

**Young-Māori Perspectives on Eco-Cultural Tourism and Māori
Communities: A Scoping Study in Cultural Identity,
Community Development and Participation**

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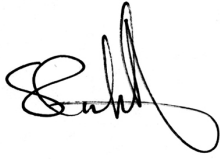
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Contents

Summary	5
1. Introduction	7
2. Background	7
3. Objectives	8
4. Methodology	9
4.1 Research process	9
4.2 Interviews	10
5. Interviews with Rangatahi	11
5.1 Source of cultural identity	11
5.2 Building a sense of belonging to and comfort level in community	12
5.3 Fostering participation in youth	12
5.4 Barriers to participation faced by rangatahi	13
5.5 Visualisation of future roles	14
5.6 Relationships with iwi	14
5.7 Interest in eco-cultural tourism business development	15
5.8 Tourism development and rangatahi	15
5.9 Theoretical context	16
6. Interviews with Older Participants	19
6.1 Identification with a community	19
6.2 Internal identity as motivation for participation	20
6.3 Progressive levels of participation with age	20
6.4 Difficulties faced in community participation	21
6.5 Fostering youth participation	21
6.6 Potential for eco-cultural tourism development	22
7. Discussion and Conclusions	22
7.1 Identity and motivation	23
7.2 Factors affecting participation	23
7.3 Barriers to participation	24
7.4 Developing and recognising new ways of participating	25
7.5 Building relationships with youth	26
8. Implications for Further Research	27
8.1 Questions about identity and participation	27
8.2 Questions associated with building capacity and change	28
9. Acknowledgements	28
10. References	29

Summary

Project and Client

The scoping study presented in this report is nested within the larger context of a 4-year action research project, Te Tāpoitanga Māori, which aims to develop and test strategies for facilitating the development of rural Māori tourism business. The project focuses on two case study areas, one in the North Island and one in the South Island of New Zealand. This piece of research focused on how young people in the southern case study area think about participation in their home communities and how that might apply to the idea of their working in or starting up tourism businesses in their rohe (home areas), and was conducted with the assistance of Takuahi Research and Development (the local institutional project partner and a reference group comprising representatives from the five runanga associated with Banks Peninsula (Onuku, Koukourarata, Wairewa, Rapaki and Taumutu)

Objectives

To explore how young members of the study area communities see the prospect of participating in the development of eco-cultural tourism businesses, and other aspects of their rural communities, by:

- Seeking to understand the relationship of young people to their whānau, rūnanga and land, and how it affects their participation in community development initiatives
- Identifying the barriers faced by young people in participating in community development initiatives
- Exploring conditions that might facilitate their involvement in developing eco-cultural tourism businesses in their communities

Main Findings

Young people experience several barriers to their participation in community development activities such as working on the marae and assisting with resource management and development initiatives. We found that young people see the idea of setting up a tourism business in their home area as potentially difficult. This difficulty is associated with their understanding of tikanga; something they see as limiting the extent and ways in which they might participate in community life. Furthermore, young people see only a few ways in which they might participate at some time in the future and not all of those look attractive. The opportunities for younger people to exercise leadership, in its various forms, seem fewer at home than elsewhere. For those who choose to return home when they are older, the key motivator is often cultural identity, which includes attachment to place and a cultural community.

Development of cultural identity is a complex task for young Māori who may be part of several different communities, e.g. schools or universities, sports teams, young professionals developing their careers, New Zealanders within a global community, and as members of special-interest communities. The negotiation necessary for them to become active members of their communities in a changing world only heightens this complexity.

This research indicates that the process of developing Māori leadership in Marae based communities may not be serving those communities well in terms of the engagement of their rangitahi, particularly in a world where young people have many choices and opportunities

open to them in the world beyond their home communities. The young people in this study indicate that they need encouragement to participate; they need ways to stay in touch with the community when they leave to broaden their experience; and they may need a range of options for bringing back their skills and experience – whether that means moving back home or being encouraged to visit home and participate from further afield.

For the people in our sample, finding ways to sidestep or manage the impact of ‘rūnanga politics’ was seen to be good. New models of participation are occurring as people take on employment related to iwi and rūnanga development in ways where they may contribute their knowledge and skills without having to participate in the decision processes of the rūnanga groups. Few can participate in this way, however, but rūnanga groups may be able to learn how to engage people in different ways (both formal and informal) to foster internal and external networks that might be used to contribute to community development.

1. Introduction

The scoping study presented in this report is nested within the larger context of a 4-year action research project, Te Tāpoitanga Māori, which aims to develop and test strategies for facilitating the development of rural Māori tourism business. The project focuses on two case study areas, one in the North Island and one in the South Island of New Zealand. This piece of research focused on how young people in the southern case study area think about participation in their home communities and how that might apply to the idea of their working in or starting up tourism businesses in their rohe (home areas), and was conducted with the assistance of Takuahi Research and Development (the local institutional project partner).

2. Background

Research conducted during the initial phase of the Te Tāpoitanga Māori project showed that in both case study areas Māori participants see business development as a means of providing opportunities for bringing capable young people back home. It is also a means for supporting themselves in their desire to live at home and contribute to local development, and to maintaining and developing the relationship between the people and the land to which they belong. This relationship to a particular place, the sense of responsibility to ‘keep the home fires burning’ and to look after or restore their place and their people are highly significant factors in the aspirations of the Māori involved in this research project.

As happens in any rural community no matter what culture or country, capable young people leave the area to seek employment and educational opportunities not available to them at ‘home’. In New Zealand it is common for young people to go away from home, often even overseas for a period. Whilst many New Zealanders return to New Zealand after their ‘OE’, Most young Māori do not return to the rural areas which are their ancestral lands, although some may choose to return home as they retire. Those left to keep the community running are few in number and increasing in age, and may face issues associated with poverty. To address these issues, to maintain relationships with the land, to provide development opportunities and to maintain a healthy, well-functioning community into the future, it is important that capable people are attracted back to these areas. However, lack of employment is seen as a barrier.

Although participants in the Te Tapoitanga Māori study were motivated by the idea that new businesses might draw young people back, they also questioned whether this would actually happen. One participant felt that employment alone would generally not be enough to attract young people back. The fact that one of the rūnanga groups participating in the project was unable to find a suitable young person to work at ‘home’ in a new joint mussel farming venture lent support to that observation. Likewise, although a number of young Māori living in London as part of their ‘OE’ maintained their Māori identity through a highly active kapahaka group, they did not aspire to return home, where they felt that their Māori identity involved a lot more responsibility and tension (Wilson, J. 2005 pers. comm.). In New

Zealand too, some Māori we spoke with, (whilst discussing our research project) who live away from their home areas, are not keen to return home because of the demands that will be placed on them if they do.

Many Māori run highly successful businesses away from their home base and independent of any input from their wider whānau or hapū. Some of the business people in our studies have alluded to the fact that setting up a business in their home area is more difficult than setting up business away from home, because of the dynamics of the wider family and their responsibilities within that. Despite this, there are instances of highly successful Māori business development in rural areas (e.g. Whale Watch Kaikoura) that do provide good opportunities for young people and good incentives for them to complete their education and build their own employment capacity.

In the context of developing businesses to attract young people the research team felt that there was merit in exploring further how younger people interact with their marae, what it means to them, and why it is that some people return home to set up a business despite the barriers that they face.

In an effort to examine the complexities around rural Māori business development, we set out to explore the issues surrounding human resource availability on Banks Peninsula, specifically looking at the factors influencing the level of community participation and involvement of different age groups. This report highlights issues and presents findings that are also of interest to Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and other rūnanga, as they are relevant to the ongoing process of Māori community development.

3. Objectives

To explore how young members of the study area communities see the prospect of participating in the development of eco-cultural tourism businesses, and other aspects of their rural communities, by:

- Seeking to understand the relationship of young people to their whānau, rūnanga and land, and how it affects their participation in community development initiatives
- Identifying the barriers faced by young people in participating in community development initiatives
- Exploring conditions that might facilitate their involvement in developing eco-cultural tourism businesses in their communities

4. Methodology

4.1 Research process

The larger Te Tāpoitanga Māori project employs a participatory action research methodology that goes beyond critique to build new strategies and test the effects of new actions in moving towards desired outcomes formulated by those who are normally thought of as subjects in the research setting. As such, participants ideally become partners in the research; the research remains within their control and is based on their expressed research needs. In participatory work, the knowledge participants have of their local communities and wider social systems is considered vital to the formulation and success of the research project. This, however, is not to negate the needs and influence of the researchers, who bring in research expertise and knowledge already generated in the field to assist with formulating research direction. In action research, participants are generally involved in the actions to be tested and must be in full agreement with any interventions if the research is to proceed. This gives them considerable control of the overall research process, and as the research proceeds, researchers must frequently seek and be sensitive to feedback from those participants. Likewise research completed by the researchers provides information which can help participants to formulate or adjust their actions to make them more effective.

The purpose of the action research process in the Te Tāpoitanga Māori research programme is to find ways to assist rural Māori to develop eco-cultural tourism businesses in their remote home areas. This sub-project emerged from an enquiry one of the case study groups had about whether young people would be interested in ecocultural tourism and in engaging with their home areas on Banks Peninsula. While not action based in itself, it was completed at the behest of the iwi groups we are working with in the larger action research project. This report has been reviewed by those same groups.

The study focus dictated the use of qualitative methods for data collection. In a process guided by grounded theory, a theory was developed from the narratives of the interview participants. An important aspect of theories that emerge from such a process is the perspective of the analyst. In this case the authors have a particular interest in community development processes. For Marina Apgar, this interest developed out of work at the grass roots level with indigenous communities in various countries and political settings; current theoretical PhD work on the cultural practices of indigenous peoples that influence sustainable development processes adds depth to these practical experiences. Chrys Horn has a background in community development which includes working with several communities in New Zealand. She leads the Te Tāpoitanga Māori programme and in this regard has undertaken interviews, conversations and observations with Māori around the country. This work and previous experience living and working in rural areas informs the interpretation provided of the qualitative data. A further important note is that we (the researchers) are not 'insiders' and not Māori. Our views, therefore, are the perspectives of outsiders looking in, but we do bring in knowledge of the experiences of other indigenous and non-indigenous groups nationally and internationally.

As part of the action research process, the work was reviewed by members of the groups involved in the research, and these people also assisted in setting the research up, to ensure

that the findings have validity to those associated with the research and to reflect the participatory nature of the wider research programme.

4.2 Interviews

As part of a collaborative effort, the selection process was largely controlled by Takuahi Research and Development (institutional Māori partners in the Te Tāpoitanga Māori programme) who provided the initial contact with potential participants. Securing participants proved to be a challenge for this study, both because of a lack of potential participants in the study area, and the unwillingness of potential candidates to participate. The group of youths interviewed showed a high level of community participation, but as the selection process was managed by Takuahi, it is difficult to know how the already established relationships and roles of its members with other community members influenced the selection process.

The first group interviewed were young Māori (18–21 years old) – descendants of families from the four rūnanga on Banks Peninsula. As all participants lived in Christchurch they were interviewed either at their residence or at a convenient location in town. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted individually lasting up to an hour and a half. The interviewer used the questions outlined in Box 1 below as a starting point for a discussion that explored the general areas of interest in the study while allowing participants to extend the discussion to related areas.

The initial objectives were explored through these interviews; however, the grounded theory approach used in this research allowed a process of continual reflection on the data collected through interviews, discussion with the main research group, and preliminary analysis of the interviews. These processes led the research team to expand the sample to include a group of older participants who had returned home and had negotiated a role or roles for themselves in tribal or rūnanga development activities. The purpose of interviewing this group was largely to shed more light on the kinds of barriers that the younger group might face.

Box 1: Starter interview questions

- Why do young people not participate in their home community?
- What factors might influence their decision to become more involved?
- What do they feel they can offer by participating?
- What support do they require?
- How do they feel about their relationship to their whānau, rūnanga and land?
- Where do they feel they belong?
- Do they view business development in their community as an opportunity for themselves?
- How do they perceive Maori eco-cultural tourism (and their involvement in it)?
- Do they see eco-cultural business development as an interesting business venture?
- If so, what support would they need to become involved in such a venture?

Thus a second series of interviews was conducted with a slightly older group of Māori (27–42 years old) who are actively involved with their communities and/or tribal development activities. These participants were all Ngāi Tahu but did not all descend from Banks Peninsula rūnanga. All were interviewed individually at their place of work. The interview guideline used was similar to that employed with the first group, with the addition of a section for exploring the participants' motivation in becoming involved in community and tribal development activities. Thus the data collected for this research are discussed in terms of the two main participant groups: (a) younger ($n = 5$) and (b) older ($n = 5$) participants. With such small sample sizes, the views expressed were indicative only. Emergent themes within and between the two groups are presented below.

5. Interviews with Rangatahi

The five young Māori interviewed represented three Banks Peninsula rūnanga (Table 1).

Table 1 Age sex and affiliation of the five young participants

Informant	1	2	3	4	5
Age	20	18	20	21	19
Sex	Female	Female	Male	Male	Male
Community	Rapaki	Wairewa	Rapaki	Rapaki	Koukorarata

5.1 Source of cultural identity

During the course of the interviews it became apparent that all of the participants interviewed identified strongly with their Māori culture, and viewed it as an important aspect of their lives. Therefore, it is not surprising that expressing their cultural identity as Māori was their introductory focus. The youngest participant was the only one who focused her introduction on personal traits rather than cultural and community identity. This may be interpreted as an indication of the character and personality development focus of her stage of maturity, rather than an indication of her not holding strong Māori cultural identity.

There was, however, a difference in the way participants interpreted the development of their personal cultural identity. Those who had spent their early childhood years outside of New Zealand, described their Māori cultural identity developing through conscious reflection induced by cross-cultural experiences. As one participant expressed this:

I remember the first realisation there were different cultures in the world was when I was at pre-school and I was about 4 and I used the Māori word for grandfather which is pōua and they didn't know what I was talking about.

In addition to a clearer understanding of cultural identity at a young age, these participants also recognised the role of family members as important in instilling in them an interest in their culture through stories.

In contrast, those that grew up in or near their community did not express the development of Māori identity as coming from a specific person or source, but rather through a continual interaction with extended family and cultural practice. As one participant expressed this:

I was brought up on the marae so exposed to tikanga Māori, to the way things are done. [I] was around the culture all the time so although you might not understand what they're saying, you still experience the whole kaupapa, the whole tikanga.

Thus it appeared that Māori cultural identity developed in at least two ways for participants: (1) as a product of being immersed in Māori tikanga, and (2) as a conscious effort through the instilling of cultural values and identity during childhood by family members.

5.2 Building a sense of belonging to and comfort level in community

During the interviews, the term 'community' was used to refer to the specific rural community to which the participants have an ancestral connection (through whakapapa). It includes the physical aspects of a particular place, which is also the place where community development has a practical application.

A number of factors affected the comfort participants reported feeling when on their marae or amongst their local community. Collectively, interviewees indicated that there is a strong connection between spending time the community and having a sense of belonging to it. All participants talked about growing up there or visiting extended family there as children. Thus physically spending time in a community during formative childhood years is seen an important part of building a sense of belonging. Knowing one's whakapapa or genealogical relationship to the community was also an important part of their feeling comfortable in the community and on the marae. One participant that social events were a more comfortable environment than the more formal hui when on the marae. Thus, the way young people felt about being on the marae depended on having spent some time in the community as children, the activity they were involved in while on the marae and their knowing their whakapapa.

These findings obviously have implications for young Maori who have not had the opportunity to spend time in their home community as a child. They are unlikely to develop a sense of belonging to the community which may well prevent them from participating in that community as adults. Informal discussions with people from these communities indicate that part of this sense of comfort or belonging also arises from the way established community members accept or interact with individuals whom they do not know personally. For most people (not just young people), making contact with one's unknown relations and becoming involved in that community takes a high degree of confidence and understanding on the part of the individual and some support by an accepted member of the community.

5.3 Fostering participation in youth

An emergent theme was the continued experience of community participation within families. All of the participants in this research came from families that were historically highly involved in their communities, and most had close family members currently in leadership positions in their communities. This ongoing experience has resulted in a high current level of involvement by the participants and implies that participation in community life by rangatahi is fostered through close family.

The young people mostly participated in their communities through collective activities, such as tangi, sports days and weddings. Participants did not feel they had a particular role during these activities, rather seeing their position as an extra pair of helping hands during occasions of importance to the community. There was a general sense of satisfaction among the youth interviewed with their current level of participation and non-specific role within the community. These young people saw their future roles as a general progression of their involvement, starting from a high current level of participation. The progressive nature of their involvement shows a connection to age as a deciding factor in the intensity of participation in community activities.

Collective activities therefore reinforce a sense of identity as Māori from a particular place, by making participants feel part of their culture and community life. Thus fostering participation in Māori youth is partly achieved through the involvement of other family members. Youths see that their participation is limited on the basis of age, and participation levels increase progressively from non-specific participation in collective activities to more specific roles in other community activities.

5.4 Barriers to participation faced by rangatahi

A multitude of reasons underlie the apparent lack of interest many young Māori show in becoming more involved in their cultural communities. Some reasons cited relate to the developmental process all youth go through, but some were specific to being Māori.

Overall, participants agreed there is a lack of participation by youth in general in their communities, and they related this to something having gone wrong with the way rūnanga have managed youth participation. As one participant said:

Its not there; there is barely any youth going back out there. We used to be really good with the kapahaka. The fact that we all got together to help the marae was acknowledged across Ngāi Tahu – that we have got the children, the base. That doesn't happen any more; it broke down.

Participants related the lack of youth participation to wider problems faced by Māori and their communities today, but this point was not discussed in depth. It became apparent that rangatahi who were actively involved in their culture through participation in activities such as kapahaka and learning Te Reo Māori were tightly networked to each other. This is not to imply active youth are not connected to youth who do not participate (in fact several mentioned close family members who are not as involved as they are), but it suggests that much of their socialising is likely to be with like-minded youth. It follows therefore that these youth may not be aware of the reasons behind the lack of participation of their peers.

Although all of the participants identified strongly with their culture and were currently active in their communities, they expressed no interest in becoming more involved at the present time. The main reason they gave for this lack of interest was having other priorities in their lives, such as study, professional development and travel. Prioritising professional development and growth over community participation is part of a natural maturation phase that all youth go through. Māori youth who are active in their communities thus develop similarly to other youth, and the strong cultural identity they hold does not seem to affect this process.

Another important barrier to participation expressed by all participants was tikanga Māori related to showing respect to your elders. They felt that becoming more involved as a youth would be taken as a sign of disrespect of their elders. One participant expressed this by saying:

Tikanga is that you don't speak before your father or any of your elders who are there, so most of the time I don't speak at all... sort of until your dad passes away, but if no one is there then it's alright for you to do it.

The youths, however, were unclear on the specific protocol surrounding participation of youths while older family members are still active in the community. Similarly there was some confusion amongst participants over what the specific tikanga is with respect to youth participation in community development. This lack of clarity means that participants worry about stepping out of line or disrespecting elders, and so is a barrier to their participation.

5.5 Visualisation of future roles

Male and female participants viewed their future roles within the community differently. Male participants expressed more interest in taking up positions within the rūnanga political structures than women. However, the only role that was seen as potentially interesting for young males was speaking on the marae, which was seen as the basic form of leadership within community structures. The ability to speak well on the marae is directly related to the knowledge of Te Reo Māori. As the rangatahi interviewed had shown interest in learning Te Reo Māori, it is likely they will be considered strong speakers in the future. This is also primarily considered a male role.

In comparison, the females saw their participation in light of the jobs and skills they believe women bring to their communities. These go beyond the practical jobs of food preparation. In the words of one participant, women bring: *'Aroha, love, patience. Those things that come later in life, with being a mother.'*

Both male and female participants visualised their future participation in community processes as facilitated through the roles they have seen their extended or close family members fulfil.

5.6 Relationships with iwi

The relationships of the participants to Ngāi Tahu as their iwi was complex and heterogeneous. The wide range of ways participants related themselves to their iwi shows that it was a personal rather than community relationship they felt. Some did not feel much connection and were interested only in being informed of iwi news, while others aspired to work for Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu (TRONT) as a way of helping their own people. Understanding these relationships is potentially interesting to TRONT, and although they were not explored in detail in this study, the heterogeneous nature of the participants' views of their relationship to their iwi shows it to be an area worth exploring further.

5.7 Interest in eco-cultural tourism business development

While eco-cultural tourism as a term did not seem to be well understood among youth, it appears that some were familiar with tourism ventures on Banks Peninsula that had cultural and ecological aspects. Some had even worked for these types of businesses.

Participants varied considerably in the way they thought about eco-cultural tourism business development as a potential future activity for themselves. The variation was connected to the general confusion over future roles and future professional goals. What emerged from our discussions was that these rangatahi were making choices based primarily on their chosen field of study and associated career path. So, although these rangatahi showed commitment to community and interest in its well-being, their career choice will dictate how they engage with their tribal communities, rather than the other way round. One participant, for example, plans to do this through becoming a physical education teacher, and teaching in Te Reo Māori to encourage local Māori to lead active and healthy lives. The combination shows how his individual career choice is shaped to a certain extent by his community and social interest, and vice versa. The combination will allow him to fulfil more than just his career goals, but will not necessarily take him back to his community to engage directly in activities there. For some of those interviewed though, their choice of career path was not conducive to this sort of merger with community participation goals.

For others, their motivation to seek a professional career might come at the expense of working with their local cultural community (albeit, they may work with their wider cultural community). It is a matter of individual choice. So, although some expressed interest in working in tourism in the future, the tourism industry was seen more as a professional field through which to build a career, rather than a community development activity.

An interest in business development was expressed by those who had been exposed to successful business development by people close to them. This interest does not necessarily equate to wanting to create business opportunities in their communities or within the eco-cultural tourism field, but rather a way to use their trade or knowledge to gain financial independence.

Eco-cultural tourism was not a chosen career path for these rangatahi, and therefore did not represent a specific goal for them. It appears that it could, however, become an interesting future venture for those interested in business development or tourism, as it provides an opportunity to combine personal and career goals with community interests.

5.8 Tourism development and rangatahi

When asked about the idea of eco-cultural tourism business on Banks Peninsula, all participants pointed to the need to attain full community and rūnanga support. They saw this as a major challenge requiring the proposing party to know the local people and to have daily contact with them. For rangatahi who did not actually live on their home ground and who did not hold positions of leadership this was seen as especially difficult. As one participant said:

You'd be fighting the odds cause you're young, you need to be there... seeing someone every day creates a bond between people, to initially build a bond for a business you need to have it... and to build this bond in a Māori community you have

to be there, you can't just say I'll be over there on Friday and lets have a few beers and chat; that's too easy, you have to take the hard hits to enjoy the success.

In discussing the role of young people in tourism business development, the overall sense of interviewees was that although it would be important to have youthful enthusiasm in such ventures, it was a challenge for youth to be involved in the organisation or management of such enterprises, especially if the rūnanga were to run it.

You'd want someone older to pitch the idea, if you had someone with a high standing in the community it would be good as well. We could just be workers I suppose. I don't think we'd be managing or doing anything too important, especially if the rūnanga were to do it for themselves. We would just be doing what we were asked to do.

Hence, although these youths believed they provide an important perspective for such ventures, the barriers they face means they felt that they could not be involved in the management or running of such ventures. This issue may be especially important in the context of the leadership opportunities that exist for these young people away from their communities. It appears that those with an interest in starting a business could more easily start that business away from home, where they would not need to get the approval of their communities. Those looking for a leadership role, such as that described by the rangitahi who wanted to work in physical education, are unlikely to be able to do that based in a small rural locality, although they may find it working at iwi level.

5.9 Theoretical context

The small number of participants involved means that this discussion can only highlight emergent themes of interest that might be explored further in future work. This study has focused on rangitahi with considerable talent, agency and capacity who do not appear to be 'at risk' in any way. These young people are currently well connected to their home communities and have the potential to be leaders and make a difference for their people.

Participation in community life, in a particular place, has an important role in building the social capital¹ needed for the development of that place. Small communities of any culture rely on high social capital, expressed in the form of volunteerism, reciprocity, trust, and pooling of resources to provide momentum for development initiatives. Therefore, the stronger the relationship a person has with others in the community, the higher the chance of being motivated to become active within that community and the more positive for the community development process. However, it is clear that cultural identity is also very important when looking at participation in indigenous communities.

Cultural identity

The small, rural Māori communities on Banks Peninsula (the focus of the Te Tāpoitanga Māori project) are made up of people with a particular cultural reality and identity. In local tribal or kinship structured communities, participating in activities on a daily basis affirms one's place within a community and the natural and spirit world. Every culture provides a

¹ Social capital is a combination of the interactions, networks, and trust held between community members (Grootaert 2002; Franke 2005).

particular understanding of social relationships and the relationship of people to the land within the larger natural-world context. Coupled with specific practices, this understanding creates a framework to enable personal and collective development (Rappaport 1999). The holistic worldview of indigenous peoples makes participating in collective tribal life within a particular local area a traditionally important part of identifying with one's culture (van Beek 1993; Gadgil et al. 2000). Hence this study has been based on the idea that the development of cultural identity can motivate Māori youth to participate in collective life. However, there are clearly a range of processes associated with the development of cultural identity and a range of influences that can intervene to prevent young people participating in ways they find satisfying.

Participants in this study reported that their cultural identity developed through more than one kind of learning process. They were consciously taught about their culture by family members, and they also learned tacitly through immersion in cultural practices within their respective communities. This highlights the importance of social environment in learning and personal development – a point well recognised in social learning theories (Bandura 1977; Kolb 1984). However, what is not yet clearly understood is the differentiating role played by the conscious teaching and tacit (unconscious) learning that occurs through life.

Theories of analytical psychology suggest interaction between conscious and unconscious processes in personal development and learning. Knox (2004), for example, argues that symbolic understanding develops when meaningful experiences gradually transcend conscious or expressed forms of knowledge to develop into a deeper, more unconscious or implicit type of knowledge. These theories are further supported by Habermas' concept of 'lifeworld' and Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus', both referring to non-discursive, collective social spaces that exist prior to conscious social action (McGowan 1991; Outhwaite 1996; Bourdieu 1998). This study suggests that cultural identity develops through a range of different possible interactions between the two spheres, as dictated by circumstances and practice. The theoretical perspectives above do not, however, explain how important each part of the process is in building cultural identity, or if the expression of that identity differs in each case. This may be important because of the potential implications for how the process of cultural identity is promoted within Māori families living in different situations.

This observation also highlights the complexity of the task of building cultural identity that the young Māori to whom we spoke face as part of a minority culture in a post-colonial setting. As city dwellers, they may be involved in the collective life of many different communities which make up their identities as New Zealanders: as sports team members (for example), students, Ngāi Tahu from Banks Peninsula and as Māori more generally. Therefore, these rangitahi must negotiate their personal identities from amongst the different socio-cultural systems with which they come in contact as they grow up. Wilson-Schaeff (1992) indicates that this process is more complex for individuals in minority cultures who, she observes, must have good understanding of the mainstream culture with which they are most in contact if they are to avoid marginalisation. In comparison, those within the mainstream culture can build identity without having to engage with the minority culture.

Participants in this study who had grown up away from their own cultural communities had become aware that their cultural identity differed from the mainstream and remembered moments that stimulated reflection upon it. Adler (1987) suggests that these moments of 'cultural disequilibrium' can catalyse learning and adaptation. Likewise, Taylor (1994) associates the cultural disequilibrium experience with Mezirow's theory of transformative

learning, suggesting that reflecting on cultural identity stimulates learning, adaptation and increased competence in intercultural settings. This assumes individuals have the capacity, or that they have teachers with the capacity to help them reflect on experiences of cultural disequilibrium. While this capacity cannot be assumed generally (Kegan 1994; Moon 1999), the rangitahi in this study had been able to reflect on their experience and were aware of a conscious process of learning about their cultural identity as Māori. With more Māori living and growing up in a multicultural society, outside of their cultural communities, there will be more need for reflection upon cultural identity and what it means in practice in today's changing world. It also points to a need for parents and/or other teachers to foster opportunities for reflection amongst young Māori on what it means to be Māori and how this is changing over time.

Attachment to place

Association with or attachment to a place is an important element of their culture to many Māori. Furthermore, a feeling of belonging and attachment to a particular physical place may increase the chances of people participating in the community associated with that place. Thus fostering this sense of belonging is an important step in the process of building social capital and in motivation as resources for community development. One way of doing this is to spend happy times as part of a community in a place during formative childhood years. This has important implications both for Māori who grow up far from their communities and for those at home trying to maintain a sustainable presence in their home area. It would seem that children who spend less time on their ancestral lands will participate in their community less as adults, all other things being equal. Māori communities are responding to these issues. Some in the Te Tāpoitanga Māori study, for example, run activity programmes that bring children who do not live on their marae to stay there and to learn about their heritage and culture and develop some links with their ancestral lands.

Role of tikanga in participation

This study has shown that as people get older, their community participation increases and diversifies. It appears that tikanga Māori are partly responsible for this relationship and that youth can only participate on a limited basis. If this were explored further and confirmed to be the case, then the implications for fostering youth participation in Māori communities are significant. The lack of clarity on the role of tikanga may be creating a barrier to improving communications between older and younger generations, which ultimately leads to the lack of interest by youth in community processes. As such, it would be beneficial to seek to clarify the role of tikanga Māori, their specific nature and interpretation, and how they are affecting participation and communication.

Post-colonialism provides a particular political, social and economic framework within which Māori as a colonised people must manage their development processes. Edward Said (1993) points out that colonised indigenous cultures can lose their ability to interpret their myths, making it difficult to apply them appropriately to their current situation. In these cases, indigenous leaders come to protect the myth itself and use it as a protocol rather than a principle for guiding action. Thus, Said points out, colonised cultures may lose some of their ability to adapt freely to new situations because of this adherence to practices that work less well in a changing world.

The young people interviewed were all culturally aware and respectful, however they were also worried about breaking tikanga or appearing disrespectful to their elders when discussing their participation in community life. Put together with the comments from our

older research participants (both those interviewed in this study and those we are working with in the wider programme) that it can be easier to take on leadership roles away from home, this highlights a potential point of tension in the way Māori communities currently recruit and develop tomorrow's leaders. It would seem that in this case tikanga is, in fact, deterring the process of intergenerational communication. In a world of rapid change, the knowledge that youth hold about the world today can, in an abstract sense, be seen as useful to their communities. However these tentative findings indicate that some of these communities are inadvertently jeopardising their access to youth knowledge and perspectives. Considering that many Māori with leadership and technical skills are now living outside of their communities, facilitating their participation will require new forms of diversified participation and adapting tikanga to suit new realities.

6. Interviews with Older Participants

Having interviewed a group of rangitahi, it emerged that there would be benefit in interviewing people who are currently involved in their cultural communities but who had lived away from home for some time and returned with their developed skills and capacity. The main reason for interviewing these people, therefore, was to shed light on the experiences of the young people and the process ahead of them through the eyes of people who had already travelled a path that led them home to work in the development of their people.

The five older participants represented five Banks Peninsula rūnanga (Table 2).

Table 2 Age sex and affiliation of the five older participants

Informant	6	7	8	9	10
Age	34	27	42	28	27
Sex	Male	Male	Female	Male	Female
Community	Tuahiwi	Kaikoura	Wairewa	Tuahiwi/Peninsula	Moeraki

6.1 Identification with a community

Two distinct ways of interpreting the relationship of a person to a community emerged from these interviews. Some participants felt a strong connection to one community, while recognising that they descend from a number of communities. The connection with a particular community generally developed as a result of visiting the physical community during childhood years. Others felt a connection to several communities, some of which they do not descend from, because they visited these communities and became a part of them while growing up. This suggests that feeling connected to a community is related to spending time there during childhood. Furthermore, while having an ancestral relationship (through whakapapa) with a particular community is the primary vehicle for connecting to a community and its people, it is possible to feel connected to a community that one does not descend from.

An interesting distinction was made by one participant between differences in how she participates within the various communities that she feels she belongs to; she chooses to vote

in only one community, while in several others she participates in collective life. This raises some questions regarding the different ways in which Māori can choose to participate in their community, and to what degree a sense of belonging is required for differing levels of participation.

6.2 Internal identity as motivation for participation

All of the participants in this group had spent some time away from their communities, and most had travelled outside of New Zealand. While discussing these experiences, it emerged that their travels were important in shaping them as people. In part, this was due to having a critical distance that facilitated reflection on their identity and lives. The reflection was seen to be an important factor in strengthening their cultural identity. Although travelling enhanced their cultural identity as Māori, the desire to return from their travels and become involved with their communities came from a sense of internal identity.

The development of this internal identity was described by the participants through different stories about their lives. For one participant it started at a young age through the immersion in a Tūhoe community instilling a strong cultural and personal identity and sense of community. For another, it came from the experience of grief over the death of a parent, which developed an inner calling to participate. For a third it came from building an awareness of Māori issues during formative years at university. These different expressions of the development of identity show that although the particular method was different, for all of them it was an internal, personal journey that led them to become interested in their culture and provided the motivation necessary for participating directly with their communities. These findings suggest that the motivation that leads to participation in community development comes through a personal journey that can only occur naturally, through life-changing experiences.

6.3 Progressive levels of participation with age

All of the participants of this group were currently working directly with rūnanga or iwi. It was therefore not surprising that their main vehicle for participation in communal and tribal activities was their profession. The youngest three participants (aged 27 and 28) felt a sense of responsibility towards their communities, people and tribe, and use their professional skills as a way to directly help. The older participants (aged 34 and 42) also used their professions as a vehicle for participation, but they went beyond their professional duties and were willing to be creative in finding other ways to contribute and participate in their communities. This suggests there is a connection between age and the contribution that one is able or willing to make to their community. The different age groups were at different stages in their lives. Those in the younger group were mainly focusing on developing careers and professional skills, so it follows logically that their contribution would be through their professions. One of the younger participants expressed an increase in commitment in the following way:

I'm getting to a stage in my life where I need to go to my rūnanga, go back to my marae and help my people there, as much as I can.

The older participants seemed to be in a stage in which they were willing to dedicate more time and energy into turning their sense of responsibility into direct action in their communities. The motivation required to go beyond the professional duties relates to the internal identity described earlier. It builds with age and life experience, and some called it wisdom. They expressed this motivation and drive as being something they feel at their

current stage of life. In the words of the participants:

I now feel responsible for helping in the future, its more of a personal responsibility but that's only developed in the last few years.

Oh... you don't think about it as a teenager, that happens as you get serious, think about having to get a job, have children you know, have to think about where I want to live, raise my kids, priorities change so becoming involved with where you live and your family lives is important to me now.

6.4 Difficulties faced in community participation

Three main themes emerged concerning the difficulties faced by these older active Māori in participating in their communities. The lack of time spent in the community in the past was seen to influence the ability one had to hold leadership roles in the community. In the current context of many Māori growing up and living outside of their communities, the ability to gain leadership roles by many Māori is reducing.

Secondly, leadership positions require dedication of an extensive amount of time. Most people today have full-time employment, and as leadership positions are voluntary, they are unlikely to be able to dedicate the majority of their time to them. This suggests that there are serious obstacles to promoting leadership and full participation by Māori in their rūnanga.

The third important factor concerns the desire of people to participate in rūnanga political processes rather than their ability to do so. The nature of working with rūnanga was seen to be very political and at times unpleasant, tiring and unrewarding. Thus, there was a low incentive for people to engage with such political processes. One way to overcome this and still be able to contribute and participate that was suggested by some participants is to engage with the community in the non-political processes and to share recognised professional skills when they are needed, instead of taking on leadership positions.

6.5 Fostering youth participation

Participants discussed the lack of participation of Māori youth in their communities. Several participants spoke of a lack of communication between the older and younger generations within Māori communities, some going as far as to say that the older generation was not willing to reach out to the younger generation. As one participant put it:

One observation I've had with our older people, without wanting to be negative and criticize them, but it's a symptom of their experiences in life and their generation, they find it difficult to hand over the reins so to have them listen to you or to bring on board your contribution isn't that easy sometimes.

Through their own personal experiences, the participants relayed a sense of youth facing many barriers to becoming involved in community development initiatives. Among the most important noted was that rūnanga processes are uninviting for youth, both because there is a lack of recognition of a role for youth in them, and because of their unappealing nature.

Participants conveyed a sense of disillusionment from failed attempts to promote youth leadership in their communities.

There was a rangatahi movement begun at Tuahiwi during the 90s and that got a bit of weight behind it, it offered a forum for the rangatahi but for whatever reason it got hijacked and doesn't exist anymore, I mean that was identified, the lack of forum for rangatahi and they tried to create that, but we failed.

Several participants mentioned opportunities for participation of youth in non-political community activities, where they can feel more comfortable and their contribution can be appreciated. These activities were seen to be equally important in community development.

6.6 Potential for eco-cultural tourism development

As the participants are involved in community and tribal activities and can be considered leaders in their professional fields, their ideas on the opportunities for eco-cultural tourism development on Banks Peninsula were sought during the interview. The opinions offered were varied, but all agreed that achieving full community and rūnanga support was challenging. The challenge was seen to lie in the failure of the decision-making processes themselves.

Other obstacles to the development of eco-cultural tourism projects mentioned were that rūnanga members as volunteers do not have the time necessary to dedicate to starting such a project. A solution to this problem was offered in the suggestions that eco-cultural tourism businesses be developed as independent ventures rather than rūnanga ventures.

7. Discussion and Conclusions

This research has highlighted that young people see the idea of setting up a tourism business in their home area as potentially difficult. This is part of their overall sense that there are few if any leadership roles available for them at home. For those people that do choose to return home when they are older, cultural identity and attachment to both place and community are key motivators.

Young Māori face a complex task in negotiating their identities as members of their cultural communities alongside their identities as teenagers, students, young people starting out on their careers, New Zealanders within a global community, and as members of interest communities. This complexity is heightened when one considers the negotiation necessary for them to become active members of their communities in a changing world. Likewise, the older folk keeping the home fires burning and trying to encourage younger people to participate also may need to consider what it means to be leaders in their community and how leadership tasks may be changing, as they strive to build strong, well-networked communities based around their ancestral home.

The perspectives of the slightly older group of Māori clarified and deepened our understanding of the nature of youth participation, as they represent an older version of active, community-minded individuals. The interviews focused on understanding the factors contributing to the motivation shown by these older participants and further explored the progressive nature of participation within Māori communities. In this discussion, the emergent themes relating to participation and motivation within the group are woven into the

findings about youth participation, to support and clarify the questions already highlighted and to add further insights into areas for future research.

7.1 Identity and motivation

Identity was a central theme that emerged from this research. The older participants all showed a strong sense of cultural identity and many came from families that have a history of participation within rūnanga and iwi processes, much like the rangatahi interviewed. Cultural identity and a sense of belonging to a physical community were found to be important motivators leading to participation in community development processes. The older group confirmed that spending time in their community developed their sense of belonging to it. They stressed the concern highlighted earlier that Māori who grow up outside of their communities are less likely to feel a strong sense of belonging and therefore are less likely to be involved in those communities.

This group also indicated that the motivation necessary for bringing people back to participate in their community is internal and expressed individually. They noted that their internal drive for community involvement is a natural process that emerged from life changing experiences. Although young Māori may have already had such experiences, at this stage of their development they have not yet been able to reflect upon them and therefore are less aware of the processes occurring. Similarly the older participants suggested that their travelling experiences provided a kind of critical distance that allowed them to reflect in new ways on their life experiences and to strengthen their own sense of identity as Māori. This suggests that individual community-mindedness cannot be ‘manufactured’ but may be promoted through reflection upon one’s life.

7.2 Factors affecting participation

Participation increased with age in the Māori communities studied, but the two age groups explained this pattern differently. The younger group had a smaller pool of knowledge and life experience, and were likely to have been at an earlier stage of cognitive development (Kegan 1994), all of which give them less to draw on when reflecting on this progression. Thus, the younger people saw tikanga as a major limiting factor in their greater participation. Furthermore, the younger people appeared to have a limited view of their future options for participation in their community and their assessment of those options was not always positive.

We acknowledge that youth are necessarily limited in their participation due to their age and stage of maturity, but if they feel that tikanga disempowers them, then they may not be motivated to return home and participate. In comparison, the older group was more able to reflect on how their life experience has motivated them, and given them the capacity to overcome barriers and to find creative ways to contribute. These particular individuals had returned home and in the process found different ways to participate in community development work in their communities. They did not talk, therefore, about tikanga as a major influence on their participation. We also noted that individuals who have returned home and found creative ways to contribute to their cultural communities were the exception rather than the rule.

7.3 Barriers to participation

The older participants interviewed were leaders within their communities and fields. They used their internal motivation to turn their experience and sense of responsibility into positive practice for community development. They served their communities because of their sense of responsibility, and did so in spite of the difficulties they faced, which were similar to those faced by the rangitahi, and included such barriers as:

- Not having the time to participate as fully as might be needed
- Wanting to have some spare time to themselves or for their families
- A feeling of not being welcome or appreciated

Māori involved in developing their communities often put in much voluntary time and have a very strong sense of ownership of that work. This can present a problem. People who choose to volunteer their time may face significant personal costs in terms of leisure activities and spending time with their families or children. These costs can be so problematic that some of the older folk in other Māori communities have taken steps to limit the demands put on them (C.Horn pers. obs.). Similarly, a Māori elder encountered in previous work noted that most Māori in leadership roles ‘do not make old bones’. His point was that they die young because of the stress they face in trying to meet the needs and demands of their people. For younger people the extensive time and energy that they expect will be demanded of them if they return home can make the idea of returning distinctly unattractive (Wilson, J. 2006 pers. comm.).

The social and economic environment in which most Māori live today makes it almost impossible to dedicate large amounts of time and energy into community leadership roles. This may indicate a need to reflect on the way leadership is currently conducted and a need to develop more leadership capacity in Māori communities. However, doing this would mean creating a culture of inclusion, in which all community members feel welcome and valued and enjoy participating as part of the community.

At times, it appears that the dedication and ownership current leaders feel about the work they do in the community can inadvertently make it less than welcoming for people who have been away and are interested in becoming part of the community again. Newcomers may feel frustrated at the lack of acceptance by established leaders and the lack of opportunity to contribute meaningfully. Even people in our older interview group who showed commitment and motivation felt they were still viewed by the older members of the community as being relative newcomers who have not yet proven their commitment. One gets the sense, therefore, that these people face barriers even though conversations with community leaders indicate that they would like to see more involvement and participation on the part of younger people.

Sometimes this pattern manifests itself differently. Sometimes, willing and capable young people may have a great deal of work put onto them when they might have a need to prove themselves. Given the time constraints faced by working people, and the amount of voluntary work that is needed, this could be another barrier to the ongoing participation of that young person. Both of these ‘tests’ may be beyond the capacity or inclination of people without very high levels of self-confidence, and point to the need for reflection on how community participation is fostered.

7.4 Developing and recognising new ways of participating

The older group of research participants had found new ways to be involved in their communities. People in this group mainly engaged with community development professionally. Having a mandate through a position within the iwi or rūnanga made participation easier and more pleasant and clarified the roles of all participants. A mandate helped all involved understand the direct value of their contribution to a community. They felt that working this way also helped them to avoid the confusing, complex and what seemed to be sometimes unpleasant aspects of rūnanga processes.

This research, and the reports of individuals we have spoke to as part of the wider Te Tapoitanga Māori programme, indicate that it can be significantly more difficult to set up business at home, where the support of the wider family is needed, than it is to set up a business elsewhere. This is an issue for rural communities hoping to develop economically and points to potential tensions around economic development processes and patterns. In many cases, for example, it appears that economic development is most often fostered by individuals who have been away from their rural areas and developed strong networks and skill sets. The process of bringing those skill sets and capacities back into the community may not be comfortable for those who have been keeping things going, even when they can see the benefits of having access to those skills and networks.

It is good for young people to leave the community to get training and experience that they may then be able to bring back home. The difficulty appears to be in providing a range of ways in which they may continue to participate either formally or informally. Currently, it appears that those in the older age group want to feel they can contribute constructively to some aspect of community development. These people may not need to feel appreciated to see the worth of their work but it may be that a lack of appreciation might eventually result in them taking their skills elsewhere.

Those in the older interview group were contributing through their work as part of a larger iwi-focused support structure. However, few rūnanga members can be employed this way. Rūnanga may be able to foster the participation of rūnanga members not employed within iwi structures. Thus, it may be possible, as it appears some groups are starting to do in other areas², to approach an inactive member with a particular set of skills to assist the community at home in a small, bounded way. For the new participant this may provide a manageable means to engage without feeling that they have taken on more than they are able to give in terms of time and to know that what they are doing is well defined and utilises their skills. Working on a local project also provides an opportunity for that individual to reconnect with people living and working in their home area. It is possible that some such reconnections may increase involvement in the longer term, even if that involvement is simply having more informal contact with community members. Hay (1998) has noted that those who do not grow up in a place tend not to have a strong attachment to that place. Hence, it may be good to provide some structured opportunities for whānau who have not grown up locally to reconnect with their ancestral home, so that the area can benefit from the skills and experience that those people have.

² This observation stems from interview and participant observation work completed in other parts of the Te Tapoitanga Māori Research project by Chrys Horn.

These kinds of initiatives are reminiscent of the work New Zealanders are doing to foster working networks of Kiwi expatriates through activities aimed at fostering economic development in New Zealand whilst also maintaining New Zealanders' contacts with home (see <http://www.keanewzealand.com>). This approach represents a move away from trying to bring people back, towards trying to foster different forms of participation and engagement with people away from home. In short it is about casting the net of social capital more widely and more inclusively to include community members who by necessity live away from their ancestral lands.

People can contribute to their communities informally as well as formally. Social capital development requires social networks to be developed and maintained. These networks do not rely solely on the official rūnanga work, but include informal, social aspects of community life, upon which trust and reciprocity can be built. Activities such as kapahaka groups mentioned as vehicles for youth participation fit well with the social capital theories of community development. Furthermore, networks that link a community to other communities and networks (known as bridging social capital) are also very important for economic and social development (Woolcock & Narayan 2000) so activities which assist young people to develop these wider networks might also be seen as useful community development activities.

These observations indicate that individuals can contribute to rūnanga processes and community development in a number of ways. Acknowledging this contribution might both encourage those who are contributing and show young community members the different roles they might play in future.

7.5 Building relationships with youth

Young folk can provide support in non-official activities and technical skills, but this cannot replace the need for a core group of community members that keep things running. These are largely older people who have the time and cultural skills to take on the roles. Much of the frustration felt by the younger individuals in trying to contribute and participate in their communities comes from the relationship they have with the older community members and the ways in which these older members interact with them. This is not the fault of either group but stems from the changing historical and social environments in which these groups find themselves.

These external changes (such as increased working hours, continued flow of people from rural to urban areas, rapid technological and social change) require all groups in society to adapt and develop new strategies and behaviours. For rural communities, this need for adaptation is particularly strong and arguably for rural Māori communities, the issues are even greater (Horn & Tahi in prep.). There is hope for younger people to become involved in the creative ways highlighted by this report, but there is still a need to change the relationships between the generations and between those at home and those who for one reason or another have to live away from home. This process of change will require further experimentation and reflection on how these relationships should and could change. There are also benefits to be gained from recognising and fostering new ways for community members to participate.

Māori youth, like all youth, are at a stage of development that requires them to spend time in other aspects of their lives individually rather than in collective processes. When this lack of desire and ability to participate more in collective activities is combined with the multitude of barriers to increasing their participation, it would seem unrealistic to expect an increase under current conditions. The major implication of this for the Te Tāpōitanga Māori project and other such development initiatives is that setting up businesses to attract young people back without attention to the issues highlighted in this report is unlikely to be effective.

8. Implications for Further Research

This scoping study has provided an opportunity to reflect upon the issues concerning youth participation in Maori communities on Banks Peninsula, and beyond. It has approached the issue from two perspectives: (a) that of young Maori (aged 18–21) who are currently involved with their communities, yet face barriers to increasing their participation, and (b) and that of a slightly older age group (27–42 years) who are involved actively in community development processes. The two perspectives have together helped us understand some of the processes that are affecting the participation of young Maori in their communities. It has also highlighted several areas that would benefit from further research.

8.1 Questions about identity and participation

First, it would be good to extend and broaden this research to a larger group of participants. It would be beneficial to interview people involved in some way in their local Māori communities to explore how they think about their participation and what influences that participation. Similarly it would be good to interview a range of community members on the rūnanga register but who are not currently involved in the community to understand how they view their ancestral homes and communities. It would also be of benefit to get more in-depth perspectives from those currently in leadership roles.

Several questions have emerged about the ways in which people build their sense of identity and connection with a community. First, is cultural identity developed through immersion in a culture different to cultural identity that has been developed mainly by consciously taught processes? Similarly, do the interacting processes involved in developing cultural identity lead to a differentiated expression of that identity?

Second, this scoping study suggests that building a sense of belonging to a community partly depends on having a physical connection to the place associated with that community. New Zealanders are a highly urbanised people, something that potentially affects Māori more than Pākehā because of their connection to a particular place through whakapapa. Questions that arise from this observation are:

- What are the different processes by which Māori construct their identity as Māori whose whakapapa connects them to a place?
- How have and can Māori who identify with a particular place manage the issues created by having to live away from their ancestral lands?
- How is Māori identity changing with the different kinds of relationships that emerge from increased urbanisation and the ongoing cultural renaissance of NZ Māori.

It also appears that for some, spending time away from the community getting some broader life experience can be an important ingredient for building the motivation to participate. How does this occur and what is the role of reflection in the process of building internal motivation to participate in one's cultural community?

8.2 Questions associated with building capacity and change

The following questions are action research questions that require a plan–trial–evaluate–reflect approach. Firstly, as part of the process of learning and adaptation, reflection has shown itself to be important in helping young people manage the tensions associated with having multiple and sometimes conflicting identities. Other researchers have noted that reflection is a key tool both for individual learning (Moon 1998) and to assist diverse groups to work together better (Kegan 1994). Despite this, both Moon and Kegan indicate that not all individuals' reflection is a process that has to be learned. Therefore a useful question for further research is; how might reflection and the varying levels of learning and adaptation that go with it be fostered to assist rural Māori in their drive for development?

Likewise we found that the participants in our research think of tikanga in different ways. For some (mostly the younger group) it is seen as a set of rules which limit what can be done, while for others (mostly the older group) it is a set of principles that might be practised in a range of ways in different situations. As part of a framework for understanding and assisting Māori development, it would be useful to consider whether tikanga is either (a) used as a tool for limiting change or (b) as a container for supporting change – and how this varies with the groups involved and the situations which they are trying to manage.

Lastly, this scoping exercise highlights a need to provide opportunities and incentives for people to participate. We have noted some new ways in which young people have chosen to participate. It would make sense to look at how community leaders have fostered youth participation in their community, and how they might foster and diversify the opportunities for currently uninvolved people (including the young) to participate in their community. Likewise, are there ways to foster a greater understanding of different perspectives and skills within the community and to increase capacity to work constructively with that range of perspectives in community development processes?

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