantees to safeguard Maori assets and to protect Maori citizenship rights and benefits, Maori were dispossessed of their lands, fisheries, forests and *taonga* (treasures). Today Maori people are 15 percent of the population but have disproportionately higher rates of unemployment, poverty and incarceration; and experience greater social and economic inequality than all other New Zealand population subgroups.

Similar to trends in United States, current scholarship on Maori community development shifted the focus substantively from primarily Maori determined and Marae-driven self-help to Maori partnerships with government frameworks and best practices. For example, Ahuriri-Driscoll, Foote, Hepi, Rogers-Koroheke and Broodkoorn (2008) provide comprehensive review of Maori community development but make only passing note on the enduring history of Maori community development and neglect necessary description or specification of intrinsically Maori self-help efforts before 1945, critiquing them as responses to colonial marginalization and oppression (hence negative orientation). Instead Ahuriri-Driscoll et al emphasize community development's current focus on common principles of participation, equity, partnership and empowerment (positive orientation). Building on Chile, Mumford and Shannon (2006), Ahuriri-Driscoll et al concur that the Government of New Zealand has an "inferred degree of responsibility under the Treaty of Waitangi to support Maori community development through resourcing either in time, personnel, strategic alignment or funds" (ibid, 2). However, neglecting specific discussion of Maori self-help efforts under the first century of colonization understates their sustained central role in defining and buttressing all subsequent post World War II Maori community development.

The Black Church

Similarly the Black Church, having a different purpose from the white Church, historically provided moral, economic and social uplift as well as spiritual uplift in the United States. According to E. Franklin Frazier, Christianity afforded a new basis of solidarity among people who lacked social cohesion and structured social life (1963, 14). Slavery destroyed social cohesion and social organization, particularly family and community, among African slaves and their American descendants. The deliberate destruction of social cohesion and organization first caused by slavery and subsequently reinforced by segregation, discrimination and marginalization kept African American communities mired in poverty. In the late twentieth century, these dehumanizing practices combined with urbanization that contributed to further social breakdown in racially or ethnically homogenous marginalized neighborhoods and communities leaving them further mired in concentrated poverty caused by high rates of unemployment, income dependency, unskilled and low-skilled workers, single parent families, crime and aberrant behaviour—the urban underclass (Wilson, 1987).

Recognition and acknowledgement of the important role churches—now called faith-based organizations—played in stabilizing minority communities increased in the late twentieth century. However, those newly interested in the Black Church emphasized the behaviour modification and community stabilization functions to the near exclusion from discussion of its material, moral and economic uplifting effects on African Americans. Academics, policy makers and administrators focused on the potential, role and effects of faith-based organizations in reducing crime, modifying behaviour and inculcating values and respect for authority, e.g., Delulio and Dionne (1998), Delulio (1999), Loury (1997), Dionne (2000) and U.S. Departments of Justice and Education. Beginning in 2001 under the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, nationwide acclamation and new funding were directed to churches for after school tutoring and mentoring programs—normative re-education and behaviour modification activities—in addition to increased funding for CDC food, housing, homeless programs. This new interest in faith-based CDCs was preoccupied with these organizations mediating role in restoring "civil society" rather than in their holistic development of African American communities (Wilson, 1996; Dionne, 2000; Eikenberry and Kluver, 2004). In the United States neither government nor other secular institutions lead in community development—instead the holistic development of African American communities remains the domain of the Black Church.

Historical Overview of the Black Church, a Nexus of Sacred and Secular

The Black Church—nee Negro Church—was the first formal social institution African Americans were allowed to organize in the New World prior to the Civil War. Initially slaves were taught the scriptures at the hands of benevolent owners, later christened and occasionally permitted to worship in the rafters of slave owners' churches. As a general rule, free assembly of five or more slaves was prohibited unless it occurred in the presence of a white man and this applied particularly to gatherings for religious purposes (Frazier, 1963, 11). Although initiated by the Church of England in 1701, proselytizing by the Baptists and Methodists denominations marked "the Dawn of the New Day" in the religious development of African Americans. "Not only did religion draw the Negroes into union with their fellow men, it tended to break down barriers that isolated them morally from their white masters . . . It was part of the discipline on many plantations to provide for the religious instruction of the slaves" (ibid, 16).

The Black Church has a long tradition of self-help, charitable giving and social protest against oppression while ministering to the spiritual needs of African Americans (DuBois, 1898 and 1903; Lincoln, 1963; Frazier, 1963 and Cone, 1969, 1970 and 1975).[4] W.E.B. DuBois, a contemporary of Apirana Ngata and Peter Buck, in 1898 wrote of the instrumentality of the Black Church to African American development. "It is natural today that the bulk of organized efforts of Negroes in any direction should centre in the Church. The Negro Church is the only social institution of the Negroes, which started in the forest and survived slavery; under the leadership of priest and medicine man, afterward of the Christian pastor, the Church preserved in itself the remnants of African tribal life and became after emancipation the centre of Negro social life. It is natural, therefore, that charitable and rescue work among Negroes should first be found in the churches and reach there its greatest development" (4-5). Even though DuBois would later chide the Black Church for its political passivity by challenging "the silence of God" in a poem protesting the mass slaughter of black people in Atlanta on "the Day of Death, 1906," he affirmed its pivotal role in material and spiritual uplift (DuBois, *A Litany At Atlanta*).

[4] This chapter does not include discussion of specific ministries or leaders e.g., Booker T. Washington or Marcus Garvey, and limits discussion to scholarship on the Black Church.

However, the role and mission of the Black Church sustained serious challenges in the 1930s and 1960s. For example, in 1933 Langston Hughes penned the poem, *A New Song* alleging the history of black religion is characterized by songs of sorrow, which reinforces black passivity and submission and "That only my hands, Dark as the earth, Can make my earth-dark body free." Again in the 1960s, the Black Church faced perhaps its most strident criticism from a younger generation of activists engaged in the U.S. civil rights movement admonishing the Black Church for fostering passivity and submission to slavery and oppression by African Americans. In response to this renewed criticism, C. Eric Lincoln and E. Franklin Frazier reaffirmed the positive community development legacy of the Black Church. Frazier, a preeminent sociologist, argued that slavery, seasoning language prohibitions and enforced social isolation destroyed both social institutions and social cohesion among the slaves. For Frazier, an "invisible institution" was forged from their cultural memories, oppression and Christianity that formed the basis of solidarity among people who lacked social cohesion and a structured social life (1963, 14).

C. Eric Lincoln defended the importance of the Black Church as the primary engine of racial advance and material uplift, issued a scathing rejoinder to 1960s activists and pointed out the important contributions of the Black Church to African American material and spiritual uplift and political mobilization. After Reconstruction as African Americans were systematically and progressively excluded from political representation, first by Jim Crow then segregation and later discrimination, the Black Church became the arena for social and political action. The Black Church evolved as the cornerstone of family activity and represented African Americans' only organized social existence. The Black Church not only established benevolent and burial societies but also amassed substantial endowments that were used to promote education and economic development—cradle to grave social welfare and spiritual uplift. Noting that the endowment of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church swelled from $2500 in 1787 to $9 million by 1887, Lincoln asserted

> The Black Church had been born out of the travail of slavery and oppression. Its very existence was the concrete evidence of the determination of Black Christians to separate themselves from the white Christians, whose cultural style and spiritual understandings made no provision for racial inclusiveness at al level acceptable to Black people. Ever since Richard Allen and his Black fellow worshipers had been forcibly ejected from Philadelphia's St. George Methodist Church as they knelt in prayer in a segregated gallery, the resulting establishment of a separate Church had symbolized, even at its beginning, the Black

> American commitment to dignity and self-determination (Lincoln, 1963, 107).

Rooted in the particulars of African American experience, the Black Church, as distinct from the white church, recognizes the significant connection between thought and social existence (Cone, 1975, 10). James Cone, architect of liberation theology, seizing the gauntlet from black critics and advocates of the Black Church's legacy, articulated an argument that quelled this debate. Like New Zealand's Ratana and Ringatu churches the Black Church revisits the teachings of Jesus Christ filtered through the prism of African American cultural reality. For Cone, God is within man and, therefore, man is the tabernacle of God and practicing one's faith is as important, if not more important, than preaching one's faith. The Black Church is liberating and self-affirming. It is the place where African Americans come together, one day of the week, to celebrate the very humanity that is denied to them six days a week (Cone, 9). According to James Cone in God of the Oppressed,

> the life of the slave was the slave ship, the auction block and the plantation regime. It involved the attempt to define himself without the ordinary possibilities of self-affirmation. Therefore when the master spoke of God, they could not possibly be referring to the same reality . . . [we] must imagine [our] way into the environment and ethos of black slaves, probing the language and rhythm of a people who had to 'feel their way along the course of American slavery' enduring the stress of human servitude [and dispossession] while still affirming their humanity (Cone, 10-11).

Historical Overview of Sacred and Secular Nexus among New Zealand Maori

Similar to the emergence of leadership in African American communities via the Black Church, prominent leaders in the development of New Zealand Maori communities emerged either from the establishment of a distinctly Maori Church based upon the *marae* framework or from a secular approach that coupled Christian principles to *marae* principles.[5] In the early days of European settlement, some Maori embraced Christianity in order to gain insight into *pakeha* (white) culture (Clark, 1975, 109).

[5] Maori people respected *ariki* (chiefs), feared the spiritual powers of *tohunga* (priest or expert), shared a common protocol in rituals of encounter, and understood and lived by concepts of *mana* (honor and prestige) and *tapu* (sacred or taboo) (Ballara 1998 p. 42).

Foremost, Pai Marire, and Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana established distinctly Maori Churches to uplift Maori communities while Princess Te Puea Herangi and Sir Apirana Ngata pursued secular approaches grounded in the *marae* and bonded them to Christian moral precepts.

Pai Marire

In 1862, Te Ua Haumene, nee Pai Marire, founded a religious movement aimed at self-affirmation of Maori identity and cultural, spiritual and moral uplift as well as Maori social unity. Often branded cultist, fanatical, separatist of barbaric, Te Ua Haumene encouraged Maori to "stand erect, and bind your loins around with truth strengthen the determination of your chest . . . the office you now hold is that of slave. Friend here is the right place for the new Canaan, so that your feet may be steadfast with your people, that is with the Maori" (Clark, 1975, 74). Called in a dream by the Archangel Gabriel, Pai Marire sought nationwide unification of all Maori under the mantle of Christianity. He defined salvation as the peaceful adjustment of Maori to European settlement while other Maori tribes waged war via the Kingitanga Movement against British colonization and settlement predicated upon Maori assimilation or extermination.[6] Even though Pai Marire sought Maori unification and salvation by peaceful means, externally determined bloody events led to his depiction as a fanatic leader of a belligerent and barbaric cult disparaged as hauhau movement—and perhaps his ultimate radicalization.[7]

Despite substantial attention given to isolated acts of armed resistance and the alleged millenarian emphasis of the "Pai Marire movement," Te Ua Haumene preached passive resistance to the Crown and European land settlement (Cox,1993), sought the cultural transformation of Maori people and pressed the importance and functions of traditional elements in fostering a renewed sense of Maori identity. Pai Marire urged Maori to "encourage such worthwhile things as the *waiata* and *haka*, lullabies, the *moko* of the chin and lip" and was first to give independent expression to a uniquely "Maori Christianity" (Clark, 72). In addition to transforming

[6] From 1845-1872 the kingitanga movement sought to restore Maori chieftainship (sovereignty) over Maori Lands, people, forest, fisheries and other assets of the Maori Waikato tribes by armed resistance in response to increased pressure from the British to dispossess Maori of their lands.

[7] A few adherents ambushed and killed members of the British 57th Regiment while chanting *hau* (victory) on April 4, 1864. A few weeks later other followers of Pai Marire attacked and killed soldiers at New Plymouth to avenge the martyrdom of their prophet Epanaia by British soldiers.

Maori religion and adapting Christian precepts to suit Maori needs in response to British incursion and domination, Pai Marire and his followers self-consciously incorporated modern materials and forms of social organization introduced by *pakeha*. For example, adherents in Hawkes Bay adopted *pakeha*-style houses, furniture and uniforms and formed their own police and corporals while Pai Marire bestowed British royal titles upon converts in Taranaki and Waikato in honor of the King's visit to Taranaki (ibid).

Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana

Like Pai Marire, Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana was "called" by God to heal, unite and lead Maori people. Increasing numbers of Maori sought refuge at Ratana's farm when news spread of his successful precautions and protection of his family against the 1918 influenza epidemic, fulfilled prophecies and "miraculous cures" (his son and later the daughter of a prominent Maori leader). Unlike Pai Marire, however, Ratana accepted Crown rule. Although he opposed the alienation of Maori lands, Ratana focused on curing the physical ills of Maori people through prayer, spiritual uplift and social welfare. Ratana's healing abilities and leadership caused many Maori to flock to his farm seeking cures and protection, then remain to ward off starvation. Depressed by the influenza epidemic and World War I, Maori society turned to a leader who promised a better life. Ratana found his work appealed to both Maori and Europeans and within a year of his first cure, Ratana had become a new force of Maori leader with more than 3,000 followers living on Ratana's land by 1930 (Love, 1977, 97).

The influx of converts to the new faith led to the establishment of Ratana pa, a communal farm near Wanganui that included a school in 1918, the Union Savings Bank in 1924 to promote Maori social and economic welfare, and the Ratana Church in 1925. Ratana churches and communities were formed in other districts throughout New Zealand and in 1919 more than 12,000 Maori professed membership in the Ratana church. By 1928, Ratana Pa at Wanganui had become a township of more than 100 private homes, several tribal meeting houses (marae), schools and extensive wheat farming operations that provided basic operations and employment to community residents (Raureti 1978 p. 45). Ratana was pressured into politics when 3000 of his followers instructed Ratana to nominate himself or other church members for the Maori parliamentary seats in order to have their petitions for the protection and return of Maori lands taken seriously by the Crown (Love, 250). Refusing to seek political

office himself, in 1922 Ratana stood his son Tokouru for the Western Maori parliamentary seat, then held by Maui Pomare, which he nearly won in a close four-way election (Pomare with 3835 votes, Ratana 3037, Mawhete 827 and Patena 113). Ratana's political aspirations were fulfilled when his deputy, E.T. Tirikatene was elected Member of Parliament for Southern Maori in 1932 (ibid). Within ten years members of the Ratana Church community captured all four Maori seats, including Apirana Ngata's seat in 1943.

Sir Apirana Turupa Ngata

However, the sacred-secular approach to Maori self-help is not confined to persons of religious calling but include efforts by Maori active in political and tribal affairs who stressed the importance of retaining Maori identity and culture, utilizing European modes of production, applying Christian values and morals, and working with government. From roughly 1897-1950, a new university-educated Maori elite (that later founded the Young Maori Party) and progressively tribal leadership spearheaded by Princess Te Puea Herangi of the Waikato tribes promoted and greatly advanced the cause of Maori development. Both the Young Maori Party and Princess Te Puea Herangi charted a new course in Maori-*pakeha* relations by using State instruments to buttress and implement self-help schemes for improving conditions in Maori communities and to slow or halt further alienation of Maori lands. Mainly past students of Te Aute College, a seminary for Maori elites and graduates of other church-affiliated secondary schools comprised this "new Maori elite." Most prominently, it included Apirana Ngata, James Carroll, Maui Pomare and Peter Buck who maintained that in the absence of Maori input, pakeha institutions were incapable of integrating Maori interests or promoting Maori wellbeing. Beginning with James Carroll's election as Member of Parliament for Eastern Maori in 1887, the four would use their government appointments, parliamentary positions and knowledge of both European and Maori worlds gained from mixed-race parentage to advance and fund Maori development (Cox, 1993). In particular, Apirana Ngata's influence as a member of the 1907 Commission on Native Lands and Native Land Tenure led to the pivotal declaration that justified the need for government assistance of Maori farming.

> The paramount consideration . . . is the encouragement and training of the Maoris to become industrious settlers. The statue-book may be searched in vain for any scheme deliberately aimed in this direction. The Legislature has always stopped short when it had outlined a scheme or method of

> acquiring Maori lands . . . The necessity of assisting the Maori to settle his own lands was never properly recognized . . . The spectacle is presented to us of a people starving in the midst of plenty . . . It is difficult for the individual Maori owner to acquire his own land . . . His energy is dissipated in the Land Courts in a protracted struggle, first, to establish his own right to it, and, secondly, to detach himself from the numerous other owners to whom he is genealogically bound in title. And when he has succeeded he is handicapped by want of capital, by lack of training—he is under the ban as one of a spendthrift, easy-going, improvident people" (AJHR, 1907 G-lc, 15).

Largely due to Apirana Ngata's leadership, the Young Maori Party secured passage of the first major legislation targeting government funds to improve Maori economic and social wellbeing and to retard Maori land loss. The new legislation included the 1900 Maori Lands Administration that established a Maori-dominated committee to control the leasing of Maori lands by reserving them for Maori use and the Maori Councils Act. The 1900 Maori Councils Act established elected Maori councils in nineteen districts throughout New Zealand to enact and enforce regulations for sanitation and restricting liquor sales to minors. From 1920-1928 Apirana Ngata introduced "demonstration" schemes for capitalizing, consolidating, upgrading and increasing the productivity of Maori farming by making small loans from the Maori Trustee endowment. When Ngata became Minister of Native Affairs in 1934, government initiated a state-funded loan program to develop Maori lands for pastoral farming and, thereby, develop Maori communities. Government also established the Maori Purposes Fund Board in 1934 to continue and expand the Maori farming loan scheme.

Primary aims of the 1934 Maori Purposes Fund Act was to continue and extend traditional *marae*-centred activities and, thereby, promote and preserve Maori rural communal life. The Fund supported the repair of aging *marae* and building new *marae* in traditional rural areas to sharpen Maori identity and emphasize the common elements of Maori culture. In the words of Peter Buck (Te Rangihiroa), "I think New Zealand has been unique in the very powerful assistance she received from within. This assistance New Zealand has recognized publicly to some extent, but I do not think that she, or the world at large, realizes what the Maori himself has done to render the assimilation of cultural forms possible. The resistance and struggles in which we were ever ready to engage have acted as reagent, which precipitated the incompatibilities and separated the solutions that could be absorbed. The struggle to regain the elements of our own culture that could be retained, whilst at the same time assisting in

the search for the assimilable elements, created that patriotic spirit towards our own people and the State" (Sutherland, 1940, 46-47).

Princess Te Puea Herangi

Equally important, early twentieth century tribally based self-help initiatives introduced and implemented by Princess Te Puea Herangi on behalf of Tainui-Waikato tribes still exert sustained significance and impact on present day Maori community development in the North and South Islands. Princess Te Puea held hereditary ties to the Maori Queen, potentate and leader of the Tainui-Waikato iwis, holders of the lands along the North Island's Waikato River, a region highly prized for agriculture. "The influence of a community leader like Te Puea was more potent and more durable, which is not to dismiss the contributions of legislators [Ngata, Buck, Pomare and Carroll]—just to establish that their objectives could not have taken root without locally established hereditary leaders like Eru Ihaka, Te Puea and Tai Mitchell" (King, 1990, 13). At the insistence of her uncle Mahuta, King of the Tainui-Waikato tribes and legatee to the Kingitanga Movement, Te Puea established a new community at Mangarawhiri in 1911. In recounting her life story to biographer Michael King, Te Puea explained that most of the initial residents included elderly and landless Maori and development of the new cooperative community was slow because elderly males carried out settlement construction. Recitation of tribal history and genealogy and singing of Waikato songs was a prominent feature of social life in this new community and further served to reinforce and preserve Maori values and customs.

Similar to Ratana pa, the new community at Mangarawhiri became a refuge and sanctuary for Maori during the smallpox epidemic in 1913 that both increased the number of residents and intensified their loyalty to Te Puea as organizer and leader of the new community. (Although Mahuta entrusted the mantle of leadership to Te Puea, many Waikato people were reluctant to acknowledge or accept her leadership and join the community because of her earlier associations and relationships among the *pakeha*.) Te Puea introduced the treatment of Maori in culturally safe and sensitive facilities by establishing Maori hospitals in Maori settlements and separating infected patients to inhibit the spread of disease among family and community members. From 1913 to 1922, Te Puea organized model settlements, encouraged Tainui-Waikato Maori self-reliance through farming and built new marae. In 1921, Te Puea led 170 Maori people of all ages from Mangarawhiri to establish a new cooperative community

"Turangawaewae" at Ngaruawhahia "to make Waikato people whole again" (King,104). The community was maintained by contracting labour for flax cutting, bush clearing, road construction, and potato sowing and harvesting. In 1923, Te Puea organized a concert troupe that performed traditional Maori folk arts throughout New Zealand and substantially increased the community's income and wellbeing. Until 1928, Princess Te Puea's endeavours among the Waikato tribes were conducted locally and in near isolation to other tribes.

However, her successes were lauded both in Taranaki and Wellington and she was encouraged to visit other areas to exchange information about strategies of Maori self-help. Apirana Ngata and other members of the Young Maori Party recognized Te Puea's potential for facilitating and executing their new land development and farming schemes and invited her to Wellington. Thus began a long association (partnership with government) that promoted the programs of the Young Maori Party and greatly advanced the Tainui-Waikato tribes' community cooperatives. Consolidation of the Tainui-Waikato tribes in the nineteenth century via the *kingitanga* movement and community development in the twentieth century by Princess Te Puea Herangi laid the foundation for the Maori Development Corporation Ltd., a partnership between the Tainui Trust Board and government. This association became the standard model that currently underpins multifaceted tribally-based community development practiced by both Tainui-Waikato and Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Boards with assets valued in 2012 at 680 billion NZD for Tainui Holdings Group Ltd. and 809 billion NZD for the Ngai Tahu Development Corporation.

Role of the Black Church and Maori Marae in Political Mobilization

Foremost, the Black Church and Maori Marae are the guiding, stabilizing and sustaining forces of "community development" but also are the primary instruments of racial advancement and political mobilization of African Americans and New Zealand Maoris respectively in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Briefly, political mobilization describes the process by which some interest networks are able to articulate particular positions and programs, to mobilize and deploy resources and assert them in the name of the group or collectivity in order to defeat, neutralize and pre-empt other outlooks and agenda and, thereby, institutionalize their own (Reed, 1999, 16-17). According to Adolph Reed (1999), political mobilization requires explanations and mechanisms that have mass appeal and, thereby, can spur significant numbers of targeted populations to

concerted action and can guide that action effectively. Explanations and mechanisms have mass appeal when grounded in shared feelings and beliefs for or against an object or agenda based upon common experiences (i.e., suffering, oppression, work or servitude, and disenfranchisement) and engender group solidarity and social cohesion. Association, identification or membership in a specified class, racial or ethnic group, religion or gender defines these common experiences in many instances (ibid). Therefore, shared experiences of racially determined dehumanization and Christian morals and values formed the foundation of the "new hybrid culture" among a collectivity of persons for whom the only discernable commonly held cultural attribute was skin colour or ethnicity.

It is also important to note while Christianity fostered social cohesion and promoted leadership among African slaves in the United States and similarly among Maori in New Zealand, heretofore excluded and prohibited from social, economic and political participation, it also fostered and promoted notions of custodianship. Individuals were "called" from the ranks of the oppressed to found new churches, minister, and lead and take care of their brethren. Over time the Black Church (as well as the Maori Church) evolved as centres of family life and social, economic and political activity. As increasing numbers of freemen and freedmen assumed the mantle of minister of the Christian faith after the Civil War and later as African Americans developed systems that paralleled those of whites (such as the establishment of black towns and settlements, banks, schools and burial societies),[8] the ideology of racial uplift promulgated a "new black elitism" (DuBois' *Talented Tenth*, 1903). A "new class," comprised by pastors, the educated, and successful entrepreneurs emulating Christian values of the white middle and upper classes, declared themselves custodians of the race. These African American elites espoused an ideology of racial uplift that claimed the "genteel and educated strata were the best equipped to organize and guide the rest of the African

[8] More than 200 black towns and settlements were established by African Americans under the Homestead Acts, Townsite Preemption Act of 1844 and the "Black Exodus" from the south in 1879-1881, most notably Dempsey Alaska, Allensworth California, Boley and Greenwood (formerly in Tulsa) Oklahoma, Eatonville and Rosewood Florida. Greenwood (Black Wall Street) and Rosewood were the most successful because their economic and social growth outstripped and rivaled that of adjacent white towns. However, these towns' success ultimately was also cause of their destruction. Jealous whites, many of them members of the Ku Klux Klan, burned Greenwood (in 1921) and Rosewood to the ground (in 1923) killing many African Americans in the process. See Morris Turner (1998) *America's Black Towns and Settlements*.

American race (Reed 1999). From DuBois, Booker T. Washington to Ralph Bunche, the shift from classless strategies of racial uplift to class-based elitist notions of racial custodianship evolved into the brokering of the African American masses that masqueraded as black leadership in the twentieth century and persists today.[9] Although problems of racial custodianship and power brokering are important, they are not examined here. Suffice it to say, culturally anchored self-help and racial uplift can serve as a basis for political mobilization but also can foster, sustain or distort notions of racial custodianship.

Similarly, the Maori Church and Maori Marae provided the basis for political mobilization for Maori people in New Zealand. Pai Marire and Ratana established distinctly Maori churches grounded in the marae while Princess Te Puea and Apirana Ngata pursued development of Maori communities that were not only grounded in marae principles and concepts but also were buttressed by reinstating the edifice itself in partnership with government. For Princess Te Puea and Apirana Ngata, rebuilding and restoring old *marae* and building new ones throughout New Zealand were both fundamental to the development of Maori communities and instrumental to Maori viability and progress. Equally important, the Maori Church and *marae* afforded social cohesion, social organization and singularity of purpose that promoted Maori opposition to dispossession of their lands and authority in the early settlement years and made political mobilization a reality from 1897 onward. Although Princess Te Puea eschewed politics, Ratana was converted from his apolitical stance and stood his son for a Parliamentary seat in 1922. Whereas Apirana Ngata, Peter Buck James Carroll and Maui Pomare recognized the importance of both Christian values and the *marae* not only as requisite mechanisms for Maori development but also instrumental to political mobilization of Maori people—and resulted in consolidation of the Young Maori Party.

[9] For further discussion of brokerage politics see Adolph Reed (1999) *Stirrings in the Jug, Black Politics in the Post-Segregation Era*; William Grimshaw (1992), *Bitter Fruit, Black Politics and the Chicago Machine*; John Harrigan (1985), *Political Change in the Metropolis*; and Marilyn Lashley (1994), "Reclaiming the State: Representative Government and Public Policy Access," in Marilyn Lashley and Melanie Jackson eds. *African Americans and the New Policy Consensus*.

Conclusion: The Legacy of Culturally Anchored African American and New Zealand Maori Self-Help in Contemporary Community Development

The Black Church and Community Development post-1970

The post-civil rights era was a watershed period for the Black Church. No longer segregated, the African American middle class not only grew significantly but also left the over-crowed and racially homogenous ghettos in search of better housing, better schools and a better quality of life through racial integration and affirmative action. During the thirty-year period after passage of comprehensive civil rights legislation in the 1960s barring racial segregation and discrimination, black ghettos (economically heterogeneous neighbourhoods inhabited by persons of the same race, religion or ethnicity) deteriorated into slums (densely populated poor neighbourhoods with run down and substandard housing). Cities declined further due to white flight to the suburbs, redlining (lenders refusing to extend loans or credit to borrowers in particular neighbourhoods), declining tax revenues, stagflation, recession and deindustrialization (Wilson, 1987, 1996 Massey and Denton, 1993). Many established Black congregations sold their aging churches and built new edifices in new middle class black suburbs.

Nevertheless the Black Church remained the primary stabilizing and uplifting force in blighted urban communities. Many ministers of black churches—and white churches that did not flee the central cities with their white congregations in the backlash—redefined their mission as "urban ministry." Urban ministers recommitted themselves to the spiritual and material uplift of low income and poor minorities trapped and isolated in these communities. Consequently, the Black Church was not only the enduring and stabilizing force in these communities but pioneered and spearheaded community revitalization in the 1990s.

In cities across the United States, the Black Church and other churches committed to urban ministry were rebuilding communities by providing social services, vocational and employment training and affordable housing to low and moderate-income residents. These churches inspired and spurred economic growth, new government initiatives and private sector investment, such as HUD Hope VI (1992), HUD CDC (1993) and Local Initiatives Support Corporation (1980), in blighted African American (and other minority) communities. For example, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac directly subsidized development of affordable housing by black churches

while public and private lenders took notes and identified best practices in order to replicate and multiply these churches successes. Federal government designated some blighted neighbourhoods empowerment and enterprise zones and earmarked financing and tax abatements for their redevelopment (Downs; Ferman; and Halpern op cit.). In several cities, private developers competed with faith-based organizations, universities and other non-profit community development organizations to redevelop and gentrify urban census tracts made attractive by the sustained efforts of the neighbourhood based community development organizations. For example, the Development Corporation of Columbia Heights, a CDC in Washington DC, engaged in an acrimonious protracted bidding contest with a private out-of-state developer to develop thirteen real estate parcels in this neighbourhood given its appreciation due partly to community revitalization spurred by this CDC's successes, e.g., building and rehabilitating more than 200 housing units and commercial development.

Although many black churches initiated outstanding community development programs across the U.S three neighbourhood congregations that spurred the faith-based housing movement are highlighted here: Bethel New Life in Chicago's West Garfield Park, St. Thomas Aquinas (Aquinas Housing Corporation) in the West Farms community of the Bronx (City of New York), and Church of the Savior (Manna Inc. and CDC) in Washington DC. Bethel New Life is a grassroots organization established by the Bethel New Life Baptist Church to "create a safe, affordable and just community." Bethel New Life has operated on Chicago's Westside in the West Garfield Park since 1974 practicing a holistic approach to promote the social, economic and spiritual well-being of African Americans residing in this low income and impoverished neighbourhood. Organized into separate divisions to provide housing, health and family services, senior services, education, and community and economic development, three divisions achieved national prominence in 1999. The Wholistic Health Center serviced more than 1000 persons per month; the housing division provided more than 900 units of affordable multifamily housing and more than 350 units of special needs housing (new or rehabilitated) while health and family services coordinated a citywide 37 agency effort aimed at reducing infant mortality and several other comprehensive outreach programs.

Similarly, St. Thomas Aquinas Catholic Church in Bronx NY redefined its ministry to address the basic needs of its congregation and reverse the decline of this neighbourhood. St. Thomas founded the Aquinas Housing Corporation in 1981 to provide "standard" housing and to improve the quality of life for all residents of the West Farms/Tremont section of the

Bronx. The Corporation provides extensive childcare services, advocacy, tenant organizing, job training, life skills classes, health referrals, elderly programs and other social services. In addition to rehabilitating and managing 1290 units of affordable housing and given its successful track record in 1999, the City of New York transferred management of several occupied buildings in nearby neighbourhoods to Aquinas Housing Corporation.

In Washington DC, the multi-denominational Church of the Savior formed Manna, Inc. in 1982 and Manna CDC in 1997, to mobilize and empower residents of the Shaw neighbourhood and its congregation to transform the blighted and devastated conditions within this community through home ownership. Heeding God's call, founder and pastor Reverend Jim Dickerson used an asset management approach to community development, whereby his role (and church's role) is "to identify gifts (assets) in individual church members and form cadres around a particular calling (need or needs) and gifts to be put to use" (Interview: JD). Manna evolved from efforts to match one family's need for affordable housing with Church assets. The rehabilitation of the first home led to rehabilitation of 100 homes for purchase by persons of low and moderate incomes by 1989.

However, outcomes data on the overall impact of black churches have not been analyzed systematically. According to the National Congress for Community Economic Development, nationally community development corporations (CDCs), faith-based and other non-profit neighbourhood organizations built more than 320,000 units of low income housing, developed 17.4 million square feet of commercial space and created more than 90,000 jobs in 1998 alone. Nationally, church-run CDCs have taken up the slack created by government's retrenchment in providing low income and affordable housing and social welfare services (elimination of aid to families with dependent children, AFDC and general assistance programs). Whether constructing and managing new units for elderly parishioners or low-income persons and the poor, the Black Church revitalized and stabilized whole neighbourhoods.

Maori Community Development Post-1950

New Zealand tells a similar story to the United States and provides similar lessons. Although government provided sustained support for Maori community development in response to early twentieth century efforts of Apirana Ngata, Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana and Princess Te Puea Herangi, government's initiatives were primarily top down (1996 Review

of the 1962 Maori Community Development Act). In 1955 Parliament established twelve Maori Trust Boards to distribute payments to Maori for lands purchased and escrowed by government. Tribal Trusts Boards were authorized "to administer its assets . . . for the general benefit of it beneficiaries and . . .in its discretion provide money for the benefit or advancement" of tribal members. Thus Tribal Trust Boards promote and implement health, social welfare, education and economic and, thereby, community development programs. In addition to administering, managing and investing tribal assets, Tribal Trust Boards also coordinate, provide and link tribal members to social services and programs. In the 1960s, renewed Maori activism by yet another generation of young university educated Maori resulted in the implementation of comprehensive social justice policy for the adjudication of longstanding treaty breaches, grievances and claims—the Treaty of Waitangi Acts 1975, 1985 and sweeping social policies targeted to Maori economic development, education, health and social welfare.

After a brief period of targeted social policy administered by the Department of Maori Affairs, government funnelled funding for redistributive programs to tribal trust boards and urban Maori authorities via the 1990 Runanga Iwi Act and later under mainstreaming[10]—This Act created the Iwi Transition Agency to acknowledge the enduring traditional significance of i*wi*, identify the characteristics by which *iwi* were recognized, provided for incorporation of *runanga* (Maori councils, literally tribal collectives) to represent *iwi*, provided a process for the resolution of conflicts between *iwi*, and provided for the registration of *iw*i by *iwi* of a body corporate as the authorized voice of the *iwi* (Runanga Iwi Act, 1990, 2). In effect, the Runanga Iwi Act created a sub-national

[10] Although Parliament earlier established the Department of Maori Affairs (DMA) and later the Maori Education Foundation (1961) to address the unique social and educational needs of the Maori, in the 1980s Government expanded Maori affairs programming to include economic, education, health and social service initiatives. Government formulated an array of policies to address Maori grievances and mandated implementation and administration to the DMA. For example, in 1981 the Department introduced the first of several education programs to revitalize Maori language, *Kohanga Reo* (language nests). In October 1984, the Minister of Maori Affairs, Koro Wetere (1984-1990) convened the Maori Economic Development Summit Conference in Wellington that brought Maori leaders and activists together with government officials to identify Maori social and economic needs and consider proposals for improving Maori well-being. The three-volume proceedings document formed the basis for developing targeted programs subsequently adopted by the Department of Maori Affairs and launched the "Development Decade" (1984-1994).

governance structure that linked the State to tribal entities and utilized Maori input and expertise to provide community-based programs and social services by contracting directly with *iwi* and other Maori organizations (Lashley, 2006, 2000, and 1999). The Act created two partnership frameworks for Maori community development; tribal mechanisms to manage and administer treaty settlement assets to tribally affiliated Maori and pan-tribal mechanisms to deliver social services to detribalized (non-tribally affiliated) Maori.

Community development and Tribal Trust Boards

Although the number of Tribal Trust Boards has increased substantially since 1955, discussion is limited to the Ngai Tahu and Tainui Trust Boards. Ngai Tahu is the fourth largest tribe in New Zealand with approximately 44,156 registered members in 2009 and eighteen *marae* located around the main *hapu* areas in the South Island. In 1996, Ngai Tahu established a governing council, under the Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu Act to oversee, manage and administer treaty settlements assets and established the Ngai Tahu Development Corporation to manage settlement assets and deliver social services to members of the Ngai Tahu tribes. Among others, the Ngai Tahu Development Corporation provides a range of services that include health, employment and training, education (including tertiary and university scholarships and endowed chairs), and *marae* construction and *marae*-based cultural programs. Individual Ngai Tahu access these resources by means of Maori culture, as a registered member of the tribe (beneficiary) and active tribal affiliation through the marae. Successful enterprises include Whale Watch and Sealord Products Limited, tourism and fisheries ventures owned and operated by the Ngai Tahu Tribal Trust Board with total assets exceeding NZD 809 million in 2012.

Similarly the Tainui Maori Trust Board oversees, manages and administers treaty settlements assets and delivers social services to members of the Tainui-Waikato tribes of the North Island. Established in 1955, the Tainui Maori Trust Board oversees and operates highly profitable retail and commercial businesses via the Development Corporation as well as provides a broad range of social services among the Tainui-Waikato tribes of the North Island. “The Tainui Trust Board projects are based on Turangawaewae House, the various projects under aegis of the Waahi Marae Trusts, the Haukina development network and the complex concerns of the Tahoroa C Incorporation provided models which put people needs (employment, housing, cultural sharing and

reconstruction, social security and entertainment) above profit" (Maori Economic Development Summit Conference, 1984, 7).

The Tainui Maori Trust Board also created the Tainui Corporation Limited in 1996 to manage and invest treaty settlement assets from the raupatu claims (confiscated land claims) then valued at NZD 170 million. Tainui Group Holdings Limited, the umbrella for all Tainui Maori Trust Board asset management, was established in 1998 and valued at 680 billion NZD in 2012. Tainui Group Holdings Ltd. include national chains of discount and department stores (Farmers Trading Ltd.), The Base-New Zealand's largest shopping centre, cinemas and investment partnerships (including Shoal Development Ltd., King County Lamb Ltd., U-Bix Business Machines and Moana Pacific Fisheries Ltd. and the University of Waikato) and resort hotels (Novotel and Ibis). In short, the Tainui Maori Trust Board has taken a primarily economic approach to development and its highly profitable commercial ventures not only provide thousands of employment opportunities and jobs but also deliver substantial and extensive grassroots community development as education, social, health, and *marae* services to Waikato-Tainui Maori via iwi, hapu and whanau.

Urban Maori Authorities

In addition to tribally based community development initiatives, Maori also pursued pan-tribal strategies principally by means of the urban Maori authorities. Urban Maori authorities (UMAs) evolved from non-tribal Maori communities established under the Maori Welfare Act of 1962. "The purpose of these [communities] was to get together to see what could be done for the people who had left their own homes in rural areas and moved to a new environment . . . which developed as a result of this shift by Maori into these cities covered many aspects and tackled many problems that people were having" (Waipareira Report, 1998, 36). UMAs are pan-tribal organizations that assist government in the delivery of community-based economic development, health and other social welfare services to Maori in urban areas. The UMAs are partly funded by government through the Community Funding Agency.

Like the Black Church, UMAs are established to address the specific needs of Maori people residing in blighted urban areas characterized by concentrated poverty—high rates of welfare dependency, unemployment, teenage pregnancy, crime, and school leaving without qualifications. UMAs are particularly concerned by growing numbers of Maori urban youth who are estranged from Maori culture (detribalized) and alienated from New Zealand society and provide programs targeted at reducing their

excessively high rates of school leaving without qualifications, joblessness, violence, incarceration, drug use and addiction and suicide (Lashley, 2000, 35).

Waipereira Trust, based in West Auckland and the Manukau Urban Maori Authority based in South Auckland were the first urban Maori authorities incorporated to deliver government funded social policy. Established in 1981, in addition to substantial entrepreneurial entities (e.g. Westgate Shopping Mall, Wai Health Ltd. And Wai Tech Ltd.), foremost, Waipareira Trust greatly advanced the course of social justice for all New Zealand Maori by filing claims for rights breached under Article III of the Treaty of Waitangi (governing citizenship rights and privileges) on behalf of urban Maori and those not affiliated with specific tribes. The Trust also initiated legislation against the Waitangi Fisheries Commission to secure fair and just allocation and distribution of fisheries assets to non-tribal as well as tribally affiliated Maori. The Manukau Urban Maori Authority (MUMA) was incorporated in 1986 to deliver social services and community and economic development to Maori located in South Auckland. Although MUMA initially MUMA provided community leadership, organizing and political mobilization, it has consistently emphasized a *whanau* (family) centred approach aimed at fostering a sense of belonging in its delivery of job training and employment services and, in recent years, has expanded its services to include mentoring, health maintenance, restorative justice, and ex-offenders programs.

In conclusion, community development is primarily a vocation—calling to promote self-help. Among New Zealand Maori and African Americans there is a rich and long tradition of being called to promote culturally anchored religion-based group advancement as community development by means of voluntary leadership. Each in their own way, historically and traditionally, the Black Church and the Maori Marae, are both the architects and engines of racial uplift as self-help and the primary determinant of political mobilization in their respective societies. As best practices: (1) these communal institutions merged sacred and secular to assist members in developing African American and Maori communities by educating and training, sheltering and protecting, feeding, healing and housing, inculcating morals and values, and, thereby nurturing both body and soul; and (2) leaders within these communities defined their role as making meaningful the connection between (religious/spiritual) thought and social reality. They did not detach spiritual development from material development. In short, the fundamental mission and purpose of the Black Church and the Maori Marae is the spiritual, economic and social development of the community.

Foremost, this study of the parallel development of New Zealand Maori and African American culturally anchored self-help in early twentieth century demonstrates that community development is not a new phenomenon created and buttressed by government action. Instead, it demonstrates that the enduring legacy and salient successes of African American and New Zealand Maori community development is the product of culturally anchored strategies of self-help implemented as the seamless nexus of sacred and secular. Although recognition and acknowledgement of the important role faith based organizations play in stabilizing minority communities is *en vogue* among academics and policy makers in the U.S both the Black Church and Maori Marae not only have long histories of "community development" but also have been the steadfast guiding, stabilizing and sustaining force in the advancement of Maoris and African Americans in their respective societies. In sum, it is the Black Church and Maori Marae that make the material uplift as well as the spiritual uplift and, subsequently, the political mobilization of both communities possible and reality.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

BUILDING BRIDGES: COMMUNITY RADIO AS A TOOL FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

MARY OKOCHA

Introduction

The community has come to be recognised as an important social unit in development thinking and practice. Hence it is said that people live more in their communities than in their nations or countries. This is possible because the realities of daily life are first experienced at the community level. Helping to facilitate community living are diverse traditional media forms such as drama, music, storytelling and modern ones like television and radio. Radio has become a prominent medium, embraced worldwide because of its characteristics as an accessible and effective medium of communication, particularly in societies where large number of citizens cannot read or write but can speak and listen. Significantly, radio is able to accommodate or provide extensions to indigenous forms such as drama and music (Media Policy Briefings, 2012).

A community radio station is one that is operated in the community, for the community, about the community and by the community. The community can be territorial or geographical—a township, village, district or island. It can also be a group of people with common interests, who are not necessarily living in one defined territory. Consequently, community radio can be managed or controlled by one group, by combined groups, or of people such as women, children, farmers, fisher folk, ethnic groups, or senior citizens. What distinguishes community radio from other media is the high level of people participation, both in management and programme production.

Broadcast radio services, as community media, have distinct features. They are independent of government and of commercial organisations, they serve specific communities which could be geographical or communities of interest; have ownership and management representative of that community; pursue strictly social development agenda; carry community-oriented programming also produced by participation of community members; and operate for purposes of social benefits of the community, which includes giving access to marginalised communities to communicate and foster true broadcasting pluralism; empowering them to participate in search of solutions to issues affecting their lives and immediate environment; helping to eradicate poverty; supporting conflict prevention and resolution; preserving cultures; and promoting sustainable development.

Despite the great benefits of community radio, it is yet to occupy its proper place in Nigeria. After sixty years of government monopoly of the radio broadcasting sector and a further fifteen years of private participation, community radio, globally recognised as the third sub-sector in broadcasting, has not been licensed in Nigeria. It is significant that Nigeria is today the only country in ECOWAS whose doors are still closed to community radio. According to the African Charter on Broadcasting, community broadcasting is broadcasting which is for the community, by and about the community, which pursues a social development agenda and which is non-profit. The benefits of community radio in the socio-economic development of a nation have been termed enormous particularly in a developing country like Nigeria. The experience of other developing nations in Africa has shown that community radio contributes to the economic, democratic, social, cultural and agricultural growth of a nation. The concept is deployed in solving health problems, disseminate information faster, promote education, eradicate ignorance and empowers people by giving voice to the voiceless.

Radio in Nigeria

In Nigeria, as well as in most African countries, radio broadcasting was the initiative of colonial governments. In December 1932, radio broadcasting began in what is now Nigeria when a repeater station of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) was installed in Lagos, primarily to keep the expatriates abreast of events in Britain. Commenting on radio in colonial Africa, Olorunnisola (1997) noted that the content of the programmes had no direct relevance to the basic needs and lifestyles of the indigenous audiences, because the re-broadcasts were meant to fulfil the

listening needs of the colonial masters. As a medium imported to cater solely to the needs of the elite, radio was developed into a popular medium only when the colonialists "recognized that a full-fledged service would be useful in rallying the protectorates together for administrative efficiency ... radio [thus] became a low cost means of governance."

In spite of the disparity between their hopes, needs, and lifestyles and what radio offered, Nigerians embraced radio so overwhelmingly that the Radio Distribution Services (RDS), as it was then known, ran out of loudspeakers within one year. Though the RDS became independent of the BBC and was named the Nigerian Broadcasting Service (NBS) in 1951, (later the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation [NBC] in 1957), control was still in the hands of the colonial government and many workers in the station were primarily BBC staff rather than NBC staff. Even after independence, many stations retained these BBC staff as technical and administrative consultants (Ojebode and Akingbulu, 2009). Broadcasting was exclusively a federal government preserve until 1954 when a new colonial constitution was passed. The law allowed the regions to own and run radio stations, and within three years, each of the three regions that made up Nigeria had its radio station.

The number of regions (and later states) grew and so did the number of radio stations. But the growth was restricted: private or community ownership of radio was not allowed (Duyile, 1979). Though the 1979 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Section 36, 2) made express provision for the establishment of private radio stations, successive governments refused to put this provision into effect. It was in August 1992 that the then military government deregulated the airwaves by allowing private entrepreneurs to establish commercial radio (and television) stations. According to the latest information on the website of the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC, 2012), the regulatory body in the Nigerian broadcast sector, there are 137 radio stations in Nigeria. Forty-four of these are owned by federal government, forty-one by state government, twenty-five by private entrepreneurs, and twenty-seven by higher institutions.

There is no station that can be regarded as a community radio station in Nigeria. The stations strive to serve their immediate audiences. Most state owned radio stations, located in the state capitals, seek to meet the information needs of those living in the states (Ojebode, 2007). In most states in Nigeria, there are several ethnic and linguistic groups. Nigeria itself has 389 ethnic groups (Otite, 2000). This poses additional responsibilities on the stations, as news has to be read in different languages and some programmes are also designed in these different

languages. For instance, on the Delta State Broadcasting Services (DBS), news is read in six indigenous languages and request programmes are also presented in these languages; in Benue State Radio (Radio Benue), news is read in three languages and there are agricultural programmes in two languages on Radio Benue (Ojebode & Adegbola, 2007). Commendable as the above might be, the situation raises a number of issues. It has not been possible for the radio stations located in state capitals in many states to reach every group in the state. In a study among small ethnic minorities in Nigeria, Ojebode (2007) discovered that many members of these ethnic groups had not heard their languages spoken on radio, even though their state owns radio stations. This is because within the variegated collections of minority groups that make up a state, the bigger groups combine political and numerical dominance to control the radio stations and other government establishments.

Second, even when the language of a group is spoken on radio in these multilingual states, it is for a limited duration in the programming. Members of that group will have to endure exclusion when it is time to speak the language of another group. This happens even in fairly homogenous states such as Oyo in the southwest. Located in Ibadan, the capital of Oyo State, a predominantly Yoruba-speaking state, the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) serves non-Yoruba-speaking neighbouring states such as Edo and Kogi and certain programmes are presented in Yoruba as well as in other languages such as Edo and Igala. Each time any of these languages are employed, speakers of other languages have to accept their being left out. Though the popular practice presently is to present news and selected programmes in Creole (popularly called Pidgin-English and easily understood by the less literate).

Third, many programmes—especially but not only technical/ specialised programmes and news—are presented in English. Some of these programmes do not have indigenous language versions. The implication being that over 70 percent of the indigenes would have no access to health and environmental education, and the use of technical jargons further complicates the issue. Not only the languages but also the identities, needs, and hopes of ethnic minorities are not properly presented by radio in Nigeria. In a content analysis of radio news, it was discovered that over 60 percent of news from government-owned stations was about government and government officials. Most news content about government would have to be positive as a means of image laundry. In spite of these discrepancies, radio still remains central to the life and affairs of the average Nigerian. With the persistent epileptic power supply and the low literacy rate, access to television and print media is unavailable to most

Nigerians. Community radio is therefore a fundamental human requirement in Nigeria.

Community Radio Advocacy in Nigeria

The efforts to put community radio as a sector of the vibrant media landscape in Nigeria are already in the ninth year, due to the efforts of the vast and growing community of stakeholders whose vision and resilience continue to propel the advocacy and accommodation for this globally acclaimed voice of the grassroots. In the fourth quarter of 2003, a historic journey, which aimed to actualize a pro-poor, pluralist environment and the development of community radio started in Nigeria. Two international organizations, the Panos Institute West Africa (PIWA) and the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC) in partnership with the Institute for Media and Society (IMS-Nigeria), launched an "Initiative on Building Community Radio in Nigeria." The establishment of a steering committee, which articulated an Action Plan for the initiative effectively put Nigerians in the driving seat of the advocacy. Implementation began in earnest. A series of awareness raising and interest generating workshops took the message of community radio development to the various regions of Nigeria. Gathering in these meetings were such important stakeholder constituencies as representatives of grassroots communities, civil society organizations, the media, academia, other professional groups, government agencies, international development groups, among others. The meetings generated more strategies for advocacy and placed demands for policy, legislative and regulatory reform on the tables of appropriate government agencies.

As the advocacy continued, the initiative contributed significant inputs into emerging policy reform processes and engaged specific constituencies such as policy makers, regulators, international development agencies, the media and rural communities. Among the activities in this interaction were in-country roundtables and study visits to community radio stations in other West African countries. Meanwhile, the initiative partners, AMARC and Panos, projected and expanded the advocacy efforts at the international level.

Reports from other countries have shown that community radio helps in eradicating poverty and contributes immensely to the prosperity of a developing economy such as Nigeria. Community radio is actually important for a successful democracy and governance with the huge population of Nigeria with its diverse communities, cultural and language differences. If used correctly, community radio can bring peace and

stability to a nation, and contribute to successful governance. This is because of its capacity for public enlightenment, education, and mobilization and social reconstruction.

Despite the huge benefits of community broadcasting, Nigeria is yet to take advantage of its huge potentials in tackling the nation's innumerable problems. In 2006, former President Olusegun Obasanjo declared that Nigeria would embrace community radio. He had said that the high illiteracy rate of 67 percent in Nigeria was totally unacceptable. He disclosed that about 73 million young girls were not receiving any education in Nigeria at all. According to him, such a situation must be addressed if Nigeria must move forward as a nation. The importance of community radio broadcasting cannot be over-emphasized because Nigeria has enormous governance and development challenges to tackle and overcome. This is demonstrated by basic social data in a few key sectors. In the health sector, it was reported that maternal mortality stands at 800 per 100,000 live births; infant mortality rate is 100 per 1000 live births; HIV/AIDs stands at 3.8 per cent of the population, and life expectancy for the average citizen is 43 years. In education, although the country's 1999 constitution provides that the government "shall strive to eradicate illiteracy," general illiteracy rate still stands at 67 per cent. Over 65 per cent of the country's 140 million people live below the poverty line. Nigeria was ranked 158th out of 177 countries in the 2007 annual Human Development Index of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The most recent Human Development Report launched by the UNDP for 2011, placed Nigeria in the 142nd position out of 169 least prosperous countries in the world. In addition, the country was listed 15 among 42 countries considered to belong in the "least human development" category. The report categorised countries into groups of Very High Human Development, High Human Development, Medium Human Development, and Low Human Development with Nigeria falling into the latter. Unlike previous years, the 2010 report entitled "The Real Wealth of Nations: Pathways to Human Development," applied more robust indicators of quality of life and human development. It considered state of education, wealth, and life expectancy, all of which are further determined by level of poverty, inequality, and social exclusion, including gender. The report examined progress in health, education and income across countries in the last 40 years. Nigeria lagged behind in all categories.

Community radio can help solve these problems. It can sensitize the highly illiterate population on the dangers and fallacy of religious violence, particularly in the northern part of the country, and sensitize the

populace on security issues. Nigeria became a democracy again in 1999 and witnessed the first successful civilian-to-civilian transition in 2007. For once, it appears democracy has come to stay in Nigeria. Democracy is more than civil rule and Nigerians seem to understand that. For instance, with democracy came the demand for the expansion of the public sphere. Part of this demand came in the form of advocacy for community radio stations. Normative democratic theories lead us to expect a liberal regime of licensing coming with democracy. Not only this, but the survival of democracy depends on participation and radio has been described as a media that can heighten participation. Highlighting the importance of radio to local development Ronning (1994, 16) states:

> Potentially radio is a very democratic medium which when used in a decentralized manner may give local people and communities an opportunity to express their grievances in representative discussions.

This however presupposes the establishment of decentralized structures and local and community radio stations as well as radio stations representing the views of organizations in civil society such as trade unions. Therefore, Ronning (1994) seems to suggest that any nation serious about fostering its democracy should emphasise the value of community radio, especially in developing countries in Africa.

In October 2010, while declaring open the 8th biennial conference of Africa broadcasters held in Abuja, President Goodluck Jonathan empowered the National Broadcasting Commission to license Community radio Stations in Nigeria without further recourse to the presidency, provided such applications meet the stipulated conditions by law. Represented by Vice President Mohammed Namadi Sambo at the event, the President disclosed that, the Federal Executive Council has considered and approved the guidelines proposed by the National Broadcasting Commission for the licensing of community radio in Nigeria. Months after President Goodluck Jonathan's pronouncement of the devolution of power to the National Broadcasting Commission to issue community radio licenses, the directive has not been supported by concrete action from the Presidency. Although the commission has given licenses to certain communities, particularly in the academic environment, this according to experts is merely a drop in the ocean considering the huge population of Nigeria. In view of Nigeria’s diverse and pluralist communities and cultural and religious differences, community radio can be used to promote harmony, peace and unity.

Globally, community radio is now recognized as a development medium, which gives participation to all for the pursuit of equitable development and sustainable growth. According to reports, Nigeria

remains the only country in West Africa where community radio is at an infant stage. Community radio has advantages for individuals also as it provides relaxation and entertainment. It provides advice and information to individuals to help them in making decisions. It increases their understanding and enriches their knowledge of issues. It promotes creativity. It guides social behaviour by offering role models. It provides an avenue for individual self-expression. It can move individuals to action by inspiring them. It provides topics for conversations and by that promote interpersonal relationships, moral values and cultural developments. When all these benefits to the nation are considered, there is only one conclusion; Nigeria must set up more community radio stations. The federal government, state government and local government must step up their activities on the issue of community radio in Nigeria.

In a deliberate effort to create awareness about the power of radio, the United Nations sets aside 13th of February every year to mark World Radio Day. The first celebration of the Day in Nigeria was almost insignificant, except for the forum held in Lagos and Abuja. Most radio stations in the country failed to mention the Day in their programming, implying that they may not have been aware that the World Radio Day was being marked on that date. Reporting on the forum in Abuja marking World Radio Day, Omonhinmin (2012) said the Nigerian Minister of Information Labaran Maku, gave an indication that government is fine-tuning the regulatory framework for community radio and that the issuance of community radio licences will begin in the second quarter of the year. He observed that the involvement of private radio stations in broadcasting in the country had created competition, quality service delivery and brought rapid growth and development in the industry. In the twenty years of broadcast deregulation and emergence of private radio in Nigeria, the number of radio stations in the country has risen. At the Abuja World Radio Day forum, the UNESCO Country Representative, Joseph Ngu, observed that presently the span of radio in Nigeria fails to cater for the rural people who constitute the majority of the population. This position is well founded because most of the rural people, who constitute the majority of the population of Nigeria, are presently excluded from the existing broadcasting system in the absence of community radio.

Role of Community Radio in National Development

The first point to consider is what constitutes a community. A community could be referred to as a geographical territory or a particular cultural or political entity. This may be defined as such to include a

population under a particular religious, cultural or political administration, and constituting only a part of the nation. The social conception sees community in terms of shared interests, tastes, and values and even in demographic or psychographic terms. This would mean that groups of people who identify themselves with particular social, economic, cultural or political ideological interests, views and orientation might constitute a community. They may or may not reside in the same town, state or region.

Community development is about the construction or reconstruction of the infrastructure necessary for the smooth functioning of a given community. It is about the determination of members of a given community to identify and realise their own projects. In rural areas, this may mean collaboration within the local community to build a bridge which links up part of the community. It could be the people's effort to build a school for their children or a market. It could also be the community's will to realize an agricultural co-operative organisation or the establishment of a market, which functions, with the support of the community. Community development can also mean reactivating structures, which in some way exist, but are not functioning, as they should as a result of mal-administration or lack of facilities to enable them to function well. It might also apply to the need to facilitate already existing service structures, which have been available in the past but due to the burden of sustaining them are no longer able to offer such services.

The role of rural community radio in national development is aimed at sensitising the rural community for social action. It also aims at local autonomy, culture and knowledge and defence of localised, pluralist grassroots action. When the audience is exposed to a persuasive campaign with the presentation of a clear position or a clear choice between different alternatives, that audience is assumed to be motivated and interested in moving from learning to developing favourable attitudes, to adaptation of certain behaviour. Interestingly, more and more African governments have now realised that radio is about the only way a largely illiterate, poor population can know what is going on and participate in development and debate. In this regard, rural community radio stations offer a bold and empowering message to all members of the community - men and women, young and old, people of different faiths, and disadvantaged poor, the marginalised - giving them both knowledge and a place to participate in public discussion.

ABIYE

Abiye is a community-based programme (presently the only one broadcasted on the station) whose aim is to educate the grassroots on maternal and child health issues in order to reduce infant mortality rate in rural communities especially and the state in general. It is aired on a weekly basis on Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, (FRCN) Ibadan National Station. It also seeks to collaborate with community health centres and workers, individuals and organizations to identify cases of under-privileged mothers and children in order to perform the social responsibility of reducing maternal and child mortality through getting donations of delivery packs and funds to help these people. To this end, the crew take it as a point of duty to attend antenatal and immunization sessions, seminar for mid wives seeking to educate the rural populace through the radio medium lacing their program with drama and community services.

Objectives

- Produce a radio programme laced with drama on maternal and child health issues;
- Collaborate with community hospitals and health workers in exposing practices that lead to maternal and child mortality;
- Source for delivering materials and funds for less privileged mothers and babies in order to save lives;
- Create awareness about challenges of community health centres to the government and public so that provisions can be made to help serve mothers and children better;
- Network with other organizations that are working towards our goal of reducing maternal and child mortality;
- Organize seminars and empowering teenage girls on prevention of teenage pregnancy.

Achievements

- Abiye team has been part of antenatal and immunization sessions of various community hospitals in Oyo state;
- Produced over 100 episodes of radio drama series on maternal and child health in local dialect;
- Packaged several episodes of the program, which include actualities in the field and health talks;

- Sourced donations and have been able to give delivery packs to over 100 pregnant mothers several primary health care centres in the city and also provided materials which would aid child-deliveries;
- Raised funds for Adifase Apata Primary Health Care Centre to build a well to aid the running of the hospital;
- Sourced funds to settle the hospital bill of a teenage girl Mary Moses who is a victim of child trafficking; also got the appropriate entity to take on her case;
- Got an orphanage home to take up six month old baby Darasimi and got her young teenage mother, Tife Adeagbo a home where she can continue her secondary education.

Mary's Case

Mary is from Benue State in Nigeria. She was a victim of child trafficking who was taken to Abeokuta, western Nigeria to work as a house help. Her Madam's *Oga* (husband) impregnates her in the process and they send her packing. A family found her at New Garage motor park, Ibadan and took her in. This family is also not financially buoyant, but they managed to take her to a community health centre where she gave birth to her baby girl. Unfortunately she started bleeding at birth so she was referred to the University Teaching Hospital Ibadan where the Abiye crew met her and her baby who had not received her first immunization (BCG) because of a service fee. Mary had challenges with feeding because the woman who brought her to the hospital did not have the financial means of providing her food on a daily basis. The Abiye team was able to settle these needs and took it upon themselves to source donations to help pay Mary's bill so she could go back home to her family in Benue.

Tife's Case

Tife's mum died during her birth. Since her father could not cater for her, an aunt from the father's side took her in and treated her like a house help, only to send her packing when her husband attempted to rape her when signs of puberty began to show. The young girl was apparently blamed for the older man's sexual lust. Her father who had re-married sent Tife to the streets. While on the street a boy promises her love and affection and lures her to have sex with him, she realises after 2 months that she is pregnant. An elderly relative finds her and takes her back to her father where the stepmother beats and maltreats her unmindful of her pregnancy. She continues living in this condition until three months after

she gives birth at which point she decides to run away with her baby. Her father (an ex- soldier) threatens to shoot her if he ever sets eyes on her again. She ends up spending her nights in a church building while she goes for alms begging during the day. It was in this condition that the Abiye crew discovered her. Through collaborative efforts Tife officially signed in her baby at an Orphanage Home in Ibadan and she gets to visit her daughter, Darasimi at the home on a monthly basis, while she focuses on completing her secondary school education.

Isale Osi Primary Health Centre Ibadan

Isale Osi is a rural community in Ibadan with only a health centre. Due to the fact that there is no source of water supply, pregnant women undergoing labour are expected to come to the clinic with 25 litres of water and a gallon of fuel. Through the intervention of the radio programme, their case was broadcast and brought before the appropriate authorities and a well was provided for them as a source of water supply.

Temidire Community Health Centre

This is a community health centre located at Temidire in Ibadan and was built over 15 years ago. The first sight that greets one as one enters is the overgrown grass, attesting to the fact that it is yet to be put to use. The *Abiye* crew interviewed some of the residents who said they had to travel far distances in order to get health care services including pregnant mothers. This prompted the crew to interview the local government chairman and other local government officials under whose jurisdiction the community belongs and after putting much pressure on them, they promised to commence work.

This community based radio programme has been able to make great impact on the rural communities because it has been able to go down to these communities and discover the challenges they are facing. It achieves community education and mobilisation by not just discussing with the people but by also employing dramas that deal with public health topics and this has helped in improving public health. These dramas are aired during the programme broadcast and sometimes the crew go to these communities to present them live.

Problems of Information Dissemination in the Rural Community

Rural communication is defined as the practice of systematically applying the processes, strategies, and principles of communication to bring about positive change in rural society. The rise of the development communication science in the 1950s saw recognition of the field as an academic discipline, with Daniel Lerner, Wilbur Schramm, and Everett Rogers being the earliest influential advocates. They defined the field as "the art and science of human communication linked to a society's planned transformation from a state of poverty to one of dynamic socioeconomic growth that makes for greater equity and the larger unfolding of individual potential." The United Nation development Programme 1990 evaluates that any plan development like rural development must focus on mobilizing human potential through access of material resources like good health, education, housing and food, and creation of culture and environment that guarantee freedom, human rights and personal self-respect. The question that comes to mind is: what really has been impeding Nigeria from disseminating information to rural dwellers in order to set this development in motion?

Communication policies in Nigeria have made substantive contributions toward the promotion of media diversity and pluralism. Though most broadcasting come under either public or private with little or no consideration for community broadcasting. They empower broadcasters to engage in the broadcasting of news bulletins and factual programmes, use balanced and equitable reporting, provide effective election party reporting during election periods; mandate broadcasters to air programmes in support of the democratic process; and preserve broadcast material. The challenge has been implementation of such policies, as lack of political will alongside weak and minority governments surviving through oppressive apparatuses have been unwilling to offer media the space designated to them in the policies.

Though the government is spending a lot of money in the name of rural development, it is still not getting the desired results. There can be many reasons behind this, but the first and foremost reason is the communication gap between the government’s devised policies and the mass of the population in rural areas. Though, the policies are good, the general citizenry remain ignorant of them because of lack of information, illiteracy, proper guidance and lack of training in this field. Thus, these policies remain irrelevant in the average citizen.

In order to bridge this gap, a firm communication policy will be of utmost importance. According to this policy, local community media should be promoted in order to enhance community development, at least at the grassroots level. Among various existing genres of local community media, community radio will prove most effective as it can easily cover a wider range of areas as well as audiences. Community residents can be motivated to participate in programme making by inviting them to neighbourhood and village level production workshops. Peasants, rural women and unschooled people can be trained in the basics of broadcasting. By bringing production to rural areas, radio is demystified for the people of the community. Many forms of cultural programmes and village activities may be adopted and accommodated in radio programming. After all, radio is simply people talking with people.

From the interviews with members of various communities, they were excited when they realised they could air their views, grievances and problems and getting their views across to the appropriate authorities through the media. Though some of them alleged that they have lost confidence in the government due to unfulfilled promises, they still have great faith in the media. The major problem discovered in the course of the research is that apart from the problem of language barrier, though a good number of them listen to radio, they only do that in their spare time or while going about their normal duties and not as a priority, so there is divided attention and distraction.

Conclusion

Communication is a basic human right. The emphasis placed on this freedom of expression is significant because human life depends on communication. To be fully human, people must communicate. Without communication there can be no real community since it is the link between individuals that constitute community and society, and the link between communities that form a nation. Societies cannot survive today if they are not properly informed about social and political events at the local, national or international levels. The importance of community communication is a direct derivative of everyone's right to communicate. In the context of many countries, especially in Africa, community radio is emerging as one of the best forms of local community communication. Community radio is a two-way process, interactive by its very nature. This concept of communication demands participation.

Community radio aspires to achieve the ideal of making a local community a caring community and a better place to live in. As such it has

potential to increase the awareness among its audience to participate actively in their social, economic and cultural development. Simply put, community radio aims at improving the living standards of the people and finding solutions to their local problems. Community radio is therefore a tool for development because it provides programming that is particular to the community's identity and character. It also focuses on local culture. Culture is what a community says to itself, and what it says to others. It is how the people, the individual members of a community, express their dreams and hopes, and how they talk about their past and their future. It is what they care about. Like life itself, culture is infinitely variable and constantly evolving. It is the result of a process, not of definition. And that is why in democracies, governments are expected only to establish broad frameworks for cultural expression by the people.

As Nigerians look forward to the issuance of community radio licences, it is anticipated that the National Broadcasting Commission will do its job thoroughly, and ensure that community radio projects are not hijacked by the rich and powerful, especially politicians, who may deploy the stations to negative use.

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CHAPTER NINE

CITTASLOW MOVEMENT AS A TOOL FOR SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES IN TURKEY

SELIN MUTDOGAN

Introduction

Today, the changes in our lifestyles and environmental alterations connected to them have destroyed the ecological balance of our world. All the regulations and innovations carried out to offer humanity better living conditions have eventually become threats for nature and us. People have started to question the cities they live in because of increasing instabilities in the climate, health problems, growing poverty, environmental pollution, overuse of energy and insufficient natural resources. The community, gradually drifting apart from nature, is psychologically and physiologically experiencing the lack of nature in its environment. It has become compulsory to take some precautions in order to leave a better future to the next generation by reducing the use of natural resources which are consumed impulsively, protecting natural environment and living in better urban conditions. These are extensive approaches consisting of different disciplines summed up under the topic of sustainability.

The concept of sustainability is tried to protect the world, nature and people with a holistic approach (environmental, ecological, economic, social, cultural, etc.). Besides the ecological, economic and environmental point of view, sustainability also as a cultural approach. According to this approach "local identity" and "sense of belonging" is the crucial aspects for the liveable cities. Unfortunately, modern cities have lost their local sense of place. Globalisation has led to a homogenisation of urban identity in many cities and especially in small towns, which do not receive as much attention, and frequently find themselves attracted to foreign solutions, which do not value the local identity. The planning community, worldwide, would benefit from a holistic, place-based solution, provided as an answer to the problem of sustaining local identity. For this

understanding the cittaslow movement was established and in a short period of time grew its' membership. Cittaslow is an organised network of small cities who are attempting to focus urban and regional plans around the primary asset of place-based identity, by preserving each urban area's unique characteristics (Radstorm, 2011, 98).

To design liveable built environments, protect the nature and human-centred towns, the concept of sustainable communities is the best solution. The cittaslow movement has sustainable community features and with an holistic approach, both understandings are to protect the local identity with their local natural sources, traditional built environment and people's social and cultural behaviours.

Sustainability and Sustainable Communities

Based on the long-term damages to nature from our "fast" lifestyles in cities, scientists have started to state the urgent need to take precautions be ensure sustainability. Sustainability is an integrated concept, which emerged from the nature-environment-human triangle and has influence on everything that affects this triangle. Basically, sustainability is related to what degree today's social, economic, political and environmental approaches consider future generations and how these approaches should be constituted in order to offer future generations better standards. This concept started off with environmental researchers but has become an integrated approach with input from social and cultural researchers. (Perkins, Thorns and Field, 1999, 45)

The concept of sustainability and the definition of sustainable development were first declared in "Our Common Future" [1] a report of the World Commission on Environment in 1987. The chairman of the Bruntdland Commission, Gro Harlem Bruntdland, has described sustainable development as "providing our needs without preventing future generations to provide their needs" (WCED, 1987). From this date on many scientific, economic and political decisions on development and environmental issues were made by taking this report into consideration.

After the Brundtland Report in 1992, the Rio Earth Summit was organized by the United Nations and this summit sound the alarm on the

[1] "Our Common Future": is a report published by World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) in 1987. This report, released in United Nations Conference on Human Environment (a.k.a. Stockholm Conference), is the first paper to claim that environmental issues need to be discussed at political platforms. The words "environment" and "development" were used in the same context for the first time.

consumption of natural resources, the worrying rise in global warming and the rapid and spectacular destruction of our ecosystems. Participating countries signed agreements that were later translated into national environmental regulation. Regulatory measures affecting industry, transportation, energy consumption and waste management. These measures intended the community to conserve resources and to be aware of the potential consequences of its lifestyle. (Gauzin-Miller, 2002; Ryder, 2001, 28; Wong Yuen and Goldblum 2008; Mutdoğan and Wong, 2011, 243). In light of these debates and meetings, the Kyoto Protocol was signed in 1997. With this protocol, serious decisions and restrictions were made on the emission of greenhouse gases. Besides, the protocol contained significant precautions on the use of land, planning a city and over-construction.

In 2002 a World Summit was held in Johannesburg, sponsored by the United Nations. In this summit participants agreed to include the eradication of poverty on the agenda. Greater concern was also addressed over the broadened patterns of consumption and production, and as a result it was further appealed to protect and manage the natural resource-based economic, social, health-related activities so as to achieve a more sustainable lifestyle and living standards (Winchip, 2007, 8; Mutdoğan and Wong, 2011, 244). Conference of Parties (COP 15) was held in Copenhagen, Denmark in December 2009 to establish a global climate agreement to begin in 2012 after the expiry of the Kyoto Protocol agreement. At COP15, ministers, officials and civil society organizations from 192 countries participated in exchanging views and laying out principles for the new agreement. Although there isn't any binding agreement or consensus signed for the post-Kyoto period, a "political accord" was established by approximately 25 parties, including the United States and China. The accord was notable in that it required developed countries to commit new and additional resources on forestry in order to help developing countries (Light & Weiss and Light, 2009; Mutdoğan and Wong, 2011, 245).

All these international meetings shared the common goals such as reducing the emissions of greenhouse gases, decreasing the use of non-renewable natural resources and increasing the use of renewable energy. In order to create liveable cities and be harmonious with the nature, the society needs to become conscious of the importance of these concepts and the agreements. If we were able to design the conditions of life in societies in a sustainable way, many precautions would automatically be taken and sustainable community strategies gain importance for city planners.

Sustainable Communities

According to the Egan Review (2004) a sustainable community is described as follows:

> Meeting diverse needs of existing and future residents, their children and other users, contributing to a high quality of life and providing opportunity and choice. This is achieved by making effective use of natural resources, enhancing the environment, promoting social cohesion and inclusion, and strengthening economic prosperity. (Egan, 2004, 7)

Many different factors are necessary to be considered to create sustainable communities such as supplying the basic needs of the society, providing equality to different social groups, giving the opportunity to bond with others, and creating environments that ensure a quality lifestyle, among others. Generally these factors are noted under the 5 criteria, which are social and cultural sustainability, economic sustainability, environmental sustainability, built environment and governance and services.

In general terms, social and cultural sustainability consists of issues like social relationships, equality, values and traditions and aims to create inclusive communities. To develop a feeling of belonging to the community they live in and therefore respect people from different religions, nationalities, races and cultures, and improve their relations with their neighbours are important criteria to create sustainable communities. To organize social activities that everybody can participate in and to encourage these kind of cultural, sportive or leisure activities are approaches that bond and connect the community to each another (Egan, 2004; Miada, 2007).

It is important for the communities to develop economic sustainability. To provide the people the opportunity for education and employment, dynamic job and business creation, sufficient land and buildings to support economic prosperity and change, and a strong community with links to the wider economy are other important criteria. In smaller cities sustaining life and stopping migration is in direct proportion to the economic improvement of the people living in it. Branding and marketing regional values like local food is a factor that enhances economic development (Egan, 2004, Knox and Mayer, 2009).

Environmental sustainability determines the relationship between the society and nature. If people provide their needs regardless to their natural environment, this could mean that man won't be able to find the natural resources he needs to survive. People need to learn how to follow certain restrictions while they are using natural resources and environment for the

sustainability of the environment. It has become a necessary for our economies to be regulated according to the existing ecosystem; in other words a sustainable production and consumption concept has to be adopted (Goodland, 1995, 5). Thus the consumption of natural resources and the harm to the environment could be reduced with the help of technology, and by recreating the understanding of consumption in communities the expiration dates of products will extend and a consciousness to recycle will be developed.

Built environments in particular consume significant natural resources in cities. Therefore built environments should be designed to limit harm to the environment and construction should be carried out in a sustainable way (efficient water management, using recycled materials and recycling the material used, and using environmental friendly materials). Built environments should be designed according to user needs where people can feel good both psychologically and physically. This is especially important for the community to develop the local identity and feeling of belonging to a place. Other than this, well-maintained, local, user friendly, public and green spaces with facilities for everyone (including children and the elderly), sufficient range, diversity and affordability of housing within a balanced estate market, high quality, well-designed constructed areas of appropriate size, scale, density and layout that complements the distinctive local character of the community and high quality, mixed-use, durable, flexible, and adaptable buildings are other important factors (Rogerson et al., 2011, Egan 2004, 20). Another important issue for built environments is providing a fast and environmental friendly transportation system. Important services for a liveable city are as follows: to reach main service buildings (school, hospital etc.) easily, to have a broad public transportation web, to encourage the use of bicycles and walking as a means of transport, to create recreation areas in crowded meeting points. Having widely available and effective telecommunications and access to the Internet are other important aspects of built environments.

The governance and services criteria involve creating a system of governing where everybody can participate, and services are good quality and offered to everyone. In sustainable communities it is important that the administration works with the public. It enhances the feeling of belonging when the public can state its opinion on every project and the projects are carried out according to the public's demands. It is important for the development of the city to establish committees and to regularly produce ideas. Under the services, infrastructure policies such as collecting wastes, water refinement are important topics to coordinate in the city (Egan, 2004, 20).

These 5 criteria bring a solution for cities, which are no longer capable of answering its public's physical, psychological and social needs. Under these topics are many different subtitles that are related to each other. The most important issue that has to be considered is that this is a holistic approach. A sustainable community can be created only if all the areas are implemented properly.

Slow – Slow Food: The Cittaslow Movement

Although the concept of slow and manifests related to this term were introduced decades ago, it was the Slow Food Movement that has led masses to be interested in this concept. Actually "slowness" is an indicator of dissatisfaction towards the rapidness of life and a reaction against the decrease in life quality due to higher speed (Radstrom, 2005,91). The defenders of slowness indicate that we could live better when we consume, produce and work at a more decent speed because a fast living lifestyle is superficial as details are overlooked and we have an impatient attitude. When we are in a hurry, everything happens or is perceived shallowly and the individual can't constitute a real connection with the world and the people around him (Mutdoğan, 2012, 18; Honore, 2008 and Knox, 2005, 3).

Slow Food Movement which was founded by Carlo Petrini at Bra, Italy in 1989, was introduce as a way of protecting local produce, traditional cuisine and the related cultural connection. Honoré (2008) has described Slow Food Movement as follows:

> As reflected in its name, this movement represent whatever McDonald's isn't: fresh local season products, recipes transferred from generations to generations, sized farming, farmer products and having a pleasant meal with friends and family (Honore, 2008, 55).

By 2014 the Slow Food Movement had involved millions of people from 160 countries and had spread rapidly around the world as an example of ecological and agricultural sustainability. The three words in the official web site of the Slow Food Movement "good, clean and fair" give a clue of how food culture should be.

> **GOOD** a fresh and flavoursome seasonal diet that satisfies the senses and is part of our local culture;
> **CLEAN** food production and consumption that does not harm the environment, animal welfare or our health;

FAIR accessible prices for consumers and fair conditions and pay for small-scale producers (Slowfood, 2012).

Slow Food intends to find almost forgotten and hard to cook cuisines and to establish a respected place in the global market for these cuisines. It has helped small-scaled producers to connect to each other and overcome bureaucratic obstacles. Carlo Petrini, the pioneer of the Slow Food Movement, emphasized that this movement wasn't against globalization; on the contrary, it was standing for a more virtuous globalization. Traditional cuisine should be durable, thus use the latest technology to reach markets overseas and this need to have familiarity overseas, in other words, to provide recognition, is an important component of "virtuous globalization" (Mutdoğan, 2012, 19).

Cittaslow (Slowcity) Movement

Cittaslow is an "international network of cities where living is easy." Cittaslow is a movement founded in Italy, which was inspired by the Slow Food Movement. It was founded by Paolo Saturnini (Mayor of Greve-in-Chianti) together with the mayors of Orvieto, Bra, Positano and the founder of Slow Food (Carlo Petrini) in 1999 to offer a better quality lifestyle in a city. Cittaslow as a movement emerged to prevent globalization from standardising the texture of cities, its people and lifestyle and to disregard its local identity. Cittaslow aims to sustain the city's own unique characteristics while also improving the city so that it is a better environment in which its residents are able to enjoy life. The philosophy states that "there is no doubt that it will be more human, environmentally correct and sensible for the present and future generations; the project will respect small realities in a more and more global connected world" (Cittaslow, 2014, Radstrom, 2005, and 2011, 98).

The Cittaslow Manifest has 71 criteria under 7 main topics and emphasizes that living up to its traditions and in a more humanitarian way without rejecting modern life is possible for cities with a population of 50, 000 or less. The main topics are: environmental policies, infrastructure policies, technologies and facilities for urban quality, local products, hospitality, socialization and cooperation.

Environmental policies in cities should highlight that a high quality of life is directly dependent on its environmental quality and sustainability**.** This topic generally handles the rules to be followed to prevent air, water and light pollution. It also includes provisions for composting solid

wastes, generating alternative energy sources, creating energy saving plans and protecting biodiversity (Cittaslow, 2014 and Radstrom, 2011, 100).

Infrastructure policies involve elements of urban and landscape design and strongly focuses on alternative forms of transportation, pedestrian-orientated urban design and sustaining a sense of place, which is represented in built form. Other important applications are to construct play gardens, green areas, water closets and walking areas used by the public and designing these areas to be suitable for disabled users. Creating areas open to public and primarily to pedestrians is identified as a special topic as studies are carried out to minimize vehicular traffic. These topics especially aim to increase pedestrians in a city not only around historical sites, but also using city public spaces as a whole. In addition, having a public relations office where citizens can provide their suggestions about a better urban life, can allow the administration and the citizens to have closer relationships and to communicate with one another (Cittaslow, 2014; Radstrom, 2011, 100; and Mutdoğan, 2012, 19).

Technologies and facilities for urban quality offer a higher quality of life to Cittaslow citizens and afford new ways to attain holistic achievements on all policies. Generally this topic includes Internet access, planting environmentally suitable plants in public and private areas, development and promotion of bio-architecture, designing user-friendly urban furniture (sitting units, info panels) and protecting local sellers and their work places (Cittaslow, 2014 and Radstrom, 2011, 100).

The local products criterion is intended to protect local production, sustaining local economy and saving local identity and culture. Stock counting local products annually, selling these products in places where customers can reach them easily, educating people on organic agriculture, legislating regulations about the quality of restaurants and cafeteria, organizing education programmes on local traditions, tasting and traditional gastronomy and making sure that everybody knows what Presidia[2] products are, are among the significant topics. (Cittaslow, 2014; Radstrom, 2011, 100 and Miele, 2008, 142).

Hospitality is mostly about how to lure tourists to the city and how to serve them best. First of all, there must be a well-designed guide for tourists and this guide should have information on how they can carry out a slow sightseeing. There must be tourism information offices from where tourists can acquire these guides and the staff working in these offices should be well trained. Apart from that, organizing events to increase the

[2] The Presidia are projects that involve food communities in safeguarding native breeds, plant varieties and food products.

familiarity of regional and cultural events, protecting regional products and hand works and having subsidies to sustain production are among other important topics. During local events, the necessary organising should be made concerning easy transportation and secured parking must be arranged near the city (Cittaslow, 2014; Radstrom 2011, 101 and Mutdoğan, 2012, 19).

Socialisation is about integration of different groups such as the disabled, minorities or different cultural, ethnic groups. And finally cooperation is related to get into a partnership with other Cittaslow cities and Slowfood activities (Cittaslow, 2014; Radstrom, 2011, 101 and Mutdoğan, 2012, 19).

Based on these criteria, the objective is to create a more sustainable daily life for the public by making decisive decisions in communications, transportation, hospitality, consumption, commerce and administration. To achieve these goals the Cittaslow characteristics can be summarized as follows:

- To have a population under 50, 000
- To be primarily pedestrian-based
- Adopt Slow Food principles
- Have geographically and culturally different cities in a system with their own local identities and differences and to let them declare these differences to the world influentially through the use of technology
- To protect local products and cuisine and to cherish the identity these products have created

To become a member of Cittaslow provides not only a better life quality to the people of that city, but also enables the city to develop economically. Whilst it has an understanding that supports regional products and production, it helps economic growth and increases prosperity (Mutdoğan, 2012,20).

Tunç Soyer, the Mayor of Turkey's first Cittaslow city, Seferihisar, explains the importance of the Cittaslow Movement:

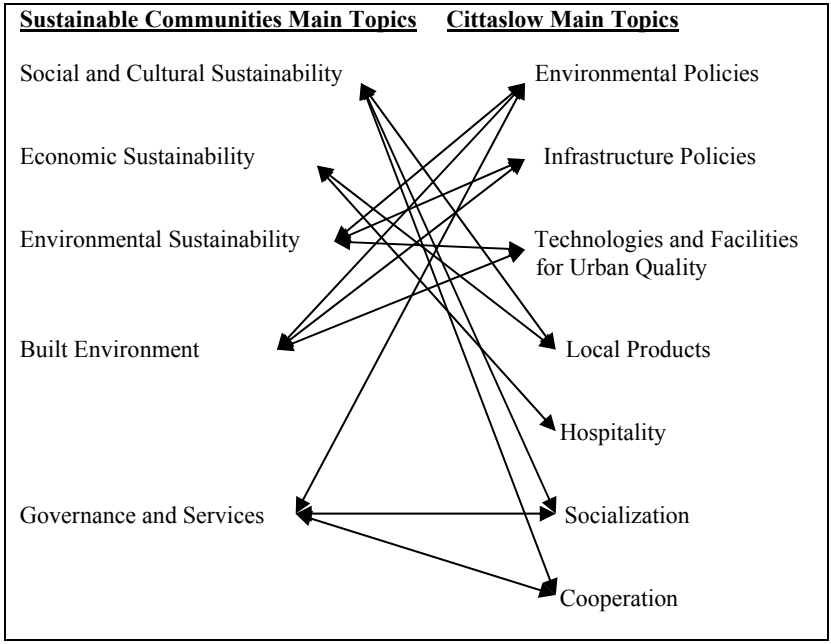
> The logic behind Cittaslow is to preserve the values of your city or town, to make them part of your soul and to offer it to other people around the world. Even though at first glance it is perceived as a touristic purpose, in reality its content is rather extensive. It includes a makeover of your city from A to Z. Your architecture, sensitivity towards environment, culture and economy, all are parts of a big puzzle. You are creating a new brand, an identity with all this. Besides, this is a long-lasting, never to end

journey. Maybe at first change will be visual, but actually we, the people are going to change. Our point of view, our perception about the area we live in will change. This will be a nice legacy to the coming generations (Pala, 2010, 80).

Links between Sustainable Communities and the Cittaslow Movement

The criteria created for sustainable communities aim to have people living in better conditions, having socially, culturally, environmentally and economically a better life without over-consuming the natural resources, and giving the opportunity to take precautions in order to see these newly created cities reach the next generation. Correspondingly, the cittaslow movement's purpose is to economically develop, regain old values and increase publicity of a region while preserving that region's natural, cultural, social and environmental values. In general, the goals and applications of both have notable similarities (Table 9.1).

Table 9.1: Relations between sustainable community criteria and cittaslow criteria



Cittaslow towns in Turkey

Turkey has many areas with different geographical, cultural and social characteristics. Despite these differences, it is a country conserving its historical and cultural values and trying to live an environmental friendly life. But, like it is all around the world, with the influence of an increasing population, cities transformed into mega cities and this rapid increase has melted the traditional and local values and has risen the global ones. In 2009 the Seferihisar Municipality joined the cittaslow network both to reveal its own values and to adopt a sustainable lifestyle. Since 2009, 9 towns have registered this network in Turkey. These towns from all over Turkey have committed themselves to fulfil the cittaslow criteria and by doing so they have transformed their towns into more liveable places for their citizens and have preserved their natural, cultural and economic values. Towns that have joined the cittaslow network in Turkey upto 2014 are Seferihisar (İzmir), Akyaka (Muğla), Yenipazar (Aydın), Gökçeada (Çanakkale), Taraklı (Sakarya), Vize (Kırklareli), Perşembe (Ordu), Yalvaç (Isparta) and Halfeti (Gaziantep). Vize, Perşembe, Yalvaç, Halfeti are the newest cittaslow cities in Turkey and have been excluded from this study.

Seferihisar, the first Cittaslow town in Turkey, is 45 kilometres to İzmir and has a population of 30, 000. It was granted membership in a very short time period as it already had fulfilled the criteria naturally with its long beach line, existing renewable energy resources, notable local products like tangerine and its lifestyle. Gökçeada is an island with a population of 8, 672, in the west of Turkey. The island is located in the northern part of the Aegean Sea and it is in the Çanakkale province. The most important characteristic of the island is that it accommodates two different cultural roots: Muslim and Orthodox. Besides its availability of renewable natural resources, it is an ideal location for tourism and organic agriculture. Akyaka, a town with a population of 2, 623, is in the Muğla province and comes forward with its "preserved" lifestyle that we don't come across any more with its unique nature that is defined as a Special Nature Preservation Area, biological diversity, historical prosperities and peculiar architectural structure. Taraklı, which shines with its old Ottoman houses and unique architectural structure, has a population of 3, 000 and is in the Sakarya province. Finally, Yenipazar is in the Aydın Province in the Aegean Region and has a population of 6, 000. It has traditionally organized camel fights, local cuisine and natural parks (Cittaslowturkiye, 2014; Seferihisar Municipality, 2014; Yenipazar, 2013; and Akyaka Municipality, 2013).

When we examine the activities carried out in these cittaslow towns within the sustainable community criteria, it can be seen how engaged these two concepts actually are. The activities observed in these towns are as follows:

From the social and cultural sustainability point of view, it is shown that many cultural, social and sport activities are carried out in all 5 towns with the aim of bonding the community. Some activities are sequels of traditionally organized festivals, which have been seen for many years (for example, the Camel Fight Festival in Yenipazar). Others are organized as activities designed according to the cittaslow criteria such as the Seed Exchange Festivals in Seferihisar and Yenipazar, and The Slow Town Symposium in Akyaka. Despite these organizations, all the towns carry out seminars to inform the public about what the cittaslow philosophy is and what activities are organized (Table 9.2).

Economic sustainability is an important criterion for the development of the towns and to prevent migration. In particular, local production is significant in cittaslow towns to obtain economic development. All towns have revived their distinctive and traditional cuisine and handworks, and have started to market them. Tourism is also an important factor for economic development. All 5 towns offer cultural tourism different from the traditional sea, sun and sand tourism. As cittaslow has turned into a brand, people have started to choose these destinations as tourist locations and the number of tourists visiting these towns has increased significantly (Table 9.3).

Environmental sustainability**,** that is, the aim of the people to live in harmony with nature as well as preserve the natural environment, includes waste management and the possible use of renewable energy sources. Under this topic all 5 towns are conducting different studies. As Seferihisar and Gökçeada are carrying out studies on geothermal, wind and solar energy sources, Akyaka has implemented a wide-ranged recycling project (Table 9.4).

Under the built environment criteria, preserving the traditional architecture, create recreational areas, solve the transportation problem with environmental friendly projects, create a pedestrian town and provide internet connection in the town centre are the key projects. All 5 towns initially gave importance to transportation by creating regulation on bicycles. Furthermore, some street and avenues have been closed to vehicular traffic allowing the citizens to move about freely. In Taraklı examples of traditional Ottoman buildings have been identified as protected areas. In Yenipazar and Akyaka studies on preserving the environment have been conducted. “Kadın Azmağı,” a place in Akyaka, is

Table 9.2: Relation between the Cittaslow towns and social and cultural sustainable criteria (Cittaslowturkiye 2014, Akyaka Municipality 2013, Gökçeada Municipality 2013, Seferihisar Municipality 2014, Tarakli 2014, Yenipazar Municipality 2013, Mutdoğan 2010, Mutdoğan 2012).

	Seferihisar	**Gökçeada**	**Akyaka**	**Taraklı**	**Yenipazar**
Social and Cultural Sustainability	- a diner for people older than 75 years (local cuisine recipes were noted) - Seed Exchange Festival - Info Seminars on Cittaslow	- European Union Project 'Learning Organic Life in an island' is organized - Gastronomy Conference - Information Seminars on Cittaslow	- Concert for the Republic Day - Symposium um of Slow City - "Let's See our Problems" Photography Exhibition - Info Seminars on Cittaslow	- 1. Taraklı Camp and Caravan Fest -Info on Seminars on Cittaslow	- Traditional Bicycle Festival - Seed Exchange Festival - Camel Fight Festival - Traditional Karaçakal Yuruks Culture Festival - Info on Seminars on Cittaslow

Table 9.3: Relation between the Cittaslow towns and economic sustainability criteria (Cittaslowturkiye 2014, Akyaka Municipality 2013, Seferihisar Municipality 2014, Tarakli 2014, Yenipazar Municipality 2013, Mutdoğan 2010, Mutdoğan 2012, Cingöz 2010, Yurtsever 2007).

	Seferihisar	**Gökçeada**	**Akyaka**	**Taraklı**	**Yenipazar**
Economic Sustainability	- Local production started. (Tangerine Jam) - Internet sales of the local products started. - Cultural Tourism - 100.000 tourists per annum.	- Organic agriculture has started. - Internet sales of the local products started. - Surf tourism - 350.000 tourists per annum	- Production of honey and honey based products. - Surf, canoeing, paragliding, sailing tourism - 80.000 tourists per annum	- Thermal, upland, cave, paragliding tourism - 60.000 tourists per annum.	- Famous local cuisine (Pide, Pitta bread) - Internet sales of the local products started.

Table 9.4: Relation between the Cittaslow towns and environmental sustainability criteria. (Cittaslowturkiye 2014, Akyaka Municipality 2013, Seferihisar Municipality 2014, Tarakli 2014, Yenipazar Municipality 2013, Mutdoğan 2010, Mutdoğan 2012).

	Seferihisar	Gökçeada	Akyaka	Taraklı	Yenipazar
Environmental Sustainability	- Atatürk Avenue is using lights with photovoltaic batteries. - Wastes are separated. - Studies are carried out on geothermal energy.	- Cumhuriyet Avenue is using lights with photovoltaic batteries - Wind turbines are going to be implemented	- Recycling Project - Used batteries and package wastes are collected.	-Projects are not started yet.	-Projects are not started yet.

Table 9.5 (following page): Relation between the Cittaslow towns and built environment criteria. (Cittaslowturkiye 2014, Akyaka Municipality 2013, Gökçeada Municipality 2014, Seferihisar Municipality 2014, Tarakli 2014, Yenipazar Municipality 2013, Mutdoğan 2010, Mutdoğan 2012).

	Seferihisar	Gökçeada	Akyaka	Taraklı	Yenipazar
Built Environment	- Bicycle roads were made - Some streets are closed to vehicle traffic in certain hours. - Infrastructure and restoration studies were conducted in partnership with the universities. - Buildings were restored in Atatürk venue - Special street furniture were designed for bus stops -Archaeological excavation studies have started (Teos) - the 'Sığacık Urban Protected Area Municipal Preservation Plan' was carried out - Free internet connection was provided in town centre.	- Bicycle roads were made - Some streets are closed to vehicle traffic in certain hours. - Infrastructure and restoration studies were made. - Harput Mosque Landscape Design Project, Kaleköy Coast Landscape and Urban Design Project, Değirmen and Countryside Wedding Area Landscape Design Study, Zeytinliköy Dam Picnic Site Project, Gökçeada Square Urban Design Project and Bademli Village Recreation Area Landscape Construction. - Traditional Turkish and Greek houses were taken under protection.	- Bicycle roads were made - Examples of the traditional architecture are being preserved. - Akyaka Municipality Mosque and Inn Design Project - Renewing pavement stones and landscape - Çınar Picnic SiteUrban Design Project	- Bicycle roads were made - Examples of traditional Ottoman Architecture were restored. - Kurşunlu Mosque by Mimar Sinan is under protection.	- Bicycle roads were made - The historical Alhan Turkish Bath is being restored. - Restoration of the windmill. - Opening of the Yörük Ali Efe Museum

Table 9.6: Relation between the Cittaslow towns and governance and services criteria. (Cittaslowturkiye 2014, Akyaka Municipality 2013, Seferihisar Municipality 2014, Tarakli 2014, Yenipazar Municipality 2013, Mutdoğan 2010, Mutdoğan 2012).

	Seferihisar	Gökçeada	Akyaka	Taraklı	Yenipazar
Governance and Services	- An info desk was established for the participation and questions of the citizens. - Important information is given on internet. - Sefericard was launched. - A 50.000 people capacity water purification facility was constructed by İZSU, an İzmir Municipality corporation.	- A "White Desk" was established for the participation and questions of the citizens. - Important information is given on internet.	- Important information is given on internet. - New studies on water purification are conducted. - New projects on public transportation are carried out.	- A call centre was established for the participation and questions of the citizens. - Important information is given on internet. - New waste technologies have been purchased.	- Important information is given on internet.

a very important habitat with its unique ecosystem and is therefore identified as a protected area. As for Yenipazar, preservation studies have been carried out in the Aşağı Dip village as part of the financial support program Southern Aegean Development Agency (Table 9.5).

In the last area, governance and services, projects on a participating community are highlighted. It is important that the public is informed on governmental projects and are allowed to express their point of views. Thus, various units were established in these towns and the public was encouraged to participate in every single subject. Other than that, a city card project was launched in Seferihisar. People can follow every legal process with this card and it provides discounts in specific places. Besides, it is planned to provide financial support via this card to the people in need. With reference to services, it is observed how efficient and healthy studies on water systems, sewage, water purification, waste disposal were carried out. As the familiarity of these towns increased, problems related to the correlative increase in tourist numbers, like waste disposal and clean water demand, were seen. But immediate precautions have been taken to prevent them from becoming serious problems (Table 9.6).

All the projects carried out after these towns joined the cittaslow movement actually completely correspond to the sustainable community criteria, which aim for more liveable communities and cities. Generally speaking, cittaslow criteria offer a good road map for the cities to prepare action plans and create sustainable cities with the help of the people living in them.

Conclusion

The cittaslow movement was a reaction against the monotype global world and has in time spread all over the world. The reason for this rapid growth is the increase it causes in the people's economic, social and cultural quality of life. Slow City has three main principles: using the technology to elevate the quality of life, protecting and cherishing old values, culture, traditions and cuisine, and doing so by preserving the natural environment. The success of Slow City comes from achieving these three principles in a balanced way. Social, economic and cultural sustainability, which are important in creating sustainable communities, is also significant for urban life to turn into a human-based, environmental friendly lifestyle.

Aside from our big cities, Turkey stands out as a community, which is tied to its traditions, continues to live according to its own culture, and in contrast to other countries in the world is deeply connected to its history,

culture and land. Thus, the need to preserve cultural values and local cuisine to create a sustainable community is already consciously fulfilled by the people. The extinction of these values in some areas is due to financial problems and migration. Particularly, the visible increase in tourism income and the sales and familiarity of local products has both boosted economic development and has triggered return migration.

When we focus on the criteria specified for sustainable communities, it is clear that for the communities under study there is a bond with the town and the people living in it and they feel that they belong to each other. Economic sustainability is the most important criteria for the development of the cities. The city only develops in correspondence to the economic development of its people. The local food and products requirement, which is based on preserving local values, are the most important factors in providing economic development. The precautions taken to preserve the natural environment and the investments on renewable energy sources as stated in environment sustainability will assist the next generations to live in a preserved nature. Protecting the historical structure and traditional architecture is the featured criteria in environmental structure. From an architectural point of view, traditional architectural examples in all 5 towns are protected by local inhabitants and by law. It is important to preserve and bond with traditions and local identities. Governments need to create projects suitable for sustainability and to raise awareness on the subject. Cittaslow cities are rapidly increasing around the world. This approach helps us to protect and remember the values we already had. By doing this we will ensure our next generations to have the same values and quality of life that we have.

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PART IV:

IMMIGRANT RE-SETTLEMENT AND COMMUNITY INTEGRATION

CHAPTER TEN

AFRICAN WOMEN'S IDENTITY AND LABOUR FORCE INTEGRATION IN NEW ZEALAND

ADESAYO ADELOWO

Migration has been a recurrent phenomenon since the beginning of human existence and involves a major life transition. In recent times migration has been identified as a major factor for facilitating economic growth, counteracting the adverse effect of an aging population and increasing contribution to the development of enterprise and innovations, as well as strengthening New Zealand's international links.

Cultural and economic reasons played a vital role regarding those allowed to migrate to New Zealand. Those who were encouraged to migrate were expected to adapt to life in New Zealand without difficulty. The New Zealand government kept its white policy through assisted migration schemes and entry permits from 1899 until 1987 when a points system was introduced (Nayar 2005). The points system was introduced promoting the selection of immigrants based on merit rather than the tradition of selection based on their country of origin. Points were awarded for education, trade or work qualifications, family links, command of the English language and the applicant's ability to successfully settle in New Zealand (Ho, Lidgard, Cowling, and Bedford, 2003) The changes made to immigration policy led to an influx of immigrants from non-traditional source countries like Asia and Africa.

African Immigrants in New Zealand

Africa is a vast and varied continent with a huge diversity of cultures and ethnicities. In 2004 there were 44 different African nationalities represented in New Zealand, most were from South Africa, Somalia, Egypt, Zimbabwe and Ethiopia (Phillips, 2007). Before the 1990s there were not many Black Africans in New Zealand because, as already

discussed, the traditional source country immigration policy favoured people of British origin. In the 1970s whites fleeing the Rhodesian war arrived in New Zealand after President Idi Amin ordered Asian Africans to leave Rhodesia in 90 days (Phillips, 2007). The adoption of a formal refugee quota in 1987 and the outbreak of wars in countries like Ethiopia, Somalia and the genocide in Rwanda resulted in an increase in the number of African refugees arriving in New Zealand.

This chapter will explore the labour integration of African women in New Zealand. Drawing on narrative interviews with 15 African immigrant women, this chapter examines how they made use of their African identities to access relevant resources available to them towards community development and integration into the New Zealand economy. Alongside identifying the potential gains of immigration, there is need to explore factors impacting African women immigrants' labour force integration and the concept of community development from an African perspective.

Concept of Community development and identity: an African perspective

A community is a collective of persons, principles, processes, and structures that defines social norms, moral expectations, responsibilities, ways of life, and modes of reasoning (Ikunobe, 2006). Within an African perspective the concept or orientation about who a person is, is that of an interdependent self who fits in with others and lives harmoniously in his or her community, because a recognised self is the one in relation to others (Markus and Kitayama, 1991).

The self in relation, implies the acceptance of the responsibilities of the welfare of others within the community; because a "being-in relation" individual emerges and expresses itself communally (Ogbonnaya, 1994, 74). Holdstock (2000) noted that the interdependence and normative relationships place great responsibilities on the individual to discover and maintain the good relationship with the multiple strands of the network of relationships. Such normative relationships provide the foundation for African "people's actions, characters and identity" (Ikunobe, 2006, 117). Menkiti (1984, 172) noted the community's interest involves the interests and responsibilities of individuals. This involves the individual's ability to apply communal norms to guide his or her conduct for personal interests and communal needs. The idea of mutual relationship between an individual and community could best be understood by the saying, "I am because we are, and since we are, therefore I am" (Mbiti, 1969, 109). The whole existence, from birth to death, of an African person is sustained by a

series of associations, and life can only have full value when these close ties are nurtured and sustained. Communal living is one of the most vital features of the African heritage (Mbiti, 1969).

African women and community development: Economic Role of African Women

In indigenous Africa, women were at the centre of trade and merchandise (Eldredge, 1991). They were responsible for setting the rules of trade among themselves like market taxes and tariffs; they practically organised and managed the market system. These women had and utilised highly developed business acumen for the economic upliftment of their various communities. They were the major food producers, having access to land for cultivation (Strobel, 1982; Sudarkasa, 1987). Not only were African women prominent in the economic sphere of their communities, they were relevant in the spiritual arena as well. African women were often the most powerful spiritual figures in the land. There were a select few who were responsible for announcing dates and times of ceremonies, rites and rituals. They were oracles, spirit medium, knowers, seers and advisors. They had power to place and remove curses. Africans are known for their spirituality and love for religion. This is one of the ways dominant feminine energy in the spiritual sphere helps ensure the protection of women's interest (Akyeampong, 1995). Not only did African women play a significant spiritual role, they were also involved in the politics of their villages, towns and cities.

In terms of macro-political organisation, previously, most African societies had a dual sex political system, which allowed for substantial female representation and involvement in governance and administration (Sacks, 1979). The position of the queen mother, seen across Africa and particularly in Ghana, Egypt, Rwanda and Nigeria, gave women prominent and visible political authority in running nations. African women were involved in many aspects of their families and communities, their involvement promoted the survival and well-being of their people. It is essential to understand the influence of the identities of the African women with regards to their integration into the labour force and their economic sustenance towards community development in New Zealand.

Henderson (2004) argued that modern life revolves around employment with work being the fundamental organising concept in society. He contended that much of people's lives are centred on work and their place in the labour market and this impacts on how they live, whether in poverty or wealth or in between.

In the narratives of the 15 African immigrant women that I interviewed the major issue and stressor regarding adjusting to living in New Zealand was around employment. The African women interviewed were professionals and skilled before migrating to New Zealand. They migrated in order to have a better life. The best way to achieve their dream of a better life was to be gainfully employed so that they could fulfil their traditional roles within their families, and contribute to the economic and development of New Zealand. Although the women were hopeful to achieve their goals of better lives, they were disappointed that they could not find suitable employment, especially in the fields for which they had been educated or had been trained. Some of the women had occupied managerial positions in their home countries but when they arrived in New Zealand they had experienced sudden reversal of circumstances regarding their professional status as some of them had to take low paying and low status employment. These are major "turning points" in their lives (Bruner, 2002, 83).

Some of the women talked about their experiences of work as care-givers, factory workers, farm workers, working in bakeries and frozen food factories despite having qualifications, skills and work experiences in professions such as social work, agriculture, community nursing, computer engineering and accounting prior to migrating to New Zealand. It is also to be noted that these qualifications and skills are listed on the long term and shortage skills lists of the New Zealand immigration, meaning their presence satisfies the needed professional expertise in New Zealand.

However despite their skills, work experience and professional qualifications, the women identified barriers to their labour force integration in New Zealand. One of the women who worked in the banking sector before migrating to New Zealand shared her experience thus:

> *"Somebody told me that after spending 2 years, you will be able to get a better job or a good job, that you have to start in factories, for you to gain an experience to learn how they do their things here, factory and all these odd jobs before, but yeah I think it's becoming a pattern it's really hard for migrants that are just coming."*

Another participant shared her story of how it was challenging to find employment in her field of practice and how she had to start with a job which did not fully utilise her skills although she found employment in her field, she could not use any of her skills she had acquired as a farm supervisor in her country to her new role as farm manager in New Zealand. She had to learn new skills to carry out her new role. Working as

a farm manager in New Zealand involved doing all the menial work on the farm.

Another participant was a community health nurse prior to migration; she told her story:

> *I was a community health nurse back home, and when I came over here it was nothing in New Zealand, so I did work for about 5 years as a caregiver.*

This participant could not find employment as a community nurse when she migrated to New Zealand because her credentials and work experience in Africa disregarded but she was able to find a job as a caregiver. Although nursing and care giving is about care of people in the health care discipline, the status accrued to them and the skills needed are different. This narrative confirms Rack's (1982) argument that, deploying one's personal skills is ego-boosting and through this, personal identity is affirmed and the self is distinguished from others. Although this participant considered care-giving a noble job, and that nothing was wrong with such a profession, she realised – in her own words – that "there should be something more that I can do, so I decided to do nursing." In other words, she identified nursing as ego boosting and a tool to re-inscribe herself and reaffirm her personal identity.

African immigrant women must have had high hopes of continuing in their profession or in a discipline close to what they were involved with, before migrating. Their experience was contrary to this expectation. They became disappointed at not finding opportunities that would help them realise their dreams. It is to be noted that while some of the women were able to find employment in the fields that they were trained in, most of the time the roles were different and the skills needed were different as well.

Barriers to Unemployment

African immigrant women in this study have identified barriers to finding suitable employment as the immigration status, length of stay in the country, lack of Kiwi experience, non-recognition of overseas qualification, racism and accent/ language barriers.

Immigration Status

One of the participants identified immigration status as a barrier to finding employment. Although her husband was a permanent resident in

New Zealand she was not automatically approved for a work permit as a result she could not work in New Zealand.

Lack of Kiwi Experience

Some of the participants noted that the major question they were confronted with by would-be employers had to do with requirement of 'kiwi work experience.' They felt that the request for New Zealand work experience was a way of restricting them from participating in the economy. One of the participants raised the question of how people are expected to improve their economic situation if they were not given the opportunity to work; she argued that the only way to secure New Zealand work experience was by being offered a job in New Zealand. In other words, migrants would not have the opportunity of a New Zealand work experience without having a job offer. According to this participant, she felt there was none or little consideration for her qualifications while much emphasis was on Kiwi work experience over her qualifications. The requirement of New Zealand work experience by would- be employers explains why migrant women are locked into low status employment because they are desperate to have New Zealand experience which would enable them move on to better jobs.

Non-acceptability of overseas qualifications

Another barrier to African women's employment has to do with non-acceptance of overseas qualifications. Some of the participants talked about how their qualifications were not considered equivalent to New Zealand ones. While some have been successful in going through the rigour of registration before they could work in New Zealand as nurses, teachers or social workers, factors such as the culture of New Zealand and the attitudes of students or clients have frustrated some of them out of their jobs. It is to be noted that while some of the women were able to find employment in the fields they were trained in, most of the time the roles they were assigned in such employment were completely different from what they were used to. They laboured with these experiences because they had to keep life going to fulfil their basic family roles as a wife, mother and sister, as well as meet some immigration requirements.

Racism

> Whites constructed the colour complex and imposed a system of rewards and punishment to uphold it, …and its insidious results shape nearly every aspect of life working hand in gloves with racism - Golden (2004, 127).

African women had identified racism as one of the barriers to their labour force integration. Racism experienced was in the form of verbal abuse, discrimination and marginalization in different settings. One of the participants expressed how she did not feel accepted at work because of her skin colour and how she was treated different from other people. Due to experiences of this nature, some of them are finding it hard to accept New Zealand as a home. The women told stories of how they experienced racism in the form of discrimination at interview panels, discrimination at work and how their colleagues and bosses had no confidence in them because they were the first or only Black person working in their offices.

One of the participants spoke about the perverse discrimination that Black people experience with regard to employment. She contended that Black people are being denied employment because they are considered to be overqualified for most of the jobs that they had applied for. She alleged that the same jobs would be given to less qualified White applicants. She also expressed the discrimination that she experienced during a job interview, when an interview commented that she had a very "strong" accent.

Another participant talked about her experience of racism at an interview. She narrated that during the interview the manager had asked, "why do you want to recruit this African woman? You think there's a herd of elephants here for her to look after?" It is to be noted that this woman, despite being allowed into the country as a professional was not considered to be intelligent enough to work in that context, but she was considered good enough to work with animals because of her country of origin and race. Some of the women's capabilities were judged based on their colour and not on their skills and qualifications. It was interesting that when some of the women worked in low paying jobs, they hardly experienced the prejudices that they spoke about in other settings. Their experiences of discrimination happened because they were either vying for or occupying a position that is deemed not meant for them based on their skin colour.

African feminists for instance, (Maloba, 2007 and Okome, 2005) have argued that colonialism and globalisation are the new strategies of recruiting women from the third world into a new kind of slavery, where they are expected to "serve" their "White masters" in a different way. This

idea is supported in the women's stories, confirming Maloba and Okome's argument that as Black women, they were expected to serve at the lower levels of their careers, not because they were not qualified but because they are Black. The women lacked the opportunity to relate with the system in a dignified manner and all these experiences were not because they were unintelligent but because they were Black.

The suggestion that the colour complex, which is that progress for Blacks is measured by the colour of their skin (Golden, 2004) could be used to explain the experience of African women in New Zealand as it relates to their employment. Racism, discrimination and marginalisation have had a negative impact on their integration into the New Zealand labour force. The African women reflected how they were considered not good enough at the different places where they worked, they emphasised the lack of respect from clients, consumers and colleagues because they were Black. Although African women were able to find supervisory and managerial positions, most of the times they were not accepted as good enough to hold such positions. For Africans to have experienced institutionalised racism is as a result of the stereotype or generalisation of beliefs that Blacks are fit only for menial work and are happy that way (Schultz, 2003). It would appear that the stories shared by the women are tragic, and they had been victims of racist discrimination.

African feminist, Okome (2001) argued that although some African women are recruited into the global economy, they are often not on an equal level with women in the countries that they have migrated to. They are often treated as unequal and less privileged. Although many of the women in this study were professionals and working in their professions prior to migrating to New Zealand, they have been dislocated from their social status due to migration to New Zealand, and they had to begin at the bottom of the ladder of their career in finding their way up to regular and decent employment.

It has been demonstrated that unemployment/under-employment could heighten the likelihood of poor adjustment because of its association with financial stress, loss of self-esteem, and status, as well as restriction of social contact (Ho, Bedford and Cooper, 2002).

The challenges that confronted African women regarding career change, are stepping down in the professional ladder and non-recognition of previous qualifications, skills and work experiences, they kept working hard to maintain their employment, hoping that they would transition from the non-well-paying jobs to their desired jobs.

Accent/language

"Language carries culture, and culture carries... the entire body of values by which we perceive ourselves and our place in the world. Language is thus inseparable from ourselves as a community of human beings with a specific history, a specific relationship to the world" (Ngugi, 1986, 15-16). The women talked about their experiences with English language/accent. Most of the women indicated that they did not have any problem speaking and understanding English language, because their countries of origin had been former British colonies. However, some New Zealanders still claimed that they did not understand them when they spoke, perhaps because such people were not attentive enough to them because of their foreign accents. One of the participants shared her experience about the need to pass an English language test as a step towards her certification as a nurse. Others claimed they did not feel accepted because customers and colleagues claimed they had heavy accents.

Language, could be used to restrict social contact and are sometimes used to disallow people access to social relations since it is a powerful tool for conveying social meaning and a source of social power (Heller, 1987). This is the experience of African women migrants in New Zealand. The women expressed their frustration because even after passing the IELTS examination and other English language tests; people still could not understand them. Some of them spoke on how their colleagues have been reluctant to communicate with them at work, which could be a form of social exclusion. Wasik (2006) noted that the problem of accent leads to isolation. According to this statement, the women must have felt psychologically isolated at work because of the kind of treatment they received from their colleagues who did not want to engage with them. The women in this study shared stories of their challenges with speaking English without an African accent. It is to be noted that, while the women were not limited in their finding employment, their English language competence still remains contested in their everyday interactions. The inability to communicate effectively with the host population has been identified as an important factor influencing their integration to New Zealand, especially with regards to finding suitable employment.

Hilliard (1983) argued that a person becomes vulnerable psychologically when linguistics is used as a way of political domination to stigmatise, delegitimize, distort or to deny identity. From the women's narrative, the African accent marking them as the other, different, and as someone who is not capable of rendering a quality service to customers, is to stigmatise, delegitimize, intimidate them and isolate them socially which would have great impact on their economic integration. The consequence of this is that

the women felt angry, fearful, threatened and became psychologically vulnerable to Kiwis because they spoke English with a foreign accent.

Strategies of coping with labour force integration

> Communalism indicates a basic commitment to inter-dependence and emphasis on social involvement, willingness to assume social duties, and beliefs in promoting inter-dependence, (Thompson, 2003, 133).

African women's main goal of migrating to New Zealand is for a better live, the best way to achieve this was through employment, with this opportunity the women would be able to fulfil their traditional role of ensuring their well-being and that of their family as a wife and mother. However, this study indicates that the women were faced with many barriers in the process of integrating into the New Zealand labour force. To overcome these barriers African women had to employ some coping strategies. Some of the strategies were values that are considered norms to maintaining relationships and gain access to resources within their culture. African women had used such interdependent norms from their cultural perspectives to form relationships with people from their tribes, community and with New Zealanders, and they have used these relationships to gain access to the resources in the community and to gain the needed skills to resolve the barriers to economic integration.

The women talked about how their relationships with members of their ethnic communities such as the Zimbabwe, Zambian, Nigeria and Kenya communities, and other immigrant community groups, had helped them cope with the stressors of finding or adapting to work in New Zealand. Some of the women identified with their ethnic churches while others were members of multi-ethnic congregations. Within these religious organizations they were able to use resources to finding employment, work as volunteers and gained necessary skills that enabled them to find employment in New Zealand. This coping strategy reflects an important aspect of being an African person. Mphahlele (1962, 91) indicated that "Africans have always been more interested in human relations than in gadgets… Africans have always gravitated towards people, not places and things… Peoples and not places give them real pleasure." African women have established and maintained networks in finding and retaining employment.

Retraining

Some of the participants decided to retrain in other professions that are deemed appropriate to finding employment in New Zealand, while others furthered their education at the master's level. One of the participants was a qualified engineer prior to migration, but since she arrived in New Zealand she has not been able to find employment in her field, so she decided to go for further studies.

She commented:

> "Yeah, since I came to New Zealand I found it very difficult to get a job in my field, so I decided to go back to school to get a higher qualification maybe it will help in getting a better job in my area of specialisation."

This participant had thought furthering her education might be a way to secure her dream job, but even while she talked about her plans to further her studies, she used words like "may be" to evaluate the expected outcome. She was not optimistic that this plan would help her in getting a better job in her field; she was rather ambivalent about the end result of her going for further studies. Another participant, who was a trained teacher prior to migrating to New Zealand, could not find employment as a teacher, so she decided to study nursing. Most African women that retrained since they arrived in New Zealand decided to study nursing because it is believed that this is a profession that is always on the New Zealand shortage skill list; thus, guarantees a place in the labour market.

Support from Employers

Four of the women talked about the support they received from work, from their employers. They talked about how their managers had supported them to cope with challenges such as transportation and accommodations. One woman was grateful to her first employer who took away the barrier of New Zealand work experience and offered her employment in New Zealand. Others spoke highly of their employers who had provided them with accommodations and transportation and because of that they were saved some costs and it made the adjustment to work easier on them financially and it reduced their stress level.

Living in Harmony

The African women noted the importance of living in harmony within the New Zealand community as a coping strategy. They identified that

adopting morality and good behaviour were essential principles in integrating in New Zealand. The women noted the importance of being morally upright so that they would not be in disharmony with the order of nature (Vlaenderen, 2001). Within African tribes to acquire the status of personhood is attaining and practising a moral life that contributes to the well-being of one's community. Elements of personhood have been identified as having a good character, being peaceful, kind, respectful, humble and staying out of trouble (Gyekye, 1997). The women identified that staying out of trouble was crucial to living a peaceful life. Living in harmony and cooperation in an interdependent context are essential life skills every African child learns from a very early age (Hanks, 2008). These elements are crucial to coping and progressing in New Zealand.

Spiritual connection and religious community

African women have shared stories about how they have received support from their spiritual-religious community with regards to finding employment. African women spoke about the hardship that they experienced as a result of unemployment and financial difficulties, and how they had used prayers to God for support and strength to cope with these challenges. Offering prayers and meditations have been noted for their calming soothing effect on mind and body and its capacity to give strength and comfort in times of hardship (Shults and Sandage, 2006). The women had used prayer, which is an important element of African spirituality, they have also used "positive connection to a sacred community" as a strategy to find employment and sustain themselves when they had difficulty at work. The women talked about how their fellowship provided them with comfort; an anchor for them to survive the changes that they had experienced and as a means to expand and maintain their social support and network (Pergament, 1997). Spiritual connectedness is a crucial element of African personhood and communalism (Mbiti, 1969).

The stories of the women are a demonstration of how they have used the intrinsic orientation of religion of living and guidance by their religious beliefs and the extrinsically motivation orientation for personal or social rewards, to attain comfort and fellowship (Allport and Ross, 1967). Attaining comfort and fellowship had helped them to overcome the stressor of under-employment or unemployment and other factors that threatened their integration to New Zealand labour force.

Conclusion

For the continuity of any community, it is expected that everyone should carry their share of the responsibility for creating humane conditions of life for everyone (Masolo, 2009). The women in this study demonstrated how their relationships with people in the community helped them in coping with life in New Zealand. They identified the support they received from their ethnic people as it relates to employment, which helped them in maintaining their identity as wives, mothers and residents in New Zealand. Their lives had been evidenced as ones embedded in the story or principles of the (their own) communities from which their identity was derived. To understand the African identity as it relates to community development is to understand that an African is a social being and as such, cannot be separated from the community in which he or she belongs (Hanks, 2008). Not only could an African woman not be separated from the community she belongs, she also takes responsibility for her welfare and the welfare of people in her community.

As a result of maintaining their identity, the women achieved economic integration that helped them to ensure their well-being and that of their families and communities in New Zealand. This is because, within an African context, the "ideal person will be judged in terms of his relationship with others" (Teffo, 1996, 104). The women were empowered and fulfilled and had their needs met as a result of their relationships with African people, other immigrant communities and New Zealanders. Without the relationships and support from these communities, they might have been overcome by a sense of helplessness.

It is important to note that despite the challenges faced by the women, they did not see themselves as victims of these circumstances; rather, they have maintained their identity through their relationships within the New Zealand community to take charge of their situations. Since the women arrived in New Zealand, they had been part of the system to demonstrate that there is no person without a family; therefore, "neither can there be an 'I' without a 'We' " (Martin-Baro, 1994, 41). Also noteworthy is the idea that community living, prevalent in Africa, has intrinsic value. It is a product of African humanism, which is concerned with the preservation of life because life is of ultimate concern, and life can only grow in relationships. It is important to know how African women have used their "personhood" status and identities to initiate and sustain relationships that helped them integrate into the New Zealand economy and the impact of these relationships on their well-being.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE RESETTLEMENT EXPERIENCES OF EIGHT FEMALE JAPANESE SETTLERS LIVING IN THE AUCKLAND COMMUNITY IN AOTEAROA[1]/ NEW ZEALAND

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Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of a qualitative study on the resettlement experiences of eight female Japanese settlers living in Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The primary goals of this study are to tell the story of these eight Auckland Japanese settlers; to profile the Japanese settlers' community; and to make their resettlement experiences more visible to social and health service providers, employers and people living in Aotearoa/New Zealand in an attempt to further an understanding of this community. This will allow for improved resettlement outcomes including ease of integration and participation in Aotearoa/New Zealand society. The emphasis on the Japanese women is based on their interest in the research. In recruiting for participants, only women initially opted to take part thereby allowing the researchers to make the decision to focus on the women's experiences.

Background and rationale of the research

Currently, there are approximately 232 million international settlers/migrants living outside of their countries (United Nations Population

[1] Aoteaora – Maori (indigenous people of Aotearoa/ New Zealand) word for New Zealand

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Division, 2013). Aotearoa/New Zealand has itself been experiencing a rapid growth in its immigrant population in the last few decades. One in five New Zealanders was born overseas (Merwood, 2007). Of these immigrant populations, the Asian group has become one of the fastest growing in New Zealand. It was estimated that 9.5 per cent of New Zealand's current population is 'Asian' (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). The 2011 census shows that about 66% of Asian settlers lived in the Auckland region in 2011 (Statistics New Zealand, 2011). Various writers and scholars attest to the on-going growth in the Asian immigrant population in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Anderson, 2007; Bartley and Spoonley, 2008; Ward, 2009; Bartley, 2010; Grbic, 2010; Sobrun-Maharaj and Wong 2010; Johnston et al., 2010; Peligman-Toclo, 2011; Pratley, 2011; Sobrun-Maharaj et al., 2011; Yeung and English, 2012; Lim and Mortensen, 2013; Park and Kim, 2013).

Amongst Asian immigrants, Japanese settlers are one of the top five largest migrant groups in New Zealand (Ho and Bedford, 2008). Approximately 14,409 Japanese settlers are currently living long-term or permanently in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Ministry of Foreign Affair of Japan, 2013). Ministry of Foreign Affair of Japan (2013) indicate that despite a decrease in the number of Japanese settlers from 2007 to 2008, there has been a gradual and consistent growth in the number of Japanese settlers living permanently in Aotearoa/New Zealand since 1997. In addition, 9600 Japanese settlers came to Aotearoa/New Zealand in March, 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Nevertheless, despite the significant migration of Japanese settlers into Aotearoa/New Zealand, there appears to be little knowledge of Japanese communities and their resettlement experiences in Auckland.

In the last couple of years, increased attention from Non-Governmental, Not-For-Profit Organisations and/or Volunteer Groups (NGOs) that support Japanese settlers in Auckland, for example, Migrant Action Trust (MAT) and Auckland Japanese Christian Church (AJCC) suggests that concerns about the resettlement needs of Japanese settlers is growing. Japanese settlers' resettlement needs are poorly understood by both policy-makers and mainstream social and health service providers in Auckland, and some social and health service providers working in Auckland-based NGOs and District Health Boards (DHBs) claim that there are limited resources and services available for Japanese clients and service users (Isogai et al., 2013). These challenges may be due to the low-profile and invisibility of the Japanese settlers' community in Auckland.

In contrast, there is a multitude of studies exploring the profile and resettlement needs of other specific Asian communities in Auckland such

as Chinese (Wong, 2001; Leung, 2002; Peligman-Toclo, 2011; Yeung and English, 2012), Korean (Yoon, 2000; Rossen and Kim, 2011), Indian (Grant, 1996; Paulose, 2011; Peligman-Toclo, 2011) and Filipino (Alayon, 2009; Peligman-Toclo, 2011) settlers' communities, and how resettlement services in Auckland address the needs of these communities (Kudos Organisational Dynamics, 2000; Acumen, 2001; Jones and Ainsworth, 2001). There is much less current literature on the Japanese settlers' in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007; Harada, 2012). Apart from one well-known study that looks at the Japanese community in Christchurch (Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007), other local and national studies are not widely available and accessible to New Zealanders. There are a number of Japanese-related occasional publications and postgraduate studies in university libraries (Boswell, 1995; Yoon and Tran, 1995, 1997; Nakanishi, 2000; Nagao, 2002; Ide, 2010; Okayama ,1994; Oshima, 2012).

Most of Aotearoa/New Zealand studies of the Japanese community employ small-scale and non-representative samples that are based on locality, generally one of the major cities such as Christchurch. To date, there are no studies of Japanese settlers' resettlement experiences at both the regional and national level in New Zealand and none that focus on Japanese women settlers. In order to fill this gap in the literature, research is needed that would provide a better understanding of the experiences of female Japanese settlers' resettlement. It is intended for this research to be useful to community, social and health service providers working in NGOs or DHBs' policy-makers, and those who are members of the Japanese settlers' community living in Aotearoa/New Zealand. This will enable those concerned to gain sufficient cultural knowledge to work with Japanese settlers in Aotearoa/New Zealand so that they understand the barriers and challenges that they face, and to develop a service delivery approach and social and immigration policies that will address the specific needs of this growing community.

Definitions of terms and concepts

In this chapter, migration is defined as "the settlement for different reasons, of homogenous groups of people in geographical areas different from those of their origin" (The International Federation of Social Workers, 2012). It is both an international phenomenon and an expression of globalisation (Pepworth and Nash 2009). Migration involves the geographical relocation of individuals or family members (Castles & Miller, 2003). Abbott et al. (2000, 54) state that:

> Migration involves losses, disruption to families and life patterns and exposure to multiple stressors, new experiences and challenges. These are all magnified when… migrants relocate in a very different culture and become members of a visible ethnic minority.

The term 'settlers' generally refers to people who have chosen to move voluntarily from one country to another, searching for a better life (Pepworth and Nash, 2009). The terms 'settlers', 'migrants' and 'immigrants' are used interchangeably in this chapter. 'Asian' refers to the culturally diverse and collective set of Asian ethnic communities with origins from Asian countries including *East Asia* (China, North and South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan), *West Asia* (Afghanistan and Nepal), *South Asia* (Indian sub-continent), and *South East Asia* (Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, Vietnam, Thailand, Burma, Laos and Cambodia) (Lim and Mortensen 2013, 3). Lim and Mortensen (2013) note that this definition is generally used within the health sector as well as Statistics New Zealand Asian ethnicity categories. 'Japanese settlers' in this chapter refers to a collective group of Japanese immigrants who were born and bred in Japan (one of the east Asian countries) and entered Auckland under three immigration programmes (Skilled/business, Family sponsored and International/Humanitarian) (Ministry of Health, 2006). 'Japanese residents' and 'Japanese nationals' are also referred to as 'Japanese settlers' in this study. 'Japanese economic refugee' is defined as Japanese settlers who moved to New Zealand, hoping to move into a safe and healthy environment, especially due to the Great East Japan Earthquake (*Higashi nihon daishinsai*) at Tōhoku in March, and the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster (*Fukushima Daiichi genshiryoku hatsudensho jiko*) in August, 2011 (Isogai et al., 2013). "Japanese settlers' community" refers to "specific subsets of the wider informal ethnic community", rather than Japanese settlers as an ethnic community (Shiobara, 2004, 247-248). "Japanese community organisation" is defined as an "organisation for mutual assistance and socializing, most members of which are Japanese immigrants" (Shiobara, 2004, 247). Non-Governmental/Not-For-Profit agencies and Organisations and Volunteer Groups are all referred to as NGOs in this chapter.

Aims of the research

The research question addressed in the study is: "How do Japanese settlers living in Auckland perceive their resettlement experiences?" In order to answer this question, two aims were developed. They were:

1) to explore the resettlement experiences of Japanese settlers in the Auckland region through the voices of Japanese settlers.
2) to assist community, health and social service providers and policy-makers to understand the challenges facing the Japanese settlers' community in Auckland.

In order to achieve these aims, an exploratory study using a qualitative method was conducted. Semi-structured and in-depth one-to-one interview sessions were carried out with eight female participants who are first generation Japanese settlers living in the Auckland region. The broad questions that guided this project were:

- *How do Japanese settlers, living in Auckland perceive their resettlement experiences in Auckland?*
- *What are some of the challenges that Japanese settlers face when they migrate to the Auckland region?*

Literature Review

This section discusses the literature under four main themes: the relationship between immigration, assimilation/integration and social cohesion; defining a concept of resettlement; global Japanese migration movement; and a brief history of Japanese migration in Aotearoa/New Zealand including current developments for Japanese settlers in Auckland.

Relationship between immigration, assimilation/integration and social cohesion

There are extensive studies on the relationship between immigration, assimilation/integration and social cohesion within the international and Aotearoa/New Zealand context (Spoonley et al., 2005; Cheong et al., 2007; Spoonley and Peace, 2007; Pepworth and Nash, 2009; Ward, 2009; Bartley, 2010; Dukes and Musterd, 2012). Ward (2009) claims that maintaining a socially cohesive society is an important concern for Aotearoa/New Zealand because of the increase in immigration and cultural diversity in the country. Spoonley et al. (2005) support this view, stating that the New Zealand government seeks to explore social cohesion as a goal of social policy with regard to immigrant resettlement. Cheong et al. (2007) say that there has been increased attention on social capital promoting social cohesion in order to support immigrant integration and ethnic diversity management. Ward (2009) also notes that a socially

cohesive society in Aotearoa/ New Zealand can be achieved when ethnically and culturally diverse individuals and communities experience a sense of belonging, their contribution is acknowledged, praised and valued, and people are able to participate in all factors of life.

Academic and government research focuses on exploring the resettlement experiences of refugees and migrants, specifically in their labour market participation and outcomes in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Henderson 2004; Ministry of Social Development 2008; Sobrun-Maharaj et al., 2011). One of the central questions raised in resettlement research is how migrants, refugees and their families can make a positive transition from their countries to Aotearoa/New Zealand society while ensuring that community and society maintain social cohesion (Spoonley et al., 2005; Spoonley and Peace, 2007; Department of Labour, 2011). Various New Zealand scholars have raised the question of how to manage immigration flows and ensure successful outcomes for immigrant resettlement and community cohesion with an increase in cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversity (Pepworth and Nash, 2009; Spoonley and Peace, 2007; Ward, 2009; Bartley, 2010).

Defining 'resettlement'

The definition of 'resettlement' has been debated nationally and internationally (Fletcher, 1999; Henderson, 2004; Murphy, 2010). Fletcher (1999, 8) states that "open-endedness and variability of the process" needs to be considered when attempting to define 'resettlement' as the term varies from securing a permanent position in a new country to full integration and participation of the political, social and economic opportunity structure of the society. Similarly, Murphy (2010) acknowledges that there are some discrepancies in defining 'resettlement' in immigration literature internationally as there is a lack of clarity in how the term is used. Henderson (2004) supports this view, noting that there seems to be no agreeable definitive standard measurement of successful resettlement outcomes for migrants and refugees in Aotearoa/New Zealand. This is because successful resettlement criteria vary depending on the government, and the expectations and satisfactions of the host society as well as the settlers themselves.

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, exploring the resettlement experiences and needs of migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers is one of the central issues for the national and local government as well as social and health service agencies. These are necessary issues to investigate in order to achieve the social policy objectives of making Aotearoa/New Zealand an inclusive society "in which the local and national integration of newcomers is

supported by responsive services, a welcoming environment and a shared respect for diversity" (Department of Labour, 2007, 9). Pepworth and Nash (2009) note that positive resettlement outcomes have been increasingly significant for both new settlers and members of the host society, as it introduces the notion of multiculturalism to the bicultural host society of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The important question remains of what it means to be successfully resettled in Aotearoa/New Zealand from the perspective of settlers for social services and local and central governments (Henderson 2004). There are a number of identified resettlement needs among settlers in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Ministry of Education, 2002; Henderson, 2004; Department of Labour, 2007; Pepworth and Nash, 2009; Pernice et al., 2009). Researchers indicate that resettlement needs vary for different settlers, depending on ethnicity and/or age (Bhugra, 2004; Henderson, 2004; Ministry of Social Development, 2008; Pernice et al., 2009). Various scholars and policy-makers illustrate a range of resettlement needs among Asian settlers migrating to Aotearoa/New Zealand. These resettlement needs include achieving English proficiency (via English-language lessons), gaining New Zealand qualifications and work experiences, supporting family and social support networks, gaining mental health, counselling and/or employment support, and accessing health-care and social services especially culturally-appropriate aged care (Ministry of Education, 2002; Ho et al., 2003; Henderson, 2004; Department of Labour, 2007).

An ability to speak the host country's language is a fundamental aspect of the resettlement needs of settlers, as an inability to speak the English language limits migrants' access to health and social care, education and employment in New Zealand (Ministry of Education, 2002; Ho et al., 2003; Henderson, 2004). Henderson (2004) claims that English language proficiency is the most frequently identified barrier for settlers seeking access to social and/or health services in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In particular, unskilled female dependants and elderly are more likely to encounter this challenge on arrival in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Labour market participation is another crucial aspect of the resettlement needs of settlers in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Holton and Sloan, 1994; Henderson, 2004; Pernice et al., 2009; Sobrun-Maharaj et al., 2011). Holton and Sloan (1994) suggest that an important part of settling into a new country is finding and gaining employment. Henderson (2004) affirms this, noting that early engagement of settlers in employment is an overarching goal of immigration policies. Nevertheless, while immigration policy in Aotearoa/New Zealand continues to target skilled and business

settlers, these settlers frequently face difficulties in finding employment that fits with their qualifications and work experiences (North and Skinner 2009; Sobrun-Maharaj et al. 2011). Levels of underemployment and unemployment among settlers remain disproportionately high (Henderson, 2004).

Social and community engagement and a support system are other important factors in resettlement (Nash and Trlin, 2006; Harrington, 2009; Pepworth and Nash, 2009). Pepworth and Nash (2009) state that providing a diverse range of community and service contacts to settlers is crucial for their resettlement needs. Harrington (2009) found in her research that neighbourhood support from Kiwi (New Zealanders) neighbours is one of the factors that can allow immigrants to be fully integrated in Aotearoa/New Zealand society. She further notes that building supportive neighbourhoods helps to achieve the resettlement policy goals of developing social support and a sense of belonging within the local community.

Global Japanese migration movements

An initial Japanese migration started in the late 1800s when the Japanese governments sent Japanese to foreign nations as contract workers as a solution to unemployment across the country (Sharp-Hopko, 1998; Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007). Many Japanese settlers travelled to the United States and Canada in particular. More than 250,000 Japanese settlers immigrated into these two countries between 1891 and 1924 (Sharp-Hopko, 1998). Other Japanese settlers went to countries such as Australia and Brazil. In 1901, there were 3,555 Japanese residents in Australia and only 17 Japanese settlers in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Tanaka, 1999; Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007). During World War II, Japanese settlers' entry into North America and Australia was restricted (Sharp-Hopko, 1998; Kagurasaki-Laughton, 2007). As a result, the Japanese government extended destination countries to include South and Central American countries, such as Brazil and Mexico. This extension continued until the 1960s (Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007). In this initial migration, these settler communities are categorised as 'old immigrant communities' (Shiobara, 2004; Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007).

From the 1960s, a new migration movement took place due to the rapid economic growth in Japan (Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007). It assisted Japanese business companies to expand their operations overseas. Those employers transferred their employees to overseas branches and factories. As a result of this, Japanese workers stayed overseas long-term and many

of them migrated with their families. Thus, Japanese settlers gradually increased – particularly in international business cities such as New York and London (Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007). This migration movement created contemporary settler communities overseas known as "new immigrant communities" (Shiobara, 2004; Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007).

These 'old' and 'new' Japanese migration movements developed overseas Japanese settlers' communities in distinctive ways. The most significant characteristic between the 'old' and 'new' settlers' communities is the level of acculturation. This denotes how a Japanese settlers' community and the host population generate changes through intercultural contact (Ho et al. 2003). Communities experience different types of acculturation such as assimilation, separation, marginalisation and integration, influenced by the diplomatic relations between Japan and the host country and the attitudes in the host country towards immigrants (Ho et al., 2003; Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007).

'Old' Japanese settlers' communities fluctuated between integration and separation. For instance, the Japanese Association of North America established in 1907, endeavoured to be accepted by the host country when an anti-Japanese movement developed (Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007). The association attempted to create better relations with the host country by contributing to the nation's economy and participating in the celebrations of Independence Day and local anniversary days. In addition, many Japanese settlers made an effort to learn American culture, life, and history while maintaining Japanese culture within the community. On the contrary, communities in rural areas in Brazil, due to the lack of schools and support from local authorities, spoke mainly Japanese. The membership was exclusive and the Japanese identity was strongly retained through worshipping the Japanese empire. This type of 'old' Japanese settlers' community was relatively secluded from the host country (isolation). However, 'old' Japanese settlers' communities were more likely to integrate with their host country in the long-term (Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007).

'New' Japanese settlers' communities, on the other hand, were more culturally isolated. They created living environments that were culturally and ethnically distinct from the host society (Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007). Due to Japan's economic growth, Japanese business experts were transferring their businesses to overseas branches and factories from Japanese multinational cooperations; new communities were formed by these Japanese professionals and their family in the destination countries (Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007). Japanese settlers who immigrated to foreign nations after World War II, due to the great prosperity of the Japanese

economy, tended to have national pride (Shiobara 2004). Their social networks likely only included Japanese families, colleagues and contacts, or Japanese students in the host country. The members of the 'new' Japanese settlers' communities tended to live in a closed way – being assisted with housing by Japanese companies and often speaking Japanese, thus limiting integration into the host country (Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007).

Overall, the level of acculturation differences between 'old' and 'new' Japanese settlers' communities could be related to the duration of migration into the host country. Most members of the 'old' Japanese community lived permanently and established themselves as an ethnic minority through several generations living in the host country (Sharp-Hopko 1998; Kuragasaki-Laughton 2007). In comparison, with the first generation that remained with a Japanese identity, the second and third generations were more likely to have high levels of integration into the host society (Sharp-Hopko 1998; Kuragasaki-Laughton 2007). Thus, members of new Japanese settlers' communities consisted of mostly the first generation – who were temporary residents for business purposes in the host country and who tended to sustain the Japanese culture (Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007).

Japanese migration and resettlement in Auckland

Background of Japanese settlers' resettlement in Aotearoa/ New Zealand

Prior to World War *II,* the Japanese settlers' community was relatively small in Aotearoa/New Zealand as many Japanese did not perceive Aotearoa/New Zealand as a tourist or destination country. The first Japanese settler, *Asajiro Noda,* came to Aotearoa/New Zealand as a seaman by a German ship in 1890 (Tanabe, 1996). He travelled around the country and married a Māori woman of Ngati Mahuta descent. Afterwards, few Japanese settlers began to migrate to Aotearoa/New Zealand individually (Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007). They were scattered around the country as illustrated in Table 1. The first official census recorded only 15 Japanese settlers living in Aotearoa/New Zealand in 1896 (Statistics New Zealand, 1936 cited in Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007).

Table 11.1: Japanese population in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, other areas, and New Zealand total, 1896 - 2001

Numbers (% of the total Japanese population)

	Auckland	Wellington	Christchurch	Others	Total
1896					15
1901					17
1906					25
1916	3 (4.2%)	4 (5.6%)	4 (5.6%)	60 (84.5%)	71 (100%)
1921	20 (52.6%)	6 (15.8%)	2 (5.3%)	10 (26.3%)	38 (100%)
1926					59
1936	19 (17.9%)	8 (7.5%)	4 (3.8%)	75 (70.8%)	106 (100%)
1945					48
1951					47
1956	15 (11.4%)	22 (16.7%)	8 (6.1%)	87 (65.9%)	132 (100%)
1961	44 (11.9%)	35 (9.5%)	24 (4.0%)	267 (72.1%)	370 (100%)
1966	108 (17.8%)	82 (13.5%)	24 (4.0%)	393 (64.7%)	607 (100%)
1971	186 (20.6%)	206 (22.9%)	23 (2.6%)	486 (53.6%)	901 (100%)
1976	328 (28.0%)	154 (13.1%)	82 (7.0%)	609 (51.9%)	1173 (100%)
1981	321 (43.1%)	207 (27.8%)	48 (6.5%)	168 (22.6%)	744 (100%)
1986					1443
1991					2970
1996	2964 (39.7%)	570 (7.6%)	1,536 (20.6%)	2,388 (32.1%)	7458 (100%)
2001	4,101 (41%)	693 (6.9%)	1,875 (18.7%)	3,336 (33.4%)	10005 (100%)

Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of population and dwellings, 1896-2001, cited in Kuragasaki-Laughton (2007, 21)

After World War II, there was a gradual growth in the Japanese settlers' population rate; the total number of Japanese settlers increased by 270 from 1,173 to 1,443 over the 10 years between 1976 to 1986 (Statistics New Zealand, 1936 cited in Kuragasaki-Laughton 2007). Despite the small number of Japanese settlers in Aotearoa/New Zealand, some of them formed the Japan Society of New Zealand in Wellington city in 1959. After the establishment of this group, the number grew to over 100 members and similar groups began to form around the country in cities like Christchurch and Dunedin (The New Zealand Japan Society of Auckland, Unknown).

In 1986, the Japanese settlers' population began to increase as the number of other Asian ethnic groups also grew (Tanaka,1999; Sobrun-Maharaj et al., 2011). The Japanese settlers' population growth reached its peak during the 1990s rising from 2,970 in 1991 to just over 10,000 by 2001 (Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007). Various scholars have put forward potential explanations for this rapid growth (Tanaka, 1999; Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007; Sobrun-Maharaj et al., 2011). One of the explanations was the changes in Aotearoa/New Zealand immigration policies and the introduction of a 'Working Holiday Scheme' between Japan and Aotearoa/New Zealand in the mid-1980s (Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007). Sobrun-Maharaj et al. (2011) point out that an amendment in the Immigration Act 1991 abolished the preference for European ethnicity or race-based criteria resulting in rapid population growth for other Asian settlers such as Chinese, Korean and Indian. Another explanation was that this rapid growth was a reflection of an increase in foreign trade and other business contracts between the two counties (Tanaka, 1999). Tanaka (1999) also suggests that increased international marriage among Japanese females as they made contact with New Zealanders through tourism, education, and working holiday schemes contributed to the Japanese population growth during the 1990s. The higher proportion of Japanese females to males was a significant phenomenon and Japanese females likely immigrated under the Family category as spouses, de facto partners or other family members of New Zealand citizens or permanent residents.

By the 1990s, the Japanese settlers' community became large enough to form structured organisations such as the Japanese Society of Auckland, established in 1989 (Japanese Society of Auckland 2013) and Japan Society of Canterbury, formed in 1991 (Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007).

Initial development of Japanese settlers' community in Auckland

The New Zealand Census' first official record of Japanese settlers living in Auckland was in the 1916. The number of Japanese settlers then was three and there was no record of their gender. Kuragasaki-Laughton (2007) noted that Japanese multi-national companies began to perceive Aotearoa/New Zealand cities such as Auckland and Wellington as likely destinations as post-war economic expansion reached Aotearoa/New Zealand. The New Zealand Census in the Table 1 showed that the Japanese settlers' community in Auckland developed after 1981; for example, the total number of Japanese settlers increased by 2,643 from 321 to 2,964 over the fifteen years from 1981 to 1996 (Statistics New Zealand, 1936 cited in Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007). About 70 percent of Japanese settlers were living in Auckland and Wellington cities in 1981.

In contrast to the Japanese settlers' community in Christchurch which was formed by Japanese permanent settlers, the Japanese settlers' community in Auckland were initially developed by Japanese business experts (Boswell, 1995). As Auckland's Japanese settlers' population increased, other services were developed and extended such as Japanese supermarkets, Japanese bookshops and Japanese restaurants. These services were supplied by individual business entrepreneurs (Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007). There were 4,221 Japanese settlers living in Auckland which was the largest Japanese settlers' group in Aoteaora/New Zealand (Te Ara Encyclopedia, 2011). The Japanese settlers' community in Auckland was flourishing as evidenced by the establishment of Japanese-oriented groups such as business associations, Christian churches, and Japanese ladies' and women's choir groups. Nevertheless, Kuragasaki-Laughton (2007) believes that the Japanese settlers' community integration into the host society has been minimal and that the Japanese settlers' community in Auckland developed differently from the Japanese settlers' community in Christchurch because it was business-oriented. This related to the concept of the new immigrant community.

Several scholars indicate that the characteristics of Japanese settlers living in Aotearoa/New Zealand are predominantly women and many of them have New Zealanders as their husbands (Tanaka, 1999; Boswell, 1995; Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007). There are two types of Japanese settlers' groups in Aotearoa/New Zealand - short-term residents with a Working Holiday or Visitor's visa and long-term and/or permanent residents with a Permanent Resident visa (PR) (Te Ara Encyclopedia, 2011). Short-term residents with temporary visas are often Japanese

company representatives or workers or those who came as tourists (Te Ara Encyclopedia, 2011). These residents are likely to group together, maintaining Japanese customs and language. They often encounter challenges such as different languages, foods and habits as well as racism and discrimination while living temporarily in Auckland. On the other hand, long-term or permanent Japanese residents, namely professionals and Japanese wives are integrated more actively into Auckland society while retaining their cultural identity (Te Ara Encyclopedia, 2011).

Community organizations assisting Japanese settlers' resettlement in Auckland

In Australia, local Japanese community-based NGOs were developed out of concern at the lack of opportunities for cultural and language education for second generation Japanese settlers, and the needs of culturally appropriate elderly care social services for Japanese aged settlers in 1990s (Shiobara, 2004, 2005). Aotearoa/New Zealand appears to be at an early stage of developing Japanese-oriented community-based NGOs that specifically support Japanese settlers, particularly in the Auckland region. Although many NGOs are currently in an environment where funding is constrained by a contractual framework to produce specific outcomes, there have been some significant developments of Japanese-oriented community-based NGOs in the Auckland region since 2006 (Mental Health Commission, 2012). Factors that contribute to this development are: Japanese settlers coming to Auckland as 'Economic refugees'; the low-profile or invisibility of Japanese settlers' community groups and agencies that support Japanese settlers in Auckland; an on-going requirement for workforce capacity development; an increased demand for Culturally And Linguistically Diverse (CALD) services; and an aging population in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Mental Health Commission, 2012).

One of the Japanese-oriented NGOs is known as 'Danran' (Migrant Action Trust, 2013). This group is targeted at Japanese settlers aged between the 40 and 70 and living in Auckland. Danran was established in 2011 in response to the recognised needs of aged Japanese settlers living in Auckland, such as isolation, transportation and the absence of a Japanese-based aged group. Another Japanese-based community NGO is the Japan Kauri Education Charitable Trust (JKECT). The JKECT is a community-based, educational organisation and a family of charitable entities that aim to preserve Japanese cultural and linguistic heritage for the next generation of Japanese in Aotearoa/New Zealand (The Japan

Kauri Education Charitable Trust, 2012). The Japanese Interdisciplinary Network Group in Auckland (JINGA) is another Japanese-based NGOs. Due to the absence of a formal and consistent professional Japanese network group in Auckland, some Japanese practitioners (i.e. social workers) working in mainstream NGOs and DHBs felt there was limited information and a lack of culturally-relevant services available for Japanese clients (Isogai et al., 2013). In order to find a new way of forming an effective partnership among Japanese practitioners by building on both informal and/or working relationships with a range of professional and clients groups (O'Brien 2005), some Japanese Social Workers and Community Development Workers formed a strengths-based, interdisciplinary Japanese network group, known as JINGA, in July 2013 (Isogai et al., 2013).

Investigating the experiences of female Japanese settlers in Auckland

Despite the services developed for Japanese settlers, several NGOs that support Japanese settlers in Auckland claim that there are a number of challenges that emerge for Japanese settlers during the resettlement process.

This section describes the research methodology used to explore the resettlement experiences of eight female Japanese settlers living in Auckland. The emphasis is on their experiences so that their settlement needs become more visible to community and social service providers, employers and people living in New Zealand.

Methodology

Two approaches are used to address potential methodological biases as well as to respect the values, practices and beliefs of the Japanese settlers` communities. Firstly, this study was developed by "insiders", as one of the authors and both researchers are members of the Japanese community (Honeychurch, 1996; Kanuga, 2000). Also, the primary researcher is involved with two NGOs that support Asian settlers. Thus, we are positioned in a dual role as researchers and members of the Japanese communities in Auckland region.

Secondly, the research team consulted with various people regarding the research design. One of the authors consulted with a number of sources, including some of the Japanese settlers who are members of JINGA; social service providers from three NGOs; and two research

experts on settlement and migration regarding a culturally appropriate research design for Japanese settlers. The majority of the consultations took place through traditional in-person meetings although some of the consultations took place by email due to time and geographic constraints. Based on these consultations and due to the limited scope, resources and time for this research, the authors decided to conduct an exploratory study based on qualitative methods, utilising a phenomenology research design in order to explore the settlement needs of female Japanese settlers. The researchers drafted interview questions based on a review of the relevant literature. Some of the questions from the semi-structured questionnaire were refined and modified based on input from the JINGA members.

Ten participants were invited to participate from the researchers' personal (such as friends, group members and colleagues) and professional networks and community organisations. The selection criteria for the research was as follows:

- Those who are first generation (new migrants) Japanese in Aotearoa/ New Zealand.
- Those who are aged 18 to 65.
- Those who are migrants/settlers having been born and raised in Japan.
- Those who have been living in Auckland for more than six months.
- Those who hold leadership roles in Japanese communities or those who are part of the Japanese communities in Auckland.

Eight Japanese settlers, all female, met the criteria and were selected. An initial invitation was made to them by email informing them about the project. The participants then voluntarily contacted the researchers by email or phone if they wished to participate in the study. In order to ensure that participants did not feel that there was a sense of obligation to participate in the study, researchers informed them of their rights in both the phone-call and the face-to-face conversations.

All participants were adult females who were currently living in Auckland. The participants' length of stay in Aotearoa/New Zealand at the time of the interviews ranged from two to 15 years. Six participants held leadership roles in Japanese community groups and organisations and two participants were housewives/homemakers who were part of Japanese community groups. Interviews for this study took place in Auckland. Participants were offered a $20NZ gift card for their participation in the study. All interviews were conducted at a place and time of the participants' choice but mutually agreed to with the researchers. All participants gave their consent to take part in the study and in order to

ensure participants' confidentiality and to protect their privacy, they were asked to choose a pseudonym. Semi-structured, in-depth, one-to-one interviews were conducted. The length of each interview ranged from 30 minutes to an hour. All the interviews were conducted in Japanese in order to communicate culturally appropriately and effectively. The interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed by the researchers. All transcriptions were reviewed by the interviewer and researchers and sent to the respective participants who had full and final control over the content of the transcribed interview. During this process, some participants requested to delete or modify parts of the transcripts because they felt that these might identify them either to their communities or to organisations for whom they were currently working. Translation of the transcripts from Japanese to English were carried out by the researchers. In order to ensure accuracy of the translation, the two researchers exchanged translated transcripts with each other.

Braun and Clark's (2006) thematic analysis was used to identify, analyse, interpret and exposit patterns or themes within the raw data. Initial (descriptive) data analysis was managed by the researcher through personal transcribing, cross-translating the data, and reading the transcripts. Initial coding was developed based on the semi-structured interview guide and from key themes in the interview. One of the main themes that emerged from the data and which will be further discussed was the resettlement experiences of Japanese settlers.

This study reflects the voices of the eight participants. We acknowledge that these participants who were interviewed may have sufficient settlement support in their lives and may be well-integrated in to the Auckland community. We also acknowledge that there are many other Japanese settlers in the community who do not have the basic support, network and community resources and may choose not to participate in this project to tell their stories. Nevertheless, we believe that the major strength of this small exploratory study is that we present and privilege participants who may not respond to a larger survey. The participants were Kei, Mai, Keiko, Hitomi, Hikari, Rika, Hamada, and Tanaka.

Findings - The resettlement experiences of eight female Japanese settlers

When exploring the resettlement experiences for Japanese settlers in Auckland, the participants discussed a range of factors related to their resettlement experiences: the reasons for choosing Auckland as their place of resettlement; the different resettlement pathways; English language

proficiency; adjusting to the differing culture of the services offered; immigration issues; unemployment; and mental health concerns.

Reason for choosing Auckland as their place of resettlement

The participants said that they chose Auckland as their place for resettlement because it was the largest and most populated metropolitan city in Aotearoa/New Zealand and because it was their partners' decision.

> *Kei: I initially wavered in my choice to go to Christchurch and Auckland, but I eventually decided to go to Auckland as I heard that Auckland is the most populated and lively city* (in Aotearoa/New Zealand).

There was also a shared understanding that there would be more employment opportunities available for the Japanese settlers in Auckland based on the population numbers.

> *Keiko: I thought it would be easier for us to find a job as Auckland is a place where population is crowded. Of course, I wanted to go to South Island or other beautiful places* (in Aotearoa/New Zealand)*, but to live in these places mean that I have to find a job there right?*

'Partner's decision' was another justification for choosing Auckland. Rika said that her decision to move to Auckland was because her husband decided to study at the University of Auckland after living in Christchurch.

The different resettlement pathways

Participants in the study explained the different resettlement pathways. Japanese settlers' immigration can be characterised in three ways. Japanese settlers who migrated in Auckland with (1) a Working Holiday or Student visa and changed to a Permanent Resident visa (PR) due to marriage, (2) a Visitor's visa with the intention of gaining permanent residence in the future, and (3) a Partnership visa due to a cross-cultural marriage in Japan. Of all eight participants in the study, two participants initially held Working Holiday visas (Kei and Hitomi), two had Visitor's visas (Keiko and Hikari) and one held a Student visa (Hamada) prior to obtaining a Permanent Resident visa (PR) in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The other two participants obtained Partnership visas and one respondent gained permanent residence prior to migrating to Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Interestingly, those participants who initially came to Auckland on a Working Holiday visa (Kei and Hitomi) said that they did not have any

interest in staying in Auckland long-term. However, they decided to settle in Auckland permanently after finding their marriage partners in Auckland.

> *Kei: I came to New Zealand from Japan with Working Holiday Visa for one year. My initial plan was to return to Japan after one year, but while I was spending time in Auckland, I began to think that nature in New Zealand is good. When one year is about to over, I happened to obtain another job in New Zealand. It was a Japanese company (in New Zealand) and obtained a job in that company. Then, I changed my visa from Working Holiday Visa to Working Visa and stayed there for few years. I, then, renewed my visa and stayed for two or three years. Afterwards, I met my husband and applied PR and here I am now.*

Two participants noted that they initially came to Auckland with a Visitor's visa, followed by a Work visa and ultimately gained permanent residence.

> *Keiko: I was a visitor visa when I first came to New Zealand. At that time, immigration New Zealand used a point system. So, based on an assumption about (Immigration New Zealand point system), we will be able to obtain Permanent Residency in New Zealand… We applied PR right after we arrived in New Zealand. It was tough to do so, but we had to push ourselves.*

On the other hand, Mai was able to gain permanent residence without a job offer as she had enough points under the New Zealand immigration points system policy. Tanaka and Rika were able to obtain a Partnership visa while they were in Japan.

> *Rika: I was already a spouse at that time. So, I applied for Permanent Residency when I was in Japan and I was able to gain it immediately. My children were also able to gain New Zealand citizenship immediately when they applied from their birth certificates in New Zealand.*

Limited English proficiency

Hikari summarised an overarching experience faced by Japanese settlers: `*to live in a foreign culture*`. Participants stated that limited English proficiency was a main challenge for them. Mai articulated the importance of addressing this challenge: '*Because of limited English proficiency, it stops Japanese (settlers) from succeeding in their fields*'.

Hamada: My first challenge was (learning) English. After I went to English school for three months and if I didn't study English… I could communicate with others for little things, but I was not able to say what I wanted to say to others.

Four of the participants said that English was a challenge regarding access to health and social services in Auckland and that some Japanese settlers were hesitant to utilise the social and health services in Auckland due to English language barriers.

Mai: There are some workshops (organised by various social service agencies) but these services are offered in English. The reality is that Japanese people don't want to attend the services as these services are offered in English. If these are offered in Japanese, they don't hesitate to attend and talk over their own issues (with these service providers).

Hitomi: Whatever I did, my English was poor and I couldn't explain what I was thinking. When I came here as a working holiday maker, I went to the hospital, but I didn't know how to explain about my health condition.

Tanaka also pointed out that limited English proficiency was a challenge in terms of engaging with local communities in Auckland.

Cultural and service system differences and adjustments

Participants also experienced challenges in understanding, accepting and adjusting to the differences in Aotearoa/New Zealand's cultural and service systems. Hamada described her experience after she learnt to speak English:

When you are able to speak (English) later, a cultural gap-a different kind of relationship-different ways of thinking and different processes of things-foods, those are completely different. That was challenging for me to accept and understand those differences, and also, being accepted. If I say so, we are an international marriage couple. So every day, we have 'Bachi Bachi' *{sounds which imply a conflict between a husband and a wife).*

Several participants said that they often compared Japan and Aotearoa/New Zealand when encountering the differences in the culture and the services offered in Auckland. Mai commented that she often compared the qualities and style of customer service in Aotearoa/New Zealand by thinking *'it would be good if there is that*' and '*if it was in Japan, it would be like that'*. Tanaka gave an example of a related experience during her pregnancy:

> *It was written* [in the DHB Health service document] *about pregnancy and childbirth. Nevertheless, I found that the health system was completely different. The health system is very different from Japan. That's why I was confused.*

Rika noted the differences in the mental health services in Aotearoa/New Zealand:

> *Another case is mental health (service systems). When the partner became depressed, that person cannot be taken cared at home in Japan. When receive a phone call (in Japan), a psychiatrist in Psychiatry department diagnose the person that I was working with in Japan. We let the person to come and admit into the hospital. But, when it comes to mental health services in New Zealand, they don't let people to bring into the hospital unless they are really dying or risk to others. That's why; I heard it is trouble for them.*

Hikari also reflected on her challenge of understanding and accepting the differences in the school system in Aoteaora/New Zealand:

> *Not being able to understand school system… There is no entrance ceremony in the Kindergarten or like that? I thought there was an entrance ceremony. So I prepared suits and I asked others* (New Zealanders/Kiwi) *when I wear suits during the school ceremony, they laughed at me.*

Keiko added:

> *In Japan, we can accomplish tasks if we follow what government office or company say. New Zealand is different. I had to use other powers (to accomplish tasks).*

Immigration-related issues

Four of the participants linked immigration-related issues to the experiences they had encountered in the resettlement process. Dealing with systems and processes when changing their visas was a common topic. Hitomi said that she had problems when her immigration consultant left, thereby compounding her visa application-issues. Keiko spoke about the difficulty of contacting the immigration service regarding her PR application:

> *Initially, I've been waiting for it, but there was nothing I could do if I just waited. So, I tried to give a phone call to them, but there was no one*

answered phone call. I send an email to them, but there was no response from them. I faxed them, but there was no response from them.

Two of the participants described the difficulty of getting permanent residence after obtaining employment.

Hikari: I found a job, but some employers did not willing to provide Visa support. There was a season that we suffered as we did not have sufficient immigration knowledge. Our lives became busy as our visa changed from two years to one year and we spent money and… Visa application process was not easy for us. Our children`s school expenses of the entrance to elementary school was all different in work-visa existence or nonexistence. That`s why, I feel that I used to live in NZ while throbbing with this concern.

Kei explained that a company's policy made it difficult for some Japanese settlers to gain permanent residence:

The company that I was working at that time did rarely support for their employees to gain PR due to their company policy though they support to renew Work Visa. Many of my colleagues have been working there for a long time, but they only have 1 or 2 years of Work Visa. Nevertheless, they were not able to change their (Work Permit) visa to PR. I've seen my co-workers who they eventually returned to Japan after 1 or 2 years, even if they wanted to stay in NZ. That's why; it took me a while to gain a PR.

Unemployment (getting a job)

Four respondents reported that gaining employment (getting a job) was one of the major experiences of their resettlement. Hitomi said that it was difficult getting a job as a hairdresser in Auckland. The other participants said that some of the difficulties with finding a job were their lack of skill in writing a Curriculum Vita and their overseas work experiences and qualifications

Keiko: I came to New Zealand with an aim of studying English for a year, but in the end of the English course, I was going to get a job. My husband and I desperately tried to look for a job, but we could not find it. New Zealanders (Kiwi) informed me: "You cannot find a job unless you have a {New Zealand} qualification". So, previously, I was a Japanese teacher in the past and was confident about my work experience, but that person told me strongly that I need a (New Zealand) qualification/license. Then, I realized that my work experience and skills are not enough for me to gain a job. So, I got a license in the end. Prior to that, I got jobs in other fields and other things, but I eventually found that the person's advice was right.

I could not survive with a job without qualification (in Aotearoa/New Zealand). I eventually got (New Zealand) qualification and became a teacher (in Auckland).

Mental health concerns

There were two common mental health concerns that the Japanese settlers said they experienced during the resettlement process: depression and stress. Depression was mentioned by three of the participants when they spoke about the resettlement experiences of other Japanese settlers. Tanaka reported that there were some Japanese settlers who became depressed due to isolation and lack of support and resources from Japanese settlers' groups and community services. Rika used the term 'depression' to explain her mental health concern in the beginning of her resettlement process in Christchurch, caused by attending local events such as a school trip. Hitomi illustrated other Japanese mothers' emotional struggles during the pregnancy or parenting, noting:

While parenting, I think there are many situations that you think about what you can do as a mother when facing family issues. For an example, when you have a child and pregnant with your second or third child and your husband come home late from work. In such a case, I think mothers who have little understanding of English can easily be depressed.

The word '*ochikomu*' translated as 'feeling down' was commonly by these respondents in the study. The participants illustrated their experience of 'feeling down' during the resettlement process.

Hikari: I felt down at times. In particular, it is true that I become in low-mood in the winter. However, I don't think my whole family became in low-mood. I think it might have been fine.

Tanaka: I felt down and wondered 'how my life will be in the future'. We have an older child. So, I couldn't feel depressed, our older child was at preschool age at the time I had to take him/her to the preschool. If I didn't have him/her, I could shut myself into the house if I wanted to do. There are some people like that. If you don't have any older children, you could be with a newborn baby at home all day long. You may be reluctant to go out. There are people (Japanese settlers) who are like that.

'Stress' was another mental health issue experienced by Japanese settlers. Keiko reported that she had been experiencing a certain degree of stress ever since she migrated to Auckland. However, she said that she preferred not to think about it in order to enjoy her life in Auckland.

Tanaka stated that she felt that she had changed her personality due to having to speak in another language and this resulted in stressing her:

> *How can I say…it's like a dilemma. When they* (Japanese settlers) *speak in English, they feel that they are different. They cannot show their own personality by speaking in English as much as they speak in Japanese. They are distressed by that at the beginning* {of resettlement in Auckland} *and thought 'my own personality isn't that right'.*

Rika acknowledged other Japanese settlers who had mental health concerns:

> *This is second case that I am currently supporting and this time, husband has mental health issue. Because of his mental health issue, he abuses* {his family}.

Conclusion

This small exploratory study on the experiences of eight Japanese women living in Auckland highlights a number of factors consistent with the literature on migration and resettlement. The reason for migrating as well as the length of time that a community has resettled impact on how the new settler approaches resettlement, the support that is available for newly resettled migrants and the networks that can assist with integration into the new home country. For new settlers that do not speak the dominant language of the host country, language proficiency remains a constant challenge along with finding employment, the acceptance of foreign qualifications, and having local work experience.

This study indicates that despite the challenging experiences of these eight Japanese new settlers to Auckland, engaging with the existing Japanese community and social service organizations, or establishing new community organizations to assist resettlement, allows these women the means by which they can begin the process of resettling and re-establishing themselves in their new home.

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