Community development as 'knowledge intersections' in contemporary New Zealand

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This article examines the contemporary practice of community development in New Zealand by considering its application to a number of community third sector organisational case studies.

In New Zealand our current and historic use of the term 'community development' is a mixture of method and rhetoric. Broadly speaking community development is held up as a way of working with communities that has a 'bottom up' approach, an alternative to State (top down) development. Over recent years however New Zealand government has embraced a philosophy of social development has been championed by neo-liberal government policies. Over this time we have seen the term community development used to describe social service related activities that have little to do with a 'bottom up' approach leaving an environment that has "…incorporated voices of dissent to the extent that there are no alternative spaces from which to challenge it (Jenkins 2005:216).

Shaw (2007) and Sihlongonyane (2009) argue that the notion of *community* is seen by many theorists as an illusive or even utopian concept that has more to do with a desire for something that does not, and can never, exist. In this context any attempt to develop a sense of community is seen as futile at best and damaging at worst. Both Shaw and Sihlongonyane have catalogued the ways in which community development has had negative effects on communities, where the practice is used to exclude rather than include.

However, despite the contested nature of the terms, community and community development are still seen as relevant as they provide a space where we can make sense of the intersections between a range of conflicting views. For Shaw (2007) this intersection is between ideas, traditions, visions and interests; and for Sihlongonyane (2009) this intersection is between politics, purpose and future. We develop these intersections as a schema to analyse community development practice within community organisations. The purpose of this article is to provide a snapshot of community development practice within community organisations in a single locality and identify ways organisations can re-embed community development practice in a neoliberalised environment.

Introduction

In New Zealand our current and historic use of the term 'community development' is a mixture of method and rhetoric. Broadly speaking community development is held up as a way of working with communities that has a 'bottom up' approach, an alternative to State (top down) development. Over recent years however New Zealand government has embraced a philosophy of social development has been championed by neo-liberal government policies. Over this time we have seen the term community development used to describe social service related activities that have little to do with a 'bottom up' approach leaving an environment that has "…incorporated voices of dissent to the extent that there are no alternative spaces from which to challenge it (Jenkins 2005:216). This is part of what Larner and Craig (2005:421) term the neoliberal space, where "subjectivities are not simply imposed from above, nor is 'resistance' simply a bottom-up political response to macro-level structural processes. Rather, new governmental spaces and subjects are emerging out of multiple and contested discourses and practices." Larner and Craig (2005) note that in order to resist this complex new environment organisations must engage in "re-embedding contests in diverse and local ways". The purpose of this article is to provide a snapshot of community development practice within community organisations in a single locality and identify ways organisations can re-embed community development practice in a neoliberalised environment.

This article begins with discussion of the context within which community development is practiced in New Zealand. This focuses particularly on the influence the New Zealand government has on community development practice and the wider community and voluntary sector. We follow with our argument that contemporary community development practice is best viewed as an intersection of knowledges and introduce a schema for identifying and understanding these intersections. We then apply our schema to five community and voluntary sector organisations and conclude with a description of contemporary community development practice as we found it and discuss how organisations can re-embed community development practice.

Community development in New Zealand

The evolution of community development practice in New Zealand over the last 20 years follows a similar path to that of the UK and Australia. Since the early 1980s market driven and neoliberal government policies have a had profound effect on the relationship between the community and voluntary sector and the state. These policies have created a widening gap between larger community and voluntary organisations providing government contracted social services and those smaller independent community organisations that have not been part of this partnering process (Tennant, M., et al 2008). It is with these smaller organisations that the vestiges of bottom-up community development practices that were prevalent in the 1970s and early 1980s have remained.

The exception to this is for New Zealand indigenous Māori people, community development tends to focus on two main orientations, Iwi (traditional tribal linkages) living in their own tribal area, and Mata Waka (Māori people living away from their own area that form connections with other Māori in that new area). Thus such commuinity development practice is Iwi orientated (or locality) within Māori ethnicity (see Walker 1990, Eketone 2006 and Walker 2007). However neoliberal policies have had a significant effect on Māori as government responsibilities and resources previously controlled by the Department of Māori Affairs were devolved across government departments and to Iwi. While this process created a greater awareness of the needs of Māori by many non-Māori it also provided many challenges for Māori organisations. One commentator estimated the growth in Māori social service providers from almost 0 to 1000 in the twenty years since 1984, creating a myriad of challenges including tensions between new providers and traditional tribal authorities. (Tennant, M., et al 2008).

In recent years the terms 'community development' or 'community work' have become associated with, and indeed captured by, a wide range of activities from correctional

sentences to 'work for the dole' schemes that have little to do with a 'bottom up' approach leaving community development/work an illusive concept, hard to define and even harder to quantify. For anyone wishing to find information on how to start a community development project in New Zealand the first port of call would likely be the Community Advisory section of the Department of Internal Affairs. However while their online Community Resource Kit (2006) includes a comprehensive guide to organisational best practice for community organisations, there is very little guidance on either the theoretical or practical aspects of community development practice. It is interesting to note that the 2003 version of this resource was called the Community development resource kit. In the 2006 update, Community Resource Kit, not only has the word development been dropped from the title, the community development section has also disappeared.

This is indicative of the current position of community development in contemporary New Zealand where the main site for 'bottom up' style community development practice is predominantly within the community voluntary sector and both central and local government focus their resources to provide funding and support for capacity building of the sector. While a few territorial local authorities (TLA) may be active in community development their statutory role is vague, "…promoting the social, cultural, environmental and economic well-being of their communities." (Local Government NZ 2008). The mechanism to undertake this task is through partnership with communities (Aimers 2005) reflecting the parallel development of partnering that has also developed within central government policies and practice. It is not surprising therefore that those TLAs that are active in the area tend to focus on supporting community networks, championing the need for central government resources to their locality, providing small grants to community and sports groups and supporting national government initiatives to improve community/state relationships such as Safer Community Councils, Strengthening Families and Road Safety Co-ordination.

The move toward capacity building by the State within New Zealand started with the introduction of the third phase of neo-liberal policy, the Third Way, in the late 1990s and has continued with the move to strengthen the community and voluntary sector's relationship with the state in the 2000s. The basis for this strategy was the perceived value of the community building and democratisation potential of the community voluntary sector. The resulting engagement in state-community partnerships to help create social capital and cohesion has been well documented (Larner & Butler 2005, Larner and Craig 2005). The most recent initiative in this area has been the Pathway to Partnership strategy introduced in 2007 to "build stronger, sustainable and more effective community-based social services for families, children and young people." (Ministry for Social Development 2008). This strategy details how the government intends to work with community groups to deliver 'high quality' services and early support to families, children and young people. While community development work is still supported by a limited number of government grants, the focus of funding has become contracted direct provision of social services. The government's desire is not only to fund services but also to ensure that those services are provided by organisations that reflect the same professional values and accountabilities as the government aspires to provide (Aimers & Walker 2008, Tennant, M., et al 2008)).

Paradoxically despite many state initiatives to support the partnering with the community voluntary sector there has been a narrowing of government funding priorities to only fund those services that meet government priorities. In New Zealand this has resulted in the demise or re-structuring of a number of support and funding schemes that were focused on supporting communities to define their own priorities and programmes. The Community Employment Group (CEG) was the most significant casualty of the move to contracting and re-focusing of funding priorities and around the same time a review of the Department of Internal Affairs community managed funding scheme, the Community Organisations Grants Scheme, introduced changes that ensured that the scheme was operated more consistently across the country. Prior to this change the scheme's approach was to reflect and fund local priorities. The loss of these schemes have hit community development organizations the hardest and is an expression of state hegemony through funding proceses that set the methods, terms and control at a central level (Aimers and Walker 2008). The outcome of the partnering ethos also dilutes the local community's ability to engage in activisim, pushing those

who do seek an oppositional or independent stance to be marginalised with regard to funding (De Filippis et al 2009, Aimers & Walker 2008).

Community development as an intersection of practice and ideas

By definition the terms 'community' and 'community development' have always, and continue to be, hotly debated. Shaw (2007) highlights the use of the term 'community' and how community empowerment has become, in many senses, government policy. Yet community development is an elusive and slippery term. Its contradictory roots in "benevolent welfare paternalism" and "working class struggle" has made it so difficult to accurately define and therefore, as a term, it becomes " …so useful to so many different interests." (Shaw 2007:26) Does it exist within traditional and existing relations of power between the state and civil society within terms such as 'social inclusion' or is it a direct challenge to these power structures attempting to transform the marginalising and excluded? This and other dichotomies highlight the ambivalent nature of community development which can divide as much as unite communities.

Sihlongonyane (2009) also argues that the term community development has become so caught in multiple meanings that it is now little more than a "rhetorical gesture" that can mean anything any interested group wants it to mean. Such a range of meanings represent different shades of community development that are unlikely to be compatible but instead "reflect particular political and social practices in the contexts in which they occur." (Sihlongonyane 2009:137). Community (and community development) is not a stable singular phenomenon it is context bound and context produced. Therefore effective community development requires trading in ambiguity and fluidity and the identification of alternative spaces that may be (temporarily) occupied and regarded not as oppositional but as augmentative. Shaw (2007) sees this intersection being between ideas, traditions, visions and interests, Sihlongonyane (2009) between politics, purpose and future. Such intersections create a fluid discussion and a space for ideas to be kept in flux seeking multiple stakeholder input and interaction to build a comprehensive and multiple knowledge intersection. Such a fluid form of knowledge is a resource (Healey, de Margalhaes et al 2003) to shape the articulation and repesentation of issues and solutions for a given community.

The desire for theorists to continually define community and community development is arguably the most destructive force for the practice itself. Conflicting definitions can result in state hegemony, paralysis and inaction. However attention to process to include as wide a range of stakeholders means that one voice does not dominate but all share in the articulation of issues and solutions (Shannon and Walker 2009). Localised community organisations are still concrete representations of community solutions and opportunities. We believe that by using the notion of knowledge intersections we can overcome this paralysis by describing contemporary community development practice as the pluralistic activity it in fact is.

Opie (2000) suggests in her analysis of teamwork that knowledge based work includes not just information pooling but, critically, knowledge creation. Opie focuses on nodes of knowledge intersection the team is able to work with in the initial informational input to reconstitute their knowledges in modes other than the parallel narratives in which they were first articulated. We believe that this analysis can be easily applied to community development work seeking knowledge intersections within each community.

Within today's neoliberalised spaces not only do communities have to manage the inevitable tensions associated with working within a community but also determine ways of creating spaces of resistance where their communities can resist the direction being promoted by state partners.   Organisations need to be able to respond positively to difference and address the effects with the "and…and…and" of contradictions rather than attempting to restructure such contradictions into a binary framework of "either/or".

In order to acknowledge such contradictions we have applied Shaw's (2007) intersection between ideas, traditions, visions and interests and Sihlongonyane (2009) intersection between politics, purpose and future. We have taken the liberty of conjoining these terms to

create a schema by which we attempt to analyse a longitudinal study of selected social service community organisations in terms of an interactive process between ideas, traditions, visions, interests, politics, purpose and future, to complete the picture we have added a fouth area, barriers. This conjoining links ideas with politics and traditions; with purpose and interests; and finally visions with future with the barriers to self-determination.

Contemporary Community development in New Zealand - five case studies

In 2003 we explored the governance and organisational practices of eleven community organisations in the Otago province of New Zealand to explore the strategies that these organisations had taken to survive and grow.   We chose a wide range of community social service, sporting and community development organisations for this study. In 2008 we honed our exploration to include only those organisations that undertake social service and community development work and re-interviewed five organisations to track their development and progress over the 6 years. As local practiioners and researchers we believe these organisations provide a good cross section of the long and rich heritage of community development work being undertaken in Dunedin, typical of other medium sized cities in New Zealand.

This research uses a case study method as a means of investigating sites of community development in action through an in-depth analysis of interviews with the staff and or management committee members of the organisations. Focusing on practical examples is supported by Flyvbjerg's (2001: 136) view that "practical rationality and judgement evolve and operate primarily by virtue of deep-going case experiences" thus linking back to Shaw and Sihlongonyane argument of plurlaity and context specific location of community development. As Flyvbjerg (2001:136) states, using such methods allows us to understand that "the minutiae, practices and concrete cases are seen in their proper contexts: both the small local context and the larger, international and global context in which the phenomena can be appreciated for their general and conceptual significance."

The organisations included in both studies were:

- Anglican Family Care Centre (previously Anglican Methodist Family Care Centre),
- Pasifica Women,
- Arahina House,
- Fernhill Community Group,
- St Kilda Community Club.

Anglican Family Care is an ecumenical organisation originating from a coalition of church based organisations. It is one of many church based social service organisations which were among the first social service agencies established in New Zealand. Formal arrangements were made between the Methodist and Anglican churches to combine their social services, and in 1970 the Anglican Methodist Family Care Centre was opened. Recently the Methodists withdrew from the partnership and the organisation was renamed Anglican Family Care. The focus of their work is the provision of family based social services.

Pasifica Women is a national network of small membership based self-help groups established by immigrant women from the Pacific Islands. The local organisation is responsible for the Dunedin area and runs informal activities to provide social support, preserve cultural traditions and promote education.

Arahina House is a local neighbourhood house in Mosgiel – a semi rural community close to Dunedin. The original purpose, identified by local social service and health professionals, was to provide a base for social support, children's after-school, holiday and adult living skill programmes open to all, but aimed at, single parent and low income families. These programmes still remain the core activities but have become more intervention driven over recent years.

Fernhill Community Group is a neighbourhood support group formed to provide a community focus to an inner city residential area in Dunedin that includes a mixture of housing types and socio-economic groups (low cost rental, family homes, pensioner flats, hostels and residential care facilities) but without an established suburban identity.

St Kilda Community Club was formed in the suburb and former township of St Kilda to provide social and recreational activities for (mainly retired) residents of the wider area of South Dunedin and to provide a forum for residents to take an active interest in community affairs.

Mapping Intersections

As we described earlier despite the contested nature of the terms, community, and community development and community work are still seen as relevant as they provide a space where communities can make sense of the intersections between a range of conflicting views. We have developed Shaw (2007) and Sihlongonyane's (2009) intersections as a schema to analyse community development practice within the case studies. In addition we have added barriers we observe to the building of a contemporary community development practice in New Zealand.

Diagram 1: Community Development Knowledge Intersections Schema Elements
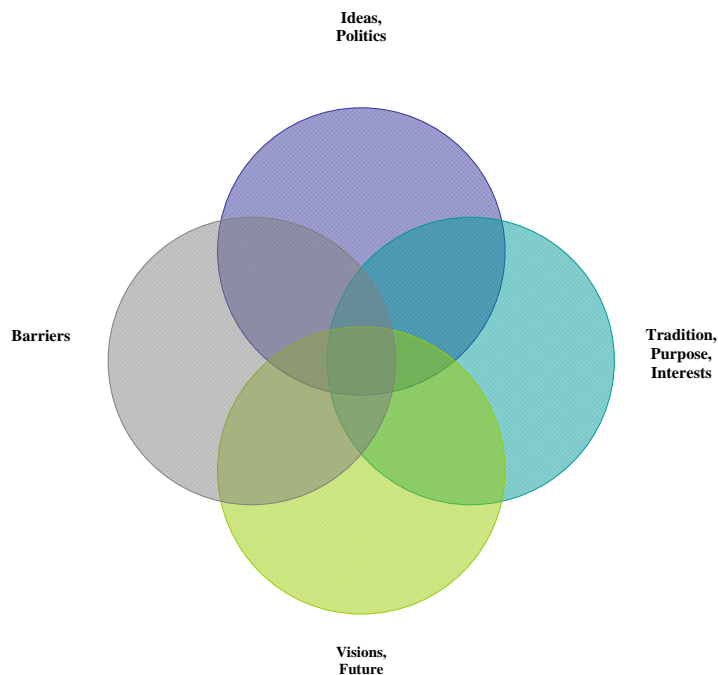
Our method for distilling these summaries was to analyse the original narratives for each organisation and group sections from each narrative under the most appropriate schema heading to capture the key points. We acknowledge that this process may be coloured by our bias as researchers, however to balance this we have provided a selection of quotes from which we interpreted the following summaries. In addition readers can access the full narratives in our Structures and Strategies monograph.

Anglican Family Care

Ideas/Politics
AFC started as a church based organisation with all their funding and direction setting provided by both the Methodist and Anglican church communities at a local level. However

with government funding grants and new philosophies espoused in child protection legislation these localised efforts changed to align with government priorities.

In the 1960's, much discussion took place about possible church union between Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists and the Churches of Christ. In Dunedin, the Anglicans had a tradition of childcare, with orphanages and also a big foster care programme and the Methodists had a number of programmes including family welfare and a health camp at Company Bay. In this context, formal arrangements were made between the two churches to combine services, and in 1970 the Anglican Methodist Family Care Centre was opened. Board membership was half Methodist and half Anglican.

When the agency started, all funding came from the churches. They paid for the entire operation up till the early 1980s. When the government started offering grants to organisations doing family work, these organisations then started to grow. Then the Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act set up new structures and increasing government money flowed through to the non government sector. Nowadays we receive about five percent of our income from the churches.

Traditions/Purpose/Interests
With the introduction of contracted funding the traditional purpose changed to focus on a business model in line with neo liberal policies at a state level. This change introduced a tighter more business focused governance and also a huge expansion of staff to meet the contract provisions.

The growth in funding proved to be problematic with systems straining to cope with the growth of AFC. The complexity of problems and seriousness of issues facing the AFC workers has increased. This has led to a need to employ higher qualified workers or upskilling in-post workers. In addition cultural knowledges have expanded as AFC meet the needs of a more diverse clientele. This has involved the need to build partnerships with the Māori and Pacific people communites.

Anglican Methodist Family Care began with two staff. Now we have 47 and we are one of the biggest contractors with Child, Youth and Family in New Zealand. …In terms of our social services all the staff report that the nature of the issues people are coming to us with is escalating in their complexity and difficulty and seriousness. … We now have a very qualified workforce, pretty much all of them are either tertiary-qualified or working towards a qualification and they are doing high-risk work.

…the need to have a relationship with those (Māori and Pacific Peoples') *different groups…has been a very successful initiative and it's changed the nature of the relationships as we all respect one another on an even footing.*

Vision/Future
The vision has shifted over the 6 years from an independent one-stop shop for families to a more networked approach amongst the largest agencies to better deliver services and lobby for change at a policy level.

We're actually part of some really strong networks in the community …so we're the big agencies delivering social services and welfare services to the whole area of poverty… we have meetings every month, every two months and we fix the world - but amongst that group is kind of like my reference group.

Barriers
The main barriers identified were how to meet local needs not covered by contracts and how to work within the contracts to provide services when the need is expanding but the funding environment is getting tighter and more competitive.

 ….we find it difficult when we see needs and are unable to address them. Money from the churches in the past enabled us to attend to the needs. It is a challenge for us as an agency

when we identify needs that we are unable to secure funding for… I'm looking now at how can we rationalise everything, and not drop jobs, and try and fit within the funding we've got. Because finding other sources of money is difficult.

Pasifica Women

Ideas/Politics
The origin of Pasifica was the need of women coming from the Pacific nations adjusting to life in New Zealand as an immigrant community.

…Pasifika started with different needs for their women from their country, for instance when there were the dawn raids Pasifika in the seventies stood up to government for the needs of their families in the way they were being treated – it was Ok for the government to have Pacific Islanders come over for cheap labour in the factories and you know it suited New Zealand and then there was the over-stayers … we came from the Islands to build our home in Aotearoa and therefore it's good to have something to distribute and also to make decision for ourselves, our families, and also contribute to the community nationally and that's how it started.

Traditions/Purpose/Interests
The structure is family based replicating in some ways a traditional pacific community. This structure preserves cultural traditions and understanding providing a solid base for the Pacific Peoples' community. This has led to Pasifica Women providing advice to government department on issues relating to Pacific people.

Pasifica's like a family – an extended family, we all have our own families we go home to, but Pasifica is quite a unique organisation where we can feel comfortable with each other and know that we can confide in each other. That is what Pacifica is all about, sharing knowledge and also I because we live in this cold country, well when it's winter, you know you feel isolated and I think it's good to have other people's ways like our dancing.

We became adviser to the Minister of Health for the national screening programme so that we can - I think Pacifica is the only organisation that can advise the Minister of Health on how to treat the women, how to make them happy to come forward, because it's very tough to talk about sexual activities with Pacific Island people, but I think they agree that Pacifica will be the adviser to them.

Vision/Future
The future is one in which young people need to take up responsibilities within the organisation so that Pasifica can continue and meet the needs of younger generations. In addition linkages with government departments mean that Pasifica may become an important source of information for policy development.

We've been having meetings with the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, with the CEO; that we would like to work with them alongside in this topic of Pacific women's wellbeing and economics.

Our focus is on young people now. Because they see the younger girls are running the organisation they are moving in. We had to look at the girls, we had to look at our young people and see what's their needs.

Barriers
Barriers to development include the perennial issues, lack of funding and reliance on busy volunteers.

Sometimes we apply for funding and we get declined. But we've done so much. Not only are we going to work - we organise our children, school, meals for the family and our husbands.

Arahina House

Ideas/Politics
Arahina house is in many ways a classic example of a neighbourhood community house. It was established as a safe environment for women and children to learn skills and meet together, provide networks and supports. More recently the type of programmes have moved more to a case management model than purely self-help, support.

The Arahina Community House initiative grew out of a need identified by the local Multi-disciplinary Co-ordinating Group…Stability, continuity and security are things we try to provide which makes the house a safe place for people to be, for some clients it is the only place they experience any of these concepts.

When I first started here all we did was the skills based courses plus the after school programme, that was it. Now, we have an open door policy. We have a lot of people coming in off the street, it's more like a family support centre now, word is finally getting out there that Arahina is a place where you can go and you can ask for help.

Traditions/Purpose/Interests
Arahina started out as a focus of community education courses and holiday programmes based on a community development self help ethos. Funding accountability requirements mean programmes have moved to an outcomes based model, requiring a more professional intervention approach.

…, because we had contracts with MSD, FACS and CYFs, they required us to deliver specific programmes in the specific way and that we were accountable for that. There was a little bit of resistance from the trustees because historically …they were quite resistant to that government focus of making us change to fit them, when really we were about the community…

Vision/Future
Arahina wish to expand the number of programmes and employ more staff to cover this expansion.

I think Arahina could deliver a lot more and better, if we had funding. We don't have enough funding to cover our staff as it is now. Not very many places will cover tutor wages or coordinator wages...The structure of Arahina needs to be looked at, and we will do that because now a lot of my time is taken up on one to one with clients so I need to employ tutors. At the moment we are lucky because we get people that come in and just volunteer their time. But I think with the expertise that we are using from those volunteer people, we really need to pay them…

Barriers
As with other groups funding and accountability compliance are the biggest barriers identified by Arahina.

I'm quite fearful of the funding. It just runs my life to be honest; it's there the whole time. With funding, you just about need a full time funding adviser. Funding is such a huge issue for us. We make do with less, we really do, we stretch everything out to the last…as far as the accountability, it's a huge amount of paperwork; and the paper work is just becoming overbearing to be honest.

Fernhill Community Group

Ideas/Politics
Fernhill provides support for people living within a geographic area who may otherwise be isolated.

…that's the thing with a community group, it actually makes you feel part of the community, it's kind of like a bigger family, even though you don't know everybody, but there was a special feeling… people have said so many times they like receiving the little bits of info, they like being part of something, that there's a group rather than just some inner city.

Traditions/Purpose/Interests

Fernhill tries to be responsive to community needs using a community development model without becoming a social service provider. They rely on volunteers and only seek funding for amenity projects.

It was quite a challenge trying to identify the needs of the community and find ways to respond those needs…We could easily become a social welfare group, which is not really our role. We prefer to be a referral group…We feel that as a group we have gained recognition in the community through perseverance of achieving our aims, and that we have tried to be pro-active by doing things in the area. When we draw attention to a concern we know we now know we will be heard.

We probably just rely pretty much on what our subscriptions give us, except for when we have a project going.

Vision/Future

Fernhill's aim is to keep encouraging new people to become involved to maintain a sense of community for the area.

We are trying to encourage some of the younger people to be involved, as a lot of the people who are on the committee or who have been on the committee are retired.

Is the community becoming more of a community or is it because I'm now interested in it? But you feel more of a community, so it's really hard to quantify those sorts of - like I would say it feels much more of a community than it ever did before…

Barriers

Challenges identified are funding, having meeting times to suit a range of individuals and issues related to the expectations put on volunteers.

A challenge we faced was regarding the best time to have meetings, as night-time meetings do not suit a lot of people living alone who did not like coming out at night, and returning to an empty house. We then began to have a mid-winter afternoon festival or function on a Sunday that was slightly more successful, but we continue to struggle to get some people to attend meetings and functions.

…we've had a few hiccups in administration because we've had people that have been willing to do the job but haven't quite been sure how to do it. Treasurer has been a tricky one to get someone to do well.

Funding applications, increasing membership resources and time and resources to undertake what we want to achieve is always a challenge.

St Kilda Community Club

Ideas/Politics

St Kilda Community Club is another neighbourhood support group with a focus on providing a centre for (mainly retired) residents to come and participate in recreational activities.

The two main aims of the club were to provide social and recreational activities for residents and to take an active interest in community affairs…

It keeps neighbours together, I've gone to the lady next door [and asked] 'would you like to go' and we all go along together - so you keep your neighbourhood, and who you know in your neighbourhood.

Traditions/Purpose/Interests
Their structure is an umbrella group under which a number of individual clubs operate based in a central clubrooms.

The way that the club is organised is important to its success. The club is administered by an executive committee that meets monthly. The groups are largely independent and report to the executive committee through a group leader or convenor who is expected also to be a member of the committee.

The club is open to virtually anyone who wants to join, although we do not cater for young people as we believe they are well catered for elsewhere.

Vision/Future
St Kilda Club see a need for new people to be recruited to take up the management side of the club.

The old guard are all just getting too old, they have served 20-odd years and feel it's time to pass it on and hopefully the new ones will be able to maintain it as good as the old.

Barriers
As with the other smaller organisations volunteer time and funding are both issues for the St Kilda Club.

Until recently we have not had many problems filling the top positions on the executive, although it has sometimes meant a bit of juggling. However, we are now finding it more difficult as office bearers are finding it necessary to stand down through various reasons, mainly growing older.

People are quite willing to go along and pay, and play - it's just a matter of making them aware that they belong to a wider group and to know what the wider group is doing, to go out and report to their [members], and to handle any complaints.

…funding is now very, very difficult to come by. A couple of AGMs ago we made a membership fee; what prompted that was the newsletter, it got to the stage where we couldn't afford it any more.

Table 1: Community Development Intersections Schema

Groups	Ideas/politics	Traditions/Purpose/Interests	Visions/future	Barriers
Anglican Family Care	Originally church welfare model but as more government funding became available the services became more dictated by government priorities.	Rapid growth and changes in organisational style to fit with contracting model, latterly feeling a need to reduce rapid growth and consolidate. Original church partnership was dissolved. More complex needs needing a professionally trained workforce. Increased awareness of the needs of Māori and Pacific peoples.	Changed from wanting to be a one stop shop to working more co-operatively with other agencies.	Dependence on government funding restricts the ability to respond directly to community needs. Short term funding and time taken in funding compliance.
Pasifica	Set up as a	Informal family based	Encourage	Lack of

Women	community response to the difficulties Pacific people were having when they immigrated to NZ.	structure, preserving cultural traditions. Funding via fundraising within their own community. Move to adopt some more business like practices. Advisors to Government on Pacific issues.	young women to continue the movement.	funding opportunities as they don't fit the funding priorities. Lack of time to volunteer.
Arahina House	Set up to provide a safe secure environment for women and children to learn skills	Began as a self contained provider of group programmes to which a referral agency with a focus on individual assessment has been added.	Grow programmes and staff, be in a position to employ more staff rather than rely on volunteers for extra assistance.	Lack of funding and the demands of funding compliance.
Fernhill Community Group	Established to give inner city residents a voice and facilitator of community projects	Volunteer group funded by subscription and donations and occasional small grants from the local authority to undertake amenity projects.	Would like to attract younger members.	Lack of volunteer's time. Applying for funding.
St Kilda Community Club	Community recreational and social support	Volunteer group funded by subscription and donations and has a small grant to maintain their premises (that are owned by the local authority)	Would like to encourage new members to be involved in the organisation side	Lack of volunteer's time. Pay to play attitudes. Lack of access to funding.

Conclusion

By using a combination of Shaw's (2007) and Sihlongonyane (2009) intersection schemas it is possible to navigate the contested views of community development practice in a way that allows a description of the contemporary pluralistic environment. While we would recommend this as an appropriate tool for displaying a summary of qualitative data, in any reductive process there is always a risk of bias, we hope by displaying a snapshot of quotes alongside the schema the process we undertook to summarise the original narratives is transparent.

From our case studies we can conceptualise a snapshot of contemporary community development practice in New Zealand that is multifaceted, ranging from large well funded organisations to small localised groups. However, in the organisations we studied there is a clear and distinct separation between wholly volunteer groups and those with paid staff. As there is very little funding available to pay salaries other than via government contracts, this limits the ability of organisations to take any other path than either a contracted service provider or independent volunteer organisation. A number of commentators have previously alluded to this issue, including the government sponsored report on the community and volunteer sector clearly points to this situation (Tennant, M., et al 2008), so it is no surprise that medium sized organisations like Arahina find funding pressures and contracting have altered their focus. This leads to a juggling of priorities and a tension between local and central obligations with some organisations trying to work with both their communities felt needs alongside their contract obligations.

The limited range of 'bottom up' community development work contained within these organisations is perhaps the most significant finding from this research. There is no continuum of possibilities there is instead a dichotomy between the two positions; volunteer with limited localised funding but the ability in a limited way to meet local priorities, and non volunteer caught within the contracting environment meeting central policy priorities and nothing in between. Both positions are problematic while the solely volunteer organisations are small have limited influence, unless part of a national network (e.g. Pasifika) but even then their effectiveness is constrained by their lack of resources.

The challenge for those dependent on government contract funding (such as Family Care or Arahina) is how they can maintain the links with their original vision and communities creating space for their communities to voice dissent on programme direction or content. This is a real challenge for organisations that become deeply involved in the partnering up process as they are understandably supportive of any initiative that will give them greater funding security (Jenkins 2005, Larner and Craig 2005).

For community development to continue to have traction in New Zealand we need to find ways of allowing groups to respond to local community needs in a wide range of ways. Developing funding sources at the local level with local accountability mechanisms are one way to influence organizational development and encourage a return of power to local communities, this may be particularly relevant for organisations like the smaller ones in our study. In addition the increasing stress on volunteers is apparent within volunteer dependent groups and having a salaried worker has been previously proven as a catalyst for community development work in the local government sector (Johns 1993). Salary subsidies may be a way to give volunteer organizations more efficacy in their work. Finally for those organisations that are contractors for the state need to look for ways to incorporate the needs and desires of their communities rather then risk the situation where one narrative - that of the funder, or the policy maker or the professional – dominates.

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