

The Applecard Project: Bi-cultural action research collaboration focused on dietary change
and social capital within a Māori community

by

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Abstract

Na to rourou, Na taku rourou, Ka ora ai Te iwi.

...with your food basket, and my food basket, the people will thrive...

The AppleCART Project was an action research project which evolved through a bi-cultural research relationship. The pairing of a Maori community organisation focused on wellbeing, with a Pākehā masters student, created a project that weaved together academic findings regarding barriers to dietary change, Māori health models and identity constructs and social capital indicators, and combined it with the organisation's experiential knowledge of a 'hard to reach' Māori community. The development of The AppleCART Project therefore occurred at an intersection of four approaches: Māori, Pākehā, community, and academia. The 12-week project included weekly delivery of ingredients to prepare a healthy meal supported by social cooking workshops. Ten participants were interviewed; workshop observations and a post-project discussion group enriched the data, along with the author's personal action research diary.

Ethnographic data describes a community that has a health consciousness but experiences of poverty hinder ability to improve dietary behaviour. Social capital indicators are present within the community, mainly located within whānau networks. Participants with less robust whānau networks particularly lacking in expressive support relied on CART for social support. It is suggested that CART functions as an urban marae providing space, place and security for its community, engendering the development of adaptive and fluid contemporary Māori identities. Contrasts between Māori relational and Pākehā instrumental approaches are discussed.

Acknowledgements

This journey began some time ago when I learned about action research in an undergraduate psychology course taught by my supervisor Professor James Liu (Jim). A project focused on safe practices for sex workers and ‘beer girls’ in Cambodia was presented to us and following this I organised a fundraiser in a strip club for the charitable organisation. As part of course work I wrote an action research proposal suggesting that the fundraiser would be able to investigate donation behaviour and support for stigmatised groups. An acquaintance at the time Toby helped me with the advertising for the fundraiser and we became friends. Subsequently Toby introduced me to Jed. We all discussed the fundraiser and stigmatised groups over a few drinks one night, and Jed invited me to go with him to a party for the anniversary of the Wellington Black Power. It was at this party that I met Denis O’Reilly. That night I felt like I had travelled to the other side of the world, but more importantly I had experiences that broke down many of the negative stereotypes I had held about Māori gang members. Following this I took a course in indigenous psychology taught by Jim and Keri Lawson Te Aho. This course both enlightened me and confronted me with Aotearoa/New Zealand’s colonial history.

Therefore, I must thank Jim for planting the first seeds. Jim’s encouragement and enthusiasm has been unwavering. I thank Toby and Jed, for sharing their networks which have connected me to the roots of this thesis. I am grateful to Denis for directing me to CART and mentoring me through my early ideas. I also thank Keri for sharing her stories with our class and in doing that guiding me through some uncomfortable truths.

Equally important is the CART community and the participants of The AppleCART Project most of all. I thank each of them wholeheartedly for allowing me to ask questions, participating, and sharing their lives and experiences with me (and entertaining little Johnny).

I sincerely hope that The AppleCART Project has had or will have some benefit to each participant in the future.

Finally I must thank those who have supported me daily during this journey; Mum, Andrea, Becky and Kath for picking up the childcare duties when the pressure was on, Sam for listening at length, debating and encouraging me to develop my thinking, and my son John for keeping my life in perspective and charming everyone along the way.

I dedicate this thesis to my late father John Fraser; I would love for him to read it.

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The Applecard Project: Bi-cultural action research collaboration focused on dietary change and social capital within a Māori community.

Introduction

Māori are over-represented in the negative health statistics of New Zealand and this inequality has been attributed to a number of factors in various literatures (Ministry of Health, 2012a). Mason Durie suggested that an appropriate solution to the issue of Māori health outcomes is an holistic approach which reflects four facets to Māori wellbeing: *taha tinana* (the physical), *taha hinengaro* (the psychological), *taha whānau* (the family), and *taha wairua* (the spiritual: Durie, 1998). This is known as *Te Whare Tapa Wha* model, which translates to “the four walls of the house” and describes the necessary and functional interaction between the four factors in order to address Māori health successfully. *Whānau Ora* is a government initiative which aims to take a similarly holistic approach to Māori wellbeing by focusing on whānau empowerment through the integration of health and social services provided by government departments such as the Ministry of Health, Te Puni Kokiri, and the Ministry of Social Development (Ministry of Health, 2012a; Te Puni Kokiri, 2012).

One of the health issues being addressed by Whānau Ora, and a concern for Māori communities in general, is Māori over-representation in obesity statistics (1.5 and 2 times more likely to be obese than non-Māori according to gender: Ministry of Health 2012c). Obesity increases the risk of many other health related problems such as Type 2 diabetes, heart disease, stroke and certain cancers (Ministry of Health, 2012b), and its increasing prevalence is thought to be caused by poor nutrition, excess fat consumption, and inadequate exercise (Ministry of Health, 2012b). CART (Consultancy Advocacy Research Trust) is a Māori organisation funded partially by Whānau Ora who work to improve the health, wellbeing, and resilience of ‘hard to reach’ Māori in South Wellington (CART, 2010).

Research suggests that groups have been classified ‘hard to reach’ if they live in poverty, come from minority or indigenous cultures, or are involved in criminal activity (Cortis, 2012). This definition is consistent with the CART community as their website claims “ these people are often referred to as ‘Dole Bludgers’, ‘Drug Addicts’ or ‘ Gang Members’”(CART, 2010). A significant part of CART’s focus is on nutrition, exercise, and community networks.

The AppleCART Project was born through collaboration between CART and I to improve nutritional outcomes and increase social capital. Consistent with CART’s approach it used a community-based participatory action research foundation to implement the project, gather data, and evaluate it. More specifically, The AppleCART Project conveniently provided low-cost healthy meal ideas for whānau¹, in a supportive and social setting, thus, integrating whānau, physical, and social facets to health and wellbeing. By grounding the project in Durie’s (1998) model of Te Whare Tapa Wha, we hoped to increase resilience and efficacy within this Māori community at the same time as improving nutritional outcomes.

Initial research objectives were:

- a. To gain a comprehensive understanding of the daily food practices of low-income Māori whānau
- b. To improve dietary habits (less fat, more fruit and vegetables)
- c. To increase food preparation skills
- d. To increase social capital indicators of *trust, participation, reciprocity, networks,* and *norms* within the community
- e. To strengthen overall resilience for the CART community via social capital
- f. To strengthen overall resilience for the CART community via collective efficacy

Some of the objectives were achieved and it is considered that The AppleCART

¹ See glossary for Māori words and phrases used throughout the thesis

Project was for the most part a success; however, engagement emerged as a key variable to explore. Detailed findings suggest that small improvements in diet and social capital were made. Overall findings demonstrate tension between two necessary approaches when working with a Māori ‘hard to reach’ community: balancing a Māori relational approach with Pākehā instrumental rationality. It is suggested that engagement was positively impacted by a Māori relational approach, but negatively impacted by tensions between associated flexibility and a Pākehā instrumental rational approach requiring more rigidity. Furthermore, closer adherence to an action research methodology whereby participants possessed a stronger voice could have improved the success of the project.

Community-based participatory action research (CB-PAR) was considered the most appropriate methodology for working within this ‘hard to reach’ community. This is due to its emphasis on an emergent developmental form, allowing for flexibility, and respect for the agency and identity positions of the co-researcher participants (Reason & Bradbury, 2008). My identity position (Pākehā student) placed me firmly outside the community. Despite my outsider status, I was granted entry into the community through my personal networks. My role was somewhat abstracted and began with reviewing literature to ensure the project was grounded and justifiable, and could be evaluated. The other participants involved in implementing the project occupied varying roles at the intersection of the Māori, Pākehā, community and academic approaches; maintaining relationships, activating the project, managing engagement, and contributing feedback and reflections.

The combination of research-based knowledge and experiential knowledge formed the structure of the project. The purpose of The AppleCART Project was to improve dietary behaviour and increase social capital, effectively strengthening this

community's overall resilience. This section will review the background literature about barriers to dietary change, Māori identity constructs, social capital as a component of community resilience, cultural capital, and engaging 'hard to reach' communities within a context of colonisation.

Barriers to dietary change

Māori earn smaller incomes (\$471 per week compared with \$637 for Pākehā (New Zealand Europeans) in 2005: Robson, Cormack, & Cram, 2007) and are three times more likely to be unemployed than Pākehā (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). The Ministry of Health's 2008/09 National Nutrition Survey reported that one in seven Māori are classified as having low food security meaning that they regularly rely on others for food (family, food banks, or grants: Ministry of Health, 2012c). Thus, the Māori population is particularly vulnerable to the effects of poor nutrition due to the actual and perceived cost of healthy food. While crude statistics do not explain causality, cost is a potential explanation for certain data comparing Māori food practices with non-Māori food practices: Māori are less likely to eat breakfast; Māori females are less likely to eat the recommended servings of fruit and vegetables per day; Māori women are three times more likely to eat fast food three or more times per week (Ministry of Health, 2012c).

The cost of healthy food is considered to be a major barrier to healthy eating. Tassell and Flett (2005) found that 35% of female Māori respondents cited cost as the reason for not increasing their fruit consumption. Eyles et al., (2009) highlighted the common perception that healthy food costs more in their focus group study on nutrition education. Presbyterian Support Otago (2008) found a considerable discrepancy between the actual spend (\$162.50), and the Otago University Food Costs survey recommended minimum spend (\$241), of feeding a five person family a healthy diet each week, suggesting that low-income families are indeed not able to afford the basic necessities of a

healthy diet. Furthermore, the most recent food costs survey (Department of Human Nutrition, University of Otago, 2014) suggested that Wellington is one of the most expensive main centres in New Zealand for feeding a family, and that a basic healthy diet costs between \$32 (for a 1yr old) and \$72 (for an adolescent boy). This estimate assumes all food is prepared at home and is based on the lowest cost products in each food group (Department of Human Nutrition, University of Otago, 2014).

In addition, low-income households were found to purchase less variety of vegetables (either fresh, canned, or frozen), and children from low-income households were more likely to use school canteens providing cheap lunches, than those from medium or high-income households (Smith, Parnell & Brown, 2010). Food is considered a discretionary item when budgeting and therefore is often the first household expense to be rationed (Presbyterian Support Otago, 2008).

A healthier diet to reduce the rates of obesity for Māori is considered one that is lower in fat and higher in fresh fruit and vegetables (Ministry of Health, 2000). However, aside from the expense of fresh produce, many consider fat-reduced food to be less tasty (Tassell & Flett, 2005). It was recommended that in order to improve the diet of Māori women, there must be a focus on the preparation methods of low-fat tasty meals in public health messages (Tassell & Flett, 2005). This is supported by Eyles et al.'s (2009) research which suggests that life habits and lack of "know-how" with respect to healthy food preparation were barriers to making healthy food choices.

Tassell and Flett (2005) established that low dietary self-efficacy negatively impacted on Māori women's ability to reduce fat and increase fresh produce in their diet, especially for those who were already overweight. However, they also found that self-efficacy was related to stages of behavioural change. As participants moved through the "stages of behaviour change", from *pre-contemplation* to *contemplation*, *preparation*, *action*

and then *maintenance* their sense of self-efficacy increased. The “stages of change” measure defines the preparation stage as an “active intention” to make positive dietary change within the past month (Schwab, 2000). Schwab (2000) found that higher self-efficacy can encourage the shift to *action* and *maintenance* in the context of smoking cessation, thus if applied to dietary change it would be pertinent to focus on self-efficacy at the preparation (or active intention) stage. Increasing preparation skills and demonstrating that healthy food can be affordable and tasty at the preparation stage would appear to be most effective. However, Tassell and Flett’s (2005) study focused on individual-level behaviour without considering cultural factors. They acknowledged that future research should account for cultural practices surrounding food sharing to better understand barriers and antecedents to dietary change in a Māori context.

Culture certainly plays an influential role in terms of the effectiveness of health messages. Eyles et al. (2009, p. 563) found that use of te reo Māori in healthy food messages was important – not so much as to alienate, but enough for the message to be “Māori enough”. In addition, their focus groups agreed that ingredients needed to be relevant to the cultural context, and the example was given of using kumara in Māori focused messages (Eyles et al., 2009). Research undertaken by Simmons and Voyle (2003) suggests that urban marae are a context where health messages may be more effectively received due to cultural sensitivity, the influential role of the local environment, and the potential for empowerment, self-efficacy and sustainability associated with the marae collective.

Utter et al., (2011) found that households in areas of high deprivation, and Māori and Pacific households, share family meals less frequently. This supports Borell’s (2005) finding from South Auckland youth suggesting that an experiential indicator of being Māori is not eating together as a family. In addition, there was a statistical difference in diet

between youth who eat with the family infrequently (twice a week or less) and frequently (seven or more times per week): infrequent family meals demonstrated higher fast food consumption, and frequent family meals showed adequate vegetable consumption (Utter et al., 2011).

However, eating behaviours affect more than just physical health. For children, food poverty is associated with behavioural problems, high levels of school absenteeism, and poor academic outcomes (Carne & Mancini, 2012). James, Curtis and Ellis (2009a) described a 'proper' meal as not only one that has been prepared almost from scratch, but one that parents and children share. Their study found that mealtime habits help to form children's identity and status within the family. The sharing of family meals is an opportunity for elders to pass on family values, discipline, hierarchical norms, and other cultural systems to children and contribute to social identification (James, Kjørholt, & Tingstad, 2009b). This would suggest that sharing meals as a family contributes to secure identity development. This proposition is supported by Utter et al. (2011) who found that youths' family relationships were more positive when family meals were shared, maintaining the notion of value in the social aspect of food practices and meal times. Thus food habits have great potential to impact the acquisition of children and youth's social skills and cultural identity.

It was also found that food preparation was an effective way to build and strengthen networks for a small multicultural group of migrant women in Hamilton (Johnston & Longhurst, 2012). In addition, this study reports on a participant's experience as a new migrant in New Zealand; taking a 'plate' to a luncheon, and finding that contributing a dish she had prepared engendered trust and reciprocity within this foreign community and thus contributing to a sense of security (Johnston & Longhurst, 2012).

However barriers and solutions to healthy eating for Māori communities are

complex. The cited research demonstrates that it is necessary to focus on increasing practical skills to prepare meals that are tasty and seasonal, and hence cheaper. In order for a change in dietary habits to occur, the messages must be communicated in a culturally appropriate way, contingent on the specific participating community. They must also be effective in terms of increasing interpersonal skills and self-efficacy for both individual members and the collective so as to stimulate a shift in household or whānau behavioural norms and increase community resilience. This approach is consistent with the holistic focus of Māori health models without presupposing or imposing traditional or fixed Māori identities on the participating community.

A marae is a physical and spiritual centre where Māori kin come together; roles are determined symbolically, spatially and hierarchically (Tomlins Jahnke, 2002). Tomlins Jahnke's (2002) small study reported that children occupy the back spaces of the marae, beginning their cultural training by first learning to work in the kitchen as a kind of apprenticeship (Rangihau 1975, cited in Tomlins Jahnke, 2002). She further argued that engagement with marae was a marker of a secure cultural identity. Therefore it would seem that it is not only the sharing of meals that contributes to cultural identities (James et al., 2009b) but also the preparing of meals in a collective setting.

It has been shown that family and cultural practices in the kitchen and around the dinner table are a foundation for identity building and that sharing food is a valuable site for building connections and passing on cultural knowledge. Therefore it is useful to consider food practice as a determinant of cultural transmission and identity for Māori. However, not all Māori are described as having a secure cultural identity (Durie, 1998). Colonisation has seen Māori forced to withstand European laws preventing them from having access to their land, language, and ability to 'be' Māori (Durie, 1997), thus severely reducing the chance of maintaining a robust collective or secure identity.

Māori identity and wellbeing

Like rope woven from flax with many strands, Maori are connected through shared bloodlines, values and goals (Metge, 1995). *Whakapapa* translates as “to place in layers” and describes not only genealogical bloodlines but the relatedness of all things animate, inanimate, and understood from the beginning of creation (Roberts & Wills, 1998). Māori group membership and identity is based on kinship and a connection to land, so that *whānau* consists of extended family members, *hapū* is a larger group connected by an ancestor, and *iwi* is a tribal group of connected hapū who share ancestral land. Accordingly, Māori organisational structure is grounded in these relationships.

Māori iwi can be described as independent nations of people, who as a collective owned the land they occupied (Keiha & Moon, 2008). Since the late eighteenth century, colonial settlers slowly but surely gained sovereignty over the indigenous people and took control of the majority of the land (Keiha & Moon, 2008). The colonisers introduced policies that manipulated and confiscated land from Māori iwi (Houkamau, 2010), for example through the introduction of the Māori Land Court collective land ownership was shifted into individual titles. As Māori then sought work in urban areas, kinship links, cohesion and other traditional cultural structures were fragmented. This urbanisation combined with assimilation policies resulted in cultural loss and compromised wellbeing (Walker 1990, cited in Houkamau, 2010).

CART’s ‘hard to reach’ clientele are described as ‘*Nga Mokai*’: tribeless, disenfranchised, drug users, and gang members (CART, 2010) suggesting that this community of urban Māori have borne the brunt of these outcomes of the colonisation of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Lawson Te Aho and Liu (2010) argued that Māori self-destructive behaviours (for example, suicide and drug use) were the result of

intergenerational soul wounding, or the cumulative negative effects of colonisation on indigenous people. Houkamau (2010) found Māori women constructed their identity according to the historical and ideological context in which they lived. She found generational differences suggesting that Māori women aged 35-60 (at the time of the research) assumed more negative cultural identities; having lived experiences of cultural denial due to the policies and practices of 1970s. Lawson Te Aho and Liu (2010) reported two directions with which to restore wellbeing amongst Māori: acknowledging an adaptive shift from traditional to urban identity constructs, and continuing to emphasise the value of kin and relational networks. This is a context with which I have considered strategies to improve the resilience and wellbeing of the CART community.

Literature on Māori identity tends to focus on secure or traditional identities. McIntosh (2005) proposed that a traditional Māori identity is “fixed” and political, and is defined by “being”, “knowing” and “acting” Māori, while Borell (2005) highlighted that conventional markers of secure Māori identity are speaking te reo, connections to marae and understanding *tikanga Māori* (Māori customs). Durie (1998) suggested that Māori who possess such knowledge are “culturally” Māori, whereas others may fit more easily into a “bicultural” or “marginalized” identity. Similarly to *Te Whare Tapa Wha*, a secure model of Māori wellbeing is described by Rose Pere (1988) as *Te Wheke*, or the octopus, whereby the parts of the octopus and their relationship to each other are symbolic of the many facets to Māori identity and wellbeing. These include belonging to the land and community, having spiritual and family connections, uniqueness, heritage life force, and understanding specific customs and practices. Pere (1988) acknowledges diversity within Māori identity constructions, and accordingly it must be acknowledged that CART’s urban and ‘hard to reach’ Māori may not neatly or securely identify with these traditional indicators of Māori culture.

Borell (2005) found that South Auckland Māori youth associated their Māori identities with deprivation, poverty, not eating nor doing things together as a family, and living in rough neighbourhoods suggestive of local identity markers dominating ethno-cultural ones. This is consistent with McIntosh's (2005) contention that "forced" Māori identities are marginalised, stigmatised and branded by deprivation. However it seems dangerous to assume that this is indicative of all low-income urban Māori communities. In her discussion, McIntosh (2005) suggests that "fluid" identities are often misjudged as dysfunctional but are in fact an adaptive fusion of cultural practices relevant to the social environment. These include aspects of contemporary, localised, and traditional Māori identity markers.

This notion is supported by Houkamau and Sibley (2010) who developed a model of Māori identity recognising variance and fluidity in Māori identity constructions. Their model focused on the lived experiences of being Māori and abstracted six dimensions of identity: group membership evaluation, socio-political consciousness, cultural efficacy, spirituality, interdependent self-concept, and authenticity beliefs. These dimensions describe the many facets of contemporary Māori identity including relationships with Pākehā, resources for engaging in Māori contexts, and connectedness. Accordingly, Māori collective identity must be recognised as dynamic. Māori who are faced with barriers to accessing traditional indicators of Māori identity may seek and find new ways to maintain connections to their place and community, and therefore successful initiatives would be flexible when addressing Māori issues (Borell, 2005).

To summarise the literature thus far is to consider dietary change within an urban Māori context. Accordingly, it cannot be assumed that a traditional approach (use of te reo, traditional tikanga, and focus on genealogical whakapapa) is necessarily the best direction. The cited research shows the importance of acknowledging heterogeneous identity positions according to lived and intergenerational experiences. However, the relational foundation of

Māori culture and identity is a robust commonality: Te Wheke and Te Whare Tapa Wha describe identity and wellbeing as the outcome of a set of interconnecting factors (Durie, 1998; Pere, 1988); Houkamau and Sibley (2010) emphasise interdependence, group membership and relationships with Pākehā as domains with which Māori evaluate identity; Borell (2005) and McIntosh (2005) both emphasise social factors to contemporary Māori identity constructs. It is clear that social relationships are central to identity and wellbeing in a Māori context, but they may not be manifested through traditional marae and/or kin relations. CART acknowledges this and works to build community resilience by focusing on whānau structures, and increasing participation and capabilities within them (CART, 2010).

‘Hard to reach’ communities

CART describe their whānau clientele as ‘hard to reach’ or ‘difficult to deal with’ and more specifically “the long term unemployed, prisoners and former prisoners, people with mental illness, the alienated, the disaffected and ostracized, impoverished communities, disenfranchised Maori.” (CART, 2010). Cortis (2012) defined ‘hard to reach’ communities as those as indigenous, or those associated with poverty and crime. However, defining a community as ‘hard to reach’ does not come without criticism. MacKenzie et al. (2012) explains that the term ‘hard to reach’ broadly describes those who under-utilise public services. The phrase is used to target policy to those in need. Yet, Brackertz (2007) argues that the use of the overarching term is not helpful when describing a number of different groups who may not be engaging in public services for a number of different reasons.

Cortis (2012) discussed the implications of stigma that come with services targeted to such populations, as well as other barriers to service uptake; such as access, culture and trust. Dixon-Woods et al. (2005, cited in MacKenzie et al., 2012) presents a theory of candidacy to explain why groups and individuals do not take up the services offered to them. This theory posits that decisions to use services (or not), are based on risk evaluations taking into account

one's own cultural understandings and experience. It is suggested that 'hard to reach' groups may lack confidence in the legitimacy of their candidacy (MacKenzie et al., 2012). Māori communities who have historically been subject to discriminatory policies may well decide that they are not suitable candidates for public services.

Cortis' (2012) inclusion of indigenous populations as 'hard to reach' is reflected in the landscape of Aotearoa/New Zealand, evidenced by the clientele of CART (CART, 2010). Colonisation has functioned to distance indigenous Māori from the "mainstream" in their own lands. Borell, Gregory, McCreanor, Jensen, and Moewaka Barnes (2009) argued that Māori in New Zealand suffer under a "gaze" of deprivation, and that Pākehā hegemonic values are either invisible or inaccessible to Māori. British colonisers imported an ethic of egalitarianism, individual meritocracy and personal responsibility to Aotearoa/New Zealand that functioned to exclude a collective Māori worldview, yet within this context Māori have been blamed for their own disadvantage (Borell et al., 2009). Memmi's (1967) description of the relationship between the colonisers and the colonised is neatly summed up in his quote "the more freely he (the coloniser) breathes, the more the colonised are choked" (p. 8). Much like the air in Memmi's analogy Pākehā privilege is arguably an invisible force depleting Māori resources over time.

Acknowledging this and replacing a deficit discourse with a privilege discourse shifts the responsibility of equality from the 'have nots' to the 'haves' (Borell et al., 2009).

Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Tankel and Groot (2014) place an onus of responsibility on educated researchers of poverty and health to report lived experience with accompanying recommendations.

Taking this into consideration and acknowledging my Pākehā privilege and epistemology, I attempt to find a Māori-centred solution to inequalities in Aotearoa/New Zealand from my Pākehā cultural position. To do so I consider social theory, in particular

Bourdieu whose work focuses on reproduction of power, and social capital as a component of resilience.

Social capital

There are some similarities with Māori models of wellbeing and social theory on community resilience. CART's focus on capabilities is reflected by Pfefferbaum's (2005, cited in Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, & Pfefferbaum, 2008) definition of community resilience as "the ability of community members to take meaningful, deliberate and collective action to remedy the impact of a problem, including the ability to interpret the environment, intervene, and move on". The words *ability*, *remedy*, *collective action*, and *move on* are considered to be key in this definition, describing resilience as skill-based, solution-focused, co-operative, and progressive. Other scholars also promote collectivity or social capital as a core component of community resilience (Norris et al., 2008; Ungar, 2011; Wilson, 2012). The literature finds truth in the old adage "united we stand, divided we fall": there is strength in social and collective relationships which can be harnessed in times of need. These theories posit social support and relationships at the core of community resilience similarly to Māori models of identity and wellbeing which place such value on relationships.

An alternative perspective of community resilience is the application of the stress-diathesis model, whereby the diathesis is considered to be the pre-existing vulnerability of the community, which affects its response to stress exposure (Norris et al., 2008). Contrary to the psychopathological use of the model which attempts to mitigate stress exposure in order to modify the stress response, the community resilience application of the model attempts to reduce the pre-existing vulnerability in order to improve the outcome. This is logical considering many stresses faced by communities are beyond human control (for example natural disasters) and therefore reducing pre-existing vulnerability is the best

solution to stress exposure. Thus in order to improve the health outcomes for CART's low-income Māori community it would be pertinent to increase resilience rather than attempt to moderate the stress exposure, which is arguably the result of the cumulative negative effects of their marginalised economic position and thus historical.

Wilson (2012) suggested that strong community resilience results from a combination of economic, environmental, and social capitals within the community. Environmental capital is described as the accessibility to natural resources such as water. He neatly illustrates these interconnected relationships in the diagram below (see *Figure 1*). Wilson (2012) acknowledged that it is rare for communities to achieve a perfect balance and that cultural factors create much complexity within this simple model. However, he suggests that resilience and vulnerability in communities can be determined by the “critical triangle” of capital development and the interaction that occurs between domains.

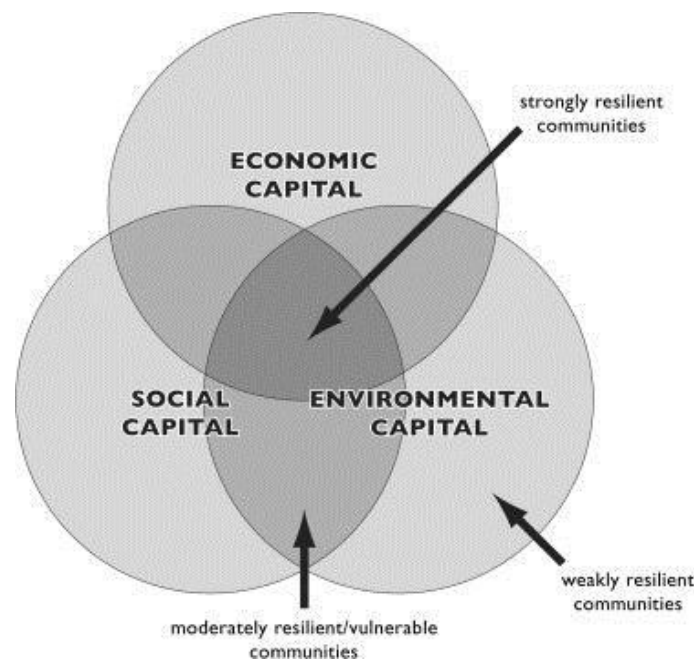


Figure 1: Community resilience, vulnerability, and economic, social and environmental capital (Source: Wilson, 2012).

The relationship between economic, social and environmental capital with added cultural factors that Wilson (2012) proposes is perhaps more neatly reflected

and expanded upon by Bourdieu. Bourdieu's concepts of *capital*, *habitus*, and *field* describe three interconnecting components which can advance or obstruct positive outcomes in everyday life (Singh-Manoux & Marmot, 2005). Firstly Bourdieu defines four categories of capital: cultural, social, economic and symbolic (Samuelsen & Steffen, 2004). An individual may be in possession of all the desired capital, some, or none at all. Cultural capital is characterised as knowledge, information and intellectual abilities relative to the immediate culture. Social capital, or the value of social relationships, is both a collective asset and an individual one (Carpiano, 2006; Lin, 2007). It is dependent on the size of the network and the value of pooled resources, as well as the actual or perceived potential for an individual to gain access to them (Carpiano, 2006). Accordingly, possession of social capital can affect status, power, and experience of equality (Jenkins, 2005). Just like currency, Bourdieu's 'capitals' are able to be traded; therefore to be in possession of the correct or most valuable 'currency' is preferential.

Interconnected with Bourdieu's capitals are *habitus* and *field*. *Habitus* is the "internalisation" of one's cultural environment (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 205), contributing to one's possession of cultural capital. It can also be thought of as the embodiment of socialisation resulting in unconscious performances, practices and behaviours in the everyday life of the subject (Samuelsen & Steffen, 2004). Social scientists have used Bourdieu's conceptualisations to describe how power and status is reproduced. Borell et al. (2009) argued that habitus of Pākehā, made up of mundane invisible experiences, functioned to advantage majority white people in Aotearoa/New Zealand. For example, within the context of dietary behaviour, class positions are reproduced through food preferences and food sharing practices (Bourdieu, 1984 cited in Chamberlain, 1997).

Field refers to the institutional domain where interactions take place. Thomson (2008) likens the concept to a sports field whereby positions are taken and rules control the

game. As with a sports game, there are boundaries, competition, strategy, and the pitch or environment can influence the outcome (Thomson, 2008). It is suggested that habitus predicts position in the field, both self-imposed and imposed-on (Samuelson & Steffen, 2004). An example of a field could be 'health' or 'religion'. The field contains a semi-structured, yet fuzzy, hierarchy of social positions, and one's habitus will influence the actions and interactions within it. For example, a culturally Māori individual would possess appropriate capital to effectively operate within a marae, and their internalised habitus may determine their role within the field. However, a non-Māori's habitus would find them unfamiliar with a marae environment, unable to interact competently due to a kind of cultural poverty. In contrast, a Māori individual operating in a colonised Pākehā field may lack the essential currency to obtain positive desired outcomes.

Putnam's definition of social capital describes the value of social organisation, dependent on the trust and reciprocity of its members (Carpiano, 2006). His interpretation identified the key features to be networks, norms, reciprocity, trust, and civic engagement as an investment in one's community to generate capital (Carpiano, 2006; Brisson & Usher, 2007; Krishna & Shrader, 1999; Lin, 2007; Mataus & Ozawa, 2010; Ungar, 2011). Carpiano (2006) concluded that Putnam's definition is more focused on social cohesion (trust, reciprocity, participation and norms) whereby Bourdieu's is more about resources. It is certainly clear that Putnam's description emphasises social support. However, according to Bourdieu much social value is found within the breadth of the networks, so there is some convergence between Putnam's markers and Bourdieu's overarching description. A useful example of how they may operate together may be found in Martin, Rogers, Cook, and Joseph's (2004) study, which found a link between social networks, reciprocity and food security. This illustrates how Bourdieu's focus on networks and access to resources combines with Putnam's notions of social cohesion. Martin et al. (2004) could not infer directional

causality, but it clearly demonstrates the interconnectedness of social resources and wellbeing.

Various definitions of social capital translate to difficulty in operationalising it as a construct for measurement or comparison. A resource generator is a measure of social capital proposed and tested for validity by Van Der Gaag and Snijders (2005). It asks respondents to identify if they have access to resources through social networks using a list of items such as "Do you know someone who owns a car?", and "Do you know someone who can help with moving house?". Considering Bourdieu's theory that social capital is located in an actual or perceived ability to access social resources from within a network (Carpiano, 2006) the resource generator method is fitting.

Although Van Der Gaag and Snijders (2005) found that this scale was not effective for comparison between respondents due to high affirmative responses for most items they did find validity in comparing different domains of social capital. They considered the responses within the context of instrumental and expressive actions (Lin, 2001, cited in Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2005), in that instrumental actions function to increase wealth, power and reputation whereas expressive actions improve life satisfaction and wellbeing. They also established four domains finding that 'prestige and education related social capital' and 'political and financial skills' pertained to networks, and 'personal skills social capital' and 'personal support social capital' pertained to trust. These differentials link with Putnam's indicators. It was suggested that asking respondents to identify the resource according to the relationship held (for example, friend, family, or acquaintance) would improve the ability to interpret results. The current research adopted this approach, using and adapting the resource generator items and asking participants to identify whether the resource comes from whānau, inner circle friend, outer circle friend or acquaintance. In conjunction with semi structured interviews based on Putnam's five social capital indicators (networks, norms, participation, trust and reciprocity), the current research has attempted to understand the existence and

value of the participants' social relationships using this measure which incorporates aspects of both Putnam's and Bourdieu's conceptualisations of social capital.

Theoretical assumptions

Consequently, The AppleCART Project was based on the theoretical assumption that social capital is a component of community resilience and linked with the field of food preparation. It integrated the conceptualisations of Putnam and Bourdieu by first defining social capital markers as trust, reciprocity, participation, networks and norms (Putnam), and secondly evaluating more abstracted definitions of social and cultural capital according to access, exchangeability, and worth (Bourdieu). In a New Zealand context combining the two approaches recognises Pākehā privilege and Māori relational foundations within social theoretical frameworks. This is because by recognising that both social capital and Māori identity are grounded in relationships leading to resilience and wellbeing, a Māori world view is acknowledged to address the specific vulnerability of Māori health from both perspectives. Furthermore, considering CART's 'hard to reach' community within a context of cultural capital acknowledges the hegemonic norms manifest from our colonial history and the concomitant privilege that Pākehā are afforded.

Participation in society without compromising values is key to a secure Māori identity (Durie, 1997). It is speculated that poor health outcomes for Māori are a result of compromising values and identity when interacting with health and social services. Using Bourdieu's framework, it would appear that many Māori may not possess the relevant cultural capital when engaging with these post-colonial fields, or simply that their habitus is incongruent with the white majority. Conversely, it should be considered that service providers lack suitable cultural capital to effectively work with Māori communities. Despite social relationships being a cornerstone of Māori culture poorer employment statistics

amongst Māori communities may suggest instrumental social capital actions (networks, prestige, education, wealth) are unavailable. Bourdieu argued that ability to acquire capital reproduces power and inequality (Carpiano, 2006). Considering Māori health and wellbeing from this Bourdieusian perspective makes clear a greater need for the use of Māori health models (such as Durie's (1998) Te Whare Tapa Wha model), when working with Māori communities to improve health and wellbeing outcomes.

Consistent with an holistic approach, we focused on food sharing as an interconnected component of Māori wellbeing. It was hypothesised that shared experiences would engender trust and reciprocity while broadening networks. Individuals would then have greater access to resources through social connections. In addition, from a Bourdieusian perspective food sharing practices have the power to reproduce norms (Chamberlain, 1997) yet is a relatively flexible field without strict boundaries and rules. This was demonstrated by Johnston and Longhurst (2012) who found that food sharing connected a multicultural group of migrants. Food sharing is also a site for establishing and enhancing cultural identity (James et al., 2009a; James et al., 2009b; Tomlins Jahnke, 2002) and thus has the potential to promote spiritual and/or psychological and/or whānau wellbeing. Furthermore, encouraging healthy food practices emphasises the physical aspects of wellness for the individual and their whānau.

Mapping connections between Māori diet, health, wellbeing and identity, Aotearoa/New Zealand's history of colonisation, and social theories on resilience and capital, leads to a clear common denominator: the social world. Māori identities are diverse and dynamic, but not immune to power and class positions. McIntosh (2005) suggested that society values "fixed" Māori identities to be high in status and therefore, those who may identify more with "fluid" and "forced" Māori identities risk exclusion and are more prone to mental and physical illness, unemployment and poverty. Furthermore,

they may consider themselves ‘unsuitable’ candidates for public services that are grounded in the culture of the colonisers. However Borell (2005) contends that urban and “at-risk” Māori, who are often labelled “disenfranchised”, can create and maintain strong collective identities in non-traditional ways. This claim is most pertinent when tackling social capital as a factor of community resilience in low-income or ‘hard to reach’ Māori communities. Growth of social capital may impact the psychological identity, collective efficacy, and thus the overall resilience of the participating community (Norris et al., 2008). In addition, there is converging evidence linking social capital with improved health outcomes (Kim, Subramanian, & Kawachi, 2006; Poortinga, 2012). Bonding capital can function to improve health behaviours via norms around food preparation and sharing, while bridging capital can provide access to community organisations via networks (Kim et al., 2006). The social aspects of daily food practices have an impact on wellbeing (Utter et al., 2011) and therefore this is an appropriate site for investigating social capital. Looking beyond constructs such as social capital, community resilience and collective efficacy, it is necessary to consider appropriate methodology when approaching community issues, and to highlight the differences between indigenous and mainstream epistemologies.

Methodology

Action research methodology

Reason and Bradbury (2008, p.1) describe action research as an “orientation to inquiry” rather than a pure methodology. Furthermore, they emphasise features of everyday life, applicability, collective benefit and interconnectedness in their following description:

A primary purpose of action research is to produce practical knowledge that is useful to people in the everyday conduct of their lives. A wider purpose of action research is to contribute through this practical knowledge to the

increased wellbeing – economic, political, psychological, spiritual – of human persons and communities, and to a more equitable and sustainable relationship with the wider ecology of the planet of which we are an intrinsic part. (Reason & Bradbury, 2008, p. 4)

Lewin set this foundational approach to action research which is focused on both solutions to social problems and providing theoretical understandings of them (Bargal, 2008).

Bargal (2006) transformed Lewin's foundational work into eight principles describing a dynamic and spiral process which moves across stages of planning, acting, and evaluating followed by opportunities for feedback from all participating groups or individuals.

O'Leary's (2004 cited in Koshy, Koshy & Waterman, 2011) model neatly presented this process, showing that in each cycle the spiral becomes more focused and refined (see Figure 2). Iterations of this process are grounded in community values, and foster dialogue and collaboration between all participants, ideally as co-researchers (Reason & Bradbury, 2008). Reason (2004) suggested that certain characteristics which inform action research become clearer as the action research project progresses: these characteristics are identified as emergent developmental form, worthwhile purpose, practical issues, participation and democracy, and knowledge in practice. In other words, through the cyclic and participatory process of action research, the issues, purpose, and practices of the project become explicit.

The foundational work of Lewin was directed by the US government, and thus considered a top-down approach whereby theory is applied to a social issue from those in stronger power positions; political or academic (Liu, Ng, Gastardo-Conaco, & Wong, 2008). CART advocates bottom-up participatory research which takes a social constructionist approach whereby the subjective positions of both participants and researchers are considered integral to the research process and outcomes (Liu et al., 2008).

By taking this approach, bottom-up research can be viewed as more empowering for the community with potentials for increasing self awareness, interconnectedness and social change through reflexive practices (Liu et al., 2008).

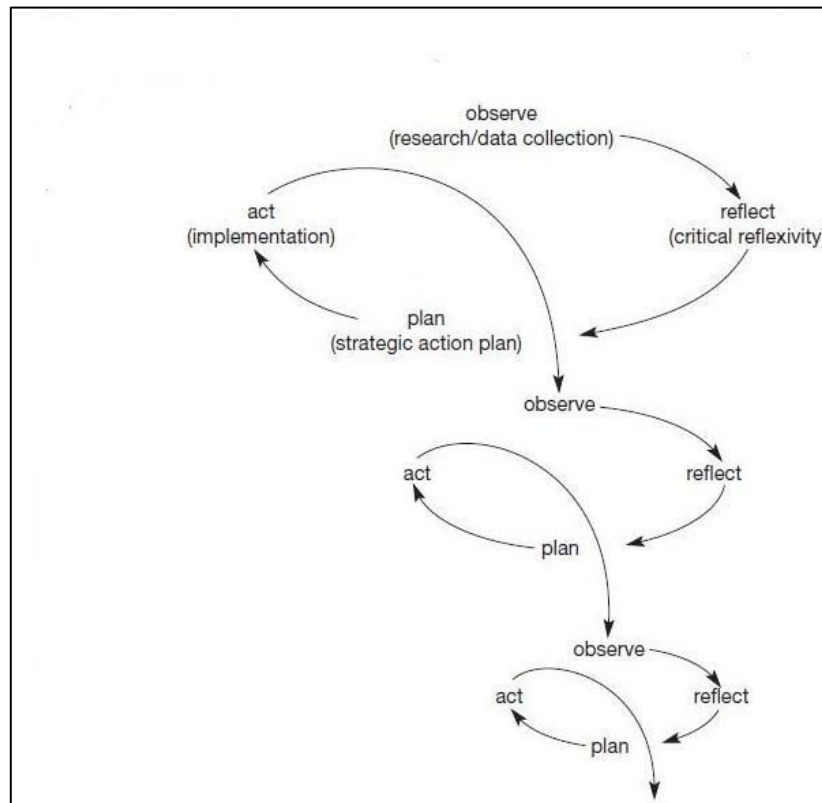


Figure 2: O'Leary's cycle of research. (Source: O'Leary 2004, p. 141 cited in Koshy et al., 2011).

The shift from initially broad research objectives and methods, to explicit and specific objectives and methods, is engendered by reflexivity and feedback loops which punctuate the action research cycle. Due to the subjectivity of all participant researchers and the context- dependent sites of interpretation, reflexivity and feedback are valuable components of the research process (Bargal, 2008). Bjorn and Boulus (2011) emphasise the importance of scrutinizing the research method because it is grounded in interdependent relationships which are dynamic within themselves. Therefore reflexivity, or a clear examination of all developments throughout the entirety of the project, whether social,

mental, physical, or spiritual, is required to achieve robust actions and evaluations.

Reason and Riley (2008) framed co-operative inquiry within the various parameters of experiential, presentational, propositional and practical ways of knowing. They suggested that reflective processes must be relevant to the mode of knowledge production. Therefore, in the initial exploratory phase the researchers focus on propositional (or conceptual), and presentational (or narrative based) knowledge, in order to agree on research objectives and actions. The next phase is based in action and a practical way of knowing; thus the reflections are centred on how practice conforms or does not conform to the research origins, accounting for the experiences of all participant researchers. Phase three yields experiential knowledge as researchers are fully engaged with the research experience and thus reflexivity is a necessary means to robust findings. Finally, there is a return to propositional and presentational knowledge, reflections demanding modification, redevelopment, rejections and amendments, in order to best achieve both the action and research goals.

Bjorn and Boulus (2011) described reflective thought as “careful considerations” which are approached similarly to Latour’s (1987) “dissenter roles”. Latour (1987) suggested that all relationships bound in scientific research (whether social or artifactual) must be subject to the scrutiny of a dissenter, whose function is to challenge widely held and often tacit beliefs or “truths”. These relationships could be social relationships within a research design, such as that between a researcher and participant, or artifactual relationships, meaning the relationships observed between cultural and/or physical objects. Latour’s acknowledgement of relationships between animate and inanimate things is akin to Māori epistemology recognising whakapapa as the interconnectedness of everything (Roberts & Wills, 1998). In an action research model this requires both confessional and dissenter contributions from participants whereby they can be self-aware, self-critical, and questioning of others. As an action researcher it is necessary to also contemplate one’s status and social

position. Humphrey (2007) highlighted the importance of recognising one's place on the scale which connects the insider position with the outsider position, or the academic position with the community position. Accordingly, the action researcher's position on this scale is subject to change at various points of the research process; the individual must both relinquish and preserve attachments depending on the desired depth of distance and objectivity (Humphrey, 2007). A combination of confessional and dissenter roles, combined with an understanding of the aforementioned epistemology of co-operative inquiry and status positioning, is a robust system of reflexivity suitable for the action research process.

Indigenous psychologies

Western science is based on quantitative measures and has come about by abstracting materials and studying them analytically as independent constructs, separate from the environment wherein they were originally embedded (Roberts & Wills, 1998). Scientific thought is supposed to be void of value judgements, unbiased, objective, and based on observable facts, so that the identity positions of those practicing science (such as gender or culture) are invisible (Roberts & Wills, 1998). Herein lies a tension between Indigenous and Western epistemologies: indigenous methods and theories are soundly embedded in social, cultural, political and spiritual domains which are inextricably linked together and acknowledged to be relational in nature. According to Allwood and Berry (2006), indigenous psychology (IP) is driven by a desire to examine psychological phenomena within a local context and using local resources, recognising that political, social and cultural factors are embedded in the psyche of different groups. They suggested that the main features of indigenous psychology are *locally positioned, culturally appropriate* and *practically useful* (Allwood & Berry, 2006). Action research methodology reflects these values.

Roberts and Wills (1998) emphasised that *whakapapa* is a fundamental component

of Māori inquiry. Whakapapa translates to “to place in layers, one upon another” and not only refers to the genealogical connections between people, but to the inherent relatedness of everything (Roberts & Wills, 1998, p. 45). Accordingly, everything including knowledge itself descends from *Te Kore* (the nothingness, the beginning of the universe: Roberts & Wills, 1998). Māori epistemology is therefore constructed from dynamic layered relationships rather than discrete separable components.

Kaupapa Māori Research and indigenous *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* or Filipino Psychology share commonalities: emphasis on kinship and connectedness, researcher and participants in collaboration, priority of native language, ‘researcher as learner’/‘participant as expert’, and participant control and empowerment (Pe-Pua, 2006; Walker, Eketone, & Gibbs, 2006). Furthermore, Pe-Pua’s (2006) outlined five guiding principles for Indigenous psychology methods which clearly demonstrate participant centrality, somewhat in accord with Māori research kaupapa. They can be summarised as *a*) developing a positive researcher-participant relationship, *b*) respecting the participant as fundamental, *c*) prioritising the participants’ wellbeing, *d*) using culturally suitable methods, and *e*) using the native language. These principles value the acting subject as the source of psychological information. The participants are duly respected as being fundamental to the research. Rather than treating culture as an independent variable, Pe-Pua’s (2006) description of IP methods acknowledge the symbiotic relationship between an individual and their collective.

However indigenous methods risk observer bias, as suggested by Pe-Pua (2006). The interpretation and analysis of qualitative data is left wide open to subjectivity, which has the potential to skew the results at best, and invalidate them at worst. However this risk is not exclusive to IP, and there are several techniques to counter it. Pe-Pua (2006) recommended multiple researchers, functioning to balance and authenticate any conclusions.

In addition, having a 'foreign' researcher teamed with a local researcher can be a solution to the English language bias that Pe-Pua (2006) also discussed. Reflexivity is necessary, whereby the researchers reflect on their own insider/outsider positioning and subjectivity, prior to and during the research process.

Voice-centred relational (VCR) analysis is a method used by qualitative researchers and adopted here to counter bias and assemble a coherent comprehensive understanding of the themes (Doucet & Mauthner, 2008). The method consists of four or five readings of the transcript, depending on the pre-existing relationships between interviewer/analyst and interviewee (Byrne, Canavan, & Millar, 2009). The first reading is often focusing on the subjective opinions of the analyst. This reading's purpose is to reduce subjective influence in subsequent readings. Secondly, the transcript is read to understand the speaker's overall narrative, including the main events, actors and broad relationship networks. Following this understanding, the third focus is on how the narrator is representing their self in the narrative. The fourth reading fills in more of the gaps by examining how the narrator expresses and represents their relationships. The final reading elicits the speaker's and others' positions in the cultural and structural bounds of the community. The analysis allows themes regarding individual positioning, community dynamics, relationships, and interconnectedness to emerge, and is conducive to an action research paradigm.

Method

The Consultancy Advocacy Research Trust (CART) is a Wellington based, non-governmental Māori organisation working to improve the lives of ‘hard to reach’ Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. Its work is largely focused on wellbeing for whānau based in South Wellington. CART was established in 1989 and the trust is currently headed by Denis O’Reilly, a long standing gang member with extensive experience as a political and social activist. CART employs seven permanent staff; a manager, an administrator, two Whānau Ora fieldworkers, two CAYAD² kaimahi, and a personal trainer. The team work together in a variety of ways to provide support for positive health and wellbeing outcomes. More specifically, CART aims to build resilience by reducing drug related harm, increasing youth engagement with sports, and improving wellbeing by way of smoking cessation programmes, fitness programmes, employment support and so on.

CART receives government funding from the Ministry of Health through the Whānau Ora initiative. The trust is obliged to report regularly to government funders about their programmes and their success, in order to secure continued funding. Accordingly, they strive for full engagement from the target community. Yet this community is, by its own description, ‘hard to reach’, and thus engagement is a challenging objective. Research suggests that groups have been classified ‘hard to reach’ if they exist in poverty, come from minority or indigenous cultures, or are involved in criminal activity (Cortis, 2012). These circumstances may contribute to chaotic lives, difficulty understanding welfare and service systems, and lack of trust in providers, resulting in under-engagement or utilisation of services (Cortis, 2012). CART navigates, and in most cases overcomes, these factors of (dis-)engagement in order to provide full support for its community, while simultaneously

² Community Action Youth and Drugs is a national programme funded by Ministry of health to reduce drug and alcohol related harm

adhering to its bureaucratic protocols. It maintains on-going relationships with clients and their whānau by operating on a relational level.

I had learned of CART and their mission through a personal friendship and subsequent introduction to Denis O'Reilly in 2010. This introduction was fundamental for the creation of this project, as it provoked in me a curiosity and desire to learn more about this 'hard to reach' Māori community. After meeting Denis, I emailed him in May 2011 with the purpose of sounding out some research ideas. Around that time I also exchanged emails with the author of a book about her time as a Pākehā woman involved with Māori gang work co-operatives in the late 1970s. I related to her being a Pākehā woman with ideals to 'do her bit' for society. In addition, and on the author's recommendation I emailed another gang associated person who worked as a policy manager for Te Puni Kokiri and who had also been associated with CART. They had all given me much food for thought, particularly due to my cultural identity. My contact with all three individuals was useful and I continued in the direction of basing my research within this 'hard to reach' community.

Denis O'Reilly was a firm advocate for a participatory action research approach and directed me to the CART website. On reading of CART's philosophy and approach to its specific community's well-being, I approached the trust to propose a collaborative research project. As someone who had met Denis in a social capacity through a personal friend, I felt confident that they would be open to discussions. This was the case, and we arranged a meeting.

I prepared for the first meeting by outlining the basics of an action research paradigm and possible questions of inquiry and projects. I was initially interested in working with CART on a project based in some local council flats that had recently received negative media attention. This was because CART had worked in the Newtown area for more than two decades and would likely have access to that particular community. I was also inspired

by a multi-level research proposal focusing on resilience that the Centre for Applied Cross-Cultural Research had put forward. Accordingly I hypothesised that growing social capital in an isolated community would function to increase resilience.

During this initial meeting with Emma and Belinda³, many possible options were discussed. CART had been considering an idea of bulk buying fresh seasonal produce to deliver to whānau in need for a reduced cost. I deemed this to be a worthwhile path to follow in terms of an action research project. Furthermore it satisfied criteria for both growing social capital and improving health. I hypothesised that regular deliveries and thus regular contact with another community member, would function to increase trust, participation, reciprocity, norms and networks.

The action research cycle requires reflections appropriate for the phase of action (Reason & Riley, 2008). At this exploratory phase, my own knowledge was predominantly conceptual. I possessed a schema of the community I proposed to work with, based on media reports and brief interactions. It was therefore necessary to reflect on the narratives within the communications I had exchanged with Denis O'Reilly and the others, and to seek out more knowledge to deepen my understanding of the community and their needs.

Colonisation and the urbanisation of Māori were salient narratives within these exchanges. The evolution of 'hard to reach' Māori communities was attributed to policy of assimilation, and more recent policy which attempted to 'deal with' gang formation of Māori. Crime and the often interconnected relationship between victim and perpetrator were also discussed; perpetrators of crime have often firstly been the victims of crime, though this is rarely acknowledged and renders the perpetrators invisible in the eyes of the law and thus even harder to reach. Cortis (2012) suggested that engagement in crime is one of the reasons communities and individuals become 'hard to reach', and the narratives that emerged from

³ All staff and participant names have been changed. Pseudonyms were selected at random from a range of 30 possibilities, with the exception of Merania who chose her own pseudonym.

these exchanges are evidence of this. Furthermore, these narratives confirmed to me that holistic notions of wellbeing (such as Mason Durie's (1998) Te Whare Tapa Wha model, which interconnects spiritual, psychological, physical, and whānau wellbeing) were the most applicable when considering intergenerational effects of colonisation, public policies, and societal positioning.

These communications were strongly encouraging of grassroots action. Bottom-up projects were considered the most valuable in terms of community engagement. I fully supported the notion of a bottom-up project; however I deemed it near impossible considering my own cultural identity and structural positioning; Pākehā, privileged, educated, and well-travelled. Therefore CART's integral position within this community was fundamental for my engagement in any research project with a 'hard to reach' community. Accordingly, this project would become both top-down and bottom-up, depending from which perspective one viewed it; CART as a partially government-funded NGO, or CART as grassroots community organisation.

After the initial meeting, I attended a Hui held at CART to farewell departing staff and welcome new staff. It was at this hui that I introduced myself to Tama, the fieldworker who worked hands-on with the community members. Tama's knowledge, understanding and relationships with the potential participants were essential for the project to get off the ground. His contributions were invaluable in the planning stages and after the hui, Tama attended all subsequent meetings. His narrative and experiential knowledge punctuated the research objectives and became cornerstones of the proposed action.

Further discussion about the proposed fresh produce delivery idea at the next meeting resulted in a conclusion that some of CART's clientele may not know how to prepare a variety of seasonal vegetables. The obvious step would be to provide instructions, however it was pointed out that literacy was a problem for some individuals. Therefore, delivery with

written instruction may not be an effective method to increase this community's fruit and vegetable consumption. It was also suggested that participants of such a project may be reluctant to spend their limited income on a box of produce that they may or may not like, or know how to cook. It was decided that the delivery had to be low cost and paired with practical support, hence came the suggestion of 'starter' boxes; a box with all the ingredients to cook one healthy meal. This idea addressed the cited barriers to dietary change of cost, preparation skills and culture.

An action research paradigm is based on iterations of planning, acting, evaluating, and reflecting. These cycles were both present in macro over the course of the project from seedling to harvest, but also in micro during each meeting. Having settled on the idea of 'starter' boxes paired with practical fortnightly workshops, subsequent meetings gave rise to further project details. Tama provided useful information in these planning stages. For example, delivery day was planned for Sunday. This was because government benefits were usually paid on a Tuesday or Wednesday, and by the end of the weekend many whānau had run out of money and struggled to provide a meal or school lunches. Workshops needed to be during school hours. It was decided that Thursdays would be a suitable day as participants should still have enough money left to pay for their recipe boxes.

The project was entering an action phase. Research objectives had been set and I was prepared to continue into the next stage which would provide me more practical and experiential knowledge to reflect on. Up until this point I remained a visitor to CART and the potential participants were still unknown to me. It was decided that CART would gauge interest and search for volunteers to assist in the purchasing, boxing and delivering of vegetables. A pre-project meeting was planned whereby all interested parties could come together to contribute their ideas and knowledge on all aspects of the project. Furthermore, there was an intention to employ a pyramid-style peer-education model to encourage

longevity of such a project. This would require engagement and input throughout the project from one or two committed participants.

I drew up an information sheet to assist CART staff to propose the project to their clientele. Research by Eyles et al. (2009) had suggested that healthy food messages may be better received if they are culturally relevant. Thus, I was concerned that the proposed name 'The AppleCARD Project' and lack of te reo on this information sheet may function as a barrier to participation. However it was decided to leave it as is, due to CART being a Māori organisation and Tama being responsible for proposing the idea to most potential participants.

The pressure of interdependent relationships within an action research paradigm was at times personally challenging. Acknowledging that the project was driven by me seeking to complete a master's thesis, I felt responsible for its success, yet as an outsider was completely powerless. Without knowledge or understanding of the potential participants on my part, I relied on Tama's role in the community. Emma continued keeping track of organisational data and made arrangements for practical necessities such as finding a space for cooking workshops. My role was somewhat abstracted; I was an initiator and a researcher. I contributed my learnings from academic literature at each meeting (e.g. barriers to dietary change, community resilience), yet this stage was a limbo for me as I awaited the pre-project participant meeting.

During this time I drew up my application for ethical approval. Consistent with action research methodology it was important that the CART staff members involved with the project were also privy to the narratives. They would be able to act as translators should I misunderstand anything and help with reflections, challenge misconceptions and take on 'dissenter' roles (Latour, 1987). Collaborating with co-researchers from outside of the university who would have access to the transcripts was initially problematic for the SoPHEC (School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee); mainly due their lack of recourse should

the data be mis-used. This was rectified by Tama and Emma signing a statement to uphold the integrity of the ethics application. Another concern was the ambiguity surrounding participant recruitment and the ‘advertising’ of the project before ethical approval was granted. After presenting in person to the ethics committee it became clear to them that no participants had been confirmed and the leaflet outlining the project itself was presented by CART to gauge interest. Furthermore doing community-based research within such a small community group posed difficulties with regard to anonymity. Henceforth I have changed all the names of both the participants and the CART staff members and avoided any date references to reduce the potential for participant identification as much as I can.

All of these ethical considerations demonstrate incongruence between academic and community approaches and highlight challenges for those proposing participatory research within the discipline of psychology. I postulate that conducting Kaupapa Māori research, which is often based more soundly in pre-existing relationships would be as or more difficult when attaining ethical approval.

Unfortunately, the pre-project meeting planned did not eventuate due to lack of interest. It became clear that because the project was not scheduled until several months later it was challenging for potential participants to foresee their status that far ahead. I think this is perhaps a symptom or effect, of living on a tight budget whereby planning beyond the next fortnight is impossible. However, a list was compiled of those who may be interested, and as it grew entry criteria was discussed: those most in need were measured according to number of children, employment/financial status and so on. Another pre-project meeting was proposed just before the scheduled start; however this too did not eventuate. Once SoPHEC granted ethical approval the project was set to begin and I began doing pre-project interviews.

Project description

The AppleCART Project was a 12 week programme with a total of ten participants. Each Sunday the participating whānau were to be delivered a box of ingredients to prepare a healthy recipe to feed 4+ adults. The meals retailed at or under \$10, however CART subsidised the cost so that the participants paid just \$5 per meal. In addition, the participants were invited to attend fortnightly cooking workshops whereby they would collectively prepare the two ensuing recipes and share the meal together. This was an opportunity to both learn preparation skills and taste the recipes. It also provided a free lunch in a supportive social environment. Recipes were chosen based on their retail cost and nutritional value. Ministry of Health guidelines (Ministry of Health, 2013) were consulted when designing the programme in order to provide healthy portion sizes and nutritionally balanced meals.

The 'recipe boxes' contained the recipe of the week and exactly measured ingredients to cook it; such as 30ml of cooking oil, or 1 teaspoon of chicken stock powder. This was to ensure that the recipe could be prepared successfully. At the beginning of the project we bought non-perishable items in bulk at a cheaper cost. Every weekend fresh ingredients were bought. Lowest cost and seasonal items were chosen in most cases. One such exception was in cooking oil, whereby rice bran oil was chosen for its health benefits. The boxes were assembled on Sunday mornings and Tama delivered them to the participating whānau. Occasionally participants would receive feijoas from my tree in addition to their recipe ingredients.

The fortnightly cooking workshops were held on Thursdays from 11am-1pm. This was considered to be the most appropriate time for the participants to attend, as their children would be in school and they would have some money still left from their benefit with which to pay \$10 for the next two boxes. They took place at a local community hall. Victoria University of Wellington covered the cost of hiring the space and providing the ingredients

for the workshops. The kitchen had two work stations and an adjoining hall. The participants were divided into two groups to each prepare both recipes, however with diminished numbers at the later workshops each group cooked just one of the recipes. Necessary equipment that the kitchen was lacking was provided by CART.

There were initially 9 participants who enrolled for the project. After the first week, two withdrew and another was added. One participant never came to workshop and received boxes for the first two weeks only. In total I conducted 10 pre-project interviews with all the participants who were enrolled. One of the participants could not attend workshops due to her employment and her mother came in her place. Of the ten interviewed participants, seven were Māori, two were Pākehā and one was of Pacific ethnicity.

On completion of the project, three participants who had attended the most frequently received a three month subscription to The Australian Woman's Weekly New Zealand Edition and two back issues. This was donated by the magazine editor, my sister. It was not used as an incentive for participation as it was a surprise for the recipients, but nonetheless served as a token of gratitude for being consistent and active participants.

Evaluation description

There were three parts to evaluation. Firstly, pre-project interviews were conducted to both fact-find, and investigate social capital indicators and community connections (see Appendix A for interview frameworks). Secondly, the cooking workshops provided observational data. Thirdly, one post-project interview and one discussion group were conducted for project feedback.

The participants were given an information sheet describing the various levels of data collection, the nature of the interview questions, and contact information. The consent form invited them to tick the boxes pertaining to which components they consented to (i.e. The AppleCART Project, pre-project interview, workshop observations, discussion groups: see

Appendix B). The pre-project interviews were recorded where consent was given. The first part of the interview was survey style and covered daily food habits such as weekly spend, sharing meals, kitchen equipment and purchasing choices. The second part of the interview aimed to investigate social capital or the value of the participants' social connections. It was based on a framework for discussion, beginning with what happens in a typical day and moving on to discussion about community group involvement. In addition it included a resource generator questionnaire (Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2005) enabling comparison when looking into availability of resources. Once the interview was terminated I offered immediate face-to-face debriefing whereby I explained more about the background of the investigation.

The post-project interview and discussion group were not recorded. During these conversations notes were taken, and mainly focused on the strengths and weaknesses of the project. Data from the survey style part of the interview were collated and used to provide an overall description of the community's daily food habits. All tape recordings were transcribed and analysed using the VCR technique. The VCR method has been recommended and adapted as a suitable method of interpretation for feminist research by Mauthner and Doucet (1998, cited in Byrne, Canavan, & Millar, 2009). It acknowledges the subjectivity of the 'researcher' and then focuses on various 'voices' within the narrative. For this reason it was considered an appropriate method to elicit factual and relational information from the transcripts of The AppleCART Project. Notes taken from interviews were also analysed using this method as much as was possible.

During the writing of this thesis I referred to my personal action research diary as a record of the evolution of the project. Once the direction of my analysis was clear I invited all the participants involved to a presentation of my findings. This was an opportunity for them to provide feedback, make suggestions, and grant approval. Two participants attended

this meeting, along with Tama and the manager of CART. Feedback was positive and in accord with my findings so no further meeting was planned. An executive summary of final details will be provided to CART and participants before publishing.

Ethnographic method

Ethnography is a description of a collective, group, or culture, whereby the ethnographer inhabits two positions; subjective participant, and objective observer (Angrosino, 2007). The narrative is created by assembling careful observations that have been collected using various methods over a period of time. The ethnographic method also involves feedback from group members and attempts to take an holistic perspective (Angrosino, 2007). In order to evaluate The AppleCART Project, an ethnography is firstly necessary. The description of the CART community will contextualise the findings of the project itself and elucidate its strengths and weaknesses.

However, while ethnography is useful for this purpose, it exists in this thesis with some personal discomfort. I remain an outsider and I am somewhat reluctant to write about the community and the individuals that make it one, from an objective perspective. I risk positioning my own understandings as superior as described by Said (1978, cited in Smith, 2012). ‘Superior positioning’ refers to the dissection, appropriation and redistribution of indigenous knowledge by the West, leaving behind fragmented pieces of indigenous culture. Furthermore, Smith (2012, p. 64) quotes Clifford (1988), who suggests ethnographers are ‘culture collectors’, attempting to preserve something they consider at risk.

I do not feel like the culture of the CART community is at risk of being lost. Nor do I consider my Pākehā epistemology superior. The ethnography exists as a snapshot of real life, to draw attention to the challenges and misconceptions about Māori communities, ‘hard to reach’ communities, and whānau living in poverty. For this reason and as someone who previously had limited experience of Maori culture, I approached the position as *teina*, a

learner. In his discussions about collaborative research with Māori, Bishop (1996) emphasised that traditional roles of researcher and participant are redundant. In contrast to mainstream methods whereby the researcher exerts control, a Kaupapa Māori framework positions the researcher as *teina*, and the participants as *tuakana* (the knower: Bishop, 1996). Not only do I acknowledge my learner status, I write from a position of privilege, reminding that inequalities exist and are perpetuated by the exponential advantages (both observable and invisible) afforded to Pākehā. Using a privilege discourse places responsibility on me to facilitate equality and thus requires me to acknowledge and understand Aotearoa/New Zealand's colonial past (Borell et al., 2009).

Full Engagement

As soon as the first interview began, the project entered a phase of full-engagement (Reason & Riley, 2008). At this point experiential knowledge is dominant. I was face to face with community members and there to listen to their own narratives. I was acutely aware of my own privileged position and made attempts to connect with each participant. This was made easier by the presence of my, then five month old baby. I followed the interview framework that I had written, but bantered with them as well. I asked advice about babies, expressed interest in their lives and sympathy for their situations. Each interview presented new challenges as different cultural, social, and class identities were presented to and interacted with my own. My subjectivity most certainly disrupted honest accounts of reality, as did a priori understandings derived from the conceptual and narrative learnings from earlier phases of the cycle. Only by acknowledging the power and extent of subjective interpretation and participation, can action research remain reliable. However, I experience some tensions within this paradigm itself, in that it does not fit well with me to revert completely from subjective participant to objective observer. My subjective cultural and class positions meant that I occupied the role of *teina* (Bishop, 1996) rendering pure

objectivity impossible. Therefore, the interview framework remained relaxed. The method of analysis provided sufficiently to reduce subjectivity without compromising the established relationships.

Results

This section firstly provides an ethnographic description of CART, its place and relationships with its community from a social capital perspective. It then speculates on the community's cultural identities and reports on the daily food practices of the participants. Finally it offers an evaluation of The AppleCART Project itself.

Building relationships: culture matters

I was introduced to CART via a personal friendship and subsequent contact with Denis O'Reilly. Somewhat idealistically, I felt that culture should be no obstacle to helping those in need, and so the fact that CART was a Māori organisation initially did not faze me. Furthermore, I felt confident that my social connection would be helpful in gaining some kind of esteem. The first meeting was with Belinda and Emma, two young Pākehā psychology graduates like me. A working relationship was easy to establish as we connected comfortably on an academic level.

After this first meeting I was invited to a hui which was being held to farewell past staff members and welcome new ones – including Emma and Belinda. On attending this meeting I became aware of *how* Māori the organisation really was. There were many speeches in te reo Māori, which I do not speak. As well as this, I understood from subsequent conversations that there was not unwavering support for the new Pākehā staff members which made me somewhat apprehensive. Within this context I was lacking in valuable capital; my cultural currency left me unfamiliar with protocol, and being a stranger to this community I also had a social capital deficit. Despite this it was at this hui that I introduced myself to Tama. I had particularly wanted to meet him because his role as fieldworker was critical to the success of any project. Therefore, developing a positive relationship with Tama was also crucial to the success of a project.

During my first meeting with Tama we spoke about various life experiences. Tama was very open about who he was and how he came to be working at CART. He spoke about his family and what challenges he faced in his role as fieldworker. In turn, it was important that I reciprocated, and I discussed aspects of my life experiences that in many other situations would have left me vulnerable. However, it was clear that honest communication about who we were was going to be the only way to make this work. This was my first experience of CART's relational approach.

Tama attended all subsequent meetings and contributed his vital knowledge of the community and potential participants. During this time we engaged in many heartfelt conversations about our life's experiences which served well to build trust between us. I felt that he had confidence in my intentions and integrity, even though it was clear that I benefited from living with Pākehā privilege which had allowed me more freedom to make the life choices I had. Herewith, I edged slightly toward 'insider' on the hyphen of insider-outsider positioning (Humphrey, 2007), certainly as far as was possible for the few times we had met.

My relationship with Emma, who was to become my other co-researcher, was established in a much more formal and professional manner. Emma participated in meetings with some personal distance. Having academic commonality perhaps retained the nature of our engagement to the project at hand. However, it could also be concluded that sharing a Pākehā cultural identity removed the priority to connect on a more relational level. This is not to say that our relationship was not personal, rather that the social interactions were limited in contrast to those with Tama: they did not delve into past experiences or genealogy, but focused on my pregnancy and studies, and other current events. This kind of interaction is arguably due to Pākehā ideologies of meritocracy, status positioning and personal responsibility (Borell et al., 2009).

As The AppleCART Project unfolded, some tensions arose between these two approaches. Tama being focused on maintaining relationships and flexibility was less concerned with the behind-the-scenes necessities of pulling such a project together. His role was the essential contact with the potential participants and engaging their interest in the project. Emma, being focussed on process, worked hard to prepare for the launch of the project. She set agendas for the meetings, pre-empted problems, organised interview dates, booked the community hall, and in general concerned herself with the logistics of The AppleCART Project. I continued in the background preparing the menu plan and budget. I felt a sense of urgency and was happy to have Emma on board pushing things along from within the CART walls. However, it became apparent that confirming participation could not be hurried, due to the relationships between Tama and the community members. Only Tama understood the complexities of their lives and the necessary flexibility for effective engagement.

For the project to come to fruition, both the relationships and the processes needed to be prioritised. However like a dance, each had a turn to take and a few missteps impacted engagement. A focus on maintaining relationships came at the cost of clear communication about the process of the project. Then, when the processes were made a priority, some relationships broke down. The lack of communication of processes set up a (mis)understanding of flexibility. Flexibility was a necessity when engaging in this community; limited resources lead to participants living in the immediate. However, for the project to get started, be financially feasible, reportable, and justifiable, there needed to be a respect for process. Herein lay a conflict which obstructed the project's fluency.

Due to a heavy workload, Emma was less available to oversee the day to day administration of The AppleCART Project, and for that reason CART also employed Merania for the duration of the 12 week project. Merania is a friend of CART's manager and came on

board to help as a personal favour. This again highlights the relational approach of the organisation. Merania had recently been made redundant, and was considering applying to the New Zealand Police; therefore the opportunity to work on the project functioned to both keep her employed while she sought other work and gain some experience with the community. Merania's role was to communicate with the participants, assist with the shopping and packing of boxes, and ensure the smooth running of workshops.

I met Merania immediately before the project began, and she appeared to me to be a strong Māori woman who was firmly embedded in Māori culture; she used te reo in her vernacular and overall projected a secure cultural identity. Merania and I were first tasked with the non-perishable shopping, and during this shopping trip we chatted about both the project and our personal lives. I learned about Merania's son, and other aspects of her history. In contrast to how my relationships were built with Emma and Tama, Merania and I simultaneously connected in both personal and professional ways. She was task and budget focused, and understood the mechanics of the project. However, we also spent time growing our relationship on an historical, relational and personal level.

Merania's involvement caused some confusion about whose responsibility it was to maintain the participant relationships. During the first few weeks of the project, participants received some conflicting information from Tama and Merania, and this created an impression of 'too many chefs'. Furthermore, most participants were fiercely loyal to Tama and so Merania's involvement appeared to be initially met with some reserve. Throughout the 12 week duration, Merania maintained contact with the participants and facilitated every workshop. During each workshop she spent time getting to know the participants by making social, whānau, or geographical connections with them. By mid-project, Merania had developed individual relationships with each of the participants and was fully functioning in her role of general overseer.

At a glance, once Merania had built those relationships Tama was somewhat redundant in relational terms. However, Tama was an integral part of the recruitment process, and provided support to many of the participants as their assigned fieldworker. Therefore, while on the surface his role was minimal, his presence at workshops and participant contact during deliveries remained fundamental to the project.

Merania was an asset to the project because she possessed implicit understandings of both Pākehā and Māori cultural approaches. She comfortably and simultaneously managed both instrumental details and the cultivation of relationships. In addition, Merania's connections, and her socio-economic and class positioning as a solo mother shifted her status from mostly outsider to mostly insider quite rapidly. Merania possessed the cultural capital necessary to make this rapid shift, whereas I do not. I believe that I could have moved more quickly had I divulged more personal details to reduce the sense of privilege, but interacting on such a relational level is effortful to me and not part of my habitus. It is only now on reflection after the fact that I realise the immense value of it.

Bi-cultural approach

CART relies on funding from government bodies. It seeks quantifiable outcomes (CART, 2010) for its 'hard to reach' community and is required to report these regularly to its funding agencies. A bi-cultural approach is useful in order to help translate between Māori and Pākehā epistemologies, and thus accurately communicate the measurable outcomes for all stakeholders. For me, the pairing of Tama and Emma as CART co-researchers on The AppleCARD Project was favourable for the purpose of reducing observer bias due to their different cultural identities. Pe-Pua (2006) advised that multiple researchers can work to balance understandings and thus conclusions, when working qualitatively with indigenous communities. The written feedback I have received from both of them is valuable both independently and interdependently. This is because the feedback has helped to triangulate

my data, and on comparison it demonstrates their different cultural perspectives epistemologically, and also of the project itself. Tama answered my questions holistically and provided an appropriate *whakataukī* to articulate the spirit of project; Emma responded to each section separately, paying attention to the detail.

Merania and I met in person to discuss the project retrospectively. The meeting and discussion seemed to comfortably unite the two cultural perspectives, in that it was both personal and relational, and focused on detail. During this meeting she told me more of her cultural upbringing, and how she was adopted by Pākehā parents but went to a Māori girls' boarding school. This explained to me how firmly and securely she navigated the two cultural worlds. Her cultural capital was valuable due to its currency occupying the space that crosses between Māori and Pākehā cultures. She expressed that her motivation at the time was to make the project as successful as possible for everybody involved which is indicative of a bi-cultural outlook which values both personal responsibility and relational connections. I believe she succeeded in this, due to her finely tuned understandings of people and their needs, and her cultural capital.

The cultural relationships within The AppleCART Project are a tidy example of the tensions between indigenous and mainstream epistemologies. Emma was focused on process and Tama on maintaining participant relationships, whereas Merania navigated both necessities. Flexibility was necessary to keep participants connected but problematic in the context of evaluation. However, despite some disharmony, the combination of a relational approach with an instrumental rational and directive approach functioned to bring the project to fruition. Furthermore, it would seem that for CART, the relationship between these two approaches is necessarily interdependent; successful outcomes require symbiosis. The challenge in the case of The AppleCART Project was the timing of the application of each approach.

CART's relational approach with the community

CART's community are described as 'hard to reach', or 'difficult to deal with' (CART, 2010), and a Māori relational approach is not only culturally appropriate, but logical when considering the challenges faced in reaching the 'hard to reach'. The face of post-colonial institutions is not an attractive one to the colonised, and there is potential for Māori to deem their candidacy for engagement in social services unsuitable (McKenzie et al., 2012). CART minimises its status as service provider and maximises individual relationships. The first contact between CART and its community members is predominantly through word-of-mouth relationships and personal recommendations. The organisation runs a school holiday programme which is often the first contact for whānau in need.

At first I thought it wasn't for me, because it was like a Black Power thing. And, but then we got, the kids' stuff – we got involved that way first. And it wasn't 'til 18 months ago that I started the gym and been coming here regularly. (Sarah, line 255)

CART provides support for parents and children and encourages them to get involved in sport activities. Furthermore, the holiday programmes are an opportunity for CART whānau to reciprocate and find a sense of belonging in the community, strengthening their relational ties. Tamara relied heavily on CART for support but has also contributed to their daily operations: "well I used to work here. I was a cleaner and did the holiday programme and the food and stuff like that." (Tamara, line 84). During the course of the project Tamara seemed most at ease when she was task focused in the kitchen. Tomlins Jahnke's (2002) study suggested that a secure Maori identity is grown from connections to marae, and that working 'out back' was a context where cultural knowledge could be passed on. Thus I speculate that Tamara's sense of belonging was fostered by reciprocal obligation demonstrating how CART functions as a marae for its community.

The free gymnasium is another initial access point to CART services, successfully operating due to the on-going relationships cultivated by Andy the on-site personal trainer. He runs group and individual sessions, tailor made for the clients' needs which also prove to be an invaluable part of many community members' daily lives. For example Shane spent most of his time either at the CART gym or job hunting (Shane notes, line 24), suggesting that training gives him a worthwhile sense of purpose. The relationship the clients have with the on-site personal trainer was trusting and reciprocated for many; *Shane would be happy to help CART out if the occasion arose (Shane notes, line 27)*, and the regularity of training attendance was testament to this. Furthermore, Jodi highlighted the value of training as an alternative to trouble: *"If I wasn't going to the gym I'd probably be getting into trouble – by the time he's finished with us I don't have any energy left to do anything else" (Jodi, line 43)*.

In addition to the gymnasium and holiday programmes, CART supported its whānau on an individual level. Paula has received help to quit smoking, and CART staff members have made themselves available to support her in her studies:

I had to write about an organisation and I came in here and the guy who was here before, he helped me. He helped me with it. So in that kind of way they helped me and were really supportive. It's kind of like my only experience or knowledge of an organisation. (Paula, line 102)

A past staff member took time out to support Sarah's individual needs:

He was amazing and very supportive to me actually. Like one of my kids was being really difficult and he'd meet him once a week, take him and do some sport and stuff. And he used to tell me what a good job I was doing. Like a pep talk. (Sarah, line 256)

It is clear from the interviews that CART has built a supportive environment and community for its whānau clientele demonstrating that a relational approach is effective. The regularity of training sessions engendered solidarity, as well as friendship. CART maintained an open-door policy whereby the community members felt comfortable to drop in, and many found assistance and care beyond what they received from their own whānau.

Um, I mean even just coming up here and having a cup of tea you know, I'm part of the family I've been coming here for a few years, the kids go to the holiday programme, they're really good. They're more help to me than my family.
(Kelly, line 213)

Strong personal ties between CART as an organisation, CART staff members, and CART's whānau engendered the social capital indicators of trust, reciprocity, and participation. The regularity of contact further added to the strength of shared norms. Urban marae are described by Higgins and Moorfield (2004) as relational spaces connected through shared experience and kaupapa and accordingly CART meets this definition.

Community culture

CART is a Māori organisation guided by five principles that James K. Baxter suggested were perfected by Māori society (CART, 2010). These are *Arohanui* (holding the love of people), *Korero* (staying prepared to talk problems through), *Mahi* (working together), *Manuhiritanga* (offering an open house to those in need) and *Matewa* (feeding our spiritual life: CART, 2010). These principles reflect relational values. Furthermore, CART's philosophy supports self-determination for Māori (or *tino rangatiratanga*) by encouraging "Māori designed, developed and delivered bottom up initiatives". However, CART does not deal exclusively with Māori whānau. The participants' cultural identity and that of their children included Māori, Pākehā, Tongan and Samoan. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, the cultural identity of the staff was not exclusively Māori.

Durie (1998) suggested that Māori identities can be considered as culturally Māori, bi-cultural and marginalised, whereby the former is indicative of strong ties to marae, understanding te reo and tikanga Māori and living in a Māori world. McIntosh (2005) provided alternative identity constructs of fixed, fluid, and forced, where fixed Māori identity is considered 'being knowing and acting' Māori, while a fluid Māori identity suggests an adaptive identity combining traditional, modern and local identity markers. The Māori

participants of The AppleCART Project did not fit neatly into these identity constructs, yet it is pertinent to highlight aspects of them and cultural embeddedness from my outsider perspective, when considering engagement later on. Doing so however is risky. I am imposing my assumptions based on my own Pākehā identity and epistemology, endangering the validity of the statements, and risking taking a superior position. Therefore I must here disclaim and acknowledge that these are opinions based on my subjective position. I do not deem my understandings to be superior.

Merania, a Māori woman whose job it was to oversee the project and communicate directly with the participants, presented a positive secure cultural identity and during workshops she maintained a Māori focus without alienating other cultural identities. She connected with each participant by networking through whakapapa, relationships and acquaintances. Making these whānau connections contributed meaningfully to the workshops, and affirmed the value in relationships and a relational approach. In contrast, I did not engage as effectively. Making connections through people, whānau and whakapapa is not valuable currency within my immediate culture. This may be an outcome of my moving cities and countries several times before settling back in Wellington, and therefore not having strong connections in the first place. Alternatively, it is more likely to be an outcome of my Pākehā cultural identity which does not value interconnectedness as much as Māori (Harrington & Liu, 2002).

Charmaine projected an identity that I would consider fitting of Durie's (1998) culturally Māori identity yet appears to be flexible, adaptive, and thus fluid in her cultural identity. She was embedded in whānau and community, meeting her social and familial obligations and drawing reciprocal support when needed. The local primary school, with a strong Maori student population, was at the heart of Charmaine's community: her sister taught Māori there, her mother was on the board of trustees, her children and nephews went

there, she did her community service there, and has also fundraised for them. Accordingly she described the school as whānau.

Yep, we've been with them for years, since I was there as well, and mum just kept it going. Now my kids are there and probably my nephews. So they're like whānau really. (Charmaine, line 111)

Furthermore, she regularly attended meetings at the school and enjoyed their whānau and movie nights. In addition, Charmaine described her own home from her own cultural context. *“My house is actually a marae, everyone comes and goes. So there's always more (people living in the household”*: Charmaine, line 8). Her grandmother who lived ‘up the line’ came and distributed vegetables to the neighbours that she has purchased on the drive there. Therefore Charmaine appeared to have a very secure sense of self, and an adaptive fluid (McIntosh, 2005) position in her cultural and geographical community.

Similarly, Mel's narrative expressed strong connections to her whānau and cultural community and she was part of a Maori women's support group. When I asked her about participating in the community she responded that her connections are there from the past (Mel notes, line 31). This historical discourse supports a ‘culturally Māori’ identity which values whakapapa as a way of connecting and layering relationships.

Participants that I deemed less culturally embedded were more engaged with The AppleCART Project. Tamara and Shane both live alone with one child, and lacked obvious whānau connections. This lack of whānau appeared to manifest in community isolation, and thus a sense of neither societal nor cultural security is apparent during the interviews compared with the aforementioned participants. Tamara is not from Wellington, and perhaps this contributes to her social isolation and anxiety; place and relationships are central to traditional Māori identity. In contrast to Charmaine's firm connection to her children's school, Tamara felt a sense of alienation or other-ness in her son's school community due to her cultural identity. This was expressed during Workshop 4 as Tamara described an evening

at the school for Māori parents whereby she was asked what they could do to help her son be proud to be Maori. To this she responded that he was *already* proud to be Māori. Tamara was offended by the school's approach, which demonstrated deficit thinking by assuming the child's experience of being Māori was not positive. This is a tidy example of a deficit discourse burdening the colonised with the markers of inequality as discussed by Borell et al. (2009). Taking a privilege discourse (for example, asking how can we make our school less colonial, Pākehā and individualistic?) may have invited a better outcome.

Borell's (2005) findings from research in South Auckland offered that deprivation was an experiential marker of being Māori. Tamara and her child's cultural identity could be either an outcome of or a contributing factor to her employment and economic status. Within an urban context this would indicate a forced or marginalised identity (McIntosh, 2005). However one also must consider how institutions such as education create bound homogenous groups when engaging with minority groups. Perceiving Māori as the 'other' makes Māori dichotomous to the majority group and renders invisible complex factors that influence life chances. Houkamau (2010) and Giddings (2005) found this notion of homogeneity problematic.

I detected an understandable defensiveness about this exchange. Furthermore, one of Tamara's grown up sons had enjoyed success as a Māori artist and served as a positive role model for her younger six year old. Thus, it was not at the initial interview but during the workshops that our relationship developed sufficiently for Tamara to reveal aspects of how she experienced being Māori. Similarly, it was not until spending time with Shane at workshop that I was able to untangle culture from socio-economic status – or see beyond what could be described as a forced, marginalised identity.

Shane experienced huge social and economic challenges which could be attributed to the long term effects of colonisation and subsequent formation of disconnected and

marginalised cultural identities. While Shane was very comfortable saying the karakia during Workshop 4 and thus demonstrated an explicit cultural consciousness, he was not observably supported by whānau or marae networks. CART appeared to function as Shane's only social connection. Yet his sense of trust remained with the individuals within CART; *he trusts CART in that he trusts Tama (Shane notes, line 26)* and did not extend to CART the organisation. This was evident during the pre-project interview with Shane, whereby he became increasingly agitated by my questions.

My privileged identity position and outsider status was a barrier which could not be overcome by my association with CART alone. When I sensed Shane's unease I reminded him that he was not obliged to continue, at which point he left the room without saying anything else. At the first workshop Shane attended he apologised to me for his actions during the interview. Due to Shane and me not having any prior relationship, I was surprised that he went to the effort to put it right. By clearing the air he restored relational harmony and I appreciated and respected this unexpected gesture. Metge (1995) described a number of Māori social values which may explain to me how acknowledging the interaction was a necessary course of action for Shane, in particular *kotahitanga*. *Kotahitanga* is described as unity and is achieved by investing time to work through challenges (Metge, 1995); I wonder if it was this innate Māori principle that compelled Shane to act in the way he did. It took several workshops before a degree of trust was established between Shane and I, and I hypothesise that it grew out of my identity as a mother rather than a meeting of our ethno-cultural selves.

In contrast to the Māori participants the two Pākehā participants spoke more openly and less positively about their own whānau. Kelly's marginalised economic status appeared to compromise her family relationships and at times she felt emotionally unsupported and

judged. CART provided more emotional support than whānau, though Kelly's whānau provided practical support and featured frequently on the resource generator.

my sister drops off a bag of stuff once a month or so, and I go to the food bank every week, but I'm getting sick of that cause it's just the same shit. (Kelly, line 136)

Well, my dad, he's good like with my son's bus fare... he supports me financially but emotionally no not really. (Kelly, line 203)

Although her immediate whānau were helpful, the relationships appeared a little strained. Her father is supportive financially and they regularly shared meals together, but she felt unable to share her struggles with him, and judged by her (middle class) sister.

I can tell her things but she never bounces it back to me, I know she's just like bloody heartless really that way, but if I'm opening up to her or whatever she's like 'I don't have the time' so I don't bother anymore... I've got my mates and so that's where I go (Kelly, line 197)

Cherida: So you don't necessarily find strength in your immediate whānau?

Kelly: No, people always rant and rave about how important family is and all of that but for me it's just a cheque book

Cherida: Do you think if you had more money it would be different?

Kelly: Oh hell yeah .. be really different (Kelly, lines 206-209)

Thus, her sister held resources, both emotional and practical, that would be beneficial to Kelly, but they were at times beyond her grasp due to judgement and class barriers. These barriers are not present within her relationships with CART's staff and whānau.

The cultural positioning and instrumental capital of the two Pākehā participants led me to judge them as more privileged than their Māori counterparts. They both profited materially from relationships with family members who occupy stronger status positions. However, Kelly's family support is markedly different from Māori whānau obligations. It was described as judgemental and conditional on status mobility. In contrast to Māori cultural security, Pākehā security is an unnecessary construct to consider. By being white in New Zealand one is in a dominant, default position. Therefore culture is less salient and

other markers of difference are at play. In the case of Kelly class and socio-economic position compromised her sense of wellbeing.

An exception to this notion of cultural invisibility by default was the acknowledgement of cultural difference by two participants with children of dual ethnicities, including Pākehā. Single parent participants whose children were bicultural explained the importance of maintaining a connection with the other parent's whānau and community.

It means excellence and mentoring for the Tongan community. So I'm a mentor, my children have mentors, a lot from volunteer Wellington, all kinds of professionals (...) its fortnightly, yeah, I do it 'cause my kids are half Tongan. (Sarah, line 182)

Cherida: Is it important that you participate for you to feel connected to them (children's father's family)?

Paula: Its mainly the kids I think because they need the connection. Probably not as much me.

Cherida: Reciprocity important?

Paula: Yeah I think so 'cause it's about building relationships for the kids. (Paula, lines 118-123)

By acknowledging a dual ethnicity, Pākehā culture is rendered visible by these participants. Overall the narratives of the Pākehā participants demonstrate family relationships grounded in economic support and status positioning in contrast to the Māori and Pacific participants' emphasis on interpersonal relationships.

The other Māori participants expressed strong whānau relationships grounded in obligation. Kiri was strongly connected to her whānau, and met her obligations as a matriarch. *Typical day is to work and then "meet everybody else's needs" (Kiri notes, line 25).* She occupied a low position economically, and factors such as having whānau in prison suggest a somewhat forced and marginalised historical position. Yet, she was clear about where and how she belongs stating that she has a 'strong connection to whānau whether she chooses to or not' (Kiri notes, line 46). Furthermore Kiri expressed a close reciprocal relationship with a support organisation for families of inmates and aspirations to connect

more strongly with the sports group she participated in. Combined these sentiments indicate a fluid identity (Borell, 2005), evidenced by the traditional identity marker of whānau relational obligation and more contemporary adaptive strategies to feel connected. Kiri was not able to attend but her mother attended regularly in her place.

Linda enjoyed full support from her immediate whānau and reciprocated by having an open door for them. Her community was tightly bound socially, culturally, and geographically. This was evident by her admission of choosing not to engage with her Iranian and African neighbours (Linda, line 90), and her sense of what was local: *“The farthest I really go is Kilbirnie ‘cause that’s where the Pak’n’Save is”* (Linda, line 84) Despite Linda’s marginalised economic position and isolation from the broader community, her whānau networks appeared to support her comprehensively.

I acknowledge the risk for error and presumption when supposing the cultural identity of others. Furthermore, the risk of picking apart indigenous identity from my cultural position is greater. When considering the participants of The AppleCART Project it would appear that engagement was somewhat related to community and embeddedness. Therefore those participants who are firmly embedded in their cultural community in traditional ways were less likely to engage. Participants who projected more contemporary or marginalised, forced or fluid, identity positions attended more regularly.

Social and cultural resources

Social capital was evaluated using an adapted resource generator method (Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2005) which asked the participants to identify social access to certain resources such as help moving house, a car, and a good job reference. In addition, a semi-structured interview framework was followed which asked the participants about their daily routines, connection to CART and other community groups, and it asked them to discuss

these connections in the context of Putnam's five indicators of social capital (trust, participation, reciprocity, norms and networks).

Findings indicated value in whānau relationships, particularly in the domains of personal social capital and expressive actions (associated with trust, reciprocity and wellbeing). Overall participants located most of their resources through whānau. CART staff members were also cited as being the source of both instrumental (network capital) and expressive actions (trust and reciprocity). Findings suggested less overall access to instrumental actions, or networks within the domains of prestige and education related social capital, and political and financial skills. For example four participants did not know anyone who had finished high school.

Participants who possessed little social capital in the broad community were strongly reliant on CART and most engaged with the project. This can be attributed to CART's overall relational approach, and the individual relationships between staff and clientele. The strength of the individual relationships is evidenced best by Tamara's relationship with Tasha.

Tamara relied heavily on the support of Tasha, a CART fieldworker. She suffered from anxiety and preferred to stay home. Tasha acted as motivator, friend, and chauffeur, and was Tamara's go-to for help of any kind. This was clear from her resource generator response: of 14 affirmatives, 11 of them referred to Tasha as her social resource and further to this she identified Tasha as 'inner circle friend'. It is also clear in her dialogue:

Then Tasha will come over and take S. to school if it's raining, she'll take him to school and pick him up, take me to do the shopping and stuff like that" (Tamara, line 68).

In addition, at the end of Workshop 2, Tamara who suffered anxiety expressed that she had been reluctant to come along, that she hadn't been able to decide what to wear and hadn't felt like going out. She acknowledged and expressed gratitude to Tasha for being instrumental in

getting her to workshop, collecting her and driving her there. She left workshop feeling much better, in a positive mood and glad she had come. This anecdote illustrates the strength of relational obligation between the CART fieldworker and client.

Tamara attended five out of six workshops and was an enthusiastic participant. She was proficient in the kitchen and took time to help those whose skill level was lower. She was appreciative of the subsidised meals and the free fortnightly lunch, but most of all it seemed that the social support was Tamara's main motivation to attend. Workshops were a time where she could exchange social capital; by participating, networking and reciprocating, norms were strengthened and trust was built. Despite this, a Bourdieusian definition of social capital defines it as access to pooled resources, and from this perspective Tamara's networks remained narrow limiting potential capital. When considering the holistic model of wellbeing Te Whare Tapa Wha, it could be suggested that The AppleCART Project served to improve physical, psychological and whānau wellbeing for Tamara, and possible also spiritual wellbeing.

Tamara did not mention her own whānau during the interview, other than her sons. Furthermore, she only identified two out of 27 resource generator items as whānau. She seemed to feel most connected and comfortable with CART and CART associated whānau. Therefore CART functioned as both whānau and marae for Tamara, whereby relational reciprocity was an important factor, *"In a way when I come here I realise that there are people who want to help you"* (Tamara, line 98). Having worked at CART as a cleaner and helped with the school holiday programme, Tamara felt a sense of belonging. Her high level of engagement with The AppleCART project could be attributed to high levels of shared social capital with the organisation. Tamara remained positive about the project in the face of negativity from other participants during Workshop 1. In addition, during Workshop 3 again she expressed enthusiasm for the project. This enthusiasm could have been a significant

contributor to the establishment of positive norms for the group. However, attendance was not regular or consistent for most participants and so it is unlikely that strengthening norms was an outcome of The AppleCART Project.

Kelly's narrative was dominated by her challenging financial situation; this could be attributed to a Pākehā cultural identity which values status positioning reinforced by her middle class sister. However she seemed to possess appropriate cultural capital to function within the predominantly Māori community. What is apparent is that CART was a strong support for Kelly as she struggled through this time.

Cherida: Do you feel like there's a two way, give and take relationship between you and CART in a way?

Kelly: No, how do you answer that? Um, if they need me for anything I don't mind um, they don't really ask much of ya, at all.

Cherida: They're just there to support you?

Kelly: Yeah, and they do that, they do a really good job of that. (Kelly, lines 214-217)

During the interview it became clear that CART was Kelly's main source of social capital; she agreed that CART's networks would be strong in times of need, and expressed trust and a sense of shared values. During the course of the project, Kelly attended four workshops and found them useful from a social perspective. Kelly faced daily struggles (one child's behavioural disorder, another child's illness, and money worries) and the workshops provided a regular space for emotional support. It could be suggested that her pre-existing possession of social capital indicators trust, participation, and shared norms engendered investment and growth strengthening the relationship she shared with CART and the other CART whānau participants. Bourdieu described how capitals can be exchanged and invested (Jenkins, 2005) and Kelly's possession of both cultural and social capital within this field embedded her within the CART community. Hence, contrasted with the relationships she maintained with other community groups (local sports and local marae) her connection to CART was the strongest. On conclusion of the project Kelly stated that bonding with the

other participants was a positive outcome for her, and that built onto an already close relationship with them (Post project notes, line 23).

Shane possessed little to no social capital at all. He was not connected to anyone other than CART, and did not speak of whānau other than his teenage son. He was very isolated from the broad community and the CART gym was a refuge for him, providing a space to train as well as a sense of purpose (He spent his time at CART and job-hunting: Shane notes, line 24). He had recently moved to the area, but avoided my questions of where he had come from and reiterated during the interview that he did not know anyone here. This could explain his lack of social resources, basic kitchen equipment and general isolation. His discomfort during the interview indicated that he felt interrogated. When I began asking him items from the resource generator he responded that he did not know anyone. That is where we concluded the interview. Based on CART's description of their community as 'hard to reach', and this experience with Shane, I speculated that he had recently been released from prison.

CART was the centre of Shane's life at the time of The AppleCARD Project, though at the time of the interview he still felt a sense of alienation from within the CART community:

He doesn't think so, and/or doesn't know about whether or not the CART community shares similar norms and values to him. He states the difference as being "they got jobs" (Shane notes, line 29)

He regularly attended training at the gym and was most connected to Tama and Andy (the personal trainer) – trusting them and feeling a sense of reciprocity or obligation if the occasion arose.

In contrast to these three most engaged participants (Tamara, Kelly and Shane), the other participants attended only once or twice, and one did not attend any workshops. Sarah, a

Pākehā woman, did not share the same sense of reciprocity with CART that Tamara, Shane and Kelly did:

Cherida: What about reciprocity- give and take?

Sarah: Not with CART, I mean they're a support for whānau. No not really. I mean yes I feel a no no – I'm just a taker! (Sarah, lines 217-218)

In addition she acknowledged all the other support networks she had at her disposal, for example a church group, a mother's group, and a Pacific group, *"I find the resources and tap into those and then you've got all of these things surrounding you that help"* (Sarah, line 253). By participating in a variety of community groups Sarah had access to broad networks of social capital.

Paula and Charmaine were also embedded in several community networks and while they both spoke about a social connection with CART, their other relationships appeared to be more worthwhile. Paula who was studying full-time expressed close relationships with her student cohort acknowledging the impact education can have on social relationships.

Cherida: Are you similar? do you share similar values?

Paula: Same but different I think. Because they've all come from different things like you know and that's education, and I think education is part of it. (Paula, line 139)

This marker of privilege could function as a divide between Paula and CART whānau.

In addition to Charmaine's strong whānau network of relationships, she also undertook voluntary work, utilised the social networking site Facebook, and was heavily involved in a sports community. Therefore, it is likely that she possessed valuable cultural capitals to function in a variety of contexts functioning as an investment to grow social capital. The AppleCART Project was useful to her mainly as a convenient way to feed her whānau.

Similarly, Mel possessed all the capital she needed to function effectively in her community. She appeared to have plenty of social, economic, and whānau support. She did

not seem concerned with improving the diet of her whānau, nor did she appear to live within a strict budget. This was apparent to me when she explained that her children eat MacDonald's so often that they complain about it. Here however I must once acknowledge suppositions based on my own identity position and values, and with these my financial priorities. I judge most fast food to be expensive and a waste of money, yet I was brought up in a rural culture of Presbyterian (Protestant) thrift. Furthermore I have the skills and the privilege of time to cook food from scratch at home with relative ease. These aspects of my identity have been internalised, are part of my habitus and contribute to my ability to acquire capital; in particular because culinary knowledge and skills are meaningful currency amongst my friends and enhance status.

Only when reflecting beyond judgements about food and financial choices do I move closer to a more comprehensive understanding of my subjective position next to those of the participants. Therefore it is also from this position that I acknowledge my Pākehā privilege. This is an uncomfortable position due to a kind of survivor's guilt or unease at being a coloniser when confronted face-to-face with the marginalisation of 'hard to reach' Māori. It is also uncomfortable because the glaring contrast between my privilege and participants' daily struggles engenders sympathy which potentially compromises a sense of equality. This divide is obvious when I reflect upon those participants who were most engaged with The AppleCART Project. Again I must acknowledge the risk in assuming how cultural security and embeddedness is experienced, and in turn perpetuating the superior positioning of the coloniser's epistemology.

Expressive actions as identified by Lin (2001, cited in Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2005) function to improve wellbeing; certainly trust and reciprocity would appear to be the most valuable for this community. Māori participants who enjoyed robust whānau relationships engaged with The AppleCART Project less; for example Linda and Mel

identified 19 out of 27 resource generator items as located within whānau networks and of the seven expressive action items such as ‘Do you know someone who can help when moving house’ and ‘Do you know someone who can give a good reference for a job’, Linda identified whānau for six items and Mel for seven. This is a marked contrast between Kelly, Sarah, Paula and Tamara, who between them only identified whānau eight times. In addition, the Pākehā participants identified whānau as the source of more instrumental actions.

Kelly, an engaged Pākehā participant received instrumental support from her whānau yet this did not appear to increase her sense of wellbeing, and in some ways decreased it.

It's not like a support thing that comes back its more of just a, sort of a (makes cat snarl noise), nothing supportive, it's all negative, comes back from my sister. Like the other day, she said "what planet are you on man?" I don't think she thinks about what, I mean I'm going through a real hard time at the moment, and I spoke to her because, you know, being my sister and that she'd be able to say some nice comforting words and it wasn't, it was just all negative, sort of slap in my face kind of shit (Kelly, line 199)

Sarah's narrative demonstrated high levels of instrumental support from the community yet still struggled as a single parent, upholding the theory that expressive support is a stronger predictor of wellbeing.

Even though I've got all those 4s and some 3s, I still feel alone about a lot of things and unsupported and nowhere to turn to, so it might not be the right picture. (Sarah, line 250)

Overall the resource generator results cannot quantify or accurately identify mechanisms related to social capital; however results certainly show some tight whānau networks for some participants, and some differences in types of resources available.

Tamara and Shane did not project secure cultural identities and had limited access to resources; social, economic and cultural. They were reliant on CART as a service provider, CART as a collective, and also CART fieldworkers on personal levels. It would appear that strong cultural embeddedness for Māori participants provides valuable social and cultural

capital, leading to improved economic support. However, it must be acknowledged that few participants enjoyed an adequate income which is evidenced in the next section.

Food practice

The participants of The AppleCART Project lived in households with an average of 5.4 people – approximately 2 adults and 3 children. Though two households had just one adult and one child, and one had up to 11 adults and children living and eating together. On average an evening meal was prepared six nights per week, however, only approximately half the participants and their whānau ate breakfast more than four days per week.

The average food bill per person per week fell between \$29- \$39, depending how it is calculated. The food practice interview framework suggested participants indicate a spend bracket of \$25 which is why this value is also bracketed. Nonetheless it falls short of the recommended weekly cost of a basic balanced diet for someone living in Wellington in 2013, even for a five year old (Department of Human Nutrition, University of Otago, New Zealand, 2013). This result is somewhat skewed by Kelly who spent just \$40 per week to feed her and five children, however if we remove her, the weekly spend is still below recommended at \$33-\$43 per person. It is worth noting that the week prior to the interview Kelly had spent just \$16 on food because she had other expenses to cover. In addition, five of the 10 participants would be classified as having ‘low food security’ in that they regularly relied on food grants or ate at the soup kitchen.

I go to the city mission and they give me veges and stuff. (Charmaine, line 46)

And sometimes me and Jodi will go to the soup kitchen for lunch (Sarah, line 43)

Food grants typically include tins of food and potatoes, which keep the family going yet are the same food that they can afford to eat anyway; they do not add nutritional variety or value to the weekly diet. Shane stated that he is sick of eating baked beans (Shane notes, line 19) and this sentiment is also reflected by Kelly:

I go to the food bank every week, but I'm getting sick of that cause it's just the same shit. Baked beans, a couple of tins of fruit, eggs as well, and potatoes, um, yeah, don't really get jackshit. (Kelly, line 136)

In addition to low food security for half the participants, several lacked useful kitchen equipment. Neither Charmaine nor Mel had a working oven, and Shane only owned two saucepans and no frying pan or oven dishes.

We don't have an oven so we use one of those oven grills. And we don't have elements 'cause we've got a gas leak. So it's been like that for about 10 years. (Charmaine, line 34)

Two participants did not own a grater which I consider to be extremely useful when preparing healthy recipes with cheap or flavoursome ingredients such as carrot, apple and ginger.

There is evidence that participants tried to provide adequate servings of vegetables for their whānau but most fell short. Potatoes and frozen mixed vegetables were specified as a staple for four whānau. Fresh fruit appeared to be a luxury item for many and tinned fruit was the most affordable. Paula children's school provides fruit through the fruit in schools programme and this was a positive help for her, however overall fresh fruit and vegetables are not adequately consumed by this community.

School lunches were provided by most participants, and both Paula and Charmaine had lunch support from their school; Paula with the aforementioned fruit in schools programme at the decile⁴ five school. Charmaine explained that her son at a decile four school was giving his lunch away and then getting a 'lunch pass' to eat toast. This situation was dealt with positively by the boy's teacher:

His teacher went out of her way and sent him a letter during the school holidays and said we are going to get you a toaster, so you can bring your favourite spreads and a cup for your milo for lunch. (Charmaine, line 64)

⁴ Decile ratings establish funding for schools based on socio-economic status of the zoned community, whereby decile 1 is lowest and decile 10 is the highest

Jodi did not provide school lunches for her children as she could only afford to provide one meal per day and prioritised an evening meal. In addition, the general consensus was that leftovers were not appropriate as school lunches, due to lack of facilities to re-heat the food in schools. Sarah sometimes felt it was a waste of time providing a healthy school lunch. Her children went to a decile nine school and swapped their lunch for more expensive 'junk'.

They've got the saddest school lunches out of everyone 'cause they don't have all the packets. They get like 2 sandwiches and a fruit and that's it. But apparently they eat everyone else's food -which sucks- or they'll swap their nice tuna salad sandwich for two timtams and some other chocolate. (Sarah, line 123)

However while Sarah did not provide 'treats' in her children's school lunches she regularly included them in her grocery shopping. 'Treats' (such as juice, carbonated drinks, chocolate, lollies, ice creams, biscuits and chips) were purchased by all participants. For Sarah, Linda and Mel all the aforementioned items were part of the weekly shopping, and for Linda considered snack food, "*Treats are normal in our house and they just become like snacks. Lollies, they'll snack on those*" (Linda, line 49). However, Kiri cited grapes as a treat, and Jodi, Tamara and Shane only treated their whānau to chocolate occasionally. All the participants extended their budgets to buy takeaway fast food from time to time. For those on smaller budgets, pizza provided the most value for money.

Meat featured frequently as a grocery item participants would buy more of if their budgets allowed it, cited by half the participants. Variety was also desired. Only two participants wished for more healthy options: Tamara would like to afford more fruit, and Charmaine more "healthy" food. Overall only two participants (Linda and Paula) specified nutrition as a priority when preparing meals, and another two (Sarah and Charmaine) cited low-fat as being most important. The remaining participants either did not specify anything or opted for filling and tasty. This is reflected by the regular 'go to' meals prepared by most participants of sausages, noodles, and pasta.

Despite this many participants presented a health conscious narrative. Jodi emphasised that she always serves three vegetables, and this was reinforced during the post-project interview by her complaint that the AppleCART meal did not contain enough vegetables (Post-project notes, line 11). Sarah claimed that she shops for healthy, cheap and seasonal food (Sarah, line 112). Tamara limited the amount of ‘junk’ for her son, and provided plenty of fruit and vegetables:

I've always got fruit there for (my son). He loves it. (Tamara, line 29)

I pile our plate. It's more veges than meat than anything else. Probably 2 cups [of cooked vegetables] (Tamara, line 31)

Furthermore, Paula discussed the nutritional qualities of mussels (Paula, line 64) and Charmaine's narrative indicated an awareness of health beyond basic fruit and vegetable consumption evident in these two excerpts:

And it's hard to find healthy tasty takeaways (Charmaine, line 28)

I've got this book called chemical mazes and you know on the back of a, whatever you like, ingredients and the numbers next to it, and this book tells you what the numbers mean. Cause my Dad's got cancer and can't eat certain foods you know, so now I have to look it up properly. (Charmaine, line 60)

Houkamau (2010) and Giddings (2005) both emphasise Māori homogeneity as problematic and this data provides a robust counter claim to negative media representations of Māori communities' diets.

The data supports research by Tassell and Flett (2005) suggesting that taste and cost are barriers to healthier eating. This is evidenced by Jodi's assertion that low fat food does not taste as good (22), and Tamara's requirement that meals are tasty so that her son will eat them:

Cherida: In what order would you prioritise these qualities in a meal...?

Tamara: Taste and something that S. will eat it. When he'll go yum and eat it all. (Tamara, line 56)

Budgeting is a dominant theme in many of the narratives and dictates most of the food choices made:

Price and if I know what I need... I won't go and buy stuff that might not get eaten (Tamara, line 55)

Shopping choices are already made as the menu is planned out (Jodi notes, line 21)

I'm on a real tight budget (Kelly, line 14)

Chooses items based on necessity – cheapest (Shane notes, line 20)

Makes choices based on cheapest and most convenient (Kiri notes, line 20)

However, there is also support for lack of preparation skills (Eyles et al., 2009) being a noteworthy barrier to dietary change. Charmaine suggested that she did not know how to prepare healthy food as much as she would like:

*Cherida: If your budget allowed it, what would you like to buy/eat more of?
Charmaine: Every healthy thing ever. Healthy food is so expensive. If I knew how to cook it all. (Charmaine, line 56)*

Workshop observations show lack of preparation skills as well:

Kiri spent quite a bit of time showing Linda how to chop veges as she had never chopped onion or broccoli before (Workshop 1)

*Shane felt like he could recreate the recipes as he said "I don't read that well".
The workshops are really helpful for him (Workshop 2)*

Therefore, there is considerable variation in terms of preparation skills and attitudes to healthy eating and dietary change amongst the participants; this variation certainly impacted motivation to participate in The AppleCART Project. For most it would seem that the reduced cost of the boxes was the primary motivation, with health benefits coming secondary if they were considered at all. For Jodi and Sarah who withdrew from the project after the first week, the portion sizes (based on MoH guidelines) were considered too small to

continue, demonstrating no desire to instigate dietary change to counter the risk of obesity. In addition, Linda was reluctant to prepare the broccoli (a side dish to salmon and sweet corn fritters) during Workshop 3, which I concluded was due to lack of desire to eat more healthily. Once the project was in full flight those who were attending regularly became socially cohesive and focus was shifted from the recipe at hand to the social relationships.

Project evaluation

It is considered by both CART and me that The AppleCART Project was a success, even though engagement, motivation and ability to regularly attend workshops was challenging for many participants. The project clearly provided an avenue for baby steps towards healthier eating. This was evident in some observations. Kelly has cooked the recipes again at home (Post project notes, line 28); Tamara was introduced to new healthy meal ideas, Charmaine discovered celery, a vegetable she had not eaten before and proclaimed that since the recipe with celery she “couldn’t stop eating it” and Linda projected a newfound confidence having discovered that the salmon and sweet corn fritters she made were enjoyed by not only her but others too (Workshop 3 observations). Continuing with an action research cycle, acknowledging and integrating the learnings and then planning an evolved project will certainly accelerate the movement through stages of behavioural change for some of the participants.

Indicators of social capital were not investigated after the project’s conclusion as was intended due to difficulties organising participants to commit to a time. Similarly to the proposed pre-project meetings, once the project was finished the participants’ could not prioritise or commit to project discussion due to the other challenges in their daily lives. Therefore I can only offer conjecture with regard to The AppleCART Project’s usefulness in growing value in social connections. The findings that highlight the contrast between Māori and Pākehā approaches suggest that there is significant scope to build social capital amongst

participants of this 'hard to reach' community if the drivers adopt a more Māori relational approach from the beginning. The indicators are themselves interconnected, but are all contingent on elements of trust. Cortis (2012) stated that 'hard to reach' labels are used to describe communities who may be engaged in criminal activity and CART's community description is indicative of crime involvement, though this was not a dominant theme. Nonetheless, trust is a valuable advantage when reaching out to the 'hard to reach' yet difficult to build as an outsider operating with different cultural capital.

It is my opinion that several factors would have improved engagement for The AppleCART Project. Firstly, closer adherence to a bottom-up action research paradigm whereby participating whānau contributed knowledge throughout all stages of the collaboration. Of course this may have resulted in a completely different project, but engagement is in essence relational. Furthermore mobilising the community to act may have been impossible, particularly because my experience of trying to organise meetings prior to the project commenced was unsuccessful. For a true bottom-up design the drivers need to come from within the community, and my position as outsider rendered this unfeasible. In light of my understandings of Māori epistemology identity and wellbeing, self-determination and relationships are central. Had I spent more time at the CART offices establishing relationships this may have been possible. Nonetheless, participant contributions at each stage and iteration of the action research cycle would have emerged a more robust intervention.

Second, problems arose from conflicting information communicated to the participants in the early stages of The AppleCART Project. My ethical considerations meant that participants were not obliged to participate in any components of the project or data collection (the project itself, interviews, workshop observations or discussion groups). The compartmentalisation of data collection was confused with the components of the project, so

that some participants received boxes without attending workshop. We had not anticipated this issue and I had assumed that everyone understood that they would come to workshop and pay their \$10 for the next two recipe boxes. Unfortunately this was not clear from the outset and in the first instance all the participants received recipe boxes regardless of workshop attendance. After that a firm decision was made that participants would not receive a box unless they attended workshop or phoned in prior to discuss their absence.

It was the making of this decision that resulted in some apparent tensions between expectations of flexibility, and requirements to deliver measurable outcomes to stakeholders. During these discussions I heard arguments about personal responsibility which lean towards a deficit discourse (Borell et al., 2009). I also witnessed the depth of loyalty shared between CART staff members and their community. Thus I sensed some cognitive dissonance when this decision was made. Being unfamiliar with the community I appreciated some regulations being put in place for my own sense of security; I believed my individual research agenda would be safer with these boundaries. Being unfamiliar with the community I also wanted acceptance which required relational trust, and the introduction of the rules of engagement once the project had begun served to break an inferred agreement. This breach of trust is reminiscent of historic bi-cultural relationships and is thus pertinent in the context of bi-cultural research partnerships.

Thirdly, I firmly believe that I did not possess the right cultural capital to engender commitment from participants. Within this community I represented privilege, university education, and researcher. It was never adequately communicated by me that I was *teina/learner*. Nor did I conduct myself appropriately, in that I interacted with participants with some 'professional' distance. *Pākehā* values are based in meritocracy and do not place as much importance on relationships and experience. I believed that my life story was either not of interest to the participants, or not relevant to the project. In my focusing on *their* lived

experience I did not share *mine*. In retrospect I consider this a major error.

Discussion

Hodgetts et al. (2014) in their discussion about addressing urban poverty emphasised that community-oriented health psychologists have a responsibility to describe the lived experiences of those living in poverty and make recommendations accordingly. This thesis has provided some description of a community affected by poverty and more specifically 'hard to reach' Māori experiencing effects of poverty and colonisation. This section will discuss some reflections pertinent to The AppleCART Project which may engender more useful and effective strategies in the future. It will begin by discussing the specific evaluations of the project and finish with overall reflections.

The interviews focused on lived experience in terms of daily food practices, daily routines and community connectedness. As many scholars suggest Māori identity and experience is not homogenous and thus should not be treated as such (Borell, 2005; Giddings, 2005; Houkamau, 2010; Houkamau & Sibley, 2010; Pere, 1988). Despite this, media representations regularly portray Māori in negative ways such as being irresponsible parents and these discourses construct overarching and negative identities for Māori under a gaze of colonisation (McCreanor, 2008). This research offers alternative scripts. The most salient example of variability countering media discourse is extracted from the fact-finding food practices interview framework. Six out of 10 participants reported that everyone in the household ate evening meals together four or more times per week. This finding also contrasts with Borell's (2005) finding that Māori youth in South Auckland associated not eating together as a family with being Māori. The results of The AppleCART Project certainly found examples of typically unhealthy dietary behaviour within some whānau (lollies as snacks, limited fresh produce consumption, high levels of fast food consumption), however there was a health conscious narrative indicating that if the resources are present, a healthy diet is desired and possible. While poverty is regularly recognised by some social

and political commentators as the underlying issue to poor Māori health, the hegemonic discourse of personal responsibility seemingly disregards this argument favouring one that attributes Māori health statistics on inherent cultural factors (McCreanor, 2008). The findings of The AppleCART Project offer lived experiences which contest notions of Māori homogeneity and Māori irresponsibility. However poverty is a significant factor for this community.

This research finds support in the literature suggesting that cost is a major barrier to dietary change. It is reported that one in seven Māori experience low food security (Ministry of Health, 2012c), however this proportion was higher for the participants of The AppleCART Project with half stating that they regularly relied on others for food. Furthermore, there is support for Presbyterian Support Otago's (2008) finding that food items are considered discretionary spending. This was evident by Jodi who only had resources to provide one (evening) meal per day, and Kelly who had spent just \$16 the week before the interview on food items as other expenses ate into her \$40 per week budget. Almost all the participants expressed budget constraints which limited purchasing of fresh produce, meat and variety, and the average spend fell short of that recommended by the Otago University Department of Human Nutrition (2013).

A deficit discourse attributes blame to the deprived for their own deprivation (Borell et al., 2009). A privilege discourse would ground the poor health of Māori in the context of colonisation (Borell et al., 2009), intergenerational soul wounding (Lawson Te Aho & Liu, 2010), and assimilation policies (Walker, 1990 cited in Houkamau, 2010). A privilege discourse would thus acknowledge poverty amongst Māori communities as an outcome of disadvantage rooted in Pākehā policies. This sentiment was reflected by Robson (2008, p. 30) who suggested that "In Aotearoa 'diseases of poverty' could equally well be termed 'diseases of colonisation and racism'."

Māori communities experience poverty disproportionately in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Robson, 2008) and this is evident within the CART community. Taking a Bourdieusian perspective is useful because it draws attention to the relationship between an individual's culture, and the field within which they operate. From a New Zealand/Aotearoa perspective, Māori engaging with Pākehā fields (such as health, housing and education) may lack embodied indicators of Pākehā value, functioning to obstruct opportunity and access. The discrepancy between Māori and Pākehā habitus' may well be transferred into the public domain via media representations. McCreanor (2008) found recurring themes in his analysis of Pākehā talk. In particular he found dominant discourse suggesting Māori are classified as good or bad, depending on how closely they adhere to Pākehā ideals, reinforcing notions of Pākehā cultural capital and habitus as superior. Amongst many examples, Robson (2008) reported on the field of housing as an example of Pākehā advantage which functions to reproduce inequalities in this way. Research found that Pākehā enjoy greater choice and access to housing because landlords and real estate agents consider Pākehā to be more reliable and trustworthy (MacDonald, 1986 cited in Robson, 2008).

Incongruence between culturally Pākehā fields and embodied Māori culture may impact the ability for some Māori to acquire valuable capitals, whether social, cultural, symbolic or economic. The AppleCART Project results suggest that some participants' Pākehā capital was so limited that it had no function at all. For example, Shane struggled in the context of the interview, a very Pākehā domain whereby symbolic power structures were reproduced by my role as 'interrogator' and Shane's role as 'responder': to his credit he challenged this symbolic order and chose to leave the interview. However, within other domains such as the aforementioned housing example, Shane's lack of Pākehā capital would potentially result in disadvantage when securing adequate accommodation.

Regardless of cultural identity, the participants of The AppleCART Project arguably

all possessed similar cultural capital which enabled them to function socially within the parameters of their urban marae (CART), but at times may have hindered their ability to achieve instrumental gains such as satisfactory housing or employment. Conversely, my habitus and cultural capital has manifested in privilege, education, and brought me to this role of researcher; such that my interactions with a marginalised community serve to symbolically reproduce inequality.

Inequality is not only reproduced through symbolic and institutional power structures, but also within lived experiences of hardship. Hodgetts et al. (2014) suggested that the relationship between poverty and health involves many other interconnected factors such as housing, stigma, access to services, and also low food security. Kelly's situation would be a tidy example of this claim. She lived on a very tight budget and supported her five children. During the course of The AppleCART Project I learned that one of her sons had contracted pneumonia, and another had been diagnosed with oppositional defiant disorder, meanwhile she struggled to get the extra help she needed from WINZ (Work and Income New Zealand). Kelly's life challenges depleted her mental, emotional and economic resources so that the health of Kelly's whānau was compromised such that it could be suggested her whānau had embodied deprivation.

Hodgetts, Radley, Chamberlain and Hodgetts (2007) explained how deprivation manifests in physical and psychological hardships for homeless people in London. Their ethnographic account showed how repeated experiences and actions within the context of rough sleeping result in 'embodied deprivation'. Markers of this were rotten teeth, pneumonia and drinking or drug use (Hodgetts et al., 2007). In the case of Kelly's whānau, deprivation was embodied by pneumonia and in behavioural problems. It could also be suggested that Tamara's anxiety was the embodied outcome of a long term marginalised status and repeated struggles with service providers such as WINZ.

Habitus is described as the embodiment of culturally normative practices henceforth dietary behaviour is established by group socialisation. Based on this, this thesis theoretically supports the contention that urban marae are an effective site for dietary change (Simmons & Voyle, 2003). The post-project feedback was inadequate and conclusions about dietary change cannot be drawn from the empirical findings, however the project had potential for collective empowerment. Shane and Linda felt able to reproduce one or more of the recipes having first cooked them with peer support. Tassell and Flett (2005) suggested that self-efficacy is a factor of behavioural change because it emboldens a shift from preparation to action. Within a Māori context, organisational structures such as CART which function locally and relationally are effective because they encourage participation which can generate other social capital markers such as norms, trust and reciprocity. The personal trainer at CART promoted this participation and henceforth promoted considerable trust within the community.

According to various models of community resilience (Norris et al., 2008; Ungar, 2011; Wilson, 2012), resilience is achieved with a combination of adequate economic, social and environmental capital. Transferring this model to an individual level, it would appear that Kelly possessed inadequate levels of all capitals. In fact social capital was perhaps her most valuable resource. The stress diathesis model applied to a resilience model suggests that reducing the diathesis (or pre-existing vulnerability) is an effective method of mitigating harm (Norris et al., 2008). Whānau who live in poverty are powerless to alter their economic and environmental capitals. Therefore strengthening and maintaining the value of their social connections is the best use of resources to mitigate the effects of stress exposure.

It is pertinent here to remind that Kelly, Tamara and Shane, the most engaged participants did not convey expressive whānau support. This may have compelled them to seek alternative avenues for emotional support at CART. Metge (1995) described

responsibilities and obligations of whānau members deriving from *aroha* and *mana*. She defined *mahi-a-ngākaio* as work done from, and laid upon the heart. This encompasses duty to care for, support and protect whānau along with a duty to work together (Metge, 1995). Within this context CART functions as whānau for these participants, and this finding is fitting with its kaupapa to “make ourselves available to those in need” (CART, 2010). The duty of care found in whānau relationships was reciprocated by Tamara who helped CART with the school holiday programme and showed enthusiastic support for The AppleCARD Project. Shane expressed trust for Tama the fieldworker and Kelly reported a sense of belonging.

In contrast many participants who engaged less with the project reported whānau as a reliable resource. The resource generator method was a useful indicator when considering the access to social resources, and differentiating them in terms of instrumental actions which are more associated with social mobility and expressive actions linked to wellbeing (Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2005). Findings show that the least engaged participants enjoyed closer whānau ties, particularly within expressive contexts. Consequently this thesis argues that Māori kin relationships function as a protective factor against embodied effects of poverty. Where kin relationships were not available, CART stepped in to mitigate negative outcomes of poverty and deprivation.

CART is well established within its community as an urban marae functioning to provide space, place and security for its clientele. Overall, the results of The AppleCARD Project describe a community that draws on loyalty and trust shared between CART the organisation, CART staff members and each other. Regardless of the participants’ cultural identity, shared experience is central to this community’s interconnectedness.

Whakawhanaungatanga is the “process of establishing family relationships (Mahuika, 2008). Walker et al. (2006) suggested that engaging in whakawhanaungatanga

connects Māori and establishes boundaries and ownership of knowledge. However, CART's community are defined as 'hard to reach' and disenfranchised and strong whānau relationships were not apparent for all the participants. McIntosh (2005) defined fluid Māori identities as an adaptive combination of traditional, contemporary and local identities and emphasised the need for cultural collectivity. I am interested in how relationships were established and maintained between participants of The AppleCART Project in the context of the urban 'hard to reach' Māori community. Merania engaged with the participants by making connections according to geographical location, whānau, and friendships, suggesting to me an adaptive whakawhanaungatanga not limited to exclusively whānau relationships. Bishop (1996) explained that whakawhanaungatanga is not limited to Māori kin, but extends to those who develop a relationship through shared experience. Furthermore, Jones, Crengle and McCreanor (2006) emphasised that taking time to establish relationships was a fundamental component of successful research relationships with Māori men. Merania and Tama both clearly engaged in this kind of relationship building by sharing life stories and connecting with the community through various geographical, genealogical and social pathways.

Contemporary urban Māori may be somewhat detached from whānau, hapū and iwi connections due to colonisation and urbanisation, and Borell's (2005) description of Maori experiential markers in South Auckland being more situational and geographical is pertinent to the CART community. This thesis supports McIntosh's (2005) claim that contemporary Māori identities are adaptive and located at the intersection of traditional cultural practices and immediate social environments. This is evidenced by CART's place and approach within the community and it is argued that CART operates as an urban marae

A marae is described by Higgins and Moorfield (2004) as a central place for Māori kin to come together for hui and other events. They claimed that the urbanisation of Māori

has resulted in the establishment of urban marae that are not connected by whakapapa. A connection to marae is considered a marker of a secure cultural identity (Tomlins Jahnke, 2002; Borell, 2005) and this paper suggests that CART also contributes to a secure identity position for at least one participant. In addition, Simmons and Voyle (2003) suggested that urban marae are an effective place to transmit health messages due to their accessibility both locally and culturally, and that this engenders collective efficacy and empowerment. Henceforth, CART is a neat example of urban marae; it is accessible both locally and culturally, and functions on a relational basis maintaining connections.

To summarise thus far, CART's community experience poverty disproportionately to national overall and Māori specific statistics. This inequality may be reproduced within institutional fields which favour Pākehā cultural capitals, the value of which is itself reproduced through deficit and racist public discourses. Furthermore repeated experiences of deprivation become embodied, manifesting in reduced overall wellbeing; physical, psychological, whānau and spiritual.

Consistent with Lawson Te Aho and Liu's (2010) recommended directions to improve Māori wellbeing, CART and its community are working towards an adaptive cultural identity, which is fundamentally relational but grounded in shared experience (rather than kinship ties). This is particularly valuable to community members who lack expressive whānau support as CART provides space, place and security. Social capital markers of trust, reciprocity, norms, participation and networks are clearly present within the CART parameters, and not surprisingly as they reflect Māori whānau values.

Putnam's social capital indicators serve to translate mainstream social theory to a Māori cultural context. The findings from The AppleCART Project suggest that under a (my) Pākehā gaze, social capital and some factors of Māori identity are synonymous. For example reciprocity is described by Metge (1995) as mahi-a-ngākau inferring relational

obligations; participation in society and te ao Maori has been cited by Durie (1997) as a factor of secure Māori identities; networks are implicitly understood in Māori contexts by way of whakapapa, iwi, hapū, and whānau. Consequently it seems that addressing social capital as a component of resilience within a Māori context is ‘preaching to the converted’ because the tacit knowledge of social interaction and structures of resilience already exist.

Examining Putnam’s social capital indicators within a Māori context helps interpret indigenous theory to mainstreamed Pākehā learners like me. It is in my dominant culture’s epistemology to understand all things as abstracted and measurable, and within this paradigm social capital indicators are worthwhile constructs for investigation. Indigenous Māori culture takes a more social constructionist approach and focuses less on discrete objects and more on relatedness and context. This contrast in epistemology was communicated to me throughout my academic studies in cross-cultural psychology, sociology, education and Māori studies yet it is only through lived experience within the CART community that I move closer to an inherent understanding: “you can lead a horse to the water but you can’t make it drink”. My experience supports Liu et al.’s (2008) contention that action research functions to situated theoretical knowledge more appropriately.

It could be argued that the current government has acknowledged a Māori epistemology by implementing Māori focused policy in an attempt to rectify inequalities. Whānau Ora is a government initiative which merges health and social services together in order to provide an holistic approach to Māori wellbeing. Outspoken commentators (for example Winston Peters) have criticised this policy suggesting that tax payer money is being wasted with no measurable outcomes; a discourse denying the value of interconnected and kin relationships. Furthermore, it highlights discord between liberal democratic values of egalitarianism and meritocracy and bi-cultural principles upholding the maintenance of

Māori culture (Liu, 2005).

The findings from The AppleCART Project highlight tension between adhering to both Māori and mainstream Pākehā protocols; flexibility was forfeited in order to report concrete outcomes to stakeholders, which in turn breached trust between those involved. This breach of trust subsequently impacted engagement. Grassroots organisations such as CART remain subordinate to their government funding bodies which require process, reports and measurable outcomes. This power relationship is evidenced and reported by Walker (2004) who claimed that state agencies compromise the ability of Māori service providers to operate using appropriate kaupapa. He found a relationship breakdown between a Māori organisation and the state due to the state's imposition of power and practice, and state funding being contingent on conformity. Walker (2004) suggested the development of a new triangular organisational structure which shares accountability between not only the state and the service provider, but also the *mana whenua* (local iwi or hapū), yet this approach may not suit CART's urban, fluid and 'tribeless' Māori clientele.

Spiller, Erakovic, Henare, and Pio (2011) criticised economic modes of exchange in the context of business, suggesting that instrumental rationality which began with industrialisation leaves people disconnected. They further argued that a Māori approach is focused on creating connections providing an alternative to Descartes' individualistic "I think therefore I am" by suggesting that a Māori worldview holds "I belong therefore I am, and so *we* become" with more valour (Spiller et al., 2011, p. 155). In their reflections about health inequalities, Bennett et al. (2008) recommended that policy makers focus on trust and relationships instead of logistical factors to more effectively work with high needs groups such as the 'hard to reach'. This thesis argues that collective efficacy and social capital neatly parallel these sentiments whereby participation is valuable and contributes to shared norms, trust and reciprocity to grow collective value. Tama clearly demonstrated this Māori

worldview by engendering a sense of belonging for all participants and taking time to establish meaningful relationships.

CART's philosophy is to work within their community on bottom-up projects, adhering to a participatory action research methodology that is grounded in interconnectedness. As I previously mentioned a closer adherence to action research methodology would have increased a sense of collective ownership with the project. While I encouraged and hoped for more community engagement in the early stages it did not eventuate and this was disappointing to me. A strong participant voice would have made both the project and the research more robust.

While a relational approach may lead to more harmonious interactions, dissenter roles are more difficult to accomplish and objective critique is not possible. It was certainly my experience to defer to the CART the organisation for their experiential knowledge and not question or critique; I was *teina* and CART was *tuakana*. This relationship took precedence over scrutiny and could be considered a weakness from an objective scientific perspective. From this perspective power relationships were somewhat reversed as I relinquished my *Pākehā* status as much as was possible while scrutinising and admonishing my own privilege.

Reflections

The participants of The AppleCART Project did not neatly fit into Durie's (1998) identity constructs of culturally Māori, bi-cultural, and marginalised. Durie's definitions are clearly not intended as discrete groups that individuals neatly fit into, but they do describe Māori identity positioned next to the colonisers. When considering these identity constructs I turn the mirror on myself and toy with the idea of *Pākehā* identity constructs in relation to Māori as *coloniser*, *sympathiser*, and *equal*.

Considering this model it strikes me that I have immediately thought of (my)

attitudes towards Māori rather than (my) integral identity, supporting Borell et al.'s (2009) contention of invisible Pākehā identity constructs. Furthermore, I place myself somewhere between sympathiser and equal; striving for equality yet acknowledging the part my ancestors have played in perpetuating inequality and thus feeling sympathy for the state of the 'Māori nation'. This thought process confirms to me the privilege I have lived with. My cultural identity has been invisible to our society because it is the default. I did not confront it until embarking on studies at university – another marker of privilege. Furthermore, my privileged identity disrupts authenticity of interactions when I become sympathetic; pity is not synonymous with respect. Memmi (1967) described this position as illegitimate privilege that the coloniser is aware of, and I acknowledge this. I entered the research partnership with some understanding of how I was positioned next to the CART community but only now I am aware of more latent factors which contribute to my Pākehā identity.

This Pākehā cultural identity contributed to my outsider status with both CART and its community. Accordingly my approach leaned towards instrumental rationality, and manifested in my priorities of participant numbers, attendance, and project evaluation outcomes. This approach was disadvantageous when working amongst this Māori community and on reflection I strongly feel gains would have been made if I had focused more on relationships than process. However being Māori would not necessarily have improved my initial outsider status. According to Powick, (2003 cited in Mahuika 2008) being Māori does not automatically translate to correct cultural knowledge being present when doing Māori research. Cultural differences within Māoridom are not inconsequential due to differences in practice and/or the interpretation of those practices according to iwi (Mahuika, 2008). This notion is supported by Giddings (2005) who identified a main complaint of Māori working in the health system in Aotearoa/New Zealand being the assumption of homogeneity.

Furthermore, insider status is not static or necessarily superior, and context can alter status positioning. Linda Smith (2012) described an early experience as a researcher whereby she began the research journey as an insider within a group of Māori mothers. She explains that from an academic perspective she was considered an insider; however to the participants her role as researcher shifted the boundaries of her status for the duration of the project. Smith (2012) described how her outsider status became more salient as she conducted the research and suggested that the participants responded to inquiry by creating symbolic boundaries. Humphrey (2007) suggests that when moving across the continuum of the hyphen between insider-outsider status' relationships will adjust to accord the necessary level of objectivity. Therefore it must not be assumed that either insider or outsider status' have superior values, more that they must be viewed as dynamic and interconnected, and a reflexive researcher will be privy to the effects of researcher-participant interactions.

My status with and within the CART community began firmly outside. As a visitor to the CART offices I became familiar with some of the community members, though my natural approach, immediate objectives and time allocation meant that I did not spend time building relationships with many. I felt a nudge closer to insider immediately before the project began. I had at that point interviewed most of the participants and found commonalities based on my role as a new mother. Furthermore I had been able to contribute in a personal capacity to one participant in particular. In addition to this, in comparison with how I usually establish relationships with people, Tama and I had covered a lot of ground. I attribute the breadth of our conversations to his openness and ability to establish personal relationships with ease: I reciprocated, but I know I would not have been an initiator of such conversations. As the project commenced my status did not shift significantly. It may have fluctuated depending on which participants attended. I was relieved that with time and conversation the vast divide between Shane and I narrowed, but we were a long way from

being on common ground.

While I have suggested that outsider status positioning is not inferior to insider positioning, there is an advantage to being a cultural insider especially when discussing indigenous concepts. There is risk of continuing the colonisation of Māori by ‘othering’ te ao Māori. There is also risk of perpetuating inequalities and notions of essentialism by the unintended reification of my opinions. Furthermore, there is potential for inherent misunderstandings.

Smith (2012) suggested that Māori beliefs about spirituality are keepers of understandings that cannot be interpreted or controlled by the West. She says that this is a clear boundary between Western and Māori thought. As previously mentioned, whakapapa, a cornerstone of Māori identity not only refers to relationships between people but also the relatedness of everything (Robert & Wills, 1998), setting a foundation for Māori epistemology and kaupapa. Mahuika (2008) contends that Māori concepts and principles are left open to various interpretations and therefore can be exploited and manipulated to suit those adhering to them. An example of this would be in my reference and use of Te Whare Tapa Wha model, which is a simple and culturally translatable concept with which I understand Māori wellbeing. I have used it as a foundation for justifying the variables and design of The AppleCART Project, and in doing so am guilty of appropriating a Māori ‘taonga’ for this gain. The model itself (and other Māori wellbeing models previously mentioned such as Te Wheke) is relational, emphasising that success requires four components to function together. Not only do I not have a profound understanding of each concept within the model, but I did not fully understand the necessity of cooperative relationships that it communicates. If I had I would have opened myself more to building relationships with the community I was participating in. Yet I hope that Durie’s intention was that Pākehā like me, with an intention to promote bi-cultural equality, use it as a bridge

to connect cultural understandings of health and te ao Māori.

When The AppleCART Project itself started I was a new mother. My son was five months old and he accompanied me to every engagement with the project; meetings, interviews, shopping, workshops. My role as a mother and my son's presence in many respects forged the inroads into this community. If I failed at communicating my teina status overall, I succeeded in terms of motherhood (seeking advice about teething, sleeping, feeding and so on) and this functioned to reduce levels of symbolic power attributed to me due to my outsider/researcher position. This role afforded me valuable capital that only comes with being a mother, which was able to be traded. Furthermore, my role as mother and stepmother positioned me relationally, both contextually and within the bounds of society. Within a mainstream approach this would confound results and compromise the validity of the interview data and my observations. However I think the data is enriched by this circumstance. To support a social constructionist perspective is to acknowledge subjective positions as influential and fundamental to knowledge and in this case it enhanced relationships and learning.

Conclusion

Liu et al. (2008) understood that action research outcomes may diverge from initial goals and The AppleCART project is evidence of this claim. Initial research objectives were somewhat achieved: to gain a comprehensive understanding of daily food practices, to improve dietary habits, and to increase preparation skills. The objectives focused on resilience and social capital were not only difficult to measure, but in many ways redundant. The community itself operates relationally and social capital indicators already existed for the most part, and overarching constructs of cultural capital and habitus cannot be markedly impacted by one small community project. Nonetheless, by reflecting on this failure I have become infinitely more aware of a number of factors contributing to Māori health and more

cognisant of appropriate approaches to rectify inequalities.

Community-based participatory action research is grounded in iterations of planning, acting, evaluating, and reflecting (Bargal, 2006); a process which emerges advanced development, purpose, and practice (Reason, 2004). The conclusion of The AppleCART Project has elucidated a number of possible next steps. At grassroots level possibilities include: adjusting the parameters of the project to reduce the length of commitment to four weeks with weekly workshops, selecting participants based on skill level, and handing over recipe development to participants themselves. From my fresh position as allied outsider, a new iteration would include a far greater commitment to relationship building, revelations of my own life experiences and an adjustment of my expectations surrounding process and flexibility.

This thesis finds that as Liu (2014) contends, indigenous psychologies ought robustly maintain their particular and inherent values, morals and ethics, and uphold them in the face of dominant epistemologies. Participating in The AppleCART Project demonstrated to me the absolute value of Māori kaupapa, henceforth I argue for and support flexible and relational approaches from institutions and funding bodies.

In conclusion of this project I am both embarrassed and delighted that I have come to understand relational aspects of Māori culture. Embarrassed because despite being raised in Aotearoa/New Zealand and focusing some of my university education on indigenous culture, I still did not understand how fundamental relationships were within Māori communities; delighted because the participants of The AppleCART Project engendered a shift in my own cultural identity. Considering my personal journey and academic findings, I pose two questions. First to the academics and policy makers who examine inequality in New Zealand – how can we effectively and accurately translate indigenous concepts to the unconverted mainstream? Second to educators across all disciplines – how can we better

teach Māori relational values to the colonial privileged? Both mainstream Pākehā and Māori epistemologies are valid; what is invalid is the inferred and experienced superiority of the dominant discourse.

Glossary of Māori words and phrases⁵

aroaha: affection, sympathy, charity, compassion, love, empathy

hapū: kinship group, clan, tribe, subtribe – section of large subtribe group

hui: gathering, meeting, assembly

iwi: extended kinship group, tribe, nation, nationality, race – often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor

kaimahi: worker, employee

karakia: prayer, grace, blessing

kaupapa: topic, policy, matter for discussion, plan, scheme, proposal, agenda, subject, programme, theme

Kaupapa Māori: Māori ideology – a philosophical doctrine, incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society

mana: prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma

marae: courtyard – the open area in front of the whareniui where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often used to include the complex of buildings around the marae.

Pākehā: New Zealander of European descent

taonga: treasure, anything prized – applied to anything considered to be of value

te ao Māori: the Māori world

te reo Māori: Māori language

teina: junior relative

tikanga: correct procedure, custom, habit, lore, method, manner, rule, way, code, meaning, plan, practice, convention

tuakana: senior relative

⁵ Definitions according to the context and lexical class used within the thesis, taken from Te Aka Online Maori Dictionary retrieved from www.maoridictionary.co.nz

whakapapa: (verb) to place in layers; (noun) genealogy, lineage, descent

whakawhanaungatanga: the process of establishing relationships

whakatauki: proverb, significant saying

whānau: extended family, family group

wharenuī: meeting house, large house – main building of a marae where guests are

accommodated. Traditionally the wharenuī belonged to hapū or whānau but modern meeting houses have been built for non-tribal groups, including schools and tertiary institutions.

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Appendix A

Food practice interview framework

1. How many people live in the household?
Adults _____ Children _____
2. How many people in the household eat dinner at home 4+ times per week?
Adults _____ Children _____
3. How many people in the household eat lunch at home 4+ times per week?
Adults _____ Children _____
4. How many people in the household eat breakfast at home 4+ times per week?
Adults _____ Children _____
5. How often do you cook an evening meal at home?
6. How much time do you spend preparing an evening meal?
 - Less than 30 mins
 - 30mins – 45mins
 - 45mins – 60mins
 - 60mins – 90mins
 - More than 90 mins
7. Do you share evening meals with others, and how often?
 - Whānau/family
 - Neighbours
 - Friends
 - Friends of the children
8. Where do you eat your evening meals at home?
 - Together at the table
 - Together in front of the telly
 - At the table but at different times
 - In front of the telly but at different times
9. How often do you buy a takeaway?
 - Fish n chips
 - McDs/BK/KFC
 - Chinese
 - Pizza
 - Other _____
10. How often do you eat outside of the home?
 - Whānau/Family/Friends'
 - Church/Clubs/Community groups
 - Cafes/Restaurants
11. Is there anything that you are allergic to, not prepared to eat, or plain don't like?
 - Dairy
 - Shellfish
 - Gluten
 - Nuts
 - Red meat
 - All meat
 - Other _____
12. What cooking/kitchen equipment do you have in your home?

Saucepans	
- Large	
- Medium	
- Small	
Frying pans	
Roasting pan	
Baking dish	
Mixing bowl/salad bowl	
Blender/stick wizz	
Grater	
Masher	
Storage containers	
Oven	
Stovetop cooker	
Microwave	
Toaster	
Freezer	

13. How many servings or pieces of fruit do you eat per day?

- Bananas
- Apples
- Mandarins/oranges
- Pineapple
- Stone fruit
- Tinned fruit – peaches/apricots/pears etc
- Other _____

14. How many servings (1/2 cup of cooked) of vegetables do you eat per day?

- Potatoes
- Greens – spinach/silverbeet/broccoli/cress/cabbage/lettuce etc
- Root vegetables – carrots/kumara/beetroot/turnips
- Vine vegetables – cucumber/zucchini/green beans/peas/tomatoes etc

15. What protein do you normally eat and how often ?

- Lamb
- Beef
- Pork
- Chicken
- Fish/kaimoana
- Beans
- Eggs

16. What starches do you normally eat and how often?

- Potatoes
- Rice
- Pasta
- Bread

17. How many times per week do you buy food items from...?

- Supermarket
- Vege market
- Dairy
- Fastfood place

18. How much money per week do you spend on food?

- \$50 - \$75
- \$75 - \$100
- \$100 - \$125
- \$125 - \$150
- \$150 - \$175
- \$175 - \$200
- \$200 +

19. Do you ever buy 'treats' for yourself and/or the kids? What sorts of things are treats?

- Juice/fizzy drink
- Biscuits
- Lollies
- Chips
- Chocolate
- Ice cream
- Ice blocks

- Other _____
20. If your budget allowed it, what would you like to buy/eat more of?
21. When you shop, why do you choose the food items that you do?
- Healthy choice
 - Cheapest
 - Convenient/easy to prepare
 - Seasonal (veges)
22. In what order would you prioritise these qualities in a meal...?
- Low fat
 - High protein
 - Will fill me up
 - Nutritionally balanced with vitamins and minerals
 - Flavoursome
23. Extra fishing questions.
- What is your 'go to' meal, that is easy, cheap and the kids love it?
- What do you normally put in the kids' school lunches
- How often do you use leftovers for the kids' school lunches?

Social capital - networks and connectedness interview framework

– (informal conversation style)

1. Tell us about a typical day in your life.
(gives an opportunity to speak freely about routines - may elicit free time, busyness, boredom)
2. How often do you pass time talking to whānau or friends from outside the home?
3. How do you spend this time?
Eg. On the phone, at the school gate, over morning coffee, meal times, cooking/gardening on marae, playing sports, church events, other activities eg crafts/knitting etc
4. Where do you spend this time?
Eg. Local suburb, Wellington central, greater Wellington etc.
5. Do you actively participate in any community groups?
Eg. Marae, church, sports, community gardens, volunteer work, PTA etc
6. Consider the community around you. What groups do you feel connected to?
Eg. Own whānau, other CART whānau, CART, marae, church, Newtown community, school community, Salvation Army, Wellington community etc.

Social Capital/Community Resilience Indicators

- to be discussed within context of specific community group

- participants are invited to represent their relationships through graphic representation if they find it easier
7. Do you *trust/not trust* these community groups?
 8. Is *participation* important in order for you to feel connected to them?
 9. Do you have a sense of *reciprocity* towards these community groups, or in other words – is there a two-way street, do you give back what you get from them and/or what do you receive for your contributions?
 10. Do these community groups provide a *network* of people to support you?
 11. Are the *norms*, or expected behaviours, of these community groups similar to your own?
 12. Do you take strength from these groups?
 13. As a collective, is the community group strong? Where are its weaknesses?

Resource Generator

Code:

1 – *acquaintance*

2 – *outer circle friend*

3 – *inner circle friend*

4 – *whānau/family*

Do you know someone who...

1. Has a car you could borrow?
2. Can repair a car or bike?
3. Can speak and write another language (not English)
4. Can repair house hold equipment (eg washing machine)?
5. Can play a musical instrument
6. Is proficient with a personal computer (eg Microsoft word/excel, email)
7. Has finished high school (7th form or Year 13)
8. Has finished a tertiary qualification (trade certificate, diploma, degree)?
9. Works for the city council
10. Owns a holiday home
11. Has the ability to employ people
12. Knows about government regulations (eg building regulations)
13. Has contacts in the media
14. Can help with tax returns
15. Can help to find a holiday job for a whānau member
16. Can give advice about a work/neighbourly conflict
17. Can help when moving house
18. Can help with DIY jobs – carpentry/painting etc
19. Can give medical advice
20. Can provide financial assistance at short notice
21. Can provide a place to stay for a week for you and your immediate whanau
22. Can give advice regarding family/whānau conflict
23. Can give a good reference for a job
24. Has a lawn mower you could borrow?

25. Could babysit your children at short notice?
26. Can help you to fix the fence?
27. Can give you legal advice eg tenancy/employment issues

Appendix B



Information Sheet: The AppleCART Project

Cherida Fraser	(Tama) ⁶	(Emma) ⁷	Prof. James H. Liu
Masters student	Co-Researcher	Co-Researcher	Supervisor
<i>cherida.fraser@vuw.ac.nz</i>	<i>(tama)@cart.org.nz</i>	<i>(emma)@cart.org.nz</i>	<i>james.liu@vuw.ac.nz</i>

What is the purpose of this research?

- This research will allow us to examine daily food buying, cooking, and sharing practices, and feelings of connectedness within the CART and broader community.

Who is conducting the research?

- We are a team consisting of CART staff members and Cherida Fraser, a Master's student of psychology at Victoria University of Wellington. This research has been approved by the School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee under delegated authority of Victoria University of Wellington's Human Ethics Committee. This approval applies to Cherida Fraser's Master's thesis research under the supervision of James Liu.

What is involved if you agree to participate?

There are several components to this research. Participation is completely voluntary for each part.

The AppleCART Project

- If you agree to participate in The AppleCART Project you will pay \$10 to receive \$10 worth of ingredients to cook a healthy meal for 4+ people, weekly on a Sunday for 12 weeks.
- You are not obliged to continue paying for and receiving recipe boxes, and are free to withdraw at any time.

Interviews

- You will be invited to be interviewed both before the project starts and after 12 weeks. During an interview you will respond to questions such as "*How much time do you spend preparing an evening meal?*", "*Consider the community around you, what groups do you feel connected to?*", and "*Do you know someone who can advise you on legal matters?*".
- We anticipate that the interview will take a maximum of 2 hours.
- If you consent, the interviews will be tape recorded.
- You will be given a pseudonym, and not identified by name.

⁶ Name replaced with pseudonym

⁷ Name replaced with pseudonym

- You are free to withdraw at any point before the interview is finished.
- Participation in pre- and post- interviews is completely voluntary.

Discussion Groups

- You will be invited to participate in discussion groups before and after The AppleCART Project, which will be tape recorded.
- During the discussion groups you will be invited to talk about your daily food habits and your community.
- You will be given a pseudonym and not identified by name.
- During the discussion groups you are free to withdraw at any time before they have been completed.
- Discussion group participation is completely voluntary

Cooking workshops

- You will be invited to cooking workshops to learn and taste two recipes with the other participants.
- During these workshops the researcher may collect data through observation.
- You will be given a pseudonym, and not identified by name.
- During the cooking workshops you are free to withdraw at any time, or specify to the researcher that you do not want to take part in data collection.
- Attending cooking workshops does not oblige you to participate in data collection through observations.

Feedback opportunity

- You will be invited to a presentation after the initial data analysis where you will be able to give feedback and critique.
- You will be invited to a second presentation once your feedback has been incorporated. This will be an opportunity for final feedback, amendments and approval before publication.

Privacy and Confidentiality

- We will keep your consent forms and interview recordings for 5 years.
- You will never be identified in my research project or in any other presentation or publication. The information you provide will be coded by number only.
- In accordance with the requirements of some scientific journals and organisations, your data without identifying names may be shared with other competent researchers.
- Data without identifying names may be kept indefinitely and may be used in other related studies.
- A copy of data without identifying names will remain in the custody of CART and Cherida Fraser

What happens to the information that you provide?

The data you provide may be used for one or more of the following purposes:

- The overall findings may be submitted for publication in a scientific journal, or presented at scientific conferences.
- The overall findings may form part of a PhD thesis, or Masters thesis that will be submitted for assessment.

- The overall findings may be used by CART.

Please indicate on the consent form if you would like to sent a summary of the results.
If you have any further questions regarding this study please contact any one of us above.

Statement of consent

I have read the information about The AppleCART Project and any questions I wanted to ask have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to participate in:

- The AppleCART Project
- Interviews
- Discussion groups
- Observations at cooking workshops

I understand that I can withdraw my consent at any time, prior to the end of my participation.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

I give my consent for the interview to be tape recorded.

I understand that the recordings will be wiped once the transcripts are coded with a pseudonym.

I understand that I can withdraw this consent at any time prior to the end of my participation.

Name: _____

Signature _____

Date: _____

- Please indicate if you would like to be sent a summary of the final analysis

Email/Postal address:

Copy to:
(a) participant,
(b) researcher (initial both copies below)

