



FROM CULTURAL TO ECONOMIC CAPITAL: COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT CREATION IN OTARA

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Abstract

This paper stresses the need for community responses to the ethnic unemployment problem in New Zealand. It aims to show the potential for direct employment creation on the basis of a community entrepreneurship model as well as a widened definition of human capital, using case study of the labour market disadvantaged community of Otara, in South Auckland. Projects harnessing cultural and ethnic riches to create Otara as an attractive visitor destination undertaken by Enterprise Otara (EO) are examined. A participatory research methodology, chiefly formative evaluation is used. This paper seeks to break down a prevalent view that grassroots responses to unemployment are necessarily small-scale ventures and to get away from the 'small is beautiful' mind-set when Local Employment Initiatives (ILEs) are involved. Additionally, the collaborative role of 'outsiders' in the 'bottom-up' approach to employment creation is shown to be important in 'getting things moving' at the community level. Constraints faced by community organisations are highlighted. The importance of ILEs and the partnership concept in the mitigation of high unemployment in disadvantaged communities, is affirmed.

Ethnic minority groups are presently over-represented among the unemployed. Unemployment statistics from the Household Labour Force Survey for the September 1996 quarter, shows a seasonally adjusted unemployment rate of 6.3%. Closer examination reveals continuing significant differences between European/Pakeha rates of unemployment and those of NZ Maori and the Pacific Group. Although there has been some decline in the Maori and Pacific Island rates of unemployment from their peak 1991/92 levels, these communities continue to bear a heavy burden of unemployment. Maori and Pacific Group unemployment rates of 15.9% and 14.3% respectively, for the September 1996 quarter, contrasts with the Pakeha rate of 4.5%. That this divergence in ethnic rates of unemployment persists despite the strong increase in employment over the last five years, is a matter of serious economic and social concern.¹

This paper contends that given the continuing labour market disadvantage of ethnic minorities, strong efforts are required at the grassroots level to create employment. Community entrepreneurship, with the community supplying initiative and enterprise for the creation, transformation and expansion of employment creating ventures is seen as a possible answer to both an initial lack of individual entrepreneurial skills and employment opportunities for ethnic minority groups (de Bruin and Dupuis 1995a, 1995c). In particular, community entrepreneurship can open new horizons through 'market-leading' activity. Market-leading is described as a deliberately staged affair, unlike 'market-following'. The growth of the economy stimulates a market-following response from enterprises in order to satisfy new or additional demand. The relative price of labour and the elasticity of

substitution between labour and capital contributes to determining whether additional demand for labour will accompany this response and result in employment growth. By contrast, market-leading manages change to create demand and employment growth which would not otherwise have occurred. Market-leading in the context of this paper involves innovative exploitation of the community's social, cultural and other resources, which nurtures and expands a market for the goods and services produced at the local level.

Community entrepreneurship invests cultural capital. Cultural capital, used here in the Bourdieuan sense (Bourdieu 1986), can be converted into economic capital through innovative community action. Using the terminology of Hirschman (1984), community entrepreneurship would release 'social energy' to provide bottom-up development. It could build upon cultural strengths and ethnic identity. 'Cultural energy'² (Kleymeyer 1994) would thus supplement social energy.

Collective mobilisation of resources and the active exploration of ways to involve local populations in ownership and control of their own economic destiny is a key element of community entrepreneurship. It also includes partnership between local community groups, local and central government agencies, private companies and other 'honest brokers', to take a proactive role to stimulate economic activity. The Otara case of strengthening community entrepreneurship highlights that partnerships in ILEs are the 'key to job creation' (OECD 1993). An integrated programme of regeneration and development, harnessing cultural and ethnic riches to create Otara as an attractive visitor destination, is an

example of market-leading community entrepreneurship capable of providing large scale employment.

Analysis of employment creation in Otara is conducted through a participatory research methodology. 'Participatory research has as its goals the empowerment of people. Researchers play a part as facilitators in a process enabling this development' (Small 1987, cited in Boswell and Brown 1990: 49). A formative evaluation approach is used chiefly to examine Enterprise Otara's tourism project.

Intrinsic in formative evaluation is co-operative participation. Premised upon methodological pluralism, the evaluation begins from understanding the local context in which the evaluation is situated. The next step involves intensive participant observation. This includes charting the progress of project implementation; identifying stakeholders and their interest; examining possible problems associated with implementation within a multicultural environment and providing suggestions for the successful implementation. This process involved my active involvement in the ongoing stages the project as well as the recent operation of EO.

The Otara Community³

The definition of community in the Otara context, involves social and economic interaction of members within a relatively small geographic locale. Members either live and/or work in the locality. Community is 'based on the subjective feeling of parties ... that they belong together' (Weber 1947: 136). This sense of belonging together is a particular feature of the Otara community. It has its roots in the historical development of Otara, as a deliberate creation of the housing and industrial policies of the welfare state, has developed as part of the more widespread recent ethnic revival in New Zealand, is strongly linked to religious ties within the community, and has been strengthened by the resistance to the negative stereotype so typically attached to Otara.

Otara is an urban community in the South Auckland city of Manukau with a population of 29,694 people. It is a clearly identifiable ethnic minority community since 80% of its residents are Maori and Pacific Island people. It has the largest concentration of Pacific Islander people in New Zealand with 53% of its population belonging to this Group. Otara is New Zealand's multicultural hub. It is a special community with a rich and diverse cultural make-up. The youthfulness of its population is also a distinctive feature. 55% are under the age of 25, 38% under 15 years and 46% under 19 years. This young and vibrant population gives Otara an unique quality.

The economic restructuring of the 1980s, with closure of the large Southdown and Westfield Freezing Works and factory closure or downsizing of other manufacturing industries in the region, meant fewer job opportunities for the largely unskilled or low skilled population of Otara. Labour market disadvantaged Otara, has four times the number of beneficiaries per head of population and more than double the number of registered unemployed than the total Auckland Region. Otara is an example of a community severely

affected by the structural changes of the economy. Low levels of formal education of the people of Otara, however, makes it all the more difficult to break out of the circle of deprivation by relying on employment creation through market-following responses. Nevertheless, the population's significant cultural capital, a factor frequently overlooked in analyses in which only formal qualifications are considered, provides a suitable context to examine the potential for effective direct employment creation on the basis of an extended definition human capital which includes cultural capital.

The people of Otara cannot be accused of 'amoral familism' or 'the inability of villagers to act together for their common goal or, indeed, for any end transcending the immediate, material interest of the nuclear family' (Banfield 1958: 10). Instead, interacting through the Maraes, Kokiris, Runanga, churches, cultural societies and trusts and strengthened by the difficulties brought on by the economic restructuring of the 1980s, Otara developed 'an unique form of suburban communalism which would be the envy of many other hard pressed New Zealand communities. Yet this communalism, has not been able to recast or "re-vision" the future of the community. If anything it reinforces the culture of dependency which grips so many individuals in Otara' (Lunday 1993: 32). Enterprise Otara (EO), was established to act as the catalyst for the creation of a vision for the future of Otara. Through consultation with the community and in partnership with both public and private sector players, it would also be an instrument to bring this vision to reality.

Enterprise Otara

The establishment of EO, was envisioned as the mechanism to manage change in Otara. EO, a partnership between the Otara community and local business, local and central government, and an independent team of 'honest brokers', would provide the means to lift the community out of welfare dependence and lead to the emergence of a self reliant community.

EO was conceived in December 1992, after meetings between representatives from Manukau City Council (MCC), community leaders and a facilitator. A decision was reached to use EO to enable an innovative, community driven strategy for economic regeneration. With a pilot programme launched in February 1993, informal community meetings held in the first two months, focused on the revitalisation of the Otara Town Centre. Realisation that the community's issues needed to be dealt with in a more proactive manner, led to a workshop to formulate a Kaupapa (Mission Statement). The Kaupapa that emerged: The People of Otara Creating an Unique Marketplace (subsequently modified by substituting 'environment' for 'marketplace'), was a first step in propelling EO/Maia Whakaaro (Bold Undertaking) as an organisation actively promoting community development. EO was established in April 1993, as an incorporated society, with community specific objects including:

- To raise the self-esteem and promote the self determination of people within the Otara Community.

- To identify, facilitate and implement key programmes which will provide the foundation for business success in Otara.

- A report in July 1993, by James Lunday of Auckland University and two Project Coordinators from the community, provided detailed suggestions and plans for the economic regeneration of Otara with EO as the catalyst (Lunday 1993).

Foundation projects of EO were the setting up of a community newspaper and the Town Centre Enhancement project. The aim of the latter project was to improve and beautify the Otara Town Centre to reflect the culture of the community. Initially, decoration of the bare concrete columns of the fish shaped canopy of the Centre with Pacific inspired designs and covering the previously graffiti prone sides of the Otara bus depot with a strong Polynesian style mural, was undertaken. This was the stepping stone in employment opportunities for the talented young artists, involved. Some of them formed Primitive Nature, to undertake freelance graphic artwork. They have been nurtured by EO, for example with advice on the prudence of name registration and other business strategies, confirming that many youth, particularly those from disadvantaged backgrounds, who set up in self employment, need continued assistance with management, sales and marketing strategies (ILO 1986: 116). The newspaper project has been successful in building pride in the community and counteracting the negative image of Otara so often highlighted in the national media.

EO's highly successful Proud Music Project aimed at promoting and exposing local artists in the music industry. The production of the album Proud in 1994, was acclaimed in the music world. It encompassed a musical range from acapella and Polynesian swing, to easy listening and urban rap: contemporary styles yet uniquely Polynesian. The project included one of the biggest music tours ever in New Zealand involving 43 young artists. A new wave of Polynesian artists were promoted. Among now well known names are Sisters Underground, Otara Millionaires Club and Fuemana. One of the musicians involved, Pauli Fuemana, OMC, has gone on to spectacular success with a single How Bizarre. Fostered and facilitated by EO, a stand-alone enterprise has now been established: Urban Pacifika Records (UPR). The album Street Soul is due for release by UPR, late 1996. The compilation follows from a nation-wide talent quest organised by EO for the best urban Pacific talent of Aotearoa. This success is proof of both the cultural capital of the community and the importance of the initial impetus that community based projects can provide for the investment of this capital. UPR is now a future corporate sponsor agreeing to donate 5% its profits to EO.

EO adopts a holistic approach to its activities. For example, working toward a Well-Being Centre has been another EO project. This project serves to highlight that all aspects of community development are inter-linked. Improved health of people enhances their human capital which in turn increases employment potential. The proposed Well-Being Centre aims to provide a one-stop, easily accessible health

shop in the Otara Town Centre, specifically catering to a community with an 80% Maori and Pacific Island ethnicity. Services will focus on good health promotion and prevention of ill health including child health care, women's health, family planning, youth health, community support services, with services such as translations and traditional medicines also being provided. EO has moved on from the project's first consultation stage, to support for the second stage of a needs assessment conducted by North Health and now the next stage, with involvement in an Implementation Group.

The Tourism Project

EO has already achieved success with employment creation projects utilising the community's cultural wealth. Further ongoing employment will be provided if Otara were transformed into the tourist Mecca of South Auckland, as envisioned in EO's tourism project. This project aims to develop Otara into a viable tourist destination using the cultural strengths and talents which exist in abundance in the community. The project will provide an arena for the community's ethnic groups to promote their cultures in the form of music, arts, crafts, food and fashion. It has the potential to provide significant employment opportunities for Otara people, with multiplier effects for the wider community. The project comprises several distinct developmental stages:

1. Embryonic Stage

In its suggestions for the positive management of change, the Lunday Report pointed to the potential of Otara to benefit from tourism:

There is a wealth of cultural skill and knowledge embedded within the fabric of this community ... This unique multi-ethnic environment could be developed to attract the valuable tourist dollar to boost the local economy' (Lunday 1993:14).

In March 1994, a model of the Otara Town Centre was developed by EO in conjunction with the School of Architecture, Auckland University. A design model for a Cultural Centre was constructed and this was included as a key part of the Town Centre model. No steps were, however, taken to act on the tourism potential until there was input from two academics from Massey University, on the idea.

2. Theoretical Underpinning and Culture Print

This stage was absolutely fundamental to the birth and movement through infancy of the project. It provided the basis for firm acceptance of the project as one of vital importance not only to employment creation but also to the formal recognition of the cultural diversity and wealth of Otara. The potential of the project to foster pride and raise aspirations, especially of the younger generation, on a larger scale than hitherto envisaged, was now being realised by some leading members of the community. In fact this stage may be viewed as an essential stage in terms of the philosophy of praxis: the linking of ideas with action and change, for Otara.

The development of the ideas that the community of Otago is rich in cultural capital though its people are lacking in human capital, as conventionally defined, and the highlighting that this cultural capital can be harnessed through market-leading community entrepreneurship, provided a theoretical rationale for the project. The project also began to receive national media attention. The setting out of Otago the Vision, re-named the Culture Print in the EO promotional booklet (1995), provided an impetus to carry the project forward to its next stage of development. This vision envisaged a series of strategic initiatives to establish Otago as the centre of Maori and Polynesian Aotearoa. It included: the creation of a unique marketplace in the Town Centre and strengthening of the Saturday Flea Market; a Community Arts and Cultural Centre with a performing arts theatre, restaurants, workshops, visual arts exhibition and retailing; an Eco-Development Park, Community Farm and the development of the 'Otago Waterfront'; and the Otago Festival - an annual event with the potential to become the foremost cultural, sporting and gourmet Maori and Polynesian 'spectacular' on the calendar.

3. Feasibility Study

In May 1995, EO commissioned Anne de Bruin and Ann Dupuis of Massey University, to gauge the feasibility of the development of Otago as a desirable tourist destination. In-depth interviews with a broad range of people with knowledge and expertise in the tourist industry, plus a more informal survey of the friends and relatives market provided the basis for the Report's recommendations (de Bruin and Dupuis, 1995b).

The key finding of the study was that there was overall support for the vision to develop Otago as a tourist destination. Otago's unique multicultural character was widely recognised as were the locational advantages it offered. The chief disadvantage highlighted however, was Otago's negative reputation. The information gained indicated the preferred product to be developed in Otago was one of a cultural experience in a one site complex, where cultural performances, food provision and the sale of art and craft work could take place. Informants stressed the need for a high quality product of international standard that was reliable and sustainable. It was also thought that the Otago project could fill a recognisable product gap in the Auckland international tourist market. Appeal to the domestic tourist market was a possibility, though detailed research into this market was not an objective of this study.

The Final Report of the study was submitted in December 1995. For the community, the importance of this study was confirmation that Otago could develop its tourism potential to provide on-going employment opportunities. The formulation of strategies to achieve this end, comprises the next stage in the development of the project.

4. Strategy Formulation

Macroeconomic conditions of a dynamic tourism market are favourable to tourism initiatives in New Zealand. Unfortu-

nately this does not guarantee the automatic success of individual ventures. Vision, strategic planning and effective marketing are prerequisites to tap into this growing market. Strategy formulation and effective implementation is thus the decisive phase in determining whether the project will provide a sustainable employment base for Otago.

An Otago Tourism Committee with the aim: 'to promote cultural experiences in Otago to the tourist industry' was formed. Some members met in October 1995. Finding a site, establishing a plan for developing and marketing the concept, putting together a working party, locating a project manager and seeking investors, were set out as objectives. Nine possible sites were identified, including the marae in Otago. The community, spearheaded by EO, was now beginning to seriously think about harnessing the tourist potential of Otago.

An idea, namely to hold a reception in Manukau to showcase the performing arts talents of the Otago community, in honour of the Commonwealth Heads and their delegations attending the November Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) in Auckland, which could have been beneficial in terms of the positive exposure for the community, was also being worked on at this time. The proposition was taken up with the Prime Minister by the MP for Otago and was favourably looked upon by the Executive Director of the CHOGM Task Force. Unfortunately, the idea came too late to make last minute organisation of the reception worthwhile. This missed opportunity, however, is illustrative of the need for strategic planning if community-led projects are to avail themselves of advantageous marketing opportunities. Diligent planning efforts and effective plan implementation are now urgently needed if the Otago tourism project is to tap into market opportunities presented by the Auckland America's Cup events and the Sydney Olympics 2000.

Following the completion of the Feasibility Study, new efforts to drive the project began in 1996. A smaller tourism steering committee was formed and a member, Chris Manu of Onu Consultants, volunteered as the tourism Project Director, gratis for two months. A detailed draft proposal for siting a cultural experience at one of the Otago marae was also prepared by Chris.

At a committee meeting in July, I sensed some frustration from a couple of members, at what looked to them like unnecessary complications and a slowness to act with respect to plans for siting the project at the marae. It is possible, however, that part of this frustration arose out of a lack of understanding of what a marae actually means to the Maori people. 'The marae is the wahi rangatira mana (place of greatest mana), wahi rangatira wairua (place of greatest spirituality), wahi rangatira iwi (place that heightens people's dignity), and wahi rangitira tikanga Maori (place in which Maori customs are given the ultimate expression)' (Tauroa 1986: 17). Decisions to use the marae for commercial purposes cannot therefore be taken lightly or hastily. This may not be understood by some people from other cultures.⁴ This example is also indicative of the practical

difficulties of implementing programmes in a multicultural setting.

In August, James Lunday and Catherine Edmeades of Auckland University, undertook to carry out, in conjunction with EO, a study into the needs of the Pacific Island arts community and the means for satisfying these needs, including the feasibility of establishing a Pacifika Art Gallery in Otago. The completion of the final report, anticipated late November, should move implementation of the tourism project another step forward.

A new era for Enterprise Otago: problems and prospects

After three years of operation, EO has come through its developmental phase while still being dependant on governmental funding for its continued existence. Although EO has made a significant difference in the community, this contribution has not been objectively measured and actively monitored. Radical local government restructuring in Dunedin has meant an absence of facilitation and a noticeable support gap from the Dunedin City Council for over a year. Redefined roles at MCC, has brought in new people not familiar with EO's history, who are critical of the paucity of periodic reports and detailed strategic plans, not required of EO in the past, yet now essential funding conditions to be met within stringent time limits. EO's past informal operational procedures has also resulted in no clear cut definition of Board and Project Director responsibilities, posing further difficulties. It is now urgent that such organisational details, reporting and other procedures be sorted out and acceptable standards of business planning and performance measurement met, so that the survival of EO is ensured. A clear distinction must be drawn between the governance functions of the Board and every-day running and management of EO by the Project Director. There is also a need for transparency and appropriate procedures for the exit of successful projects from the EO umbrella to be put in place.

In common with several community organisations, EO has been constrained by the guarantee of a continuity of funds. Funding from the MCC and the Community Employment Group of the Department of Labour (CEG) on a year-to-year basis has always meant an element of uncertainty for EO. While specific projects, have attracted private support, the lack of funds for some projects have endangered their commercial viability and limited their scope. EO's community newspaper project for instance, illustrates the difficulties faced when inadequate start-up capital meant an initial lack of dedicated computing and printing facilities and the editor's time often taken up with simple production issues, leaving less time for important management and professional considerations.⁵

Similar to many low income communities, Otago has inadequate professional and managerial skills. It must be stressed, however, that people initially lacking in skills, working in community organisations, often can acquire necessary skills. Learning by doing as well as through participation in training programmes leads to skill acquisition. Board training is

a new condition for funding imposed by MCC and this should benefit inexperienced Board members and help them to be effective leaders in the community. It will also help experienced Board members better understand the demands of the new corporate culture.

Community initiatives are often typically slow moving. The danger of this is that initial enthusiasm can wane. Outsiders or 'honest brokers' have a role both in maintaining momentum and in providing expertise and professional skills. Thus for instance, my enthusiasm for the tourism project and involvement as a new EO Board member hopefully will help focus EO in its vital role as employment enabler and generator, while James Lunday of the University of Auckland, continues as adviser to EO.

Many community organisations also fail in financial management. EO too has had its share of financial management problems. Accounting, cost management and other procedures currently being set in place and the contracting of an accountant since the 1995/96 financial year, will ease the burden of financial management for EO.

One of the biggest hurdles that community driven projects face is the securing of on-going finance. Community projects usually seek funding from multiple sources. Central and local government funding normally comprises seeding funds for projects. It is improbable for large scale projects of a longer term nature, such as EO's tourism initiative, to be adequately funded from governmental sources. Corporate involvement in schemes with a large developmental component and an unproven market, is also unlikely. Alternative avenues of finance need to be explored.

Immigration programmes have been used overseas as an innovative way of financing projects of community value.⁶ Along similar lines, the concept of an Otago Economic Development Fund (OEDF) as a vehicle for investment by business immigrants in a Cultural Centre Complex, was explored. This concept involves partnership with central government who would need to grant concessions to migrants in order to encourage investment in the OEDF, MCC participation chiefly through providing council owned land for the project, the local community as owner and operator of the centre and private investors. Migrant investment in community oriented initiatives like the OEDF, will benefit not only the communities involved but will also be beneficial through building inter-ethnic goodwill in New Zealand.

The organisational form of EO may also be viewed as constraining its activities. Instead of the not-for-profit, limited by guarantee, Enterprise Development Trust format recommended in the Lunday Report, EO remains a society with reduced capacity to secure private funding. Even securing charitable status, has not yet been accomplished though the process began early in 1994, it languished until a special general meeting in November 1996 ratified constitutional changes to meet requirements set by the Inland Revenue Department to obtain charitable status.

A new direction that EO is taking, is active involvement with

business training and education in the community. Close links with the Pacific Island Business Development Trust and Chamber of Commerce, currently being forged, is a key facet of this move.

The formulation of a five year sustainability plan, it is hoped, will secure MCC funding over a four year period instead of the usual annual basis and move EO into a new phase of consolidation as a major force in the community employment creation drive. To achieve this, however, it is vital for EO to move into a new era of greater commercialisation and accountability, while maintaining its community goals and vision intact.

Concluding comments

A major theme that emerged from the Prime Minister's Task Force on Employment (PMTF) proposals was that of empowering communities. It was recognised that employment policy solutions should devolve control to local organisations and take advantage of the energy, enthusiasm and motivation within communities (PMTF 1994: 5). State support of ILEs in New Zealand, is in keeping with the general trend in other OECD economies where 'the role of central government with regard to employment shifted to enabling and co-ordinating these activities, rather than initiating and delivering them' (OECD 1993:7). The Government 'sees its role as facilitating actions at the local level by bringing people together, opening dialogue, and providing information and advice' (NZ Government 1995: 28). The establishment of a Local Employment Co-ordination Unit in the Department of Labour, in April 1996 and the appointment of a network of Local Employment Co-ordinators, is a recent step in this facilitation process. These Co-ordinators will assist in the establishment and functioning of local employment groups which will be local level forum for sharing of information, ideas, strategy formulation and identification of employment related goals.

Publication of *A Manukau Employment Strategy* outlining goals and strategies for employment creation and promotion in the City, (MCC 1996), has been an early result of such a forum.⁷ Under the goal of 'Thriving Community Employment Initiatives' the Strategy declares: 'Manukau is a developing and diverse community where local initiatives and projects contribute significantly to employment creation and should be supported' (MCC 1996: 7). EO and particularly its tourism project, could be a strongly supported local initiative which will enable this goal to be met. Only time will tell whether *A Manukau Employment Strategy* turns out to be just another glossy publication or the impetus for a detailed project oriented strategy for employment creation in the City.

There appears to be a prevalent view that grassroots responses to unemployment are necessarily small-scale ventures. The community entrepreneurship model presented in this paper, provides scope to get away from this 'small is beautiful' mind-set when it comes to ILEs. EO's tourism programme for instance, is a vision that can be realised to generate viable jobs on a scale which will be a significant

enough to be a panacea for unemployment in this labour market disadvantaged locality. Vision, coupled with people dedicated to particular projects in the community, is ultimately a good recipe for the success of community employment creation initiatives whether they be big or small in scope though the importance of project financing must also not be down-played. The tourism project also highlights that strategic planning needs to run parallel with community vision.

In the final analysis it needs to be stressed that ILEs often yield less tangible benefits. Enhanced group cohesion, self-esteem, creativity, leadership and management skills and the avoidance of racial discrimination in employment, are all possible benefits of such people-oriented initiatives. Above all, ILEs can avoid the marginalisation of whole communities such as Otara.

Future research

There is a need for more research to evaluate the impact of ILEs in New Zealand. The achievement of cultural goals such as strengthening of ethnic identity, improving self respect and confidence and provision of positive role models, in addition to the usual commercial goals of providing employment and training and the establishment of profitable commercial enterprises and the like, must be assessed. Environmental goals may be another consideration to enter the equation. Since commercial viability is not the only aim of such initiatives, a social audit should form an integral part of any evaluation. Recently the CEG announced commencement of an intensive evaluation of Maha a Iwi projects in two regions of the country (CEG 1996: 2). Evaluation guidelines used and the progress of this exercise will be useful for comparative purposes when conducting evaluation of other ILEs.

The development of tourism has important implications for the communities concerned. In New Zealand, few research results are currently available on the implications of tourism expansion for local communities. Research is also needed to identify community attitudes toward tourists and visitors. Interviewing focus groups could be a way to gauge this.

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Notes

1. Unemployment rates are an imperfect indicator of the degree of labour market disadvantage of the Maori and Pacific Group peoples. Labour force participation rates, the dynamics of unemployment and demographic characteristics must also be taken into account. See for example Easton 1994, Maré 1995, Fletcher 1995.
2. 'Cultural expression, in all its richness and variety, is a major means of generating and focusing a vital social force that can be called *cultural energy*. This force is a prime source of motivation that inspires people to confront problems, identify solutions, and participate in carrying them out' (Kleymeyer 1994: 4). Social energy is a renewable motivation which induces participation in a group movement or cooperative activities, which occurs despite or on account of hardship, disadvantage and even in the face of failure (Hirschman 1984: 42-57, provides a discussion).
3. Statistics on Otara, unless otherwise specified, relate to the Otara Ward and are from the 1991 Census of Population and Dwellings.
4. There is also a notion prevalent among some non-Maori in the Otara that the marae in question is a multi-racial marae. This notion is possibly a remnant of the early discussions during the establishment of this marae when the Manukau City Council gave the marae site to the Maori people. This concept of a multi-racial community facility was abandoned subsequently. A marae is a Maori institution and it cannot be multi-racial. It is also very doubtful whether this marae is a suitable venue for regular multi-racial cultural concert performances. Tangis and some other uses of the marae would take precedence over a concert for visitors. Regularity and total reliability, however, is necessary if group tour operators are even to consider such an option as a tour stop.
5. Other market factors, like difficulties of a fortnightly publication competing for advertising dollars with the weekly publications in the region, and the generally low margin operation of retail businesses in the Otara Town Centre have also constrained commercial success.
6. For example, the Province of Prince Edward Island uses funds from investment syndicates under the Canadian Government Business Immigrant Investor Program, to finance approved projects that upgrade the Province's infrastructure. One of the projects that such funds are currently being directed to is the financing of the construction of a high-technology fish and lobster food processing plant to produce high value added products. A New Zealand example of an innovative financing scheme is that of the Whakatane Heritage and Recreational Company Ltd, recently established as a charitable community company to establish a 'hands-on museum' and recreational park. It is expected that the sale of trust debentures will be a major source of funding (Boswell et al 1994: 64-65).
7. The partners supporting the document are the CEG, MCC, the Local Employment Co-ordination Unit in the Depart-

ment of Labour, Education and Training Support Agency, Manukau Chamber of Commerce, Manukau Enterprise and Employment Trust and the New Zealand Employment Service.

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