Metamorphosis

Expanding the concept
of equity in education

**A case study into the opportunities arising from
liberal market economics for the development of
community-based tertiary education and training institutions**

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Glossary

Macrons have not been included in the Maori text.

ako	learn, teach	noa	ordinary, free from restriction
Aotearoa	New Zealand	o ratau taonga katoa	all their treasured possessions
aroaha	unconditional love	Pakeha	European
atua	god	Papatuanuku	earth mother
	authority	rangahau	research
hakari	a gift, feast	rangatira	chief
hapu	sub-tribe	Ranginui	sky father
hikoi	march	rangatahi	youth
hui	meeting, community based meeting	raupatu	confiscation of land
	land meeting	raranga	weave
hui whenua	tribe	reo	language
iwi	food, to eat	rohe	area/region
kai	place of abode	runanga	council
kainga	protector, caretaker	runanganui	large council
kaitiaki	ritual incantations, prayer	taha hinengaro	mental dimension
karakia	elders, whanau leaders	taha tinana	physical dimension
	biculturalism	taha wairua	spiritual dimension
kaumatua	traditional beliefs and ethics	tangata whenua	local people
	protocol	tangata	people
kawapa karanga rua	governance, trusteeship	tangihanga	mourning, funeral rights
kawapa Maori	the protocol of the marae	taonga	treasured property
	the covenant of Waitangi	taonga katoa	all treasured possessions
kohanga reo	language nests, early childcare educational centre	taonga tuku iho	gifts/treasures from the ancestors
	speak	tapu	sacred, under spiritual restriction
korero	Unity movement, togetherness	te taha Maori	the Maori dimension
Kotahitanga	school	Te Tiriti o Waitangi	The Treaty of Waitangi
kura	Maori primary and secondary schools	tikanga	custom, traditional cultural traits
kura kaupapa Maori	remember	tinana	body
	work, undertaking	tino rangatiratanga	chieftainship, trusteeship
mahara	handiwork, handcraft	tu tangata whenua	local people, person on a given place
mahinga	authority, prestige, sovereignty	turanga	identity
mahinga-a-ringa	Maori sovereignty	turangawaewae	place to stand as of right
mana	political authority	ture	law(s)
	sovereignty over land	wahi tapu	sacred place
mana Maori motuhake	care for others	wairuatanga	cosmos
mana tangata	entertain, befriend	wananga	learning
mana whenua	descendant of a native of New Zealand	whakairo	carving
manaki	Maoriness	whakapapa	genealogy
manakitanga	knowledge	whanau	family
Maori	life principle	whakawhanaungatanga	becoming kin and family
Maoritanga	absolute	whanaungatanga	kinship ties, relationships
matauranga	undertaking, work	whare	house
mauri	protocol, customs	whare wananga	house of learning
motuhake	the right ways for Maori	wharekura	a building for learning
nga mahinga		whariki i te mahara	weaving together different ideas
nga tikanga		whenua	land
nga tikanga Maori		whitiwhiti korero	recite
		utu	reciprocity

Abstract

Professional relations and social interaction with the tangata whenua of the area provided access to this novel research project. The researcher was invited to accept a consultancy role to help the community realise their vision for a sports training institute utilising the sports resources that had been built up over a number of decades. In the course of discussions with the researcher, covering a period of six months, this vision changed from a sports institute to the realisation that the community could resource and enjoy the benefits of a more comprehensive education and training institution, a wananga, building on kura schooling models that they had initiated a decade earlier.

The wananga was to be established by a Maori hapu for their people specifically, but not exclusively. Other community members would be welcome to participate. It was planned for everyone in recognition of a community that had become increasingly diverse as overseas migrants moved into the area but kawa (customary practice) and governance would remain with the hapu.

The project presented the researcher with the opportunity to undertake a piece of socio-educational research. In the course of the research, the researcher developed a Catherine Wheel framework to draw together all the key aspects, namely philosophy, continuous quality improvement, research methodology and research praxis. The research draws on the work of relevant commentators and researchers. It explores the many and varied aspects of historical, educational, political and sociological influences. This research did not seek to analyse and discuss the politics of the researched community. This aspect was not included in the originally agreed upon research proposal approved by the researched community. The nature of the research and the

fact that the politics of the community lay outside the scope of this study made the use of the currently popular story telling technique inappropriate.

The prevailing theories of postcolonialism and feminism influenced the researcher's practical approach and her participation. They are also reflected in the text through her interpretation and expression. Postcolonialism is essentially about being aware of not telling anyone what to do and feminist theory as ensuring you tell everyone where you are coming from.

Three narratives run through the text. There is a personal narrative, a modernist story of a Pakeha female researcher working several roles within a Maori community. There is a futures oriented story based on the recognition of cultural hybridity which will require educators and trainers to navigate through a sea of texts and to acknowledge a number of non-linear pathways from school to work and from work to retraining. The third is a post modern story of globalisation out of which the researcher has developed an internationally applicable education and training model for use within any community. It recognises new cultural contexts and identities and new forms of power.

Case study was the major methodology used with elements of ethnography, action research, grounded theory and evaluation research.

The principle aim of the research was to produce a practical pathway model for other community groups to follow. As the consultant of the project, the researcher was asked to develop systems, procedures and processes for the organisation that conformed to NZQA quality assurance requirements so as to enable them to access education funding. The philosophy underpinning the management and administration of tertiary education is based on the principles of continuous quality improvement.

The researcher recognised the opportunity to undertake a research study in a unique environment employing qualitative methodologies. All of the methodologies emphasise reflective analysis. This component is mirrored also in the cyclic process of continuous quality improvement, an inherent aspect of NZQA quality assurance. Quality assurance is required for NZQA registration and accreditation as a private training establishment.

This study reveals how contemporary Maori socio-political identity positively affects the relative success of community based social and economic movements and explores the implications for academic understanding of identity, bicultural education, curriculum delivery, teaching and learning. Whakapapa and whanaungatanga are central to Maori identity and both inform the view that Maori take of the world around them. Whakapapa refers specifically to genealogy and family tree through both matriachal and patriachal lines and to the order of birth and its significance. It is linked directly to whanaungatanga, the bonds that link Maori with others.

The research also presents pragmatic discussions relevant to community-based and non-governmental organisations that support grass roots community development.

'Community' is interpreted by the researcher through her experiences as a community educator as well as from the time working with the researched community. Their culture and identity differ from her own and their experiences have impacted differently as a result of cultural barriers and constraints they have experienced in a system different from their own. Identity is dynamic not static according to an individual's current place in the world. In this text this is explained through changes in the researcher's own identity. Identity and empowerment are explained from the researcher's personal point of view and it was never intended that the researcher would

interpret either on behalf of the community. Biculturalism or kaupapa karanga rua acknowledges two people, Maori and Pakeha, the signatories of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. It emphasises the key position of Maori as tangata whenua, the people who have had the longest association with the land. Increasing numbers of Pakeha are recognising a politics of difference that involves the acknowledgement of tino rangatiratanga or Maori sovereignty. This is leading to positive actions in the establishment of biculturalism between Maori and Pakeha within institutions, agencies and community initiatives. Maori culture has never been in such a productive space as it is now even though it remains peripheral to the broader mainstream Pakeha culture. It is not simply openings within the dominant spheres that Maori now occupy. The result of the cultural politics of difference and the production of new identities is also contributing to the acceleration of biculturalism.

This research highlights the paradoxical fact that out of liberal market economics with a focus on continuous quality improvement comes equity. When applied in the educational context it empowers minority groups to access mainstream resources to establish educational institutions over which they have governance.

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PART ONE

Chapter 1

Introduction

Chapter One

Quality as Equity : the opportunity created by liberal market economics for Maori education and training

This research thesis is a case study that employs elements of several research methodologies. Multiple methodologies were needed to address first, the varied concerns that arose in response to the physical developmental stages associated with implementing a wananga and secondly, the issues relating to the processes and procedures of the organisation, management and administration of a tertiary vocational education training institution. These methodologies were elements of evaluation research, action research, grounded theory and ethnography.

The aims of this research project were three fold:

- to develop a practical pathway model for community based groups to use when seeking NZQA registration and accreditation for their training institutions;
- to conceptualise this practical pathway into a theoretical framework for others to refer
- to illustrate how to maximise the benefits of shared knowledge and skills to assist in reducing establishment costs to emergent private training establishments arising from hapu, iwi or runanga initiatives.¹ .

¹ 'Iwi' is the term used when 'hapu' come together in changing combinations where a concerted effort or position is required. The main functioning unit of Maori society is the hapu. The hapu comprises several extended families or 'whanau' living in closer proximity and headed by an elder. The hapu of an area are regularly inter-related and as Maori place great weight on common origins. Iwi is also used for the people of a common descent group. It is important to stress that Maori society is a 'bottom-up' one and that emphasis on iwi has been and is largely Crown-initiated. Dealing with hundreds of hapu is more complicated than dealing with several iwi. A runanga is a council or assembly of hapu or local people not necessarily of the same descent group. 'Tangata whenua' is the term commonly used when reference is made to the local Maori or hapu of the rohe (area). According to nga tikanga Maori tangata whenua have the right to decide the kawa (protocol) and to be treated respectfully by visitors on their land and marae.

The main stages of development of a vocational education and training organisation for the tangata whenua of an urban-based iwi are documented over a five year time frame from 1995 to 2000. Methodologically, the research text ‘tells it like it is’ (Pearson, 1993) using two distinct styles. First, it records what happened from the inside, as the researcher was working as a consultant-practitioner member of the management team of the researched community. This research did not seek to analyse and discuss the politics or internal conflicts of the researched community that are normally present in such projects. Hence there is no reference to the direct Maori voice as this would have contravened the research agreement with the gatekeeper. Secondly, it narrates her personal metamorphosis and empowerment experienced while undertaking the research. Having established professional relations and social interaction with the tangata whenua of the area, access to this novel research project was made available to her through an invitation to accept a consultancy role to help the community realise their vision.

The structure of this text is based on a Catherine Wheel model (Figure one below) that was one of the theoretical outcomes of the research project. Placing an outcome such as the Catherine Wheel model at the beginning of the thesis does not follow the traditional layout for such a document. This deliberative action is to assist the reader to follow the unfolding research evidence and to explain coherently the multi-methodological approach that was used. The model reflects the four quadrants of the research. Super-imposed on these are the kaupapa Maori concepts of mahinga (praxis) and whariki i te mahara (philosophy) that cannot be separated from turangawaewae (where do I come from) and whakapapa (who am I) which are at the centre of the four quadrants.

Figure 1: The Catherine Wheel Model

Four quadrants make up the Catherine Wheel. They are philosophy, continuous quality improvement, research design and research praxis.

The purpose of frameworks is to forge a way through a maze of legislative and educational rhetoric and a terrain of information. Frameworks mark the route, identify the landmarks, avoid the problems. The design, development and implementation of a private training establishment as a hapu community-based initiative for tertiary education and training fits comfortably within a framework because it can be substantiated and it is not transitory.

This thesis is presented in six parts: part one positions the researcher. Parts two to five comprise the four quadrants on the research Catherine Wheel model and part six presents the practical research outcome in the form of grounded theory.

The model reflects an organisation and the four quadrants reflect philosophy, continuous quality improvement, research design and praxis. Within each quadrant there are between three and five components which have been vital in the development and surrounding discourse of this research project. The quadrants, presented in graphic form, are framed to mirror a mainstream academic model that compartmentalises and places preferential bias on knowledge and practice. At the centre of the quadrants is the positioning of the researcher looking at who she is and where she comes from. Overlaying the framework is a holistic Maori structure that merges Maori ways of knowing, Maori ways of doing and Maori ways of understanding. The research framework was prepared by the author as a Pakeha researcher. By way of contrast a Maori theoretical framework, applicable if the project had been undertaken by a Maori hapu researcher has been prepared by a Maori kaumatua. It is included as Appendix 1.

Part One of this thesis comprises the first chapter. It provides an overview of the thesis and places the thesis in an international context.

Part Two is quadrant one, philosophy, on the Catherine Wheel and comprises chapters two to five. Chapter two discusses the critical historical, economic and political contexts of the research. This chapter takes up the theoretical contexts posed by various analyses of the Treaty of Waitangi and Maori sovereignty, including the socio-economic impact and effects of colonisation and the politicisation of Maori ethnicity. The openings that the devolution of State power has created for Maori education and training initiatives are identified. Chapter three outlines the evolution of the researcher's personal construct theory that emerged as the project developed through its four stages. Chapter four is in two sections. Section one describes the development of kaupapa Maori education in the early 1980s in response to the demands of Maori for pluralist and parallel schooling, education and training. Section two reviews what constitutes Maori research, its methods and contexts, the importance of shared knowledge and processes. Chapter five completes the philosophical segment of the Catherine Wheel. It has three sections, namely biculturalism, communitarianism and pragmatism. It brings under the title Working Collectively, the practices involved in communities working together, the acceptance of difference, the need for mutual responsibility, trust and commitment and discusses the concepts of nation and state as they apply to the individual and the collective.

Part Three covers the second quadrant of the Catherine Wheel and comprises chapters six and seven. Chapter six describes the four stages in the progressive development of the educational training wananga and includes the tabulated and diagrammatic analysis of the project data. The raw data relating to the registration and accreditation of the wananga as a private training establishment is included as Appendix 2. All identifying references to the site and the researched community have been blanked to meet the conditions under which they allowed themselves to be the subject of

this research. Some documentation has not been included as data because it was impractical to mask the identity of the researched community.

The research project itself covered a period of five years and was developmental and evolutionary in nature. At any one time there were many dynamics at work. The four stages, articulating the vision, designing the vision, implementing the vision and coordinating the vision follow an action research cycle process and incorporate the concept of continuous quality improvement. The chapter examines the justification for the selection of the site and analyses it in accordance with criteria pertinent to case study methodology. The ultimate success of the project was dependent on the people involved. The basic requirements of the management team and the role of the researcher as a member of this team are discussed including the establishment of a monitoring system for project achievement based on NZQA requirements. Triangulation or the use of multiple methods became a necessity to ensure the incorporation of the numerous strands of the Catherine Wheel as well as to examine critically any issues inherent in such a project from as many different methodological perspectives as possible. A chain of evidence emerged from a number of sources and questions of validity and reliability had to be addressed. Tests common to case study methodology were used and are examined in respect to their applicability to this project. Finally the chapter provides the data collected and collated throughout the management of the project that contributed to the development of the practical pathway model for use by other community-based groups. This data is recorded graphically in seven tables, one of which is the practical pathway. The other tables identify the influences on the management of the project, the critical time and task continuum as a guide to project achievement as well as recording the actual research process during each stage. In chapter seven the New Zealand education legislative context is examined and

particularly the educational reforms that followed from the *Education Act 1989* with its dual emphasis on devolution and individual choice. This Act also made provision for the instigation of the National Qualifications Authority and the introduction of the National Qualifications Framework. The chapter examines various definitions of quality as they relate to education and introduces the concept of quality as equity that has provided a pathway for Maori to achieve relative autonomy within education.

Part Four comprises chapter eight and covers research design methodologies, quadrant three on the Catherine Wheel. This chapter situates the research project within case study methodology with elements of contributing methodologies including evaluation research, action research, ethnography and grounded theory. Their application to the research questions are tabulated in Table 4 at the end of chapter eight. The case study approach was a strategic decision that related to the scale and the scope of the investigation leading to the establishment of an education training organisation. The case study is used as an integrative tool in that it brings together as a broad framework the multi-methodological approach used in this research. Grounded theory was to become the key methodology because of its relevance to the context of the project. It enabled the researcher to draw together theory, practice and reflection that created the foundation for the four quadrants of the Catherine Wheel framework, the theoretical outcome of the research project. Ethnographic research methodology was equally significant to this research. The Pakeha researcher was working with a Maori community and this created an ethnographic topic describing a study of a particular culture and community with an emphasis on understanding their point of view. The other methodologies employed were aspects of action research and evaluation research. Action research is based on the belief that effective change in practice is only possible in cooperation with all the participants in a situation. Research cannot be achieved against

their will (Altrichter et al, 1993) and, to guard against this happening, action research is governed by ethical principles of particular significance to its methods. The principle of negotiation necessitates gaining the consent of all those concerned before any research technique is used; confidentiality acknowledges that data are the property of those who are the researched community and must therefore be treated confidentially and not passed on without permission; participants' control ensures that those who participate in the project keep control of the research.

Part Five is chapter nine and discusses the triad of research strategies contained in the fourth quadrant of the Catherine Wheel. Participatory action research, co-operative inquiry and action inquiry have independent strengths although fully dependent on one another for the development of knowledge through experiential knowledge that reconciles action with enquiry. They differ from each other primarily on the degree of participation by the subjects in the research process itself. The learning processes used in this research project are another section of chapter nine. The processes were experiential learning and action learning. Reflection and reflexivity characterise stages of these ways of learning to incorporate active thought on judgements, goals, assumptions and actual outcomes related to each stage of project achievement. Multiple research modes were utilised to produce evidence from a variety of sources that would ultimately contribute to the production of the grounded theory, a methodology that was to become a major contributor to the interpretation of the data.

Part Six, chapter ten is the summary and conclusion. It identifies the openings that enabled the researched community's aspirations for a wananga to be realised and led the researcher to develop the grounded theory. The theory recognises benefits for minority ethnic groups, particularly Maori, flowing from the practical application of the

combination of liberal political and market economic philosophies which, in the education and training context, express quality as equity.

Introduction to the researched community

This vocational education and training initiative of the runanga, in this case an iwi runanga, was conceptualised to complement its existing educational developments including kohanga reo and kura kaupapa schooling (full immersion Maori language early childhood and primary schooling respectively). The design of this institution was based on the community's vision to deliver education and training within the National Qualifications Framework up to diploma level five. This initiative was never intended to be exclusively for Maori clients; it was conceived by the Maori runanga to complement their existing structure over which they would retain governance.

The researched community's initial vision for a training establishment, mooted in August 1995, was of an organisation to deliver and service programmes of sports study. Community leaders brought together representatives from a collective of individual sports who agreed to create a community sports administration as a unified collaborative group. Prior to this meeting, and since 1937, individual sports codes in the wider community had encouraged Maori participation at all levels and initiated the development of coaching across age groups within the local community and primary schools.

Out of this development the researched community made the decision, later in November 1995, to register a private training establishment and to seek accreditation through the New Zealand Qualifications Authority² (NZQA). In December 1995 a

² In Chapter Four, Quality Assurance, NZQA is discussed in detail.

dedicated management team was created to pursue NZQA registration and accreditation. This management team envisaged delivering sports programmes by mid 1996 that were the national certificate qualifications of the Sport Fitness Recreation Industry Training Organisation (SFRITO)³.

As the consultant for the achievement of the project the researcher was asked to develop systems, procedures and processes for the organisation that conformed with NZQA quality assurance requirements. The philosophy underpinning the management and administration of tertiary education was that based on the principles of continuous quality improvement.

The community management team, which included significant leaders of the researched community, had prior knowledge of the researcher's work-related experiences which they had gained from several perspectives. They perceived her as a person with a range of relevant skills including education planning and implementing change to reflect quality assurance requirements; co-ordinating extensive community education programmes and active involvement in sport. Furthermore several members acknowledged her as a person who thrives on challenges.

The community management team, as a planning group, had not previously existed in its own right. Several members had experience of working together either through sports administration and/or whanau/hapu connections. The researcher had not worked directly with any of the members of the management team. Once work on the

³ An industry training organisation (ITO) is a body recognised under the *Industry Training Act 1992*. It is an organisation that sets standards and arranges training for the industry sector it serves. The management team, was dealing with the ITO which represents sport, fitness, recreation and community arts, that is, SFRITO.

project commenced, the basic features of working collaboratively and the interpersonal relationships changed markedly at each stage.

A necessary condition for the development of an organisational learning process is that the locus of the initiative lies within the organisation. The community initiated the project to bring their own vision to reality. The researcher recognised the opportunity to undertake a research study in this unique environment, employing qualitative methodologies such as action research, ethnography and grounded theory, all of which emphasise reflective analysis. This component is also mirrored in the cyclic process of continuous quality improvement that is an inherent aspect of NZQA quality assurance as required for the registration of a private training establishment.

By the time of the visit by the NZQA Accreditation Panel in October 1996, the scope of the accreditation of the institution was substantially greater than the original proposal for a sports administration training establishment. This expansion mirrored a broadening community vision, a result of the increasing communication between groups within the community and a growing realisation of the extent of their training needs. Suitable facilities were available and considerable expertise could be resourced from the tangata whenua runanga.

During the Accreditation Panel's visit, the concept of wananga was mooted by the NZQA policy analyst to reflect [only] the extent of accreditation scope and the training courses available. The runanga and the community endorsed the broader concept of wananga and changed 'institute' to 'wananga'. The management team developed a distinct mission statement and a series of goals to reflect iwi ownership and to drive a success-based institutional process. Consequently, the scope of the

accreditation document included health, resource management, radio journalism, equine, community arts and te reo Maori (Maori language).

This thesis explores the related social, education, political and cultural issues and concepts that emerged throughout the project development time frame. For example, it focuses on:

- the legitimisation of Maori cultural processes;
- the researched community's adaptation to NZQA policies and practices;
- the institution of reciprocal arrangements with state agencies;
- the ongoing request by state agencies for validation of tangata whenua development plans and actions;
- the level and intensity of participation that is permitted in terms of Maori governance within education;
- the community working within theoretical frameworks and practices different from their own.

This exploration reveals how contemporary Maori identity positively affects the relative success of community-based social and economic movements and explores the implications for academic understanding of identity, bicultural education, the curriculum, teaching and learning. It also presents pragmatic discussions relevant to community-based and non-governmental organisations that support grass roots community development.

This work is by no means of purely theoretical concerns; it is deeply rooted in the history and politics of Maori and Pakeha (European) schooling and subsequently in the reconfiguration of New Zealand education under and after 'New Right' thinking. In this sense the researcher's formulations are contiguous with a decade-and-a-half long struggle with 'New Right', market-focused, political rhetoric. 'New Right' conservatism

attempted to incorporate into its hegemonic governance as a crucial element, the reconstruction of national culture in order to legitimise and stabilise its dominant political, economic and cultural discourses. Spoonley (1990:97) suggested:

The hegemony of certain Pakeha [was] easily seen in the dominance of a particular form of production (free market capitalism), a political consensus between the major political parties (broadly New Right in its sentiments), a move away from a Keynesian welfare state and the conservative nationalist politics of a dominant Pakeha.

Rediscovered nationalism was being constructed from a 'racially' unified image of 'New Zealandness'. The effect of this change was the steady politicisation of Maori ethnicity because simultaneously Maori as tangata whenua (people of the land) were establishing their own semi-autonomous living and cultural spaces in the form of a renaissance. As a result of the recognition and affirmation of Maori rights under Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi) by the *Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975* and its amendment in 1985⁴, a general framework was provided in which Maori have steadily developed their own specific frameworks for political, economic and social action. Maori are pursuing innovative initiatives in efforts to maintain their autonomy and to define a legitimate position from which to speak within New Zealand society. As Kelsey (1993: 362-363) observed of the fourth Labour Government:

Ironically, Labour's devolution policy had bolstered the revival of traditional authority structures and the move back to an Iwi and Hapu base, leading to the establishment of the National Maori Congress in 1989....[It] is providing an authoritative voice in support of separate political and legal structures which will not so easily be sidelined and repressed.

⁴ The *Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975* dealt with claims by Maori that actions of the Crown from 1975 onwards had been prejudicial to them and in contravention of the Treaty of Waitangi. The *Amendment Act 1985* gave the Waitangi Tribunal the right to hear cases back to 1840 when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed as was the Maori version, *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*.

Bishop (1992: 208) has stated that the pursuit of social justice is a task all New Zealanders must be engaged in. He believes there is a growing temptation to leave solutions to the problems of inequitable educational outcomes to Maori people themselves now that their educational initiatives are gaining ground, a significant observation when the majority of Maori pupils remain in state schools. Prominent Maori educationalist Penetito (1992: 242) also recognised the developing dissonance between kura kaupapa Maori and mainstream schooling:

Tu Tangata, te kohanga reo, kura kaupapa Maori, the Waitangi Tribunal have all helped to reveal mana Maori but the mainstream schooling system, in spite of the considerable progress that has been made over the past 30 years, remains for Maori, a virtual secret garden.

Culture can only be sustained by a way of life. Maori have found that individualisation and market preference have removed their culture from its source of sustenance. As Freire (1985) said, culture is a form of production that helps human agents to transform society through use of language and other material resources. In this case, culture becomes intimately related to the dynamics of power. This situation produces asymmetries in the ability of individuals and groups to define and achieve their goals. Dominant and subordinate cultures express different interests and operate from unequal terrains of power.

The optimism of Freire's politics is reflected in his utopian vision of a liberated humanity. Within his linking of ideological critique with collective action and a philosophy of hope is 'a language of possibility'. Maori through whanau, hapu and iwi are working a Freirerian-type model of emancipation albeit their model is kaupapa Maori expressed as tino rangatiratanga as guaranteed to them in Article Two of the Maori text of the Treaty of Waitangi. This guarantee was full authority and control over their lands, forests,

fisheries and other valuable possessions or taonga (*Turangi Township Report*, 1995:284-285).

Habermas (1974) said that in the process of emancipation there are only participants. Emancipatory knowledge is the province of critical theory. By 'critical' Habermas meant knowledge of meaning being opened to radical reinterpretation, deconstruction and revision from any contemporaneous and contextual cultural perspective.

This thesis includes an autobiographical account of the researcher's experiences told in the first person in chapter three as a Pakeha researcher-consultant and of the struggles, difficulties and tensions associated with the development of the tangata whenua project. It offers aspects of her own 'story' not in order to speak with the authority of authenticity, but in order not to be authoritative. It also is a way to illuminate a personal awareness of the feelings attached to being peripheral, fragmented, marginalised and hybridised. Furthermore it made her own sense of identity feel visible and Pakeha-centred.

Prior to this period of work with tangata whenua, the elusiveness of white identity, in that it is everywhere, that it is the 'norm' and that it is European, left the researcher struggling to 'ground' and 'centre' herself. But what is European culture in New Zealand? Is it the notion of 'unhyphenated whites' (Liberson, 1985) who cannot answer questions about ancestry other than 'European' or, the notion of 'white ethnic pan-ethnicity' (Erikson, 1975) wherein solidarity could evolve between people of different European ethnicities but not between whites and non-whites?

Simon Upton, MP, in *The Dominion* newspaper, Thursday 7 December 2000, talked of New Zealand as an insecure nation:

Trying to carve out our own little cultural canoe as though it owes nothing to the cultural riches of European civilisation just makes for a shallowness at the heart of our cultural identity. Disowning – or, more accurately, forgetting – any of our cultural roots will make new exchanges vapid.

He was reported as saying that Pakeha and Maori now share the same geographical and cultural space but neither has evolved a *modus vivendi*, a way of living together that amounts to a practice of nationhood.

The experience of working collaboratively with tangata whenua finally destabilised the researcher's 'Englishness' and distilled her identity clearly in her own mind as Pakeha. For many Pakeha (in New Zealand society) the dilemma of identity will continue unresolved if they fail to recognise and accept cultural difference: Pakeha culture as the 'norm' would leave New Zealand a racist society. According to S Hall (1996: 445) racism operates by:

...constructing impassible symbolic boundaries between racially constructed categories and its typically binary system of representation constantly marks and attempts to fix and naturalize the difference between belongingness and otherness.

We are all ethnically located and our ethnic identities are crucial to our subjective sense of who we are. Since the *Treaty of Waitangi Act Amendment Act 1985*, to allow the Waitangi Tribunal to inquire into any Maori historical claims against Crown actions from 6 February 1840, the Treaty has become a focal point for new forms of ethnic politicisation among both Maori and Pakeha. Maori ethnic politicisation is associated with arguments for Maori 'sovereignty' from radical activists and a new phase of Pakeha ethnicisation which is beginning to explore the implications of a locally-focused identity.

S. Hall (1990: 19) argued that a notion of ethnicity is necessary truly to engage the relationship between identity and difference:

What we've learned about the theory of enunciation is that there is no enunciation without positionality. You have to position yourself somewhere in order to say anything at all.

An allowance for heterogeneity of ethnic groupings and language usage has to be widely accepted. As S. Hall (1996: 448) stated:

Once you abandon essential categories, there is no place to go apart from the politics of criticism.

Waitangi Tribunal reports (*Ngai Tahu Report, 1991, Vol 2; Turangi Township Report 1995; Muriwhenua Land Report 1997*) argued that Maori ceded sovereignty to the Crown in exchange for Crown recognition of tino rangatiratanga. It is important to note that sovereignty for Maori in 1840 would have meant more than the Crown's understanding of 'exchange'. Sovereignty for Maori would have involved the fundamental principle of Melanesian reciprocity:

Among the Maori, considering the strict reciprocity of gifts which obtained (v. Exchange), this custom cannot be regarded as a simple partition of goods among people who wanted them, but a matter of handing over novel and desirable articles in the expectation that an equivalent return would afterwards be made.

(Firth, 1929/1973:362)

The concept of rangatiratanga is fundamental to the accord embodied in the Treaty:

Inherent in it is the notion of reciprocity – the exchange of the right to govern
for the right of Maori to retain their full tribal authority and control over their
lands and all other valued possessions

(Ngai Tahu Report, 1991:236)

Of further significance to any discussion relating to an interpretation, understanding or application of rangatiratanga is the identification of the three Waitangi Tribunal lawyers who have contributed much to the writing in this area with the focus on Maoritanga. They are H.G.McHugh in *Ngai Tahu Report, vol.2, 1991*, G.S. Orr in *Turangi Township Report 1995* and E.T.J. Durie, Waitangi Tribunal chairman, in *Muriwhenua Land Report 1997*.

Increasing numbers of Pakeha are recognising a politics of difference that involves the acknowledgement of tino rangatiratanga or Maori sovereignty. This is leading to positive actions in the establishment of biculturalism [between Maori and Pakeha] within institutions, agencies and community initiatives. Maori culture has never been in such a productive space as it is now even though it remains peripheral to the broader mainstream Pakeha culture. It is not simply openings within the dominant spaces that Maori now occupy. The result of the cultural politics of difference and the production of new identities is also contributing to the acceleration of biculturalism.

In many countries formerly colonised by the English, cultural hegemony is not characterised by pure domination, compulsion or even incorporation; it is about changing the dispositions and the configurations of cultural power, not getting out of it. In New Zealand Maori are developing cultural strategies that are making a difference and which are shifting the dispositions of power. These strategies are often under funded, they are limited and there is a price of incorporation to be paid. They are carefully regulated,

segregated but are visible initiatives that have replaced invisibility of earlier strategies. Maori are playing what Gramsci (1985) terms the game of cultural 'wars of position' in which the sites and stakes of struggles over power are multiplied and dispersed. Maori initiatives in education and training, health and social services, forestry and fisheries are examples of such strategies.

The establishment of an educational training initiative in the form of an innovative institution is characterised by organisation. This organisation can be mapped and recorded. The recording or mapping creates the context for the development of essential analytical instruments and evaluatory tools on which to build the structure and scaffold the framework. The contemporary literature available to community-based groups interested in developing their private training establishments into tertiary education training initiatives is inadequate for such a task at this time.

This study is not solely focused on discourse that includes meanings, explanations, accounts and anecdotes. It also focuses on institutional practice, on discriminatory actions and on political structures and cultural and social divisions, although these are intertwined with the study of discourse. The presentation of the researcher's 'self' and the management of a workable identity in the research field, a dynamic and constantly shifting process, are fully described.

The success of participant observation, that is, the researcher as outsider looking out (she operated from the inside out and did not claim to be an insider looking out because she was not a member of the community), depended greatly on the 'ethnic versatility' of herself, her ability to assume and enact various social and work roles and to adjust her personal identity accordingly. Of course the psychic tension between role and self is not simply peculiar to fieldwork: it is part of daily life. The dissonance became

stressful at those times when she became totally immersed in the field and socially engaged in a discrepant role. The inner tension was particularly strong when her personal opinions of cultural identity and expression were negatively countered by members from within her group. She learned at these times to downplay and even conceal her true feelings. It was not feasible to escape the demands of the field work to reaffirm and maintain her self and personal identity due to the fact that project management and project achievement was planned to fit four semi-autonomous yet continuous stages of development.

Self-reflexiveness in an ethnographic case study is also critical because the negotiation of identity in the researched community directly constitutes the acquisition of cultural knowledge. The researcher's access to such knowledge depended entirely on her social position in the field and, as her role constantly shifted, access to multiple sources of knowledge also occurred. Power was mediated by using a participatory research method, an approach that adopts openness, reciprocity, mutual disclosure and shared risk akin to a feminist perspective. Reciprocity is a matter of intent and degree in research practice (Lather, 1991: 57). Reciprocity has an inherent use-value. It is able to create strong, beneficial social bonds through keeping people in contact with one another. R. Wax (1952) valued reciprocity as an aspect of field work in that it generated rich data. The switch of roles the researcher took in this research, for example, from researcher to participant to critical friend, wherein give and take became a data gathering technique and 'mutual negotiation of meaning and power' (Lather, 1991: 57), was based on reciprocity.

This thesis includes an account of relations with a hapu and the hapu's relations with state agencies that serve education and training as well as mainstream providers of education. 'Telling the story' (Reinharz, 1992) is one way to indicate that the format is a

case study. This case study will interest New Zealand communities and readers but by most criteria, New Zealand is marginal to contemporary British and American concerns and therefore may be of marginal interest to readers from those communities. Yet the text reveals the way in which Pakeha New Zealanders are making sense of 'race relations' and the Treaty of Waitangi has implicated the Crown because of its obligation to protect Maori Treaty rights. More importantly this text may interest South Pacific nation states which share a similar colonial history and have similar postcolonial movements associated with the rights of indigenous peoples and their struggle for self-determination. In fact it does interest the Australian Aborigines who have revived the idea of a treaty with the Howard Government for restitution purposes. Fiji has its own Deed of Cession. An essential difference between New Zealand and the small island states is that indigenous land rights were protected by the colonial power. Another difference is that the island states have been politically decolonised and are largely independent.

Description and explanation essentially require three locations of discourse, namely: 'identity', 'reality', and 'society'. It is impossible to take a step in any direction without implicitly or explicitly taking a line on these issues. Indeed, analysis involves resolving each of these issues in one way or another and they are interconnected. The researcher focuses on those approaches which exemplify the resolutions of 'identity', 'society' and 'reality' and which most clearly mesh or conflict with her own interests.

Just as identity can be defined from a psychological, cultural and political perspective, its significance for the individual, ethnic group or nation state can also correspond to these three levels. Psychologically, because identity involves self perception and projection, it provides self-esteem and empowerment for an individual. Culturally, for an ethnic group, it provides a sense of distinctiveness and sometimes a

tendency toward a feeling of superiority. Politically, it creates a sense of patriotism and national pride that makes certain nation states seek power, prestige and glory and to express them in a manner that undermines those of others.

In writing this text the researcher has explored and acknowledged these relationships in meditative, provocative and exploratory ways that describe, defend and advocate our living together and sharing cultures. Communities are set into political, social, ecological and economic contexts and these directly affect a given community's wellbeing. The history of individual Maori communities is rooted to a particular place, *turangwaewae* and their *whakapapa*. These provide Maori with their strength for the future. It should be noted that the *Runanga Iwi Act 1990*⁵ sought to give legal recognition to iwi. As the Minister of Maori Affairs explained, the Government wanted:

...a practical partnership with iwi organisations in the development and operation of policies [and to] improve the responsiveness of government departments to Maori issues

(Minister of Maori Affairs 1988:4)

The Act was opposed by the Maori Congress. The Congress was formed at this time by Maori as an iwi-based alternative to the existing New Zealand Maori Council established under the *Maori Welfare Act 1962*. The Maori Council comprised appointed representatives from geographical districts, but these districts did not provide for proportional representation of their Maori population. Furthermore, as a creation of the Crown, it was not always recognised by Maori. In the event, the *Runanga Iwi Act 1990* was repealed by Parliament only a few months after its enactment and shortly after a new National Government took office.

⁵ The *Runanga Iwi Act 1990* which sought to give legal recognition to iwi is discussed in Chapter Two.

It should be noted here that in 1989 the Government set out the principles by which it would act when dealing with Treaty of Waitangi⁶ issues. The five principles, discussed in detail in chapter two are incorporated within the first and one overriding principle, that is, the *Principle of Partnership*. The second principle, the *Principle of Self Management*, also known as the Rangatiratanga Principle, recognise that iwi have the right to organise as iwi and, under the law, to control their resources as their own. In 1998 however, Mason Durie in *Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Maori Self-Determination*, identifies tino rangatiratanga as meaning self-determination rather than self-management where, in other words, the policy decisions about Maori resources are made by the state, not by Maori.

The *Education Act 1989* recognises wananga as characterised by teaching and research that preserve and advance knowledge relating to ahuatanga Maori (Maori tradition) according to tikanga Maori (Maori custom) but currently the term wananga is not restricted in practice by the Crown. Maori recognise wananga as a term to which is attached considerable mana (authority, influence, prestige). Wananga are being established by Maori to develop and enhance the population they serve through the provision of tertiary education. There is a strong cultural component reflected in the courses, pedagogy and management style of wananga. The advancement of te reo and tikanga Maori and recognition of the living base of Maori knowledge are the basic aims of wananga teaching and learning. The exercise of tino rangatiratanga and the right to self-determination is central to the educational goals and objectives of wananga.

⁶ *The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975* which, together with its Articles, is covered in detail in Chapter Two, gave exclusive statutory authority to the Waitangi Tribunal to determine the meaning and extent of the Treaty as enshrined in the two texts set out in the First Schedule and to decide issues raised by the differences between them. The manner in which it has exercised this authority can be seen in the reports of the Waitangi Tribunal which have enunciated and discussed the Treaty principles applicable to the particular claim, for example the *Ngai Tahu Report 1991*, vol. 2: pp. 215-233.

The Waitangi Tribunal report titled *Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Report* (Wai 55, 1995, pp201-203) summarises the principles of the Tribunal.

PART ONE

Chapter 1

Introduction

PART TWO

QUADRANT ONE

Chapters 2-5

Chapter Two

Historical, political and economic contexts of the case study

This chapter introduces the first quadrant of the Catherine Wheel (page 3). It is the philosophical component of the research model, whariki i te mahara and critiques the historical, political and economic contexts of the Treaty of Waitangi and discusses Maori sovereignty and the politicisation of Maori ethnicity.

The *Treaty of Waitangi 1840* is the founding document of the New Zealand nation. Te tangata whenua were well established in Aotearoa ('land of the long white cloud') at the time of British annexation. The nation is not based on imperial conquest or the invasion of settlers but customary Polynesian incorporation of outsiders and the reciprocal obligations this entailed¹. These obligations continue today as a partnership pact between Maori² and Pakeha. During the early contact period, tikanga Maori prevailed; tangata whenua controlled the land and its resources. Land to them was not only an economic base but spiritually, culturally and symbolically important. Lands of groups of people, such as, an iwi or hapu or whanau were defined not by fixed boundaries but by their whakapapa and oral traditions, places they could use, occupy and control and where they could keep their fires burning. People moved seasonally and although Aotearoa was not densely populated there was no waste or unclaimed land in a European sense. Mana (power and honour) was founded on whakapapa and enhanced by personal charisma. It arose from the ability to command the respect of the land and

¹ Refer *The Whanganui River Report*, Wai 167; 1999: 108-109.

² In the early years of colonisation Maori were often referred to as 'New Zealanders'. The term 'Maori' was used infrequently. Sometimes the terms 'aboriginal inhabitant' or 'aboriginal native' were used (D. Williams, 1999: 348). Prior to 1947 tangata whenua were generally referred to as 'Natives' in political and legal discourses. *The Maori Purposes Act 1947* substituted the word 'Maori' for the word 'Native' whenever that word occurred in Acts of Parliament and court documents.

the people and from hospitality and generosity. It was closely associated with tapu which conserved and protected taonga and wahi tapu (sacred places).

In a post colonial settler society, as is New Zealand, discussions of contemporary Maori-Pakeha relations are inseparable not just from theories of nationalism, equality and natural rights and from social reformers' discourse, but also from historical studies. There is also a particular concern with how far the past should be carried into the future.³ This attitude possibly reflects the ongoing practice by Pakeha of co-opting and nuancing the nation's culture.

The starting point for any critical account of the politicisation of Maori ethnicity must be the historical process in which identity and self consciousness are constructed: 'the infinity of traces deposited without leaving an inventory' Gramsci (1971). The concept of hegemony⁴ is bound to the conditions necessary in any given society for the achievement and consolidation of rule. Antonio Gramsci has argued that hegemony was always constituted by a combination of coercion and consent. Rule must be obtained by force, but cannot be secured and maintained without the element of consent. Gramsci perceived of consent as far more than merely the legitimisation of authority. Consent extended to the incorporation by the ruling or dominant group of many of the key interests of the subordinated group/s, often to the explicit disadvantage of the rulers themselves. He argued that in order to consolidate their hegemony, the ruling group

³ The following Parliamentary maiden speech in March 1992 delivered by Clem Simich, a newly elected National member of Parliament summed up the position of his caucus colleagues: The fixation with the Treaty of Waitangi and related issues is unfair, unjust, and divisive. The Treaty is a document of the dim past and the Maori people do not need it as a walking-stick. They have the ability and the acumen to maximise their individual and collective resources for their benefit and the benefit of all New Zealanders – and they do not need the Treaty of Waitangi to do that (Clem Simich quoted in J. Kelsey, *Rolling Back The State* (1993: 241).

⁴ Antonio Gramsci was not the originator of the term 'hegemony'. Lenin used it in an analytical sense to refer to the leadership which the proletariat in Russia required to establish over the peasantry during the struggles to found a socialist state (S.Hall, 1996: 424).

must elaborate and maintain a popular system of ideas and practices which he called 'common sense.' This can occur through education, the media, religion or folk wisdom. Through production and adherence to 'common sense' – cum ideology in the broadest sense, a society consents to the way in which it is ruled.

In New Zealand today, political oppression takes shape on the platform of hegemony. Far from ruling principally through exclusion and coercion, state hegemony operates by including its subjects and incorporating its opposition. In 1984, for example, the state responded to conflict with Maori by choosing the pathway of 'passive revolution'. This is a Gramscian strategy involving the:

...inclusion of new social groups under the hegemony of the political order
without any expansion of real political control by the mass of the population
over politics.

(Gramsci, quoted in J Kelsey, 1993: 324).

The Maori political movement for self-determination confronted the state as it continued to upset the unstable equilibrium of the Pakeha-Maori order through Maoritanga articulation⁵ of ethnicity and confrontation of the dominant European ideology of 'one, New Zealand' and racial integration⁶ and, in doing so, demand reform of state policies and institutions. In turn, a change occurred in the 'rules of the game', and a new political terrain opened up.

⁵ [Maori] were not seeking to establish a new movement in an historical vacuum. Their assertion of Maori sovereignty was grounded in a strong history of struggle (Kelsey, 1993: 233).

⁶ *The Puao-te-Ata-tu (Day Break)*: Report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori Perspective For the Department of Social Welfare, 1986, highlighted the notion of cultural competence in the training of social workers. A paper presented at the 1997 Learned Societies Conference of the Canadian Association of Schools of Social Work, Newfoundland, entitled *Maori Self-determination in the Education and Training of Social Workers*, presented by Cairns, Fulcher, Kereopa, NiaNia and Tait-Rolleston focused on cultural racism in social work education.

Wilson (1995: 2) commented that it was Maori who had been expressing dissatisfaction with the system of Maori or separate political representation introduced in 1867.⁷ This dissatisfaction centred not only on grievances relating to the wrongful confiscation of lands and other assets, but also on the more fundamental failure of the Crown to recognise the right of Maori to control their own affairs. From the beginning of European penetration of New Zealand, its inhabitants were described as 'races' and as separate 'cultures'. Racialisation of the origins of different groups and individuals who comprise the population was based on Victorian and imperial ideas that have sustained and maintained the European-dominated pattern of power relations. From the 1980s state hegemony sought to blur the separateness of cultures but Maori were becoming increasingly engaged in decolonisation and asserting their ethnicity, 'conscientized' and politicised through the Government's recognition of its Treaty obligations. Although there was considerable variation amongst Maori in terms of their participation, in view of these developments, they had a collective vision of themselves as tangata whenua ('people of the land') with a legitimate claim on resources guaranteed by the Treaty.

By the late 1830s expanding frontiers of European trade and settlement and land purchases for planned settlements and speculation were extensive. Lawlessness and disagreement between Maori and the new settlers grew. Pakeha soon attempted to impose some order over the diffuse Maori authorities by encouraging the United Tribes of New Zealand to sign a Declaration of Independence. However, the United Tribes had little practical impact. Despite the spread of literacy, Christianity, trade and agriculture, and the attempts of the missionaries and the British resident James Busby to recognise

⁷ Refer to Mason Durie, *Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Self Determination*, (1998: 96-98).

the sovereign power of the chiefs, culminating in the Declaration of Independence⁸ through a Confederation of United Tribes in 1835, no government was established and no laws were enacted.

The Declaration of Independence did little to keep the peace to provide a base for orderly settlement and civil order. British attempts to curb the lawlessness of their own subjects and what they regarded as infringements of the laws of humanity by occasional intervention of naval vessels, Governors, the Supreme Court of New South Wales, local missionaries and Busby made little difference. Pressures from 'men on the spot' and humanitarian concern overcame the British Government's preference for an empire of free trade rather than Crown colonies. From about 1837 its reluctance to intervene politically soon dictated that a Crown colony should be created with the power to manage settlement. Orange observed (1987: 31):

No longer were they considering a Maori New Zealand in which a place had to be found for British intruders, but a settler New Zealand in which a place had to be found for the Maori.

William Hobson was appointed in 1839 to negotiate with Maori chiefs for those parts of New Zealand where British subjects and interests were located but once the New Zealand Company scheme for planned colonisation was underway this was extended to the whole country. Hobson was sworn in as Lieutenant-Governor in Sydney. The instructions issued by the Marquis of Normanby to Captain Hobson on 14 August 1839 stated that:

⁸ The Article of Confederation was rendered as "Ko te kingitanga, ko te mana I te whenua o to whakameninga on Nui Tireni ka meatia nei kei nga tino rangitira anake I to matou huihuinga" R. Walker (1984: 263) explained that "The kingship and sovereignty of the land of the confederation of New Zealand shall reside exclusively with the chiefs of our assembly." This reveals a close association between kingitanga 'kinship' and mana 'sovereignty over land', rangitiratanga over land is inseparable from mana.

...we acknowledge New Zealand as a sovereign and independent state, so far at least as it is possible to make that acknowledgement in favour of a people composed of numerous, dispersed, and petty tribes, who possess few political relations to each other, and are incompetent to act, or even to deliberate, in concert...The Queen, in common with Her Majesty's immediate predecessor, disclaims, for herself and for her subjects, every pretention to seize on the islands of New Zealand, or to govern them as a part of the dominion of Great Britain, unless the free and intelligent consent of the natives, expressed according to their established usages, shall be first obtained.

(GBPP, 1840; Vol. 33 pp. 627-8).

Captain Hobson arrived in the Bay of Islands on 29 January 1840 and began Treaty negotiations with northern chiefs of the Confederation and independent chiefs at Waitangi on 5 February in accordance with his instructions to deal fairly with Maori and to protect their interests. Busby had helped draft the Treaty and, the missionary, Henry Williams and his son, Edward translated the English text into Maori. After it had been read and explained, debated and slightly amended it was signed by Hobson and 43 chiefs on 6 February 1840. The Treaty signing was extended to the Hokianga on 12 February and to other parts of the country from March to September (ibid, 1987: 60) increasing the tribal signatories by about 500. All but 32 at Waikato Heads were with the Maori text. The parties were Queen Victoria on the one hand and the Rangatira of the Confederation on the other, established by the *Declaration of Confederation and Independence 1835* as well as independent rangatira (chiefs) who did not belong to the Confederation.

The preamble to the Maori text translated by I.H. Kawharu, recited the desire and concern of the Queen to protect the chiefs and sub-tribes and preserve to them their

chieftanship and their land, and also her desire to establish government in New Zealand for the welfare and peaceful existence of both Maori and British settlers.

The Royal Commission on Social Policy in its discussion booklet *The Treaty of Waitangi and Social Policy 1987* pointed out that the two texts of the Treaty:

... need to be considered together to gain a broad understanding of the Treaty and its principles. This, in fact, is the approach the Waitangi Tribunal is required to take.⁹

(Royal Commission, 1987: 4)

By Section 5 (2) of the *Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975*, the Waitangi Tribunal in exercising any of its functions is required to take into account the two texts of the Treaty set out in the First Schedule to the Act and for purposes of this Act shall have exclusive authority to authorise the meaning and effect of the Treaty (Government, 1989:3).

⁹ *The Treaty of Waitangi 1840* is made up of three articles. In Article One of the English text Maori ceded their sovereignty, authority and control to the Queen. The Maori version does not use the nearest Maori equivalent to sovereignty, that is, mana, but kawanatanga (governorship) an improvised word used regularly by missionaries. In providing for the exercise of the powers of government ... it may have conveyed something less than an absolute transfer of authority (Royal Commission, 1987:4). Durie (1998) said that 'kawanatanga' or governance has a lesser meaning than its 'weighty English equivalent' and that ... its meaning to Maori would have depended on their connecting it with some aspect of their own experience – experience which in relation to a central type of government was limited to the few who had ventured overseas (M.Durie, 1998: 2).

Article Two of the English text guaranteed ... the full, extensive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries and other properties to Maori. Professor H. Kawharu's translation of the Maori version stated that Maori were to be given the protection of the Queen in the ...unqualified exercise of their chieftainship (tino rangatiratanga) over their lands, villages and all their treasures (taonga).

Debate has centred on the concepts of tino rangatiratanga in that it is not synonymous with unqualified 'possession' and 'taonga', and the meaning each of these concepts would have conveyed in 1840. The Waitangi Tribunal's interpretations of language combined with its finding that to regard language as a treasure (taonga) gives substance to the notion that 'taonga' refers to social, spiritual and cultural as well as material, physical possessions.

Article Three is less contentious although there is no uniform agreement on the extent of the Queen's protection to all the ordinary people of New Zealand. D. Williams (1989:78) observed that it is only in relatively recent times that the legal system has finally come to accept ...accurately the terms of the Tiriti signed by over 500 rangatira in 1840. However, now that both the Maori and English texts are statutorily recognised, judges, for example Cook and Richardson, and lawyers try to understand the differences between them The enduring problem is that neither text is a literal or exact translation of the other.

According to Professor Ranginui Walker (1984: 43):

The Treaty purported to convey the sovereignty of the Maori people to Queen Victoria, but because of mistranslation it is not a legally convincing document. The first clause of the Treaty by which the chiefs surrendered their sovereignty to the Crown was deceptively phrased. The Maori word for sovereignty is mana. The word kawanatanga (governance) was substituted for mana, so the chiefs were asked to cede their kawanatanga, an unknown concept of governance, of their lands to the Crown. It is unlikely the chiefs would have signed at all had the word mana been used to signify sovereignty.

In signing the Treaty the chiefs were not knowingly and willingly relinquishing their mana and rangatiratanga over whenua, kainga and taonga. Mana whenua (control of the land) continued after land was sold as expressed in *Te Roroa Report 1992*. They did not believe that they were granting mana whenua, or control of the land, to settlers. The colonial administrators, on the other hand, assumed that the chiefs had ceded sovereignty to the Queen. In Professor Brookfield's (1999: 114) view to make such a cession would have been beyond their powers.

Rangatira mana was not only his honour and prestige but also his rangitiratanga (chiefly power and authority):

...both Maori autonomy and property rights suffered in the Crown's revolutionary seizure of a power greater than that ceded by the Treaty.

(ibid 1999: 171)

McHugh (1989) observed that the Maori version of the Treaty of Waitangi buttressed Maori claims to rangatiratanga under the sovereignty of the Crown. He acknowledged the Treaty was seen by Maori not as the source of rangatiratanga so

much as an express recognition by the Crown of the incorporation of rangatiratanga into the fabric of New Zealand society:¹⁰

Rangatiratanga, the tribal basis of Maori society, arises from Maori customary law... [It] is not a consequence of Pakeha permission or acquiescence, but an inherent attribute of Maori society.

(McHugh, 1989: 25)

There is then some local evidence to suggest that the British Government had resolved both in public and in private to treat the native chiefs of the tribes of New Zealand as sovereign. McHugh, (1989: 123) stated, that the property rights of inhabitants were not *ipso facto* affected by a change of sovereignty on cession, was a standard doctrine of international law at the time. Throughout the 1830s the Crown consistently refused to establish 'an imperium' over British subjects, much less the Maori inhabitants of New Zealand without formal tribal permission. Such evidence appears to indicate a clear British intention to enter formally into an effectual Treaty of cession:

Maori presumably acted in reliance on this recognition of their sovereignty in entering into the Treaty and accepting the promises made therein...

(ibid, 1989: 123).

Kingsbury (1989:122) drew attention to the 'Treaty-making' by the British and French with rulers of indigenous people in areas of where they were expanding trade

¹⁰ McHugh (1989) discussed the characteristics of tribal sovereignty under British constitutional theory and law. Legal sovereignty, he states, is the power to make and enforce commands. The Crown's title to its territory is not shared with anyone. This means that rangatiratanga cannot be a form of legal sovereignty apart from that of the Crown. It is suggested that the Treaty of Waitangi is a compact ceding the legal sovereignty of the tribes over New Zealand but leaving them with their own political sovereignty. This position is implicit in the recognition of rangatiratanga in the Maori version of the Treaty and the guarantee of the tribes' undisturbed use of their lands, forests, fisheries and 'other prized things'... The contract was not an absolute cession but one which established limitation upon the sovereignty of the Crown, although by the theory of the British constitution these limitations could only be non-legal in character... political sovereignty for example at the community level (McHugh, 1989: 42).

and influence in the 1830s and 1840s and needed a trader's pax. Such treaties varied greatly. In most cases they were treated as documents of international significance and were officially published.

The New Zealand Supreme Court in the case of *The Queen v Symond (1847)*, a judgement given by the Chief Justice, Sir William Martin declared that the Treaty was valid and binding. Any doubt about the validity and force of the Treaty at this time appeared to be settled (Temm, 1990:19)¹¹. However, a series of Native Land Acts, namely the Acts of 1862 and 1865 gave the Native Land Court¹² the mandate to transfer or convert customary titles to individual alienable titles. Crown policy in the 1860s was based on political expediency. Rangatiratanga was undermined through the destruction of tribal 'communism' and the individualisation of land titles. The object of the Land Acts was peaceful amalgamation/assimilation. During the nineteenth century as the Crown actively promoted policies incorporating an amalgamation of races, it was consistently in breach of the guarantees of the Treaty of Waitangi. That policy was inconsistent with the concept of 'active protection' of rangatiratanga over land, a standard set by contemporary Treaty jurisprudence (D. Williams, 1999:88). Land alienations from Maori to the Crown and to settlers at this time

...was viewed by ministers and officials of the Crown, and by judges themselves, as a successful and intended outcome of the Land Court's operations. (ibid, 1999:3).

¹¹ Paul Temm Q.C. Senior Queen's Counsel in New Zealand was a member of the Waitangi Tribunal from 1982-1985.

¹² Te Kooti tango whenua, (the land-taking Court) was a term first recorded in 1867: "...not by dissatisfied Maori, but by a Crown agent Biggs anxious to encourage 'voluntary cessions' of substantial blocks of land..." (D.Williams, 1999: 1).

The *New Zealand Settlements Act 1863* allowed land to be confiscated from those Maori who resisted colonisation, although in practice, even iwi supportive of settlers lost land through confiscation. Chief Judge Fenton, appointed at this time, was committed to destroying communal or customary title. The *Native Lands Act* was to:

...destroy, if it were possible, the principle of communism which ran through the whole of their institutions.

(Native Lands Act, 1862)

'Legal imperialism' (Kelsey, 1993: 289) was replaced by armed conflict and land wars were fought between the 1860s and the 1890s. Gradually Maori mana was being undermined by the ongoing loss of land.¹³ In 1877 in the case of *Wi Parata v The Bishop of Wellington*, Chief Justice Prendergast ruled the Treaty was 'a simple nullity'. By the 1870s Pakeha settlers were demographically dominant, outnumbering Maori six to one. The demand for land became more vociferous and subsequently the issue of property rights grew. Prendergast based his judgement on international law instead of following well established colonial law which governed the legal relationship between the Crown and its native subjects (Temm, 1990:24).¹⁴ In Temm's view international law had no application to the matter. He asserted that if the Treaty had been honoured there would have been no Land Wars and Maori economic development would have continued to

¹³ The Crown today has acknowledged that raupatu (the confiscation of land) used within the provisions of the *New Zealand Settlements Act 1863*, to confiscate land from Maori labelled as rebels, was an injustice and in breach of the Treaty of Waitangi. However, as D. Williams has pointed out: "...it is not at all obvious then that 'legislative raupatu' under the *New Zealand Settlements Act 1863* was any more or any less serious a breach of the Treaty of Waitangi than the 'judicial raupatu' ...of the Native Land Court laws, policies and practices" (D.Williams, 1993: 3). The important issue is that major Treaty-breach injustices have been perpetrated under the *Native Lands Acts* as well as the *New Zealand Settlements Act*.

¹⁴ Fredericka Hackshaw, Nineteenth Century Notions of Aboriginal Title and their Influence on the Interpretation of the Treaty of Waitangi in *Waitangi: Maori + Pakeha Perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi* edited by I. H. Kawharu, 1989 pp. 92-120, discusses in detail the prevailing understanding of aboriginal title by New Zealand judges in the nineteenth century.

advance as did the country's economy. More importantly Maori representation would have been numerically significant:

The franchise in New Zealand was based at first on property as it was in England...with this property-owning requirement, the first Parliament could and should have included those British subjects who owned land in New Zealand, which would have meant a significant Maori representation'

(Temm, 1990: 28).

In the 1850s Maori nationalism emerged with a Maori unity movement called Kotahitanga that was borne out of a series of inter-tribal meetings to discuss land sales and the encroachment of Pakeha settlement. Like the Kingitanga movement that began in the late 1840s it was a symbol of Maori unity and nationalism. Professor R. Walker (1987: 108) sees these movements as Maori expressions of *mana motuhake*, which means the right within [the] overall structure for Maori to control their own land, resources and cultural destiny.

Aside from the four Parliamentary seats for Maori,¹⁵ and the emergence of the Ratana movement (Ratana sought to have the Treaty legally recognised) there was limited effective national representation among Maori until 1951. In this year Dame

¹⁵ Separate Maori seats were established by the *Maori Representation Act 1867* giving the Maori roll four seats in a Parliament of 70 seats. This ensured Maori had no effective power in the political system: "...the development of mass democracy was partially curtailed or delayed for the Maori via the allocation of four seats...these four seats have largely been ineffectual in protecting Maori interests. This is not a reflection on those Maori elected, but an acknowledgement that they have always been outnumbered" (Spoonley, 1988/90: 83). Ongoing frustration with the political system led to M Rata, Labour Government Minister resigning to form the Mana Motuhake Party in 1979. The Land March, Bastion Point and Raglan Land protests set the stage for Rata's withdrawal and the revival of *mana motuhake* (R. Walker, 1987: 110). Walker said that Rata's resignation was evidence of what one man could accomplish in Parliament. Briefly, after Rata's resignation, Maori rights held centre stage simply because he had withdrawn as a mark of protest against the cavalier treatment of Maori needs within his own party (Walker, 1987: 111).

The Labour-Maori alliance of 1935 that was formed between Ratana and the Labour Party was based on the promise of Labour attending to Maori needs. The alliance appeared to be working in 1935 with the introduction of family benefits, social security and pensions. However, it took until 1972 before a Labour Government overtly supported the alliance again with the appointment of Matiu Rata as Minister of Maori Affairs (Walker, 1987: 109).

Whina Cooper helped establish and became the inaugural president of the Maori Women's Welfare League. According to Sharp (1997: 55), the League was until the 1960s the leading voice of Maoridom. The *Maori Welfare Act 1962* established the New Zealand Maori Council¹⁶ with representatives from geographical districts consistent with those of the Maori Land Court. This arrangement, however, did not provide proportional representation on a population basis for Maori. The Council has been recognised by the Crown but not always or universally by Maori.

The National Maori Congress (later simplified to the Maori Congress) was formed in 1990 by Maori as an iwi-based alternative to the New Zealand Maori Council. Its members initially included 62 iwi and a significant number of urban iwi affiliates and other iwi groups. Sharp (1997: 90) commented that subsequently, many of the members left, choosing to focus on iwi interests and not national maori concerns. Less than half of the original members remained in 1996.

In the 1960s and into the 1970s numerous pressure groups and protest movements emerged including Nga Tamatoa 1970, a radical group that imported the language and strategies of the international civil rights and feminist movements into New Zealand. They were associated with grievances over the confiscation of land and growing concern over continuing losses through compulsory acquisition under the *Public Works Act*, suppression of culture, the lack of recognition of the Treaty and the denial of economic and political self determination. The Land March 1975, organised by Te Matakite o Aotearoa, led by Whina Cooper marched from Te Hapua in the north to the steps of Parliament in Wellington carrying a message: *Not One Acre More of Maori*

¹⁶ The Maori Council, a state-initiated consultative body, was used to filter and direct advice to the State from Maori organisations and the Maori community. This action raised questions about the Maori Council's effectiveness in either representing the views of Maori or in influencing State policy.

Land, to publicise the non-action of the successive governments on unresolved land issues.

A century and a half of colonisation had produced divisions and confusions within Maori society but sufficient traditional political structures and ideology had survived to provide a basis for Maori political organisation operating outside the colonial state.

(Kelsey, 1993: 223).

The Labour Government, then in power and in which Matiu Rata and Whetu Tirikatene-Sullivan were Cabinet Ministers, was moderately sympathetic towards Maori, although the march was concerned with highlighting Maori concern toward the Government's unwillingness to do very much about resolving major land issues. It passed into law the *Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975* creating the Waitangi Tribunal with the Chief Judge of the Maori Land Court as chairperson and the authority to enquire into and make findings on claims from any Maori or group of Maori that they had been prejudicially affected by any action or omission by the Crown. The first Tribunal was established in 1977 and the Chief Judge of the Maori Land Court, Judge Gillanders-Scott became chairperson. The Tribunal was authorised to make recommendations to the Government but it received no power to implement its recommendations and inquiries could not be made of Crown actions pre-1975. From 1975 to 1981, the Tribunal only heard four small claims, two of which were withdrawn. In 1981 Edward Taihakurei Durie became the first Maori to be Chief Judge of the Land Court and chairperson of the Waitangi Tribunal. The Tribunal now opted for marae hearings, conducted according to Tribunal protocol, that respected the local kawa and put the claimants more at ease. A number of claims were researched, heard and reported, including pollution of waters and

fisheries through the discharge of sewage and other effluents, compulsory acquisition of land, classification of archeological sites, long standing grievances over land purchases and confiscation and the decline of te reo Maori. Demonstrations and marches continued with a focus on Waitangi Day celebrations a poor substitute for substantive action on Maori grievances (R.Walker, 1989: 276).

In February 1984, Maori joined forces as the Hikoi ki Waitangi (the Waitangi march) and descended on the Waitangi Treaty celebrations demanding that the Treaty of Waitangi be honoured in terms of mana motuhake, tino rangatiratanga¹⁷, maori sovereignty. No matter how it was expressed, the message was the same:

The Treaty had recognised, and the Crown had promised to protect the political, conomic and cultural self-determination of Maori within their own land.

(Kelsey, 1993: 233)

The goal of most protesters was Maori control of a Maori economy built upon Maori structures, values and priorities, using available Pakeha technology and knowledge to Maori advantage (Kelsey 1990: 248).

After the election of the Labour Government in 1984, the *Treaty of Waitangi Act* 1975 was amended to extend the Tribunal's jurisdiction to receive claims by any Maori that has been prejudicially affected by any actions or acts of omission on behalf of the Crown at any time on or after 6 February 1840:

¹⁷ 'Tino rangatiratanga' was widely used to describe Maori sovereignty as provided for in the *Treaty of Waitangi 1840*. It expressed the desire of Maori to gain control over economic and social resources that would contribute to a form of Maori independence within the nation-state of New Zealand.

Claims could be historic...Claims could also be contemporary or conceptual – including interests in rivers, lakes, minerals and geothermal resources.

(Bourassa and Strong, 1998: 30)

At last Maori had a 'forum' in which to seek recognition of grievances that had arisen as a consequence of a failure of the Crown to honour the terms of the Treaty:

The retrospective jurisdiction granted to the Tribunal by the *Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act 1985* in effect forbids the Government from relying on the failures of Crown policies in the past to take account of Treaty relationships as a reason for not providing redress in the present for proven Treaty breaches...if those policies were inconsistent with the guarantees solemnly made to Maori hapu and rangatira in 1840 as the prelude to colonisation, they must be judged now as breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi.

(D. Williams, 1999: 8)

The Tribunal, however, still only had the power to recommend how grievances could be addressed. The *State Owned Enterprises Act 1986* was passed to provide a framework for corporatisation and privatisation of Crown entities. This Act was amended in 1988 following the New Zealand Maori Council's application to the High Court in 1987 for the judicial review of the Crown's intentions to transfer assets that could be subject to Treaty claim.¹⁸ The *Treaty of Waitangi (State Enterprises) Act 1988* provided safeguards to protect the interests of Maori claimants including the power of the Waitangi Tribunal to

¹⁸ The Government lost to the New Zealand Maori Council when the Courts found in favour of them in relation to the *State Owned Enterprise Act 1986*. This Act provided that the Crown was not to act 'in a manner that is inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.' In 1987 the Government also lost to several tribes in connection with the fisheries quota management system.

make 'binding recommendations'¹⁹ and was not held to any fiscal constraints or benchmarks established by previous cases.

Remedies notwithstanding, Maori have continuously argued that the Crown has not honoured its side of the Treaty. Such a view can be evidenced in numerous findings in the Waitangi Tribunal reports. Wilson (1995: 8) has observed that one specific example was the absence from legislation relating to New Zealand's constitutional arrangements:

In particular, legal recognition of the Treaty's constitutional importance might have given Maori greater access to political power, and the ability to assert a cultural autonomy.²⁰

This situation continues to have significant implications.

If the Treaty is to be a document that created enforceable rights, and not merely an agreement expressing the aspirations and good intentions of two people, it must be understood as having created a contract between the parties...If a contractual approach to the Treaty is to be meaningful, however, its enforceable status in the law must be formally recognised. Thus far, there is no such legal recognition of the over riding importance of the obligation under the Treaty to all situations.

(ibid 1995:5)

¹⁹ D. Williams (1999) has suggested that 'binding recommendations' under this Act (1988) and *The Crown Forest Assets Act 1989* ensure a 'land for land' partial restitution for past grievances as well as an economic endowment for the future of a hapu (ibid, 1999: 11). Maori agreed to the system of binding recommendations as a compromise.

²⁰ New Zealand's constitutional arrangements are described in statutes, conventions and customary practices (Wilson 1995: 7). It has a long history dating back to the early colonial years when colonists struggled to gain control of the government of New Zealand from Britain. *The New Zealand Constitution Acts of 1846, 1852*, and the *Amendment Act 1857* document the legal expression of this struggle. Collectively these Acts began the process of legal imperialism. The control of native affairs was transferred from the Governor to the colonial government from 1856 to 1870 (Wilson 1995: 8).

The radical new Treaty policy²¹ contained within the *Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act 1985*, the *State Owned Enterprises Act 1986* and the *Treaty of Waitangi (State Enterprises) Act 1988* was to create tension with the radical liberal programme that became known as Rogernomics. The Labour Government assumed a liberal market position in many of its areas of responsibility and was influenced heavily by Treasury briefing papers written after 1987. However, political imperatives required modifications to such a position.

First New Zealanders demanded that their governments attempt to reduce social inequality...Second, the government has made a commitment to honouring the Treaty of Waitangi as a constitutional foundation...Treasury's individualist philosophy, then, as modified by the imperatives of governing, regulating, and monitoring the population.

(Middleton, 1990: 85)

Within the liberal market position, Labour committed itself to a conservative democratic Treaty model that Kelsey (1993: 234) noted:

...recognised co-existing groups within a single polity; the need to deal with past grievances before progress could be made; and delivering moral atonement and economic wellbeing through compensation while reducing dependency .

The dilemma arose when Government opted for this theoretical model in preference to the liberal democratic model; the model a Government committed to Rogernomics would have been expected to pursue. As Kelsey (1993: 234) said:

²¹ Kelsey (1993: 234) discussed Treasury's attempt to address the philosophical implications of Maori policy in the Treasury's paper titled *Models of Majority-Minority Relations*, January 1986 based on American and Canadian experiences.

The liberal democratic model espoused individual rights; social, economic and legal equality; the absence of positive or negative discrimination; and re-orienting attention from historical differences and grievances to 'the necessary process of coming to terms with the predominant culture'.

Liberal equality is premised on the claim that all people/individuals begin from the same starting point. It is thus very different from socialist conceptions of equal outcomes. Society, in the liberal, democratic, meritocratic view merely supplies the conditions within which people, differentially endowed, can make their mark. The outcome is fair because all individuals are assumed to have begun with equal chance and equal opportunity; all were assumed to be free initially and to have the same rights. Historically, political discourse in New Zealand has been infused with liberal thought as well as by social democratic politics. The contradiction in the late 1980s lay in the fact that the Labour Government should have chosen such commitment to Rogernomics²². Its decision to introduce the conservative democratic theoretical model in preference to the liberal democratic theoretical Treaty model was best suited to meeting increasingly strident Maori demands for political and economic self-determination (Kelsey, 1993: 235).

By the mid-1980s 'biculturalism' between Maori and Pakeha was a predominant theme. Concepts such as 'partnership' were and have continued to be used widely within state agencies, supportive Pakeha institutions and community groups. The central desire of Labour to be 'bicultural' was reflected in the Government's actions between 1984 and 1990. This desire was extended to Maori through *The Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act 1985* which opened the way for hearing and reporting on major historic

²² C. Offe (1984) identified and then argued that the two simultaneous and contradictory roles of the modern capitalist state, namely, support for the process of capital accumulation and the maintenance of electoral support must i) work to value labour through education and training and, ii) ameliorate through environmental and welfare policies the social costs attached to private accumulation of wealth.

claims that Maori had not knowingly and willingly relinquished their mana and rangatiratanga over customary land and fishing, language rights and other taonga including wahi tapu. These concessions provided the impetus from within to reclaim te reo Maori and maoritanga and renew attempts to assert Maori autonomy. Their confidence grew and significant gains were made, particularly in influencing Government policies. Government departments were challenged to deliver relevant and appropriate bicultural services, specifically in the provision of social services including health, education and welfare.

The Department of Social Welfare commissioned a report *Puao-Te-Ata-Tu* (Daybreak) in 1986 that introduced the concept of institutional racism and described the way in which the department was failing to serve Maori clients. *The Royal Commission on Social Policy Report 1988* expressed similar sentiments and similarly attributed Maori disadvantage to land alienation and the effects of colonisation. As M. King revealed in *Being Pakeha* (1985) the more radical Maori and Pakeha activists developed a form of politics based on the recognition of Maori claims to sovereignty and institutional racism and a revisionist appreciation of New Zealand colonial history. This form of ethnic politicisation was premised on Treaty obligations of partnership and the need to redistribute power and resources was growing increasingly inclusive.

After the high peak of the 1990 sesquicentennial celebrations the Government and general public seemed less sympathetic although government departments were responsive to the new policy of consultation with Maori and devolving resources. Maori were finding that an inadequate resource base was frustrating their ability to deliver on tino rangatiratanga. Public concern about State expenditure on Treaty settlements and Maori claims was growing. This concern was reflected in two ways: in the Government's move away from targeted policies and its reluctance to act on Tribunal recommendations

and iwi advice. For example, with regards to issues concerning the use of national resources and the conservation estate:

...many of the important policies and legal precedents set during the 1980s were deflected in the 1990s for narrowly defined economic considerations.

(Larner and Spoonley, 1995: 51)

Maori ethnic politicisation, however, continued to present an effective counter to monetarist policies of the 'free market' (Kelsey, 1993). This was particularly highlighted by their marginalisation brought about by high unemployment rates in a changing and shrinking labour market. Maori autonomy in post colonial times within the nation-state was increasingly seen as the most effective way of protecting both economic and cultural resources, hence the redefinition of the relationship between Maori and Pakeha as that of 'two people within one nation' (Walker, 1990: 10).

The political imperative of honouring the Treaty of Waitangi within the functionalist framework of equity (Middleton, 1990: 85) was to be addressed through targeting additional resources to disadvantaged groups. The ideology of equality was explicitly rejected as outdated.

The Labour Government 1989 declared five principles on which it would respond to Treaty of Waitangi issues. Having earlier been prepared to act on behalf of Maori interests, it had now needed to defend itself against Maori claims and to define its own Treaty stance (M. Durie, 1994). Treaty principles had been and would continue to be identified and discussed by the Waitangi Tribunal in most of its reports. Several important Court of Appeal decisions continued to stress the Crown's Treaty obligations, albeit for different purposes.

The *Royal Commission on Social Policy Report 1988*, recommended principles of particular importance to social policies, namely partnership, participation and active protection. However, M Durie (1994: 91) noted that the Government's five principles (1989) for Crown action on the Treaty of Waitangi did not include partnership. These principles were derived unilaterally by the Government from the Treaty although were not actually Treaty principles. The actual principles contained in the Treaty of Waitangi are discussed in the majority of the reports produced by the Waitangi Tribunal.²³ The focus of the Government's five principles was to guide government departments in their preparation and handling of negotiations with Maori.

Principle One: The Principle of Government; The Kawanatanga Principle

- The Government has the right to govern and to make laws. This principle states the need for balance between the powers to make laws and to govern granted to the Crown under Article One of the Treaty and the obligations to protect the rights of Maori promised under Article Two.

Principle Two: The Principle of Self-management; The Rangatiratanga Principle

- The iwi have the right to organise as iwi and, under the law, to control their resources as their own.

Principle Three: The Principle of Equality: All New Zealanders are equal before the law.

- Under Article Three of the Treaty all citizens of New Zealand are equal before the law. This includes an assurance of social equality between Maori and other citizens.

²³ The Waitangi Tribunal report titled, *Te Whanganui-a-Orotu Report* (Wai 55) 1995, pp. 201-203, summarises the principles of the Tribunal.

Principle Four: The Principle of Reasonable Cooperation

- Both the Government and iwi are obliged to accord each other reasonable cooperation on major issues of common concern. This means that both parties must exercise good faith and show common sense with the goal of achieving partnership.

Principle Five: The Principle of Redress

- The Government is responsible for providing an effective process for the resolution of grievances in the expectation that reconciliation can occur. This process may involve the Waitangi Tribunal, the Courts and direct negotiation.

(Government, 1989)

Through application of the principles, the Government, M. Durie (1994: 91) observed, was bypassing Maori, the Waitangi Tribunal and the Courts in favour of a system that was under its own control. The rangatiratanga principle was being presented in terms of management rather than mana.

Although opposed by the Maori Congress, the *Runanga Iwi Act 1990* sought to give legal recognition to iwi. The Government was seeking to establish corporations at the iwi level that could be social service providers as well as representing iwi at the national level.

Decentralisation had been identified by the Labour Government as a means of ensuring a degree of equity enabling the Government to target specific groups. It would give Maori a greater degree of ethnic autonomy. It involved the transfer of responsibility from state agencies to the client community. The community accepted the moral and financial responsibility for its members and administered the welfare of its own members.

This did not automatically mean that the State would transfer adequate resources or power to enable the community to deal with issues as they arose. Nevertheless, decentralisation was an attractive move to the Maori community. Iwi could provide, as Spoonley (1998: 25) noted, a means of reasserting identity and responsibility by providing a viable base for a variety of political, social and economic activities.

The Act was repealed later in 1990 after a National Government took office and Winston Peters became Minister of Maori Affairs. M. Durie (1998: 225) observed:

Ironically, by 1995 Peters was highly critical of government's Treaty proposals and made much of the need for clear mandates before the Crown entered into any discussions with tribal authorities. The *Runanga Iwi Act* was intended to provide just that. With its repeal, a mandating process was lost that might have circumvented many of the difficulties associated with the negotiations between Maori and the Crown.

A decade earlier in 1988, Dr Pat Hohepa had said that the first requirement of equality was for Maori to have the opportunity to influence policy suggestions in a style and context that was Maori. Durie was building a case for the need for a national Maori body to formulate Maori policy together with the Government:

At present, the exercise of tino rangatiratanga [self determination] at national and international levels is compromised because there is no Maori body politic. In its absence, policy making for and on behalf of Maori is assumed by the Crown with irregular Maori input and inevitably, increasing Maori discontent. Even policy decisions about Maori resources rest with the State, not Maori.

(M.Durie, 1998: 237)

Durie also commented on the difficulties and issues that arise from the absence of a firm 'supra-hapu' structure for decision making. It was difficult for Maori to reach agreement on who was 'mandated to file and negotiate' Treaty claims with government and to identify who would manage any assets received in settlement of those claims. Moreover,

...hapu-based society excludes non-affiliated urban Maori. This has become a major issue with over 80 percent of Maori now living in urban areas.

(M.Durie, 1998: 92)

By the year 2000 Government was creating structures intended to facilitate iwi provision of a range of services to Maori. Amongst a proportion of Maori there was a healthy cynicism toward this initiative, a cynicism well-founded on past experiences of State-Maori arrangements. The Government's 'capability building', a concept aimed at reducing the parity gap between Maori and Pakeha, was being queried. Labour Department analyst Simon Chapple argued in an article titled *Maori – Socio-economic Disparity* and reported in the Timaru Herald (3 October 2000) that:

...broad-based policies which target the Maori population...risk being captured by the considerable number of Maori who already have jobs, skills, high incomes and good prospects.

He observed that Maoridom is not the tight-knit, homogeneous, ethnic group in need of Government assistance that some politicians would have us believe. Other commentators too have questioned whether the initiative was essentially for government agencies to upskill themselves in respect to their interactions and relationships with the Maori community or an initiative to be put into place at the community level in recognition of the need to upskill Maori.

Chapter Three

Herstory, a personal construct theory

This chapter has three sections that collectively give rise to the researcher's personal construct theory. The first section, How It Came To Be, discusses the researcher's background and identifies the environments that have influenced her. The second section, The Positioning Of The Researcher, expresses the cultural, social and personal relationships and issues the researcher experienced while undertaking the project. There is no analyse and discussion of the politics or internal conflicts of the researched community and thus no reference to the direct Maori voice. The narration traces the personal metamorphosis and empowerment experienced by the researcher while undertaking the research. The third section, Evolving Theory From The Research, reviews the national and international political and education theory and concepts that have influenced the researcher.

How It Came To Be

The personal reasons for including a chapter on 'herstory' in this thesis stand distinct from the aims and objectives of the project, yet both are interrelated. The reasons themselves are a mix of personal and professional interests, knowledge and experiences, social, cultural, economic and political. The interrelationships of the personal and professional have become intricately bound. This is primarily due to my constantly finding that a large part of both my research and teaching work has involved building relationships with people whose experience of the world is different from my own. Research and teaching have also facilitated connections between groups of people and even between individuals, whose experience of the world differed.

I have always found difficulty in creating boundaries to reading due to the extent and nature of my interdisciplinary interests. I have often reflected on what has been, for me, an interesting dilemma: why is it that my philosophical base has remained constant through several decades in spite of my personal and professional life being infinitely varied and happening across numerous disciplines.

The nature and significance of cultural identity has filled my consciousness over the past two decades, as have the complex dynamics of ethnicity, race, governance and sovereignty specifically as they apply to tangata whenua in this settler society of Aotearoa/New Zealand.¹

Paralleling this has been my growing interest in challenging or enriching ideas about community and place. What are communities? How do communities cohere and undergo change? The community is not uni-dimensional; its sources are varied and its values multiple. Selznick (1996:197) stated that the bonds of community are strongest when fashioned from strands of shared history and culture. Typically communities provide settings within which people grow and flourish and within which sub-groups are nourished and protected. Communities cohere on the basis of a framework of shared beliefs, interests and commitments that unite a set of varied groups and activities. Some are central, others peripheral, but all are connected by bonds that establish a common destiny, a personal identity, a sense of belonging and supportive structures and relationships.

We carry our sense of community with us wherever we go; it is a social as well as a geographic notion. We would expect to find it wherever we settle. The greater the number of pathways there are for participation in diverse ways and touching multiple interests, the richer is the experience of community. Thus

¹ I am using 'settler society' here to mean a society in which Europeans have settled permanently and where the descendants have been, and continue to be, politically dominant over an indigenous people. In New Zealand a heterogeneous society has developed in class, ethnic and racial terms. Many of the European population, including settlers and traders, arrived in New Zealand for permanent settlement and within a short time became the larger population. This dominant culture fashioned institutions based directly on those of the 'mother country', ie. Britain.

community is a comprehensive framework within which a common, multi-faceted life may be lived:

....stirred up by the energies of those who already belong, open to new members and fresh on the ethics of mutual help, reciprocity, and co-operation.

(Sanders,1996:45).

The concepts of reciprocity and mutuality are significant within the context of this research project. Community begins and is largely supported by experiences of interdependence. Mutuality contemplates continuing relationships and high stakes. A community will not prosper if it tries to be completely homogeneous in thought and action. There is unity in diversity. What ought to be prized in community is unity that preserves the integrity of persons, groups and institutions. Building inclusive communities brings together people from diverse backgrounds and social positions while simultaneously constructing a firm identity as:

...participants in a process based on respecting separate identities.

(Ristock and Pennell, 1996:18).

But this necessitates advocating a politics of difference to counter the tendency to suppress differences among ourselves, or to implicitly exclude people with whom we do not identify. The distinctive feature of community is the reconciliation of partial and general perspectives.

I first met the tangata whenua community who initiated this project when delivering education programmes in association with community training partners.

These programmes I designed to enhance training opportunities for post compulsory-aged secondary school students.

In November 1995 I was asked to conceptualise and develop a tertiary education and training institution. I remember thinking rather naively what a wonderful challenge. My endorsement to the community's management team was a genuinely enthusiastic response that immediately increased the confidence the community-based team had placed in my ability to facilitate their vision. I had no preconceived idea at this time about the extent of commitment that would be required; the long hours associated with being on-call twenty hours daily, the frustration created with under-funding, the loneliness and fear of not having a confidante with whom to discuss ideas, issues, and concerns and the reactions of colleagues and peers. Instead I was absolutely thrilled to be offered such an experience, that finally someone should recognise what to me is my most important value, a basic need to be challenged, and then to place such confidence in my ability to perform and produce.

As a research project it would provide me with the opportunity to illustrate the possibilities that I perceived to exist within current educational frameworks to fulfill Maori aspirations for the future of their people by the elimination of educational gaps between them and Pakeha. I believed that scope existed within the current educational structures to create opportunities for Maori themselves to address some of their aspirations. This was to become the grounded theory of the research.

My professional and personal experiences of education and training and with teaching and learning have been assets throughout the life of this project.

Collectively they were the starting point of the research; the material from which I developed initial hypotheses. I also believe that much teacher thinking is tacit, in that, 'know-how ' is gained through experience and is often not articulated. It is widely acknowledged that people know a great deal from their own past and present experiences, insights and hunches, that much of what we know is unspoken tacit knowledge (Hammersley, 1990; Ely, 1991).

My prime motivation was to make the research 'useful'. In terms of models of research utilisation I wanted to reflect the 'enlightment model' (Weiss, 1986), wherein the research would generate concepts and theoretical perspectives that diffuse through the policy process and shape the way people think about issues. My expressed intent was to end up with a collection of 'selectively retained retentatives' (Reason and Rowan, 1981) which could be used as a framework or device for others to apply to similar situations. Necessarily I use the Reason and Rowan descriptor 'tentative' for my research model until it is proved applicable by others in whole or in part in comparable situations.

It was not the establishment of the wananga per se that was the central goal of this research. Rather it was the development of an understanding of the pathways and the processes that communities may choose to exploit to establish their own educational training institutions.

To achieve my objectives it meant taking everything presently in place through recent educational reforms and applying these to the creation of an education and training institution to service a community group. Moreover it was an opportunity finally to counter the frustration I was feeling as a teacher in response to

under achievement and low academic attainment amongst Maori students. I realised from my understanding of the new legislation that it offered the options to advance Maori education. Teaching professionals who grumbled about the lack of resources, appeared to me to ignore the avenues that I felt existed and could be accessed without further resource input or 'cosmetic tinkering' with the established system.

From my observations and practical experiences in numerous roles within the education system I was well aware how moves made by Maori to restore their independence within all spheres of their life met with obstacles and barriers. Often Maori are not encouraged by the 'establishment' to just 'do it' nor given opportunity to gain the necessary skills 'to do it.'

My study-related activities frequently focused on educational discourse and the complex issues surrounding justice and equity, race and identity, representation and participation. These issues have heightened my awareness of the fact that none of them can be understood through the window of only one discursive tradition, particularly a positivist epistemology. Rather a multi-disciplinary phenomenological approach was needed in this research project drawing from contextual studies of culture and ecological systems², community governance and project management,

² See Yinger and Hendricks-Lee 'Working Knowledge in Teaching' in *Research On Teacher Thinking: Understanding Professional Development*, edited by Day, Calderhead and Denicolo (1993:100-123). Cultural systems that help to determine working knowledge were made evident during the 1960s and 1970s with the move to school "...the people of traditional, often nonliterate societies and the apparent lack of success of these efforts..." (ibid:103). 'Constructivist' is one term used to attempt to reflect these new conceptions. The role of ecological systems, wherein place (both the natural and artificial environment) is considered as much a participant in interaction as the practitioner and the 'collaborators' (clients, audience), stands in sharp contrast to the decontextualised assumptions of positivism wherein "...[t]hinking is seen in relation to and describable in terms of objective events and causal relationships" (ibid:101). See Buber (1958), Husserl (1965), Heidegger (1962) who have challenged western definitions of humanism based upon authority, dominance and rational agency. 'Mind' and 'being' extend beyond the person to include and enclose the world.

post colonialism, critical race theory and post-feminism. This would recognise that knowledge is inherent in systems including cultural, social, historical and personal as well as physical and material. A multi-disciplinary approach would also complement me as researcher.

For this research project I needed a methodology based on an epistemology that would consider knowledge to be socially constructed. I needed to start with the acknowledgement that the identity of the researcher matters:

If we can't do research in any other way than by using ourselves as the medium through which research is carried out, then we must fully explore this...

(Stanley and Wise, 1983:162).

The idea of 'self knowledge' (Hopkin,1985) refers to the individual internalisation of ideas that empower a person. 'Self knowledge' stems from moments of clarity and empowerment that occur when we understand a concept and see how it can be used in our personal or professional spheres. ³

The Positioning of the Researcher

I experienced little difficulty when creating the case study, that is, the establishment of a wananga because I was working on a stimulating project that I believed in and found challenging. More importantly, the project's direct practical application appealed to the pragmatist within me. The project objective for the

³ *Personal Knowledge* (1962) described how personal knowledge is mediated through subjective experience and subsequently Polyani, owned by the individual. Carr and Kemmis (1983) used the term 'praxis' which is practical, critically reflective action. They linked this term to action research. Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972) connected social action with educational emancipation.

researched community was clearly articulated. Their objective was to create an improvement in the lives of the people of the community and 'involved' others, through a raised awareness of learning for life supported by relevant ongoing training opportunities. It was more holistic, more encompassing than the mere creation of a wananga.

The appreciation of the world and concerns of others of another culture, involves the process of 'verstehen' or interpretive understanding that requires a prolonged period of time with regular and intimate involvement under a variety of diverse circumstances. According to M. Wax (1967) verstehen is a mode of enquiry leading to the perception of action as meaningful. Implicit in this notion is the claim that grasping others' meanings is not simply:

...an intellectual process but a deeper form of experiential learning.

(Emerson, 1983:15)

Field work then is not seen solely as a collection of 'facts' or the recorded observation of 'objective' events, but rather felt as a deeper holistic experience of learning about the lives, behaviours and thoughts of others (Salmon, 1976/1985; Emerson, 1983). Field research within another culture, as within one's own, necessitates gaining a sense of the meanings attributed to objects, events and procedures belonging to the social world of the community/society and the way it is organised. This is what makes field work potentially a deeply personal and transformative experience. Through the course of the project I came to recognise the different layers of cultural difference between my culture and that of the researched

community (Figure 2 page 58) that shaped and influenced the nature of the web of relationships (Figure 3 page 59).

The transformative experience fundamentally affected and changed my 'self'. One realisation which came to me early in the course of my research was how quickly you can fall out of fitting in anywhere:⁴ with teaching colleagues, family, peers, or with the community that formed the focus of the research. Such a realisation is quite daunting. It brings a certain amount of loneliness and a sense of isolation. I have learned to cope with racist attitudes and prejudices. Indeed, from time to time I have let them slip by, unable to challenge either for the sake of the company or because of the context. To some extent the response of friends manifested itself in a protective reaction; protective in terms of their knowledge of the enormous hours and the depth of commitment I have given to the project. This has left me with feelings of ambivalence towards them. Although these friends constituted an important source of support and distraction, their negative response to the situation introduced disturbing personal conflict. I often found that the subject of my research was a catalyst for discussion about indigenous demands on social welfare, indigenous land claims and indigenous violence in societal settings. Challenging personal prejudices within the context of my friends, peers and colleagues was upsetting and painful. Consequently, I kept secret many of the issues with which I was preoccupied.

It was important for me to understand such feelings evoked during this work. I needed to feel them as a source of strength not weakness. These 'barriers' were

⁴ Refer to D. Young's experiences during his writing of *Woven by Water* (1998). He expresses similar feelings.

	Maori greater emphasis given to:	Pakeha greater emphasis given to:
Work	work by relationships <i>kotahitanga</i>	work by the rules
Needs	recognise the group's needs <i>whanaungatanga</i>	focus on the needs of the individual
Feelings	relationship of feelings is expressive <i>aroha</i>	tendency to sublimate feelings
Authority	role authority carries over to all aspects of life including the personal <i>mana</i>	authority remains with the work role
Status	authority may be ascribed by birth <i>turangawaewae</i>	gained through actions or achievements
Perception of Nature	allow nature to take its course <i>kaitiaki</i>	try to control nature

Figure 2: Layers of Cultural Difference

As a result of working in a specific bicultural context for a number of years the researcher identified what were to her significant areas of cultural difference. Listed above are six layers of cultural difference between Maori and Pakeha that arose during the period of the research project. An interesting and thoughtful challenge to those working biculturally in New Zealand education and training is to compare what is to them the similarities and areas of significant difference and to identify characteristics of difference at a conscious level.

Figure 3: Web of Relationships

The gap bridged between the researcher and the researched community was multi-faceted in nature: social, cultural, perceptual and linguistic.

important to the process of the research because they were an aspect of the collection of the research data and the researcher was the instrument in this data collection. Reflection on practice and making explicit my choices was no easy matter.

My immersion in the field was such that the process of analysis felt as though it was proceeding on an unconscious level. This could have been attributable to the researcher's tacit knowledge. Personal explanation in both observation and interpretation could not be avoided in the recording of such a subjective experience. It proved to be a source of insight and understanding for both community participants and me. Had I been a detached observer or a participant in a more limited way, I would not have undergone such a personal transformation, nor would I have produced independent analyses. The 'relearning and resocialization' process of fieldwork (R. Wax, 1971:19) roused primal feelings of loneliness and frustration and sharp conflicts of conscience occurred.

My sustained teaching experience enhanced my awareness that often theory and practice could not be usefully connected because the gap between them was so large. This led me to approach theory through practice in preference to the more common approach of deduction going from theory to practice. Theory in the latter sense refers to a coherent set of assumptions purporting to explain and predict and thus serve as a guide to practice but this was too general to be useful for my purposes. As Schon (1987) has said, theories lie within all practitioners, not only within those who call themselves researchers. The participants in this project and the researched community introduced me to new perspectives I had not previously

considered, illustrating to me that:

Research is a dynamic process which is always conducted in relation to/with others.

(Colloy, 1989:20)

The importance of the social relationships that developed over five years of close contact between myself and the researched community participants cannot be ignored. The researched participants were the organising community of this case study and, similar to communities anywhere, this organisation was a social network from which radiated numerous social, political and psychological undercurrents. As a participatory research project in character, it was important to take into account the processes through which the research project would pass.⁵ Community meetings and various community events served to identify issues and concerns. Meetings were used to make sense of the information collected and to reflect on the progress of the project.

The participatory aspect had significant influence on the nature of the research role. The relationship between the participant researcher and the researched participants was to change with each stage of project achievement.

My primary role as consultant metamorphosed into several strands in the indigenous setting: consultant-researcher-practitioner-participant-employee-critical friend. On numerous occasions the multiple and multiplicity of roles involved assuming more than one role simultaneously and this produced particularly sharp conflicts of conscience. On one hand, as consultant and researcher, I was detached,

⁵ Participatory research is distinguished from orthodox research by its concentration on the processes of collaboration and dialogue that contribute to and develop community solidarity.

an 'outsider,' on the other, as practitioner-critical friend, I was emotionally involved with the demands for collectivity and governance within a Maori community. The day-to-day process of fieldwork became more problematic, more dependent on actively establishing working relations with particular people. This multipartite construction of my position offered me opportunities to 'use the tensions between the hyphens' (Ristock and Pennell, 1996: 38) to offer a particular viewpoint in the text of the research.

Organisational consulting has a collaborative problem-solving process at its core and assuming a consultancy role reflects certain political allegiances and locations for the consultant. In turn, the position of the consultant, in relation to the organisation, affects the data gathering techniques used and the eventual analysis.

I chose to be an insider-researcher, or more precisely practitioner-observer,⁶ to take advantage of the opportunity of assuming a membership role in a cross-cultural context. This enabled me to participate in the community's practices and discussions, to 'naturalistically' (Adler and Adler, 1987) experience the world. I interacted as a colleague, became a co-participant and a critical friend in a joint endeavour. This I believe created a higher level of trust and acceptance. Adler and Adler in a discussion of various fieldwork roles identified the 'complete-member-researcher' role (1987:67). They know, rather than know about, their area of study. If the researcher already fits into a particular community environment and is familiar with its social organisation, there is a certain level of 'in-built, face-level trust' between the researcher and the researched (Riemer, 1977: 474). Personal contact is

⁶ Although combining methodological approaches this research utilised participant observation because it made use of ethnographic study that commonly uses participant-observation, ie. Information-gathering is gained by moving closely among people.

essential in such an environment because it provides opportunities for dialogue and questioning as well as an intense form of interaction that often accompanies radical changes in attitude.

Throughout the field research I acted within the value system, routines and realities of the life of community members. The very nature of cross-cultural research necessitates an active membership role. Although I am not a speaker of the Maori language I have acquired an understanding of tikanga Maori. Throughout this project I tried to grasp the meaning of their world, rather than merely producing an objective analytical account of the researched community's world. Contemporary culture has no room for a dichotomy between 'in principle' and 'in practice'. A number of writers (Lincoln and Denzin, 1994; Yin, 1994; Riemer, 1977) argue that the best qualitative researchers are those who are already 'empirically literate', that is, already familiar with the phenomenon and setting under study. This familiarity allows the researcher to produce 'unalienated knowledge' (Stanley, 1990:14).

Sustained participation was the form of practice which eventually provided me with knowledge of the way in which this particular community perceived the social world. While I was an active participant in the researched community, I remained something of an outsider. The roles of consultant and researcher created a sense of detachment. Although I acted within the value systems and routines and realities of the daily life of community members, I analysed in a detached manner the things I observed, perceived and felt. This practice of reflexivity, in keeping with my pragmatism was supported by my continually developing fresh theoretical interpretations of data in preference to one final or complete interpretation of it.

With reflexivity, there is a need to acknowledge that any data collected is tainted by the hands of the researcher:

Rather than engaging in futile attempts to eliminate the effects of the researcher, we should set about understanding them.

(Hammersley and Atkinson; 1983:17)

I tried therefore to be sensitive to how my presence influenced any of the community's discourses and how I interpreted those discourses, mindful of the influence I was having on them. I had to bear in mind that any realism was only an approximation, a combination of engrossment and distance.

It is perhaps useful to think in terms of the 'formal' and 'informal' (Stanley, 1990) contexts of the research. The 'formal' research component involved my observation of the research participants in action in a number of spheres. The 'informal' component was the living context of the work, much of which was intensely personal involving relationships with the research participants, my friends and family.

To ensure my choice of research methods remained appropriate I created a set of guiding questions:

- what was the purpose of the research?
- what was the context of the research?
- who would be my mentor and confidante?
- whose interests were being served?

- who would benefit from this research?
- how would I maintain an ethical approach?
- how could I ensure confidentiality or guarantee anonymity?
- how could opportunities be taken that considered multiple perspectives and meanings?
- who would I listen to and hear: would I have cultural dialogue?
- would I be facilitating research as empowerment?

Looking back over five years I can see that the way in which I participated influenced my overall vision. Such an experience can never be fully described because of ethical constraints and personal confidentiality. The products of this ethnographic case study are not fictions; instead they result from a process carried out in a real community of real people. My experiences, however, can never duplicate those of members of the researched community.

Evolving Theory From The Research Project

On realising the significance of what I had learned in my role as consultant, I turned my attention to the role of researcher, seeking to devise a theoretical framework for the data I had used in developing the wananga plans. The challenge then became an intellectual one; how to present my data in the form of the research problem on which I had worked.

As researcher I had a number of functions over and above being a member of the community management team. Monitoring at each stage and every cycle of project achievement was requisite although there were always gaps between project design and the realities of day-to-day implementation. As the project progressed the role of monitoring, review and evaluation gained importance.

I began as a thinker of issues associated with the project, which in turn made me an adviser-consultant. As a person with research skills I slipped into monitoring and evaluative roles with access to different levels of the project. My monitoring role also meant I acted as a facilitator to make things happen. In performing these various roles I was both a participant and an observer. As the researcher-consultant and a facilitator-practitioner-critical friend I worked with other members of the management team throughout the four stages of project achievement. During each stage of the project, that involved action research cycles of planning, acting, observing, reflecting and evaluating, I was able to make and record observations of team, community and staff members as well as record the processes that emerged. Sessions of reflection with the gatekeeper, management team, staff and researched community as stakeholders provided me with feedback in respect of the implementation of the education training institution project.

As this case study was exploratory and developed theory, its mode of inquiry was inductive. Contributing to the data gained in the field was the reading of relevant literature. Throughout the stages of the research project I collected the data in the field then analysed it to generate theory. The reading of literature was essentially dual purpose: to generate new ideas and to make me more sensitive to theory. When the theory seemed sufficiently grounded (Glaser,1978:31) and developed I

used the literature to relate theory to it. The qualitative case study usually builds theory 'as a catalytic element in the unfolding of theoretical knowledge' to quote Merriam (1990:60).

As a pragmatist, interested observer and active participant of democratic participation and reciprocal cross-cultural exchanges and as an identifier of the 'links and interruptions' (Lather, 1991) between cultures, I have drawn heavily on the ideas and propositions of Dewey, Freire and Habermas. Their collective contributions to education and education research influenced my decision to select participatory methodology for this research.

Dewey believed that what anyone wants 'individualistically' is what the community wants for all. To this end a community is contributed towards by all members. To Dewey this is democracy. Dewey's concept of learning by doing; his articulation of consensual decision making and participatory democracy impacted powerfully on my thinking. He criticised the traditional separation of knowledge and action (Dewey, 1929).

Freire's starting point is that education is never neutral. Education is always a tool of liberation or a tool of oppression. His philosophical vision of a 'liberated humanity' (Freire, 1985) has had ongoing appeal for me. Its 'utopian' character is pragmatic in its nature and appeal. Freire accentuates the possibilities of positive change through the linkage of ideological critique with collective action. Freire's discourses (1970;1974;1985) have given me valuable insights:

...a series of theoretical signposts that [I am able to decode and critically appropriate]...within the specific context in which they might be useful.

(Freire cited in Giroux, 1985:xviv)

Freire's (1970) notion of 'conscientization', namely a process of self-awareness raising through collective self-inquiry and reflection, encourages exchanges in information and knowledge. He actively practices and researches whilst working in adult and community education to raise both adult literacy levels and the level of adult participation in education: participatory action research in practice.

Habermas (1972) articulated the need for critical research that serves emancipatory interests. He spoke about the connection between 'understanding' and 'reaching an understanding'. Habermas argued there are connections between understanding the kind of validity claims being made and actual judgements of validity. Judgements, said Habermas, recognise the 'other' because they:

. . . take the form of an intersubjective agreement to accept the validity of a particular norm or way of seeing the world as reality

(Habermas cited in R.Young, 1995:183)

The debates concerning the issues of sovereignty, culture and identity, access and participation in Aotearoa/New Zealand have become of great interest to me, particularly the academic, political and social justice viewpoints. Of particular importance to this research is Article Two of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* which recognises the rights of chiefs and people to exercise authority and control over their own affairs.

As a teacher I have grown increasingly aware of opportunities initiated by the *Decade of Maori Development* launched in 1984, particularly in the fields of health and education where Maori were afforded a more direct role in the provision of their own services. For Maori, the objective of being fully involved in policy development

relates to their having been deprived of such opportunities in the past, also to the need to ensure there is a substantive change in the future.

Government intentions toward Maori policy objectives were further signaled in two more reports. The Government's Maori Affairs policy as stated in *Te Urupare Rangapu 1988* required all government agencies to become fully responsive to Maori needs by 1994. This report provided a framework for relevant Maori policy and acknowledgement of a role for iwi. *Te Urupare Rangapu* focussed on the strengthening of whanau, hapu and iwi structures as the enduring social system for Maori. The role of iwi, acknowledged in this report, included an assurance within each rohe (area) for the growth of specialist skills, ie. management, accountancy, law, health, education. *Ka Awatea 1991* prioritised key areas of Maori development including Maori education. Through Te Puni Kokiri, the Ministry of Maori Development, provision was made for both policy advice and mainstream department responsiveness on Maori issues.

Several factors including Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Government policy objectives expressed in *Te Urupare Rangapu* and the impact of Government and its agencies on Maori influence the expression of kaupapa Maori, providing the basis on which Maori believe themselves to be entitled to participate in the activities of the state.

To achieve effective Maori participation the planning, management and operations of state agencies will need to become more accessible so that Maori are able to contribute meaningfully to processes and to influence outcomes (Manatu Maori, 1993).

The outcome of *Tomorrow's Schools 1989* reforms met my concerns as an educator in three particular areas:

- the disparities in educational achievement and opportunities between Maori and Pakeha students;
- the need for sustained community and parental involvement;
- the need for greater flexibility and maintenance of conditions for an equitable national system of education.

The *Education Act 1989*, however, only refers to Maori interests, it does not state that this Act be so interpreted and administered as to give effect to the Treaty of Waitangi, unlike the *Conservation Act 1987*. Nor does it require all persons exercising power and functions under it to take into account the principles of the Treaty as does the *Resource Management Act 1991*. The Treaty has been enforceable only when it has been incorporated into legislation (Durie 1994:91). The relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi for Maori is that it is the document by which the Crown acquired the right to govern in return for conferring and guaranteeing rangatiratanga. Thus the Treaty is the document which sets the terms for the relationship between the Crown and Maori. The Treaty is the basis on which equity for tangata whenua will be achieved. The exercise of kawanatanga (government), under Article One, is necessarily subject to qualification by the guarantee of equity through rangatiratanga (authority/control) in Article Two and, the guarantee of equality under the law through Article Three (Orange, 1987; Royal Commission, 1987; Kelsey, 1990). The Treaty also acknowledges the reciprocal obligations and duties inherent in such a relationship.

Empowerment aimed at changing the nature and distribution of power in our society has been an enduring political objective of mine. Rapport identified empowerment as an approach to community research:

...[empowerment] means thinking consciously about power relations, cultural context, and social action. It is an approach to building knowledge...

(Rapport, 1990:51).

The empowerment pathway (Figure 4 page 73) for this research project has brought together my commitment to te tino rangatiratanga, tikanga Maori and readings on race, colonisation and colonialism, feminism, biculturalism and education. It has heightened my cultural politicisation to the extent of recognising that sovereignty is a Maori construct not a legislative one; biculturalism is the direction of government social policy. My professional experiences and multiple roles in this project as researcher-consultant, critical friend and practitioner have focused on self-determination and emancipation, access and participation, reciprocity and 'crossover tracks' (Caraway 1991). In turn the research project challenged me to develop cultural competence and:

...address understandings of participatory consciousness in order that [I] position [myself] within the discursive practice that is Kaupapa Maori.

(Bishop, 1996:16)

My prime objective has been to develop theory which evolves out of and connects with New Zealand society (Ritchie, 1992) or more specifically a theory relevant to this New Zealand field work which has involved:

prolonged and continuous face-to face contact with people in the natural setting of their daily lives.

(Frake, 1983:63)

Figure 4: The Empowerment Pathway

The researcher sees such a pathway as necessary for Maori to make progress in education and training

Chapter Four

Tracing the Development of Kaupapa Maori Education Initiatives

This chapter has two sections. Section one describes the development of kaupapa Maori education since the early 1980s in response to the demands of Maori for pluralist and parallel schooling, education and training. Section two reviews what constitutes Maori research, its methods and contexts. It describes how vital it is for the researcher to be involved personally and the importance of shared knowledge and processes.

The Development of Kaupapa Maori Education

The emancipatory function of education commenced with the introduction of a basic compulsory system and the spread of literacy. Emancipation therefore is principally participation. From its inception, the main thrust of the New Zealand education system was to assimilate Maori and discourage the Maori language and culture. The *Native Schools Act 1867* replaced mission schools with a national system of secular village day schools at the primary level under the Department of Native Affairs. This system reflected the state's intention in its dealings with Maori people. The curriculum created assimilationist pressures in that it consisted of English, writing, reading, spelling and geography.

In 1962, a Department of Maori Affairs publication advocated 'integration' and in effect Maori were being told to adapt. By this time, migration from rural to urban areas in search of jobs was well underway. The separate Maori schools were finally integrated into the mainstream system in 1969. Several church-sponsored secondary schools including Te Aute, Queen Victoria and St Stephens provided teaching that bridged two worlds but teachers in the mainstream schools in urban areas were ill-equipped to deal with Maori children.

Hirsh (1990: 7) commented that the majority of Maori educationalists he spoke to when undertaking research agreed that separate kaupapa Maori institutions offered Maori a higher chance of equitable outcomes. Te Puni Kokiri (1998) identified how mainstream educational environments were not making significant difference in Maori children's educational achievement.

In the 1970s radical international explanations were prevalent associated with schooling's position in the reproduction and legitimation of social inequalities. These explanations contradicted the claims of liberal education theorists and historians. The radical American educationalist Giroux (1983: 257) espoused the possibilities that public education can offer for individual development, social mobility and political and economic power to the disadvantaged and dispossessed.

The deliverers within the New Zealand education system had traditionally followed a liberal philosophy. From the 1970s the influence of radical international education writers created an important focus of educational debate in New Zealand. These debates ranged across many areas including:

- social reproduction being an ideological process that occurs through family and school (Althusser, 1971);
- the apparent autonomy of schooling aiding in the reproduction of cultural advantage (Bourdieu, 1973);
- school knowledge and the hidden curriculum as forms of regulation and control (Bernstein, 1975);
- the ethos and requirements of schooling corresponding to those of capitalist production (Bowles and Gintis, 1976).

British education researcher P. Willis from the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies found in his research published in *Learning to Labour* (1977) that schooling was

not a solution to inequality; schooling contributed to inequality. In New Zealand the Labour Party policy, based on Fraser's 1930s objective of 'equality but difference', changed between 1975 and 1987. The Director General of Education, W.L. Renwick, noted the shift in educational theorising from 'equality as sameness' to 'equity as diversity'. The New Zealand educationalist and writer S. Middleton (1990: 79) noted that Maori were also demanding a pluralist approach and the right to be treated differently rather than to be equal in the sense of becoming 'brown Pakeha'.

Giroux (1983:258) claimed schools as institutions could only be comprehended through analysis of their relationship to the state and the economy. Radical educators blamed the dominant society for educational failure rather than placing blame on home environments and students. Giroux commented on the significance of these radical educators:

[they] presented a serious challenge to the discourse and logic of liberal views of schooling. ... They also tried to fashion a new discourse and set of understandings...

(ibid, 1983: 258)

However, Giroux criticised reproduction theorists for leaving no room for 'moments of self-creation, mediation and resistance'. He believed that by 'downplaying' the notion of resistance, any opportunity for challenging and changing a 'repressive' schooling environment was ignored along with examinations of difference between the existence of very structural or ideological modes of domination (Giroux, 1983: 259).

Freire (1972) contended that knowledge of the alienating culture would lead to transforming action that in turn would result in a culture being freed.

Willis (1977,1983) restored the critical notion of 'agency'. He observed that collective resistance had greater emancipatory and transformative power than that of an individual effort. The development and emergence of a consciousness and critical intervention required a relevant cultural context as requisite for people to have the power and control over sufficient resources to bring about self determination. This was preferable to being in a lesser position of experiencing mere 'involvement' with subsequent feelings of marginality, alienation and impotence. In Aotearoa this is being borne out by the creation of education training initiatives by Maori.

Parallelists identified the dynamics of race, class and gender as being essential to an understanding of the unequal outcomes of teaching and learning and of schools in general (Apple and Weiss, 1983). Educational judgements are rooted in epistemology. It is not possible to understand why someone thinks something is significant until it is understood how they see and know the world. Parallelists contend that class, race and gender are irreducible to one another and the economy, culture and the state are all potential independent arenas of contestation.

The point here is that resistance theories must recognise that in some cases students may be totally indifferent to the dominant ideology of the school with its respective rewards and demands. Their behaviour...may be fuelled by ideological imperatives that signify issues and concerns that have very little to do with school directly.

(Giroux, 1983: 286)

In New Zealand Tu Tangata provided a framework for reform. Tu Tangata, 'to stand tall', developed from a Department of Maori Affairs review in 1977 following extensive consultation with Maori by departmental staff who felt they were, in reality, the

'long arm' of other agencies, culturally removed from the people. It aimed to establish Maori cultural values and have them recognised within the institutional framework of Maori society. Programmes associated with Tu Tangata included Matua Whangai, MAccess and Access, Kokiri Centres, Rapu Mahi and Te Kohanga Reo which were to enhance the social, cultural and economic wellbeing of Maori. The Te Kohanga Reo initiative revived traditional Maori knowledge and cultural practices by tapping into te reo and nga tikanga Maori.¹

Hui Taumata, the Maori Economic Development Conference 1984, endorsed the empowerment of Maori communities through Maori ways. A kawenata, or covenant produced at the hui (meeting, gathering) identified three objectives for Maori development:

- i) to strive to achieve parity between Maori and Pakeha in the areas of housing; education; land development; employment; business and health.
- ii) to strengthen Maoridom's development of identity through Maori language and the heritage of the ancestors; the marae; the Maori spiritual pathway and the Maori mind and tribal identity.
- iii) to achieve these objectives within the Development Decade declared by Maoridom at Hui Taumata because educational environments were not making significant difference in Maori children's educational achievement.

According to the Maori educationalist K.Irwin (1990: 110) at this time plans for Maori development sought to renegotiate mana Maori in every sector of New Zealand society, so that Maori could enjoy a citizenship of the same quality as that of their Pakeha counterparts. This renegotiation was a crucial element of Maori development.

¹ *The Currie Report 1962*, the report of the Commission on Education in New Zealand, recognised the unrealised potential in Maori communities: the great 'reservoir of unused talent. The Currie Commission had taken up on Peter Fraser's infamous tenet of 1935. The Government's objective, broadly expressed, is that every person, whatever his level of academic ability, whether he be rich or poor, whether he live in town or country, has a right, as a citizen, to a free education of the kind for which he is best fitted and to the fullest extent of his powers.

The Maori desire and motivation to achieve autonomy over their lives and welfare began in education as a response to a lack of relevancy in mainstream education institutions.

Since the early 1980s Maori critics of mainstream education have argued ceaselessly that Maori communities should provide their own educational arrangements in a system of alternative education (D.Awatere, R.Walker, P.Hohepa, G.Smith, W. Winiata, H.Mead, K.Irwin).

The first autonomous Maori education initiative was Whare Wananga at Otaki in 1981 for tertiary education, Te Kohanga Reo in 1982² for early childhood education, followed by Kura Kaupapa 1985 for primary education and Whare Kura for secondary education. During the developmental years of these Maori education initiatives, government refrained from interfering with the steps taken by Maori to the extent of failing to provide any form of establishment grant. The Ministry of Education however remained the 'overseer.' It was not until 1987 and 1990 respectively that Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa schooling received governmental financial backing.

Establishment of these education initiatives had several distinguishing features in common in addition to the fact that in both cases mainstream education was not catering for Maori children:

- the institutions were operated according to Maori pedagogy;
- the spiritual dimension was indigenously Maori;
- students gained access to quality learning;
- the institutions preserved and protected Maori language and culture;
- they were Maori initiatives.

² The first Te Kohanga Reo was opened at the Pukeatua Kokiri Centre in Wainuiomata in 1982. A pilot project was run the previous year at the same location.

The success of the parallel system was also due to the commitment and enthusiasm of Maori people from outside the institutional state school system alongside several influential Maori educators in key roles.

This alternative parallel education structure emerged strongly under the *Education Act 1989*, primarily *Tomorrow's Schools*, by encouraging a broadening of provisions for education and training. Schools were required to include in their charter aims, the unique position of Maori culture and reflect the views and concerns of the Maori communities (*Education Act 1989*: s63[a]) before a school prepared or amended it (ibid s62[1]). The Ministry of Education's publication *Better Relationships For Better Learning* (2000) states that school charter must include the requirements of both *The National Education Guidelines* and the communities the school serves. In addition there are specific goals that emphasise the need for schools to respond to Maori (Ministry of Education 2000a:7). This is part of the Government's commitment to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and reflects the emphasis given by the Government to significantly improve the educational status of Maori (ibid, 2000a:6). A change to *The National Administration Guidelines* in 1999 placed explicit requirements on schools to plan an improvement in the achievement of Maori students and following a self-review, to report outcomes to the community.

Kohanga reo, kura kaupapa Maori and whare wananga, that have a kaupapa Maori approach, exercise limited autonomy. State agencies control the rules of registration, operation and the allocation of funds (H.Mead, 1997: 148). Wananga have iwi and hapu links and tend to be keenly supported. Generally Maori affirm moves towards self determination and tino rangatiratanga (D.Awatere, 1984; R.Walker, 1990, W.Hirsh, 1990; H.Mead, 1997). Iwi development is a high priority and Maori wish to work with their iwi. Success in one venture of development, namely Te Kohanga Reo, which

strengthened the whanau-hapu-iwi base, contributed positively to the other educational ventures in kura kaupapa schooling and whare wananga. This led to comprehensive structural change within Maoridom and created the foundation of the kaupapa of Maori development.

At a 1999 New Zealand Council for Educational Research wananga titled *Building the Research Capacity Within Maori Communities*, E. Henry discussed the concept of whare wananga. In precolonial societies they were 'houses of higher learning'; today the term is used to define Maori language universities. Henry commented that these wananga are comparatively under resourced and geographically isolated from much of the intellectual academy.

They have been constructed by drawing on a bicultural partnership model with the Pakeha (Anglo) mainstream, a relationship that mirrors the original Treaty of Waitangi partnership between Maori tribes and the British Crown.... Other exciting innovations have occurred... Maori inside mainstream universities working collaboratively with university management to create 'wananga within wananga'... [maintain] the intellectual and pedagogical integrity of their own curricula and kaupapa... In the wider community, tribal groups and pan-Maori urban organisations are setting up their own centres from primary to tertiary, to provide educational as well as training and vocational programmes that are based on Maori language and culture.

(Henry, 2000: 19-20).

Tino Rangatiratanga in the form of an autonomous Maori Education Authority, was established by iwi at Hui Tino Rangatiratanga 1990. This hui was for Maori people in all education and public sectors. The Authority was charged with the responsibility of furthering the educational aspirations of whanau, hapu and iwi. It stated publicly that more policies were written for Maori people than anyone else but education had not really taught anyone anything. Factors contributing to Maori underachievement were identified:

- the low socio-economic level of many Maori families;
- the predominance of the eurocentric nature of the education system;
- the overwhelming extent to which the education system is 'owned' and 'operated' by non-Maori;
- the low expectations and weak attitudes of the community, pupils and schools toward Maori levels of achievement.

Maori had already expressed similar thoughts time and time again in submissions including: *Te Puao-te- Ata-tu* (1986); *the Royal Commission on Social Policy* (1988); *Te Urupare Rangapu* (1988); *Tomorrow's Schools* (1988).

The *Ka Awatea* 1991 report commissioned by the National Government's Minister of Maori Affairs identified similar factors. The Minister remarked that low level Maori educational achievement within the system was a chilling admission of the failure of past and present policies. What was becoming obvious was the understanding that structured inequalities in the wider society were continually working against the objectives of even the most egalitarian system of education. *Ka Awatea* recommended the establishment of a Maori Education Commission to interface with Maori parents, the mainstream education system and the private sector. Immediately following the report's release, the Prime Minister stated that *Ka Awatea* was not part of the present Government policy.

The *Ten Point Plan In Maori Education* 1991 released by the Ministry of Education finally captured Maori educational concerns in government policy.³ In fact, as K.Irwin (1992: 87) noted, no credit was given to Maori for any part in its development, rendering the Maori community invisible at a time when the Ministry of Education could ill

³ Responsiveness became a central aspect of the Labour Government's policy for Maori. It was highlighted by the need for change in the way agencies of the state handled Maori issues and concerns.

afford such an action with Maori calling for tino rangatiratanga. As well, 1991 was the year in which the new education tertiary category of private providers of education and training was introduced, creating opportunities for iwi, hapu and whanau. The whanau branch of NZQA developed major initiatives for Maori including Maori-based qualifications and the process of being approved as a private training establishment and wananga. As K. Irwin (1992: 81) said:

The extreme difficulties which Maori have faced in the tertiary sector, for example, trying to promote Maori and bicultural development in polytechnics, colleges of education and universities may well be averted by Maori setting up such new institutions rather than trying to tinker around with the existing ones.

In 1992 Te Puni Kokiri, first mooted in *Ka Awatea* 1991, was established as a new Ministry of Maori Development and given statutory responsibility for providing higher levels of education achievement for Maori.

Codd (1990) questioned whether the devolution strategy of education initiated by *Tomorrow's Schools* would be successful because of the contradictions inherent between choice and equity. *Tomorrow's Schools* assumed that equity could be achieved by increasing individual choice. This was also central to the *Picot Report* (1988) rationale for devolution. As Lauder (1992: 2) commented:

Choice can be a motivating factor and in an increasingly differentiated social world it can be and has been used as a lever for fostering the collective interests of particular ethnic groups. Choice, as Maori have demonstrated, does not have to be understood in an individualistic sense.

Participation for community-based groups has three facets:

- community participation in planning;
- community development;
- user involvement.

The contemporary moves among locally based groups from representative to participatory democracy include arrangements that enable the community to be directly involved in management, administration and organisation processes that affect them.

The basic assumptions surrounding the concept of community participation include:

- the need at the grass root level to manage or control development to ensure its sustainability;
- the need to work with the strengths in a local system;
- the need for grass root participation in planning and for Maori, 'bottom-up' methods are imperative.

Unlike most Pakeha Europeans, there is in the Maori community significant evidence of ethnicity functioning as a form of mutual assistance. According to Alba (1990) 'ethnic neighbours' gain importance beyond visible manifestations of ethnicity, for their capacity to concentrate institutions and culture of their ethnic group, thereby keeping alive the sentiment and the loyalties associated with ethnicity. The effects are not limited to the residence although the impact on them is the deepest.

Bishop and Glynn (1999: 49) pointed to the influence on research studies that the dominance of deficit theorising in New Zealand education has had. North American research amongst minority groups has revealed the importance of culture for students' successful participation in learning contexts. The specific deficit focus in New Zealand, particularly relating to class-based analyses underlying educational performance, is too simplistic and prescriptive and has provided little research in the area of culture.

Bishop and Glynn (1999: 69-70) describe the modernist 'grand narrative' analyses as a 'cul-de-sac' of deficit theorising:

These narratives lack any contact with the complexity of the lived reality of Maori people and are also an anathema to the Treaty of Waitangi which guaranteed the right of Maori to define what constituted 'treasure', including culturally preferred knowledge and pedagogy...The fundamental flaw...is that [it] ignores Maori aspirations for the revitalisation of Maori language, culture and identity as a means of creating new power relationships based on self-determination.⁴

Although the basis of the government education policies of assimilation, integration, multiculturalism and biculturalism could be said to be policies of concern for the welfare of Maori, in reality they subjugate Maori to the needs of the nation-state. These needs are determined by the Pakeha majority. As Spoonley (1988/90: 88) stated:

Pluralist education, or the teaching of ethnicity, (eg. taha Maori) as part of a curriculum devoted to different cultures tends to reinforce educational racism to the extent that the special attention is focussed on one or more minority cultures and the dominant cultural values which underlie the educational system remain invisible.

Spoonley also pointed out that acculturation of a minority culture to the dominant culture does not produce social integration, as education often seeks to do presently, but from alteration of personal attitudes and educational structures in order to achieve a greater degree of racial equity.

Writers on ethnicity and indigenous rights such as Fanon (1964), Memmi (1965) Said (1986), Omi (1994), began to posit specific theoretical frameworks grounded in their own community histories and cultural groups. They believed that it was impossible to actualise emancipatory politics such as biculturalism without hearing the questions of

⁴ Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi guaranteed to Maori chieftainly control, tino rangatiratanga (self determination) over all that Maori treasured (taonga katoa), particularly the power to define what constituted a treasure and the power to protect, promote, prefer and proscribe treasures (M.Durie, 1998). Despite this guarantee, Pakeha political control over decision making processes in education within an assimilationist agenda has marginalised Maori language, cultural aspirations and Maori-preferred knowledge gathering and information processing methods and contexts. These are all taonga (treasures) as defined by Maori (Cleave, 1997: 17).

cultural consciousness and knowledge derived from lived experiences that are legitimately placed within critical discourses on culture and difference. Bishop (1996: 65) perceived kaupapa Maori as a means of proactively promoting a legitimate, authoritative and valid Maori world-view in relation to other cultures in New Zealand. The yearning to remember who we are is not easily measured or observed by standard scientific inquiry. It is a deeply rooted quality obscured by layers upon layers of historical amnesia induced by dominant policies and practices of the nation-state. Maori ways of addressing colonial and neo-colonial hegemonies goes beyond 'mere' resistance.

M. Durie (1998: 71) suggested that comparative approaches, while useful in monitoring overall progress, are of limited value in promoting Maori advancement and development. Such an approach tended to focus on norms set by the majority and did not locate Maori at the centre of the exercise. Comparative approaches retained the focus of policy solutions within eurocentric views and philosophies.

The Maori attitude to knowledge is a holistic one.⁵ Maori ways of accessing, defining and protecting knowledge existed pre-colonisation. Stokes (1985: 8) wrote that for Maori:

The past is part of the present and there is a continuing theme of stewardship of knowledge and resources, including land, inherited from ancestors which is expected to be passed on to the succeeding generation...The important lesson here is first, that different descent groups have their own versions of their history, and, more significantly, interpretation of Maori data must be perceived

⁵ Tane-nui-a-rangi, child of Ranginui, sky father and Papatuanuku, earth mother, journeyed to the twelfth 'universe' to gain knowledge. He sought on behalf of everyone. He differentiated the knowledge he gained into three kete (baskets). The kete contained different forms of knowledge, each being an essential aspect to wellbeing, namely, observation, practice and the guidance of kaumata (elders) (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999: 172).

in Maori terms, not forced into preconceived Pakeha methodologies or systems of categorising knowledge.⁶

Bishop (1996: 58) acknowledged the Polynesian world-view where ideas are not related in oppositional pairs but sometimes in triplets or as interrelated matrices and warned against imposing an 'outside' theory on to a situation. Tuhiwai Smith (1999: 188) identified the parameters of kaupapa maori⁷: the implications and applications of kaupapa.

Kaupapa implies a way of framing and structuring how Maori think about certain ideas and practices. Kaupapa applies to Maori ways of thinking and Maori ways of doing things:

It seeks to understand [Maori forms of knowledge] on their own terms and within the wider framework of Maori values and attitudes, Maori language, and Maori ways of living in the world.

(Tuhiwai Smith, 1999: 188).

Theoretical considerations are inadequate on their own and the relationship between theory and experience necessarily should be grounded within the cultural context of the researched participants rather than just within that of the researcher:

...Kaupapa Maori is not simply another paradigmatic shift within western epistemology. Kaupapa Maori...is located within an alternative world-view. From within this world view solutions to problems can be generated and cultural aspirations met using the existing cultural preferences and practices of Maori culture, even though these have been marginalised through colonisation.

(ibid, 1996: 58).

⁶ Whenua, or land, is of great significance to Maori identity. Maori identify their indigenous 'community' by naming the mountain, the river, the tribal ancestor, the tribe and the family that position them in a set of identities 'framed geographically, politically and genealogically' (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999: 120).

⁷ Awatere (1984), Walker (1989), Bishop (1996) attributed kapuapa Maori to the 'ethnic revitalisation movement' that blossomed in the 1970s and 1980s as a consequence of growing political consciousness among Maori communities.

Mainstream education is often too entrenched in the process of passing on knowledges-out-of-context to allow the flexibility of participating in knowledge-in-action. Kaupapa Maori is aimed at both the culturalist and structuralist positions in that it represents a critique of the 'converging' political, economic and cultural crises that affect Maori people (Bishop, 1996: 66). Kaupapa Maori is also located within critical theory in connection with the notions of critique resistance, struggle and emancipation⁸ (ibid, 1996: 165).

G.Smith (1990) suggested critical intervention elements to address the current crisis in Maori schooling grounded within Maori cosmology: tino rangatiratanga (autonomy), taonga tuku iho (cultural aspirations), ako Maori (Maori pedagogy), kia piki ake i nga raruraru o te kainga (mediation of socio-economic factors), whanau (family) and kaupapa (collective vision), crucial and successful elements characteristic of kaupapa Maori educational institutions.⁹

⁸ The Centre For Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) Birmingham University has been a significant site of theoretical critical research. CCCS has attempted to connect critical theory with the particularity of everyday experience. CCCS maintains that theorising outside of everyday experience results in formal and deterministic theory (Kinchaloe and McLaren, 1994: 148). The notion of a critical theory of society is associated with the Frankfurt School established in 1923 within the German Weimar Republic.

⁹ Taonga tuku iho contain the messages of kawa. Tapu, noa, mana, wairua, maanaki and mauri principles guide the whakawhanaungatanga process of how they are addressed which varies from iwi to iwi, hapu to hapu. How this is actually done is a subject of local tikanga, which is the right way to address the principles of kawa (Bishop, 1996: 64).

Rangahau – Inquiry Research

The long term nature of the research project and the role of the researcher as a participant within the researched community stimulated the researcher's interest to gain some understanding of rangahau Maori, or Maori research. Of particular interest to the researcher was the investigation of Maori research methods and the contexts in which they were advocated. But in this research project rangahau Maori was not applied. Nevertheless the researcher's understanding of rangahau grew as she engaged in the different cycles of the research. Heightening cultural awareness empowered the researcher. In this research text, emphasis on cultural consciousness 'talked' to the researcher as a tool. The researcher's critical level of cultural consciousness speaks authoritatively, even though it is coloured emotionally by the complexity of personal experiences, both positive and negative, astride two cultural environments for a period of more than five years.

The researcher felt privileged to have the opportunity to share in the culture of tangata whenua but asked 'why didn't this feel empowering?' (Ellsworth, 1989: 297). In the dominant system, because of the ongoing failure to address institutional racism and authoritarian social structures both at the community and state levels, Maori continue to experience marginalisation and are required by the system constantly to revalidate their position. The researcher, in the company of the researched community and in different contexts, experienced both the alienation and revalidation demanded of them by the dominant system. This involved them in having to work their way through the questions of 'who they should be?' and 'what should be happening?' Figure 11 Page 146 identifies this as the ongoing process of validation that Maori seemingly undergo time and time again.

From the late 1960s, Maori more generally began to pose their own research questions. Later three incentives provided the impetus for such practice:

- the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal which provided groups and individuals opportunities to develop their own research programmes;
- the revitalisation of language through the establishment of te kohanga reo built essentially on whanau participation;
- the creation of spaces in the social services by research approaches that were more critical and reflexive (Smith, 1999: 63).

Some have argued that being Maori is an essential qualification for carrying out Maori research; that the Maori condition cannot be understood or analysed by outsiders or people who have not been born into and not experienced Maori culture and life. Hill Collins (1991: 37) supported this position through the application of a feminist analysis:

...while Black feminist thought may be recorded by others, it is produced by Black women.

Others believe that by becoming too involved in the politics of identity, research development may be hindered. Tuhiwai Smith (1999: 177-178) nominated four models for non-indigenous researchers to select from and to utilise to ensure culturally appropriate research:

- the tiaki or mentoring model; authoritative Maori guide and sponsor of the research;
- the whangai or adoption model; the researcher is incorporated into the daily life of Maori people and develops a life-long relationship far beyond the realms of the research;
- the 'power sharing' model; the researcher has the assistance and support of the community behind the research;
- the 'empowering outcomes' model; research that addresses the questions Maori want to know and with beneficial outcomes.

An extra model is the 'bicultural' or 'partnership' research model wherein both Maori and non-Maori researchers work together on shaping the project. The researcher adopted both the power sharing and partnership research models.

Stokes (1985: 10) talked about the setting of terms of reference for the research project by a member of the indigenous group. Stokes described the specific attributes required of a researcher working effectively with Maori, namely, being comfortable in both cultures; able to take on a variety of the roles; possess high standards of accuracy, presentation and communication to retain credibility in the Maori world; accept the fact that Maori will be stern critics and will expect some benefits to accrue to them; an awareness throughout that the primary audience for the research is the Maori researched group not the researcher's colleagues.

Banks (1988) referred to the need for researchers to develop cultural competence and to address understanding of participatory consciousness. To achieve this they also needed to develop theory derived from a New Zealand context. Bishop (1996) argued that non-indigenous people as Treaty of Waitangi partners have an obligation to support Maori research. Some, who have a genuine desire to support Maori aspirations can also become useful allies and colleagues in research. Bishop and Glynn (1999: 13) identified how the Treaty of Waitangi is promoted both as a metaphor for power sharing and changes in Maori research models. The Maori perception of the Treaty as a charter for power sharing in the country's decision making processes and for Maori determination of their own destiny as *te tangata whenua* of Aotearoa as the guide to future development. However, Bishop warned against developing participatory methodologies derived from western frames of reference in the interests of self-determination because they might preclude:

...developing research practices that are positioned within the world-view within which the researched community are able to understand, control, legitimate and seek self-determination.

(Bishop, 1996: 227)

Therefore the participant researcher had to be aware of locating herself within the cultural framework and understandings of the researched participants so that power and control resided within the researched participants. In a kaupapa Maori research context, participatory research re-orientes the research process:

...from the fundamentally individualistic focus of participatory research to the collectivistic orientation of Maori culture.

(Bishop, 1996: 228)

In a research project this will include being one of the researched group from the start, that is, involved personally with a high degree of interaction between members of the group so that the product of the research project is the result of the shared knowledge, processes and work of the participants (Bishop, 1996; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

On the surface, this research project appeared to conform to a number of the criteria identified as culturally appropriate research qualities. For example, the project was community initiated, it was problem oriented, the distinction between researcher and participant overlapped, the processes were understood by the community, the researcher disseminated the research data, the researcher possessed 'cultural consciousness' (Bishop, 1996), that is, a tacit knowing in relation to the researched community's cultural aspirations.

Research for this project did not involve kaupapa Maori methods. The research analysis contrasts and distinguishes clearly between kaupapa Maori and western research methods.

As Bishop (1996: 17) stated:

The Kaupapa Maori position of tino Rangatiratanga is unequivocal. It means that power and control must rest within Maori cultural understandings and practices. Non-Maori must position themselves in reference to this discourse.

Solidarity suggests there are common interests that can be articulated that complement and sometimes transcend the specific interest. It does not ignore the value of diversity. Once people are able to investigate reality for themselves they will develop other indigenous and popular ways of gaining information from the power base. Freire (1982) made it quite clear that conscientization is a process of self awareness-raising through collective self-inquiry and reflection. Being an institutional project this research developed a distinct system of shared meanings between members of the management team. This set of shared norms and values among members in turn developed an overriding kawa or institutional culture derived from the tikanga of the researched community. Commitment itself was subject to transformation with the evolution of the researcher's own social conscience. Figure 15, page 214 illustrates the metamorphosis undertaken by the researcher.

A progressively successful institution, as it grows in size and space, may attract elements not necessarily identical to the commitment of the institution's initiators. The newcomers may respond to different historical conditions altogether. The researcher-cum-critical friend was able to assist particular researched participants to recognise and name injustice (Ellsworth, 1989) but the fragmented nature of the public sphere created by the pervasive influence of liberal market practices and policies, meant that this conscientization remained and operated at the level of abstraction rather than on actual practices in education and training. On reflection the researcher has to ask did she contribute to the production of 'self-regulating' (Walkerdine, 1985) individuals by developing the capacities for engaging in rational argument? Perhaps not as throughout

the research process there was a surprising lack of conflict between the researcher and the researched community.

'Empowerment' through questioning political interests such as colonialism, racism, sexism which in turn are guaranteed by rationalism, will be rejected as 'irrational' because of bias and partiality: reflection and consideration of all viewpoints has become a vehicle for regulating conflict (Ellsworth, 1989: 306).

As the researcher interpreted the consequences of the intersections and interactions of the political and cultural experiences associated with the implementation of the project organisation, she struggled with the assertions of critical theory. However, as this research text holds implications for ongoing social change and for the nation, the researcher has critiqued it alongside other interpretations. The researcher has, in Freire's words, 're-learned' through participation, through being a member of the researched community and through developing a 'language' and 'set of practices' (Freire, 1985). The researcher cannot assert with any degree of confidence that the strategies she has been able to devise for the researched community to use, adopt or adapt, have in fact left the researched hapu community in a state of 'progressiveness'.

The researcher recognised that the partial narrative that Maori have and others can never know, is an opportunity to build a form of interdependency between other iwi, hapu, whanau, indigenous and community groups. Lorde (1984: 112) noted differences as 'different strengths' and 'forces for change'. Spivak (1990) considered coherent narratives as 'counter-productive'. What is needed instead is a 'persistent critique' of all narratives and from this to develop an *a priori* line of attack.

The niggling question that remained with the researcher at the end of this project in an environment that was neither ahistorical nor depoliticised was: 'empowerment for

what?' As Ellsworth (1989: 308) acknowledged, utopian moments of 'democracy', 'equality', 'justice' or 'emancipation' are unattainable and ultimately undesirable because they are always predicated on the interests of those in positions to define. A corollary experience would be one in which the researcher varies the construction system as she successfully interprets the narrative of events. This fits in with the use of an action research type of methodology. It also allows for a personal interpretation of the meaning given to situations and events. It does not overlook nor ignore the particular core constructs which the researcher could not change in relation to a particular domain or could only change with great difficulty. It embodies both the 'cognitive' and 'emotive' and is compatible with the structuralist theories developed by Lacan, Derrida and Foucault.¹⁰

¹⁰ Lacan centred on language and meaning; Derrida sought to 'uncover' or 'reveal' different meanings as opposed to 'real' or 'true' meanings and Foucault examined how meaningful discourse was 'grounded' in particular historical periods.

Chapter Five

Working Collectively

This chapter completes the philosophical segment of the Catherine Wheel. It has three sections: biculturalism, communitarianism and pragmatism. It brings under the title Working Collectively, the practices involved in communities working together, the acceptance of difference, the need for mutual responsibility, trust and commitment. It also discusses the concepts of nation and state as they apply to the individual and the collective.

Biculturalism / Kaupapa Karanga Rua

The early European expectations of the emergence of one homogeneous culture in New Zealand, epitomised in the international idea of the 'melting pot', has given way to a new realism of accepting many cultures. Culture determines the life of its individual members and produces a certain mindset. It influences them physically so that they possess certain basic bodily dispositions and socially, so that they relate to one another in certain characteristic ways. This produces distinctive capacities and characteristics used by group members in the process of living.

Group identification has become a very significant factor in the contemporary world. As modern states have incorporated a broader range of types of people into the body politic, members of these groups have come to insist on their own distinctive cultural and social identity (Fay, 1996: 53). This is essentially resistance to the hegemony of more powerful groups and resistance to acculturation through contact with the majority culture. Instead, these minority groups emphasise their own difference and accentuate what is distinctive about themselves. These actions reinforce the notion of fundamental differences of one group from others.

The anthropologist J. Metge (1990) distinguished between the three expressions Maori have had at their disposal to describe their culture, although the 1980s descriptors Maoritanga and te taha Maori are somewhat dated now:

- Maoritanga or Maori-ness which is used to indicate both Maori ways and personal commitment to Maori ways;
- te taha Maori, the Maori dimension, which refers either to the Maori side of the person who is bicultural or to the Maori dimension given to a non-Maori situation by the introduction of aspects of Maoritanga;
- nga tikanga Maori, the ways which are right to and for Maori people.

The *Curriculum Review* (1987) recommended a taha Maori or Maori dimension in the whole curriculum.

The singular form of Maoritanga and te taha Maori, like that of a culture, stresses oneness; the plural form of nga tikanga Maori focuses on the variety within a culture... To be accepted as a Maori by other Maori, a person must have at least one Maori ancestor but that alone is not enough. He or she must also identify themselves as a member of the Maori ethnic group. Knowledge and practice of tikanga Maori are desirable, but not essential for acceptance.

(Metge, 1990: 7)

Metge maintained that the designation of Maori race should be replaced by te iwi Maori, the Maori people, an entity that is defined in social, cultural and biological terms.

Banks (1986: 9) identified the cyclic rather than linear nature of 'ethnic revitalisation methods' and warned of such movements continuing to re-emerge:

...in Western democratic societies until racial and ethnic groups attain structural inclusion and equality in their nation states and societies.

Okito (1997) suggested that in order to achieve unity and diversity it is necessary to address the issue of whose heritage and identity should be 'represented, projected and promoted'. He raised the question as to whether it is possible to promote the idea of

national unity and integration necessary for nation building, without destroying ethnic identity.¹ In New Zealand, Spoonley (1995: 111) acknowledged the role of Pakeha in the affirmation of Maori autonomy and the transformation of the political agenda and culture of Aotearoa. The re-ordering of national priorities may help transform the inter-connectiveness of Maori/iwi and Pakeha as well as constitute the basis for an equitable system.

Self-identification as Pakeha, Spoonley suggested implies a shared system of Pakeha representation and political experiences or commitments (Spoonley, 1995: 105). Pearson (1989: 104), however, perceived a lack of a sense of solidarity among Pakeha that he attributed to their existence as a category rather than an ethnic community. To Spoonley, the lack of clarity in the cultural content of Pakeha ethnicity obscured and continues to obscure self-identification as Pakeha. As well, the different histories fracture Pakeha 'self-claiming' (Spoonley, 1995: 110). This situation creates a dilemma at the national level as well. National identity, like all collective identities, is based on the notion of continuity, of a link between the past and the present. This is difficult to give form to in the case of Pakeha New Zealanders given the clear breaks that have disrupted New Zealand's postcolonial history especially, the entry of Britain into the EEC, the emergence of Asia/Pacific relationships and the recognition of the obligations contained in the Treaty of Waitangi. How can the past be made to explain the present? The contrast between generations and their experiences as well as between Pakeha and Maori, make it difficult to identify tradition as part of present experience. The question is what constitutes biculturalism that is acceptable to iwi and Pakeha? (Spoonley, 1995: 110).

¹ The term 'ethnicity' acknowledges the place of history, language and culture in the construction of identity.

The politics of Aotearoa took a new form in the 1970s.² By the 1980s with a clear split between Pakeha and Maori politics the notion of biculturalism became more pervasive.³ Government departments began to adopt a bicultural approach and the Waitangi Tribunal's interpretive work on the Treaty of Waitangi was an important contribution to what biculturalism means. The Waitangi Tribunal's report *The Manukau Claim 1985* conceptualised Maori as something more than a minority group but less than fully autonomous:

...the values of minorities must sometimes give way to those of the predominant culture but in New Zealand the Treaty of Waitangi give Maori values and equal place with British values and a priority when the Maori interest in their taonga is adversely affected.

(Waitangi Tribunal, 1985: 78)⁴

Biculturalism⁵ connotes two principal 'cultural' groups. Spoonley (1995: 96) suggested that these two groups should be self-conscious about their own identity, to enable them be in a position to negotiate the form and content of a liberating and bicultural system.

Valentine (1971) was one of the first social theorists to consider the concept of a bicultural model of human development based on his work with black children. His work expanded on the cultural difference model and challenged the cultural deprivation model

² Spoonley recognised an earlier expression of cultural nationalism in New Zealand apparent in the literature of the 1940s as euro-centred notions of New Zealand identity were increasingly being contested (Spoonley, 1995: 98).

³ Spoonley suggested that the idea of biculturalism 'speeded up a process of critical self-reflection' for Pakeha specifically those in the social service or education sectors. Pakeha needed to determine what their commitment was to the new policy and equity issues (Spoonley, 1995: 100-102).

⁴ Te Reo Maori was established in legislation as an official New Zealand language by the *Maori Language Act 1987*, two years after the Waitangi Tribunal declared te reo Maori a taonga.

⁵ A. Sharp examined the arguments associated with the notion of biculturalism in *Why Be Bicultural in Justice and Identity*, edited by M. Wilson and A. Yeatman, pp 116-133.

that had failed to portray accurately the socialisation process of children of colour.

Valentine suggested that biculturals undergo a dual socialisation process that consists primarily of enculturation experiences within one's cultural origin (subordinate culture) in addition to significant but less comprehensive exposure to the socialisation forces within the dominant culture. Valentine's model perceived the process of biculturalism as a consequence of stepping in and out of two separate and distinct cultures. De Anda's (1984) model argued that the bicultural experience is possible only because an overlap exists between the two cultures. The greater the overlap between the two cultures the more effective the bicultural process of dual socialisation.

Darder (1991) identified four major response patterns that relate to the process of biculturation: alienation, dualism, separatism and negotiation. Cultural alienation reflects an internalised identification with the dominant culture and a rejection of the primary culture. A cultural dualist response pattern (or non-negotiation) is premised on the perception of having two separate identities: one that is identified with the primary cultural community and one that is related to acceptance of mainstream institutional values. The cultural separatist response pattern adamantly rejects the dominant culture remaining strictly within the boundaries of the primary culture. The cultural negotiation response pattern attempts to mediate, reconcile and integrate the reality of lived experiences in an effort to retain primary cultural integrity and orientation while functioning toward social transformation within society. The cultural alienation and cultural separation responses move away from bicultural affirmation responses. Alienation responses tend to move the individual more exclusively toward the dominant culture's context while cultural separatism tends to move toward the primary subordinate cultural context. Bicultural affirmation is more likely to happen from the cultural dualism and cultural negotiation responses which result from efforts to contend with the reality of

both the dominant and subordinate cultures. To build bicultural competence people must be given opportunities to experience it actively and to become a part of their personal history (Darder, 1991: 56).

The issue of the formation and persistence of ethnic or national identity is an important and basic one. It is significant in the lives of individuals, the existence of ethnic groups and the survival of nation states. National identity, achieved often by generations of harsh socialisation, does produce a subject who identifies home and their ownership of that home. The nation, on the other hand, is that collective of individuals that makes up the nation or people. The state refers to the machinery of governance and regulation that is perceived as established over the Nation or People. The state crushes the individual will and the individual or group interest. This potential contradiction of the nation by the state in some senses is existentially realised in the actual context of globalising force, privatisation, the retraction of welfare and economic reform. In this situation, the state is conceived as manifesting both its individuality and its communally destructive potential. Under such circumstances Waitangi Tribunal-related decision making, for example, broadcasting, fishery and forestry policies, become elevated as symbols of state destructiveness. Dimensions of a nation/state discourse are apparent in a number of interpretations of the Treaty of Waitangi, in for example, regionalism, Crown land, tino rangatiratanga. These and the nation/state dialectic are underpinned by a no less powerful discourse of egalitarian individualism. The discourse of egalitarianism and individualism (seen also as nation and state respectively) is apparent in the 1989 government-operative principles derived from the Treaty of Waitangi. There is not yet a sufficient analysis of how egalitarianism is becoming the new language for the repression of differences. The majority group dominates both the state and the nation and they still believe they are entitled to and take for granted their right to govern, care

for and worry about New Zealand. The nation/state dialectic in the current situation is undergoing a radical change or transmutation in values.

The forces of globalisation are bringing about radical transformations in the practices of government. In a sense, these forces are demanding more self-government, hegemonically stressing nation as against the state. Paradoxically this is resulting in the expansion of state control and increased global corporate control. The diasporic form of iwi, hapu and whanau possess ambivalence toward both the forces of globalisation and the biases of state-based institutions.

Just as identity can be defined from a psychological, cultural or political perspective, its significance for the individual, ethnic group or nation state also corresponds to these three levels. Psychologically, identity involves self-perception and projection and, for the individual this provides self-esteem and empowerment. Culturally, identity provides for an ethnic group a sense of distinctiveness and sometimes a tendency toward feeling superior. Politically it creates a sense of patriotism and national pride that makes certain nation states seek power, prestige and glory and to express them in an undermining manner in relation to others that may lead to strained relations among nation states. This situation appeals more to a sense of nationalism than to a spirit of national unity and integration when these are under internal threats from ethnicity.

The psychological and cultural attachment to our ethnic group is stronger than our political attachment to the nation state. This is caused by the character of the state and is in spite of the fact that characteristics such as common descent, territory, history, language, religion and way of life are generally associated with the nation state rather than the ethnic group to which they belong (Petersen, 1975: 81). The nation state is

essentially an artificial creation of the western world, a historical product whose boundaries can change:

The nation state is concerned with building up, deployment and management of force, the reconciliation of interests and the promotion of material and social well-being. However, it lacks 'spirit'.

(Okita, 1997: 135)

This means the nation state has to appeal to those common characteristics normally associated with a nation as a shared experience of its citizenry and its relationship with other nation states. In this way the state appropriates from the nation what it lacks to create the spirit and life it needs to survive. The state may create a sense of identity and a sense of belonging among its citizens at those times when it meets the two common goals, namely:

- building up, deployment and management of force to contain internal conflict and ward off external aggression;
- the reconciliation of interests and the promotion of material and social well-being to secure life and property in equitable ways (ibid, 1997: 135).

A deep sense of psychological attachment is a basic human endowment that appears to be located outside the nation state; it usually resides in one's own community. Thus while every New Zealander may be proud of their nationality and citizenship, a sense of national pride may not remove the deeper psychological attachment to their ethnic origin. The implications of this are important politically and culturally.

Communitarianism

Groups tend to hold together by sticking to superficial things and avoiding difficult, diverse personal questions. In many societies there is little or no shame attached to publicly experiencing dependence. Shame erodes mutual trust and commitment, social bonds that are the basis of any collective enterprise:

In early capitalism...trust in business relations arose through open acknowledgement of mutual dependence...Of course, mutual need also governs modern business dealings; if there is no need for another, there is no exchange. And for most people that need is unequal.

(Sennett, 1998: 140).

'Trust', 'mutual responsibility', 'commitment' are words used in the 'communitarianism' movement. This movement has several aims:

- the strengthening of moral standards;
- a demand of individuals to sacrifice for others based on the promise that if people obey common standards they will find a mutual strength;
- emotional fulfillment that cannot be experienced as an isolated individual.

Sandel (1982) suggested three perceptions of community to pinpoint a strong sense of community. His threefold classification was an instrumental, a sentimental and a constitutive conception of community. Instrumental conception perceives community as a social union: individuals co-operate only for the sake of pursuing their private ends. Social arrangements are a necessary burden. The sentimental conception assumes that actual motivations may include benevolent aims as well as selfish ones. The constitutive conception holds a strong sense of community. It claims that what an individual is and

does, does not come before community life. It is part-constituted by the type of community within which they participate. Dewey defended this strong sense of community. He critiqued the dichotomising of the individual and the social and considered that individualism versus collectivism was a misleading construct.

Between the researcher and the researched community there are three models of interaction (Galla, 1997: 152) in project development. The first model is defined by consultation as participation. The project is initiated by the researcher and the role of the community in participation is limited to that of informant. Community involvement usually diminishes after the researcher has received a requisite amount of information.

The second model articulates partnership as strategic. The project is initiated either by the 'gate keeper' of the researched community or the researcher. Community people are co-workers in project development and project outcomes. Shared decision making underpins the partnership. Specialist knowledge resides with the community and the researcher. The approach is mutually empowering with a common sense of community between and among all participants. The project creates a framework for empowerment of the community to participate in the mainstream.

The third model is characterised by indigenous community cultural action. The project is initiated by community culturally minded specialists, such as the 'gate keeper' and 'enthusiasts' working for community cultural development. Community members control the cultural project and its development. In this research project a 'voice' is provided for Maori cultural leadership and cultural reclamation.

Expertise is a corporate community 'heritage' system (ibid 1997: 152). This enables the continuity and adaptation of the culture from generation to generation with the strengthening of community cultural systems. Through such community cultural

action and self-empowerment, indigenous people are able to continue in the mainstream but as an identifiable separate group. An appropriate training agenda is the most significant component for a shift from consultation to community cultural action and from access to engagement.

Coser (1956) however, argued that in reality people are bound together more by verbal conflict than by immediate verbal agreement. People in conflict have to work harder at communicating and gradually the 'ground rules of engagement' bind the contending parties together. In Coser's view there is no community until differences are acknowledged within it. Strong bonding between people means engaging overtime their differences. Differences of views, said Coser, often become sharper and more explicit even though the parties may eventually come to agreement. The scene of conflict becomes a community in the sense that people learn to listen and respond to one another even as they more keenly feel their differences.

I.Young (1990: 229-230) defined community as an urge to unity, the unity of subjects with one another. Beneath the ideal of community is a longing for harmony among persons for consensus and understanding:

Whether expressed or shared subjectivity or common consciousness, on the one hand, or as relations of mutuality and reciprocity, the ideal of community denies, devalues or represses the ontological difference of subjects and seeks to dissolve social inexhaustability into the comfort of a self-enclosed whole.

Cornell (1987) replaced commonness in the meaning of community with mutuality and reciprocity, that is, the recognition by each individual of the individuality of all the others.

Coser (1956) critiqued teamwork as a weak form of community in that it does not acknowledge difference in privilege of power. All team members are supposed to share a common motivation. This assumption weakens real communication. Strong bonding between people means engaging their differences overtime .The Ministry of Education in New Zealand talks of a proactive approach to 'managing relationships' that reflects Coser's critique of teamwork. The Ministry identifies three distinct phases that a relationship involving an imbalance of power usually moves through. They are:

- a demand for equal rights and recognition within the established order or culture from the less powerful culture;
- an assertion of the less powerful culture in opposition to the values of the dominant culture;
- an acceptance and valuing of difference by society at large and a willingness to live co-operatively (Crown, 2000a: 11).

If indigenous management is about utilising local people or vernacular knowledge and organisational methods in the service of more appropriate development strategies, then it is important to investigate how that knowledge is gained and interpreted, what that knowledge is and how it might be most effectively used. Knowledge is the basis of securing power and control and any discussions must recognise how it is used politically. Cross-cultural representation is distinctly problematic. As Clifford (1988: 23) pointed out:

...an ambiguous multi-vocal world makes it increasingly difficult to conceive of human diversity as inscribed in bounded, independent cultures.

Reviews and evaluations of development projects have cited managerial and administrative weaknesses within community-based and indigenous groups as a major cause of poor performance (Nicholson, 1988:68). Administrative incapacity that affects planning and implementation includes incompetent or untrained staff, ineffective management, simple inefficiency or restrictive government regulations. Nicholson emphasised the need for flexibility to achieve a fit between the objectives of a development project, the needs of the researched community and the administrative structure and process to articulate the two. This is a process rather than the implementation of pre-determined structures (ibid, 1988: 68).

The implementation management of a tertiary education training institution, accredited by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority to deliver qualifications from the National Qualifications Framework is tightly embedded within a continuous quality improvement process. As such it assumes priority over its cultural context. Possibly this reinforces entrenched bureaucratic structures inherited from government organisation. This approach is believed to increase effectiveness of planning and implementation during the building of an institution.

There are identifiable generic features associated with community development that reflect inclusive participatory processes. These are

- a focus on collective rather than individual change;
- a method of working is held to be important in itself and should be education-enhancing in its own right;
- a holistic approach encompasses all aspects of the community's life that affect the education and training potential;

- the recognition of the central importance of formal and informal and social support and networks in bringing about change;
- seeking to enable the community to identify common needs and concerns and to facilitate collective action in ways agreed on and prioritised by the people themselves;
- opening up access to resources, services and information to assist the community to make realistic, informed decisions and choices in relation to their individual and collective education training welfare;
- an acknowledgement that precise outcomes cannot be predicted, so ongoing participative evaluation is needed which focuses on processes and outcomes;
- actively countering prejudice and discrimination through positive action for equal opportunities.

Pragmatism

Pragmatism, as founded by Peirce⁶, is based on the logic of abduction or hypothesis formation, a genuine mode of inference-making. Dewey's discussion of the discovery of the problem as the first premise of inquiry paralleled Peirce's discussion of abduction. Dewey grounded the beginning of inquiry in a context or field that included object, subject and the pervasive quality of their relationship. Peirce's notion recognised the fallibility nature of knowledge⁷ essential in any social investigation. He stated that even

⁶ P.Ochs' work titled 'Charles Sanders Peirce' in *Founders of Constructors of Postmodern Philosophy* (1993) edited by Griffin, Cobb, Ford, Gunter, Ochs (pp 43-87).

⁷ Peirce argued in 1878 that pragmatic inquiry begins with real doubt (Ochs, 1993: 69). He argued that real doubt is the most reliable index of our immediate contact with reality.

when we do hit upon the truth, our knowledge that we have done so remains probable and subject to further criticism.

Pragmatism⁸ involves a conception of a critical public, free inquiry and communication, the growth of the imagination and the embodiment of purposeful habits of conduct as essential, not only to the realisation of inquiry, but to the ultimate goals of life as well. It is the image of a person, the inquirer, animated by the seeking of greater understanding of growth and purpose. To paraphrase Morrow (1994) pragmatism is known superficially as the doctrine wherein validity or truth can be attributed to anything 'that works', although in fact it is much more subtle.

With its claim that all knowledge is inescapably fallible, [pragmatism] radically opposes the fundamentalist tendencies of this age of abstraction toward final solutions.

(Rochberg-Halton, 1986: 18)

Inquiry, as a self-corrective process of interpretation helps a person in a progressive way to determine what the facts themselves are as well as the conclusions to be reached. When facts and hypotheses are subjected to the continued scrutiny on inquiry they will emerge and be confirmed or disconfirmed. This process acknowledges that the inquirer carries values or prejudices and that these values can be refined through inquiry. Democracy to Dewey was nothing less than a community of inquirers, a continual process of criticism, cultivation and growth:

⁸ Morrow (1994) accorded the epistemology of pragmatism primarily to Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914) and John Dewey (1859-1952). Richard Rorty is the most widely read neopragmatist.

The question that Dewey took to be most central is the question of the moral character of 'community life' itself. And democracy is the idea of community life itself.

(Bernstein, 1985: 51)

Recognising the ultimate inseparability of values from facts if they are subjected to continuous refinement by inquiry and they still hold at the end of the inquiry, they are true values (Rochberg-Halton, 1986:17). The pragmatist criticises the rationalist tradition in which knowledge is ultimately disconnected from experience. Pragmatists are not essentially passive recipients of rational intuitions or immediate sensory intuitions. Inference-making is of a secondary nature to the intuitive foundations of objectivity. Pragmatists propose a view that situates knowledge within possible experience as a practice: the practice of inference-making or inquiry. Knowledge is assessed in terms of its practical uses rather than some idealised 'logic'. Thus, pragmatism rejects the 'quest' for certainty.

The researcher of this project selected pragmatism as the theory of choice that reflected her commitment to resisting specific forms and expressions of exclusion and the exploitation and transfer of particular social and cultural formations in the name of general principles of socio-political transformation.

As a pragmatist the researcher has sought to establish for the reader, in theory and practice, the contingent social circumstances and relations of collaborative power that have facilitated community self-development. As Rorty (1985: 13) expressed it:

The pragmatist, dominated by the desire for solidarity can only be criticised for taking his own community too seriously. He can only be criticised for ethnocentrism, not for relativism.

PART THREE

QUADRANT TWO

Chapters 6 & 7

Chapter Six

The Four Stages Leading To Project and Research Achievement

Chapter six describes the four stages in the progressive development of the educational training wananga. The research project itself covered a period of five years and was developmental and evolutionary in nature. The four stages, articulating the vision, designing the vision, implementing the vision and coordinating the vision follow an action research cycle process and incorporate the concept of continuous quality improvement. The chapter analyses the justification for the selection of the site. The basic requirements of the management team and the role of the researcher as a member of this team are discussed including the establishment of a monitoring system for project achievement based on NZQA requirements. A chain of evidence emerged from a number of sources and questions of validity and reliability and triangulation had to be addressed. Finally the chapter provides the collated data that contributed to the development of the practical pathway model for use by other community-based groups.

This data is recorded graphically in seven tables. Figures 9-11 summarise the processes followed in the development of the wananga and are based on the data that is evidenced in Appendix 2. The data were the steps required by NZQA for the registration and accreditation of the wananga as a private training establishment. Figure 12 is the practical pathway model that other groups may follow. Development of this model was one of the major outcomes of this thesis.

All identifying references to the site and the researched community have been blanked to meet the conditions under which the community allowed themselves to be the subject of this research. Some documentation has not been included as data because it was impractical to mask the identity of the researched community.

Case studies are usually reported as narratives (Guba and Lincoln, 1989) that read like chronologies describing the action before, during and after an event. This research project goes through four stages in sequence. Each stage follows a cyclic process involving phases of planning, action, observation and reflection (Cardno and Piggot-Irvine, 1994), reminiscent of action research methodology (Figures 5A & 5B pages 111 & 112) and each stage contributes to the realisation of a private training establishment as a tertiary vocational education training institution.

The four stages in order are: articulating the vision; designing the vision; implementing the vision and coordinating the vision.

Continued Figure 5B
 next page

Figure 5A: The Cyclic Process leading to both project and research achievement

"Implementing the vision"
January 1997 to January 1998

Consolidation of operations of the wananga in terms of the organisation, management and administration of its processes, systems and procedures; extension of scope of accreditation to level 5 and equine plus STAR programme (1997, 1998).

"Coordinating the vision"

February 1998 to December 1999

***Saturation point of data collection;collation of data; modifications to conceptual models and thesis framework; writing up research.**

Figure 5B: The Cyclic Process leading to both project and research achievement.

There are also four states that reflect the action research process: one for each stage¹ (Figure 6, page 116).

Stage one is the state of reconnaissance where shared dialogue, reflection and planning occurred with the community group. Stage two is the intervention state characterised by joint working and exchange of ideas and skills. Stage three, termed the evaluation of intervention state, reflects joint organisation, management and administration of the wananga. Stage four, a state of reflection, is primarily researcher observation and reflection-on-action contributing to the ongoing development of the wananga.

The subject of this research project was an innovation, namely, the creation of a tertiary vocational education wananga by a dedicated community management group and associates. The researcher, as an associate of the group and the facilitator of the project, recognised the significance of the action research process in the development of a registered private training establishment and its ongoing organisation, management and administration. The researched community management group had developed a distinct mission statement that clearly identified and reflected their ownership.

The researcher's role at stage one, articulating the vision, was that of consultant. Identity as a consultant characterised the nature of her role, an outsider with knowledge of a particular kind that the community desired to access. At stage two the consultant's role was modified to that of practitioner because of the practical nature of this stage of the project, that of designing the vision. By stage three, the participatory quality of the project's environment had such influence that her role

1 The Cardno and Piggot-Irvine 1994 model has three states: reconnaissance, intervention and evaluation of the intervention. This research project's model required a fourth state to fit the four stages of institutional development. The fourth stage is termed 'reflection'.

Figure 6: The Framework of the Project Stages, the Research Cycles and the Researcher's Roles

This framework identifies the nature and extent of control exercised by the researched community at each stage of the project

became that of quasi-insider. Participant researcher is a more accurate descriptor because the researcher was not an insider² but a participant observer who received oral input from the researched community. The researcher was operating from the inside but not claiming to be an insider. Researcher/critical friend, however, more accurately describes the partnership relationship between the researcher, the management team and the community. At stage four, the achievement stage, the project focussed on research reflecting co-ordination of the vision. Familiarity with the community was now well into its fifth year. Figure 7 on the following page illustrates the path of time and task sequencing during the four stages of the project, identifying the original plan and the actual pathway achieved.

Outline of the Individual Stages

At each stage the research identified:

- what each cycle set out to achieve;
- how data were collected;
- the nature of the data collected;
- the nature of the information gathered;
- the particular focus that predominated in each cycle;
- the iterative development of the framework that emerged.

In November 1995 the researched community management team took the decision to create a training institution focussing on sports. Sports were seen by the

² The term 'insider' could be used in this research because the researcher had an understanding of the symbolic meanings of those being studied and this could act as a form of triangulation to increase validity. The researcher's own 'at hand' knowledge, unique experiences and institutional familiarity were all sources of the research ideas and data.

Figure 7: The Critical Path of Time and Task Sequencing During the Four Project Stages

Projects have a defined scope and focus. To be successful a project must be designed and implemented in such a way that any external influences that impact on it are recognised, accommodated and managed. These influences are significant in the context of project development and particularly in this case study wherein the project influenced, among other things, the participants' knowledge, attitudes and practices.

researched community as fulfilling both needs and interests of its members. This institution was to complement the education arm of the runanga, the runanga community having already pioneered kohanga and kura schooling. The management team envisaged seeking registration as a private training establishment (PTE) from the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) and deliver training programmes in 1997.

Stage One – Articulating the Vision

Stage one of the project was essentially a period of reconnaissance from December 1995 until April 1996. The 'action research' emphasis was on reflection and planning. At this stage several aspects of this research were formally identified:

- the sport training institution was conceptualised;
- the skills, competencies, experiences and past interests of the consultant were acknowledged as was her enquiry about simultaneously using the project as the focus of research;
- the nature of the consultancy role was discussed in terms of insider/outsider; the consultant was formally introduced to the community management team by the gate keeper, who was the person with the authority to provide access to the community. The gatekeeper was also in the position of leader of the management team. After initial discussion the consultant was accepted by the community.

Joint reflection by the consultant and the management team occurred over a two month period. This reflection was based on preliminary observations made within this time frame with the specific objective of converting a private training establishment into their vision of a vocational education training institution.

The reconnaissance phase involved a cyclic process similar to both the model of action research and the industry model of continuous quality improvement. The management team began the *planning* and from July 1995 to December 1995 familiarised the consultant with the historical background of the community and its cultural, recreational and educational aspirations and experiences over the previous five decades. They also supplied detailed information and observations of community, runanga and iwi aspirations, involvement and representation. During this community-initiated phase of consultation, the management team broadened its representation to include people outside the community from whom they could gain expertise and support. The consultant later supplied the management team with feedback based on her observations, reference material and data from tertiary institutions and agencies of the state.

The next step was *action*. The consultant had prior experience of the documentation and procedural requirements for registering delivery of education and training based on the National Qualifications Framework within the secondary school system. She had produced documents for two secondary education providers in 1994 and 1995. In March 1996 she produced a draft planning document based on the legislative requirements for setting up a PTE registered with the New Zealand Qualifications Authority. This experience was comparable in some respects, but not similar. Documentation for registration of a PTE required more research and an in-depth understanding of the participant community. The draft document was made available to the community for discussion.

The management team continued to engage in rounds of community consultation about the training establishment's programmes. The team also established close communication with other providers, interested groups and individuals both regionally and nationally.

The third step of cycle one, *observation*, involved an active exchange of information and findings as a result of consultation between the management team and the consultant. Community feedback, information arising from discussion with other providers, interested groups and individuals occurred in April 1996. This information was immediately recorded and made available to all management team members.

Step four, *critical reflection*, followed once all management team members had accessed and read the recorded information and findings. At their meetings both ideas and concerns arising from in-house discussions and community input were brought up. Modifications to the draft NZQA registration document were made by the consultant based on the recorded findings arising from the consultation process. These modifications were essentially changes to practice and the need for greater emphasis on acknowledging kaupapa Maori.

The most significant feature of step four in articulating the vision emerged from the management team and was endorsed by the hapu. This was support for a vocational sports training institution that would provide a 'staircase' for students to go beyond year thirteen in the secondary system.

Stage Two: Designing the Vision

Stage two of project achievement, the state of intervention, fell between May and December 1996 and featured another cyclic process.

The management team and the consultant spent many hours in May 1996 *planning* two major assignments: an accreditation document for NZQA and the design of a curriculum to deliver programmes up to level five on the National Qualifications Framework: the NZQA-nominated level of diploma study. Specific criteria were attached to this by the community:

- the curriculum had to reflect students' interests and needs;
- the curriculum had to be fully resourced and based on community strengths.

At this point of the project the consultant assumed a modified role, changing from 'outsider' to 'insider' as practitioner. The processes of research and action were by now integrated and the action research involving the consultant as 'the practitioner' was characterised by her structured self-reflection (Edwards and Talbot, 1994).

In June 1996, the consultant-practitioner *acted* on the wananga planning proposal and created an accreditation document registering expertise in the delivery of national certificates in sport coaching, sport management, equine, employment skills and community arts. She also provided local programmes using NZQA unit standards levels one to four in the sub-fields and domains of health, food technology, radio journalism, te reo Maori, whakairo and interpersonal communications. These were areas identified as community teaching, workplace training and mentoring strengths³.

Based on suggestions from the practitioner, the management team established regional and national partnerships with institutions and groups delivering similar programmes. The team also actively pursued 'expertise' for representation on the advisory groups of the wananga as an NZQA requirement for accreditation as a tertiary institution. The consultant was invited to be a member of an advisory group. During July 1996 the accreditation document was made available for the purpose of feedback from the community.

The third step of cycle two, *observation*, involved the monitoring of this community feedback on the accreditation document and the recording of suggestions

³ In chapter seven there is a full explanation of National Qualification Framework unit standards.

from the panels of 'experts' who were industry representatives on the advisory groups.

The consultant collated this data and made the necessary modifications. The scope of the accreditation was now substantially greater. This reflected the broader vision of the wananga as perceived by the community. Maori resource management training was added to the curriculum. In August 1996 both the registration and the accreditation documents were made available to the NZQA-nominated quality analyst.

The fourth step of cycle two, *reflection*, involved the visit of the NZQA accreditation panel in October 1996. Members of the advisory groups, the management team, community people and the consultant, attended a formal meeting to discuss with the accreditation panel the goals of the wananga and to answer their queries. It was evident at this time that the accreditation panel had not fully grasped the fact that this Maori private training establishment was planning to deliver, as a wananga, national certificate courses for level three and above. Their prior experience of Maori PTEs appeared to be for skills-based short course training for the unemployed.

The management group and the consultant co-reflected on the results of the NZQA evaluation, concentrating on what they had learned as a result of the panel's visit and whether further changes to the wananga documentation, including programmes, were needed. Input from several advisory group members was particularly valuable. This joint reflection helped to overcome their concerns.

Stage Three: Implementing The Vision

Stage three of the project, evaluating the intervention, covered the period from January 1997 to January 1998. It was important in that the concentrated energy driving the conceptualisation and design of the wananga that had characterised

stages one and two was diffused along several tangents. The various directions taken assisted the consolidation of the wananga in terms of the organisation, management and administration of its processes, procedures and systems.

At the time stage three began the consultant had been working closely with the management team for nearly two and a half years. Her role had progressively become one of practitioner-researcher and less one of consultant-researcher. The change was an acknowledgement by the researched community of a successful working partnership. The project had reached the stage of implementation and required specific knowledge and competencies. The management team discussed with the practitioner the necessary *planning* for successful implementation: what was required and who would do what within specified time frames.

The wananga required the expertise of an educationalist combining skills in educational management and administration, with an understanding of the implementation of existing policy and legislation and with an appreciation and working knowledge of tikanga Maori. The management team requested that the practitioner accept a position on the management team essentially to design and co-ordinate the writing of the curriculum, distance learning and student learning support processes. By now the focus of the practitioner's role was also that of 'critical friend'.

Step two was *action*. This involved implementing the operation plan of the wananga. The management team, inclusive now of the 'critical friend', achieved this by assigning responsibilities and deadlines to its members throughout 1997.

The operation plan visualised partnerships with other tertiary providers who delivered specific training to post compulsory secondary students, liaison with secondary schools, contracts with Work and Income New Zealand (WINZ) and Skill NZ, consultation with industry training organisations and participation in the NZQA external moderation process.

In December 1997, the management team met to feed back individually to other members evaluations of their responsibilities. The evaluations identified the successes, gaps, concerns and opportunities. This was the *observation* step of the research cycle. Members of the management team subsequently *critically reflected* on the results of these evaluations. They focussed on the overall effectiveness of the systems, processes and procedures installed at the wananga as well as the actual efficiencies of the physical site, facilities, resources and resourcing. Did the evaluation results show that further change was required?

Stage Four: Co-ordinating the Vision

Stage four of the project was one of reflection. The time period of this fourth action research cycle lasted from January 1998 to December 1999. The practitioner remained a 'critical friend'. The implementation of the wananga was successful and the wananga itself was legislatively and financially sound. There was now discretionary time available for dedicated reporting of the project, an important element of the action research process. Priorities were now changing from consultancy and practice to research.

Step one, the *planning* stage of cycle four, concentrated on creating further complementary developments in the services of the wananga and to its vision. For example, another community-based private training establishment delivering courses in the arts field expressed interest in working collaboratively with the management team to develop a parallel yet autonomous arts department to complement and extend the vision of the community wananga. This PTE was part of the initial group of wananga conceptualisers and continues to contribute to the wananga consultation process and each action research cycle. The expertise of this establishment was influential within the wananga, several members being representatives on the advisory groups.

The planning meetings throughout early 1998 set deadlines, roles, responsibilities and boundaries. Planning included staff training for both teaching and administrative staff for the year, the instigation of an appraisal system, contracting for the design and writing of the curriculum. Changes occurred both to the internal organisation of the wananga management team and the numbers of staff employed and contracted. These changes reflected the growing interest in the operation of the wananga in the surrounding community. Additional facilities and resources including modifications to the original operating site were made possible through the backing of the runanga. In February 1998 the wananga enrolled its first fulltime on-site students.

Step two of cycle four, the *action* phase, had a different feel. The developmental dynamics of the management team and the fact that basic features of working and interpersonal relationships differed markedly at different stages of the project, had a significant influence on the team's development. Attitudes and perspectives had changed as the project developed and as the frame of reference for judging the project broadened with each new project cycle or stage. With full time students now on site, the organisation of the wananga had to ensure its operations reflected what the management said it was going to do. At this phase in cycle four the management team felt for the first time the full extent of its responsibilities in respect to accountability.

Accountability became a reality in July 1998 with the two year audit by NZQA of the operations of the wananga. The researcher recorded the findings of the NZQA quality analyst and distributed these to all members of the management team.

Observation, the third step of the cyclic process in stage four, wherein the monitoring and recording of systems, processes and procedures were noted, provided the data analysis needed by the management team for the purposes of modification and ongoing developments within the wananga. The researcher worked on meeting the recommendations on policy and operations made by the NZQA

quality analyst within the stated time frame. Fine-tuning was accomplished over the following months. The management team discussed revising the wananga business and management plans, future site developments and marketing and student recruitment for the following year.

The fourth step of cycle four, *critical reflection*, occurred throughout 1999. The organisation, management and administration of the wananga were well structured and had become community-sustained. The management team on site regularly provided individual observations as feedback. This was supplemented by active community contributors whose suggestions and comments reflected their desire to improve the design and performance of the project.

The researcher was now off-site in an outsider research role. She held monthly meetings with the gate keeper who supplied monitoring data based on the project's progress. The monitoring mechanism, involving the transfer of information, worked very effectively. The information the researcher received for analysis and making recommendations temporarily changed the nature of the researcher's role to that of consultant at monthly meetings. Information included for example, physical progress and processes such as service delivery, training programmes, community response to project activities, response from students, financial matters based on budget and expenditure. The meetings and the exchange of information at these times were essential for purposes of accountability to the education funders and to the runanga.

For the researcher the meetings were about review and evaluation. They provided opportunities to:

- share information and perspectives on the project's progress;
- identify management action necessary to keep the wananga on track or to overcome constraints;

- agree on who should take the required action, when and how.

These reviews were action oriented and times of decision making. The gatekeeper kept all the stakeholders involved supplied with information and encouraged involvement and consensus through either managing, supporting or implementing change.

Strengthening of monitoring and review systems are aspects of evaluation which depend significantly on information that is regularly collected and reported through monitoring and review.

Figure 8 on the following page shows the critical tasks undertaken by the researcher during the four stages of the project and brings together the changing nature of her roles. It identifies the interrelationships between the stages that accompany the practical and physical establishment of the wananga and the requirements for documenting and recording, analysing and collating data for a research project.

Justification for Site

Jorgensen (1989) suggested that convenience and opportunity often have a major influence on the researcher's selection of a research site. Site selection is influenced by other factors as well, including ease of access; whether there is a range of possible participant roles that can be assumed and whether the interests and abilities of the researcher are suited to adopting a role in a particular setting (Abraham, 1994:97).

Process Leading To Project Achievement	Process Leading To Research Achievement
<p>Stage One – Consultant Role <i>“Articulation of the project”</i></p> <p>Active consultation by the management team with community, other providers, interested groups and individuals. Free exchange of information based on this consultation from management team to consultant. Identification of issues and concerns through SWOT analysis. <i>Technical research</i></p> <p>Stage Two – Practitioner Role <i>“Design of the project”</i></p> <p>Monitoring and review of community feedback and contributions by interested “others”. Planning and design to reflect community strengths and the community’s ability to resource. Roles responsibilities and time frames identified. <i>Practical research</i></p> <p>Stage Three – Critical Friend Role <i>“Implementation of the project”</i></p> <p>Consolidation of the operations of the “project” in terms of the organisation, management and administration of its processes, procedures and systems facilitated by the critical friend and management team. <i>Emancipatory research</i></p> <p>Stage Four – Researcher Role <i>“Co-ordination of the project”</i></p> <p>Organisation, management and administration of “project” sustained by the management team and the community. <i>Emancipatory research</i></p>	<p>Stage One – Researcher’s actions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Variety of theoretical readings • Search for review of comparative studies • Collection of data • Registration of research proposal <p>Stage Two – Researcher’s actions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identification of research issues • Refinement of research proposal • Variety of theoretical readings • Review of comparative studies • Collection of data <p>Stage Three – Researcher’s actions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Framework of research implemented • Conceptual models produced • Collation of data • Variety of theoretical readings <p>Stage Four – Researcher’s actions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collation of data • Modification of conceptual models and thesis framework • Writing of research project • Reporting of research project

Figure 8: Critical tasks undertaken by the researcher during the four stages of the project

'Site' is characterised as the selection of a certain setting within an organisation, or the selection of a certain group of people as research subjects (Marshall and Rossman, 1989:54). Marshall and Rossman identify the ideal site as having four qualities:

- entry is possible;
- there is a high probability that a rich mix of processes, people, programmes, interactions and/or structures are present and available for part of the research;
- the researcher is able to devise an appropriate role to maintain continuity of presence for as long as necessary;
- data quality and credibility of the research are reasonably assured by avoiding poor sampling decisions.

Marshall and Rossman (1989: 54) suggest that this ideal is seldom attained but that the proposal should describe how the researcher will select a site (or sites) that at least approximates the ideal.

Table 1 on the following page relates each of these criteria to the site of this case study project and justifies its selection.

The 'site' for this case study and the management team provided an ideal setting for the researcher to investigate a model as an organisational framework for use by other community groups when establishing their own education institution using cyclic continuous improvement research. The researcher was granted access and was able to use a variety of roles at different times that were to provide ample opportunities for data collection.

Action learning was ideally suited to the context of this research; the management team, whose responsibility was the evolution of the community's vision,

Table 1: Justification for site selection

Criteria	Wananga project
Was entry possible?	The researcher was invited to design, construct and implement an education training institution. Entry was not an issue.
Were processes, people, programmes, interactions and/or structures present in a 'rich mix' and available for part of the research?	The main research question asks 'how well has this research project developed a detailed model as a framework that other community groups can use when planning and establishing a vocational education training institution?' The corollary research questions ask: how successful was the meeting of the objectives? what did the researcher find? what evidence did she receive as a result of the repeated cyclic process? what 'barriers' did the researched group experience when working with theoretical and practical frameworks different to their own? what happened to the researcher's identity when immersed in the research project?
Processes	Different processes emerged at each of the four developmental stages of the institution during the research cycles of planning, action, observation/reflection and evaluation associated with each stage and based on continuous improvement.
People	Management team, 'gatekeeper', community, tutors, students, advisory groups.
Programmes	The wananga courses; assessor workplace training courses; external moderation clusters.
Interactions	Communication and interactions occurred between the researcher and 'gatekeeper'; the researcher and management team; the researcher and ITOs and other education institutions and training providers; the researcher and students and community; management team members, students' responses and community reactions to the wananga courses, processes and procedures.
Structures	The management team; reporting structure of the multi-sites; the wananga.
Was an appropriate researcher role possible to maintain continuity of presence as long as necessary?	The researcher's varied roles as consultant-practitioner-researcher- critical friend enabled her to facilitate the four developmental stages of the institution.
Did site selection avoid poor sampling decisions?	This case study involved a single institution and a unique project; sampling was not undertaken.

was a small group of people working collaboratively through the various developmental stages of managing an organisational project. The physical structure of the research records what happened in terms of the steps taken. It examined how and why such steps were undertaken using processes such as reflection-in-action within cycles akin to action research for a dual purpose. It was an approach to collecting and selecting research data and also ensured the building of continuous quality improvement into each stage of the development project throughout the implementation process.

Although community aspirations and perceptions of need are highlighted at the 'needs assessment' at stage one of this framework, it is important that communities continue to be actively involved in all stages of promotion, planning and implementation described. This is an essential aspect for effective ongoing development of the community project. It is important to point out that each stage of the cyclic development is dependent on availability of accurate, comprehensive and timely information; such information is the cornerstone of effective strategy development. Equally important is the emphasis on participation, joint decision making and equality in power relations: qualities that define a participatory democratic community. Other characteristics frequently found in such communities are the negotiation of values and beliefs by the participants; direct relations among members unmediated by others; reciprocal relations involving care, mutual aid, cooperation and sharing.

Triangulation

Triangulation, or the use of multiple methods, was necessary not only to incorporate the many strands but also to examine the issues inherent in the project from as many different methodological perspectives as possible. It raised the

researcher above the 'personalistic biases' (Denzin, 1978)⁴ that stem from single methodologies. Multiple triangulation simultaneously combines multiple theoretical perspectives, sources of data and methodologies in the analysis of the research-organisation project, the common data base. Triangulation using multiple sources of evidence has been recommended as a tool for researchers to test validity by Denzin (1985) and Yin (1989).

Validity and Reliability

According to Yin (1989) a researcher selects the specific changes that are to be studied and then demonstrates that the observations recorded or measurements taken do reflect these specific changes. In this case study, changes in the knowledge and commitment of members of the management team including the ways in which application of management skills were applied, were the most relevant in that they supported the stated purpose of this case study, that is the provision of a practical pathway model for the process of creating a private training establishment.

Data triangulation validated the multiple sources of evidence about these changes that in turn confirmed the reliability of each set of observations undertaken within the cyclic process associated with the four stages of development. Data from practitioner observation by the researcher, oral reports from members of the management team, tutors and students, reports written by analysts and participation with community members were used in data triangulation.

A chain of evidence emerged from a number of sources including an initial community sports needs assessment review followed by the development of a strategic plan and a quality assurance model. These tools, that is the needs analysis, strategic plan and the quality assurance model provided a sound basis for project

⁴ Denzin (1978) acknowledged drawing heavily on Campbell and Fiske (1959); Webb et al (1966) and Webb (1966) for his use of the concept of triangulation.

management. The evaluatory component of the latter created the context for continuous quality improvement, a process that added a richer set of concepts from which to draw.

Questions of validity and reliability that had to be addressed were respectively:

- do the interpretations made follow logically from the data?
- will repeating the research yield similar results?

Yin (1989:40-41) described three tests for validity and one test for reliability pertinent to a case study:

- construct validity: establish correct operational measures for the concepts under study;
- internal validity (for explanatory or causal studies only and not for descriptive or exploratory studies): establish a causal relationship, whereby certain conditions are shown to lead to other conditions, as distinguished from spurious relationships;
- external validity: establish the domain to which the project's findings can be generalised.

In this study construct validity was further established by providing opportunities for interested members as the management team and community who contributed data to the research project to review the draft of the case study. Internal validity was not applicable to this research process. According to Yin (1989:43):

...[it]...is inapplicable to descriptive or exploratory studies (whether the studies are case studies, surveys or experiments) which are not concerned with making causal statements.

External validity, whereby the researcher establishes the domain to which the study's findings can be generalised, does not necessarily apply to this work. As it was limited to a particular situation and site, it does not necessarily apply to other situations. Its main aim was to produce a model as a framework for other community-based groups. If it were to be replicated in a different research setting at some future date, a check on external validity would be essential. Case study protocol as described by Yin consists of:

- an overview of the study;
- the procedures followed in the field;
- identification of specific research questions;
- detailed reporting of the field processes used during the four stages of the development of a community-initiated education training institution;
- detailed reporting of the evaluations of management team members at each stage of development so that the project could be picked up and used by another community-based group.

Reliability was established by following this case study protocol:

Tests	Case study tactic	Phase of research in which the tactic occurs
Construct validity	Use multiple sources of evidence	Data collection
	Establish chain of evidence	Data collection
	Have key informants review draft case study report	Composition
Internal validity	Do pattern matching	Data analysis
	Do explanation building	Data analysis
	Do time series analysis	Data analysis
External validity	Use replication logic in multiple case studies	Research design
Reliability	Use case study protocol	Data collection
	Develop case study data base	Data collection

Table 2: Tests Of Validity and Reliability In The Case Study (Adapted from Yin, 1989:41)

For researchers, the collection and analysis of data became a more self-conscious process after the 1930s. Contemporary fieldwork emphasises self-consciousness and 'on knowing' through gaining access to meaning.⁵

The researcher realised her personal experiences were the basis of the political/cultural problems that concerned her. These included the identification of the barriers experienced by Maori when working with theoretical and practical frameworks different from their own, together with concerns about what would happen to her cultural identity as a result of being immersed in the research. These personal experiences had to be included in this research to ensure its validity. Validity in this sense as a criterion, needs to be re-defined in terms of a strong interpretation of relevance. As Rhodes (1997: 33). has said:

...ethnography is a usefully messy genre... [in which]...the continuing need to hear expressivist individual stories and the positivistic need to validate hypotheses [come together].

The Management Team

A basic requirement for initiating and supporting any innovation in education and training is to have a highly motivated group of people working as a team towards common objectives.⁶ The ultimate success of the project is partly dependent on the people involved and the way they work together.

⁵ Foucault in *What Is An Author?* (1977) identified two meanings that reside within the concept of 'author'. An author is both an authoriser, a person who gives credence to certain practices and ideas and a writer, concerned with the way reality can be created and represented by textual strategies. Foucault argued that more often than not the method of textual production rather than the writer is cast as the narrator of a text. The text gains its authority by calling on established widely recognised methodological history. Foucault supported his claim by attempting to prove that only Marx and Freud could be called authors. Only they initiated discursive practices: that other theorists have gained authority from either Marxism or psychoanalysis (Yager, 1997:39).

⁶ The consultant-researcher became a member of the management team during stage two of project achievement.

In terms of this research project, the establishment of the management team that was to be solely responsible for the direction of the wananga was important. It had to consider and then clearly articulate the most appropriate and effective management arrangements for the project. Furthermore an organisation and quality management structure was also a NZQA registration and accreditation requirement for the delivery of programmes of education and training. Building a team approach with a team spirit from among people in the community was a significant and valuable contribution that this community 'gatekeeper' made.

The management team identified six main phases in a monitoring system for project achievement based on NZQA requirements. These were:

- clarification of the scope of the project;
- establishment of the nature of both organisational relationships and management arrangements;
- determination of the information needs of the management team;
- review of existing information systems and procedures;
- development of guidelines and formats;
- provision for training and resources to support the development of systems and their implementation.

From the initial conceptualisation of a quality assurance model, the team implemented continuous quality improvement that involved the following:

- management team members taking an active leadership role;
- continual striving to do better;
- commitment by all members to quality with quality built into daily work;

- performance standards set in terms of client expectations as well as professional norms.

These supportive phases had to be in place and monitored on a regular basis both as a quality assurance measure and a guideline for the management team. The gap between project design (stage one of development) and the practical realities of day-to-day implementation (stage three of the development) was short enough not to put the project at financial risk. Careful monitoring of each phase to ensure it was completed within the agreed time frame was a further safeguard.

As the project evolved, the management team collated information into four categories useful to assess achievement, namely:

- impact of development;
- service delivery and response;
- financial/budget plans;
- human and physical resources.

The information category 'impact of development' was used to measure and evaluate changes, for example, government criteria, asset generation and governance over the medium term. 'Service delivery and response' information assisted the team in the monitoring of service coverage and quality as well as the level of student participation and student responses. The 'financial/budget' category of information encouraged the development of plans that would fall within realistic financial constraints and would monitor the use of funds. 'Human and physical resources' as an information category provided information on the available resource base that allowed the management team to manage resources effectively.

The management team adopted five strategic functions in respect of quality management:

- setting parameters within which the quality improvement process could take place;
- establishment of an open context in which a culture of quality improvement could flourish;
- establishment of a process of internal quality monitoring;
- dissemination of good practice through open communication;
- encouragement and facilitation of teamwork amongst all stakeholders.

As knowledge was gained, skills developed and competencies strengthened among team members, appropriate adjustments were made to what was happening to roles and responsibilities. As team members saw tangible benefits arising from participation, their participation in turn was strengthened.

The participating hapu community

To produce a practical pathway model, this research utilised participatory research, action learning and grounded theory praxis relevant to a researcher working within another culture or community. The objective was that such a model would lead to a greater cultural understanding of the reciprocity between tangata whenua and Pakeha to improve tangata whenua access to, and participation in, tertiary education and training.

Reciprocity between the Pakeha researcher and the tangata whenua researched community characterised the collection and collation of data at each of the four stages of project development. As this text records, the hapu wished to create a learning environment with more relevance and greater sensitivity to Maori

learning requirements than experienced in traditional education training institutions. The researched community as hapu members, were tangata whenua and lived in close physical proximity both to their marae and their workplaces. The hapu used the *Education Act 1989* to provide education and training opportunities by Maori for Maori.

Access to the field of study is the crucial issue in any ethnographic research exercise. It is an ongoing process of negotiation involving the building and retaining of trust and the reassurance of people about the legitimacy of the research. The degree and scope of access to the researched community extended to the researcher by the gatekeeper largely determines the scope, quality and effectiveness of both the achievement of the project and the subsequent research.

In this research the degree and scope of access granted was based on initial dialogue related to ethical issues between the gatekeeper and the researcher. These covered privacy, confidentiality, consequences for others, the importance of the community maintaining an understanding of how the research data was being used, the relevance of the research and the consequential impact of the research on the researched community.

Research data from project development

The data for this research project is presented and portrayed graphically in a series of figures in this chapter. Several figures combine the processes involved in both the research and the project and explain their interrelationship.

Figures 5A and 5B on pages 113-114 illustrate the cyclic process leading to both project and research achievement. They reflect the continuous spiral of the action research type of study used. This technique suited both the continuous quality improvement cycle of such a quality management project and the progressive stages of an organisation development project.

The centre of each cycle comments on the stage of the academic research and the actions and concerns at each stage that had to be confronted. This figure uses the terms and format common to the action research model of Cardno and Piggot-Irvine (1994). Figure 6 on page 116 illustrates the stages of the project, the research cycles and the researcher's roles and identifies the nature and extent of control exercised by the researched community. The construction of this figure pieces together the four independent developmental stages that are labelled as project one, two, three and four.

The action research focus at each stage is identified as is the changing role of the researcher. It succinctly analyses the Maori community's level of participation and relates this within a sovereignty perspective.

Figure 7 (page 118) is a continuum that illustrates the time and task sequence during the four project stages. It fixes both the optimum and real time frames to the cyclic development process of the research and the project's implementation. It uses the commencement of each project cycle as risk analysis, a process that requires time to review and plan for revision on the actions and strategies taken in the previous cycle.

Figure 8 (page 127) portrays the critical tasks undertaken by the researcher at each particular stage of the project. It itemises the progressive steps taken by the researcher to collate the research and to accomplish the project. It also shows that data collection occurred primarily over stages one and two with its collation at stages three and four. The type of research at each stage changed markedly. The description 'emancipatory research' is used with reference to the researcher at stage three and to the researched community at stage four. The latter is based on the researcher's observations.

Running parallel to the construction stages of the project's management and throughout the documentation of the research has been the identification of the needs and actions experienced and undertaken by the Maori community-based group working within theoretical and practical frameworks different from their own.

Figure 9 (page 142) is a theoretical model which the researcher believes is relevant to a bicultural environment. It was a problem-solving model used for project achievement. An interesting point to raise here is that the number of needs and the number of actions experienced and carried out by the researched community are in balance. This balance was not contrived and when read in conjunction with the practical pathway model (figure 11) these concerns and actions can be identified clearly within the particular stages of development.

Figure 10 (page 143) is the project management model that the researcher used. It portrays significant information for any other person or group undertaking a similar project. Within this model the legislative requirements and the external influences that impact on what the researcher calls here 'contents' are identified. They include property, human resources, curriculum, resourcing, evaluation and reporting components. The scale of impact of both the legislative requirements and the external influences vary between the content components but not significantly.

Figure 11 (page 144) reveals the levels of autonomy characterising Maori project management as observed and reflected upon by the researcher. It depicts the progressive stages taken by the researched Maori community throughout the management of the project and is interpreted in this way to illustrate the aspirational path to governance along which they travelled.

Stage	Responsibility	Need	Action
Stage One Articulating the vision	Organising for quality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> active community input to improve the design and performance of the project 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> transfer of skills and information collection and its analysis by consultant to community
Stage Two Designing the vision	Planning for quality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ongoing development of skills in community to enhance local capacity to collect, analyse and use relevant information feedback from community, interested “others” and state agencies’ representatives on the performance of the wananga project 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> sustain community input into ongoing development and/or revision
Stage Three Implementing the vision	Implementing for quality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> physical progress (service delivery, education and training programmes) physical process (management and local community building) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> response of community members to wananga project reasons for any unexpected or adverse responses by students and community financial matters associated with budget and expenditure
Stage Four Coordinating the vision	Monitoring for quality Review and Evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> appropriate management action to support implementation and keep project on track or overcome constraints and agree who takes what action, when and how strengthen monitoring and review systems only if information collected is insufficient recognition of saturation point of data 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> reflect on implications drawn from information collected through stage three to make informed decisions and update operational plan reflect on quality of wananga work and appropriateness of its strategies articulate the insights and learning that will be of use to others in similar situations.

Deming's (1950s) Plan-Do-Check-Act problem solving model for business allows tasks teams to start at any stage. The problem solving process in education must follow a logical sequence.

Figure 9: The theoretical communication and work practice model for a bicultural environment.

This table identifies specific needs and actions that significantly influenced the research project. These needs and actions impacted on the duration of each stage and dictated the eventual time frame for project achievement as well as the risk management of each stage.

Figure 10: Project management during the establishment of a PTE

The 'Project Box' of contents must be a pervious and flexible one, able to absorb and accommodate external influences.

Figure 11: Levels of Autonomy Characterising the Maori Project Management

The researcher became aware when working in the Maori community of these steps toward autonomy experienced by Maori. The steps are an interpretation by the researcher. Reciprocity, or the mutual and dynamic interaction and exchange of ideas and concerns (Lambert, 1997), and reciprocal processes, enable members in an educational institution to construct meanings that lead toward a common purpose. However, as Kegan (1982) stated, the capacity for reciprocity is the result of many years of ‘meaning-making’ with others.

The Practical Pathway Model

The practical pathway model (Figure 12 page 146) that has emerged from the wananga development project evolved from the collation and analysis of the data gathered throughout the four stages. It can be used as a guide for community groups to follow progressively through the stages of a building process for an education and training institution. This pathway model reflects the actual construction practices of the project wananga that involved the systems, processes and procedures necessary to meet the legislative requirements of NZQA registration and accreditation of private training establishments, rather than mirroring exercises associated with the documentation of a purely theoretical research project. The significance of this pathway model for a community-based group is that it brings together praxis and theory through the utilisation of a participatory action research process. It identifies comparable interrelationships between the industry-based model of continuous quality improvement and the stages of intervention characteristic of action research.

This model has to be placed alongside figures 5,6,7,8,9,10 and 11. These figures are graphic presentations and interpretations of the data that were collected throughout the stages of development of the institution. The model is a logical series of four stages common to rational planning involved in the creation of a tertiary training organisation by a private training establishment based within a community. This is a workable planning cycle, useful in the field and most importantly already tested although it would require adaptation in another community context. The model also has to be read in conjunction with a pragmatic understanding and knowledge of New Zealand education legislation and NZQA approaches to quality assurance and continuous quality improvement that are outlined in the following chapter.

Stage One : Articulating the vision

1(a) Assess community education and training needs

- Identify professional bodies, participating community and individuals
- Identify problems/issues
- Recognise community aspirations
- Identify existing activities/programmes
- Build governance structure

1(b) Set goals

- Sphere of education training action
- Target group/s
- Education training outcomes
- Time scale
- Establish management team

Stage Two: Designing the vision

2 (a) Explore pathways for change

- Identify problems
- Identify theories of change
- Clarify community's views
- Recognise community of individuals' beliefs, knowledge, attitudes and behaviour

2(b) Examine possible approaches

- Establish networks and advisory groups
- Liaise with other providers
- Identify community skills, experiences and prior knowledge
- Liaise with ITOs, and NSBs
- Establish pilot activity/programmes

Stage Three: Implementing the vision

3(a) Establish effective methods, settings and key actors necessary to achieve project

- Explore acceptability with community
- Incorporate mix

3(b) Determine available resources for feasibility

- Practical constraints
- Political constraints
- Legislative constraints
- Budget constraints
- Assess existing pilot activities/programmes

Stage Four: Coordinating the vision

4(a) Decide on programme of actions and initiate

- Test acceptability and feasibility with community
- Establish targets and indicators
- Develop five year strategic plan

4(b) Monitor and evaluate

- Nominate measures of progress toward objectives and of eventual outcomes
- Involve community in evaluation process
- Undertake internal self review

Figure 12: The Practical Pathway Model: the conceptual framework for the process of creating a private training establishment

The four progressive stages during the establishment of the wananga were divided into two categories identified in the practical pathway as a) and b). Within each of these categories a number of planning objectives and practical tasks are ordered numerically as vital steps to be undertaken before successful achievement of such a project is possible. To establish a quality assurance system there is a need to develop two processes:

- a map of things to be managed
- procedures for encouraging and assessing quality as well as criteria for judging success.

The focus on the first process is on outcomes and in the second on procedures corresponding to categories a) and b) in the model. Post-production checks are necessary at the end of each stage with the intention of improving processes and procedures. The action research type cyclic model used at each stage of development also identifies evaluation as the end check (risk analysis) of each cycle. In the management of a project that involves a series of developmental stages within a cycle akin to action research the successive stages after the initial evaluation of stage one are essentially evaluations of interventions.

Stage one, categories 1a) and 1b), is one of networking and consultation with the community to ascertain training needs and it is a stage in which the developers assemble data from which they will work and on which they will base the registration document. Feedback to the community after collation of the data is very important to keep all interested groups informed and to encourage their participation. In this project the gatekeeper and researcher began their consultative meetings and reconnaissance with the State agencies. The communication between the gatekeeper and these agencies was characterised by the requirement by the agencies for constant validation and revalidation of who the applicant community was

and what they were doing. By 1b) the management team with broad community representation had been established.

Stage two, categories 2a) and 2b) are essentially analytical. The text descriptors 'explore' pathways and 'examine' approaches describe this clearly. Reciprocity or mutual sharing and receiving was a feature at this stage characterised by open acknowledgement of this process. However, it was at this stage that concerns, issues, doubts and barriers/constraints slowed or influenced, both positively and negatively, the initial community enthusiasm. This was a possible exit point for both the researched community and the researcher, but they chose not to take it. For the project manager the reflective exercise (refer to chapter 8, figure14) articulates the personal doubt of the researcher but was also reflective of that expressed by the community. This was the phase of 'in contemplation' the point that was a possible exit point. Ongoing community networking and community meetings were essential to maintain momentum and to work through concerns. A significant approach that was pursued was the establishment of advisory groups that reflected the proposed curriculum. This would be a requirement for any other group using this model. Such groups are made up of interested supportive people often beyond the community who act as consultants and innovators. Contact, liaison and ongoing dialogue with the relevant ITOs and NSBs was time consuming but necessary.

Stage three was the stage of decision making wherein the capacity of the organisation's management was established. It was characterised by a participatory form of collaborative work practice. The management team and several members of the researched community worked toward improving their own practices to meet the requisite NZQA quality assurance standards and involved those responsible for action as well as those whom action affected. One of the major concerns at this stage was identifying key people necessary to implement and maintain the project. Specialist expertise was needed. The effective and efficient operation of the tertiary

institute required pragmatic competency including skill in the identification and resolution of barriers and constraints that appeared at each level, namely practical, political, legislative and budgetary factors. It was also necessary to pilot a number of ideas and to explore networking with the objective of establishing partnerships with other providers to enhance flexibility and choice for both the community and students.

Stage four took the longest period of time due to the monitoring and testing of pilots and their subsequent modification. These modifications were based on previously nominated measures of progress put forward by the funding bodies, the runanga and the management group that were also used for internal self review associated with future development plans. The monitoring was essentially a post-production check and it initiated action with the expressed intention of improving institutional processes and procedures. By this stage the project was running autonomously under the control of the researched community. Everyone in the organisation had responsibility for the four components of quality assurance. These included maintenance of the quality of the service; enhancement of the quality of the service; the understanding and ownership of the systems for quality maintenance and the enhancement and checking of the validity of the quality systems.

Management Plan: internal review for the training institution.

1. Develop the skills needed to undertake an internal review
2. Establish the purpose of the internal review and a process.
3. Undertake the internal review. What evidence will you be looking for?
What communication needs to take place? How can good practice be identified?
What role do others play?
4. Write an internal review report. For whom is the report written? Who needs to read it?
5. Inform others on the results, recommendations and examples of good practice.
Who needs to know about it inside and outside the organisation?
6. Implement and monitor the recommended changes. Who will action the recommendations? How can the effectiveness of these changes be monitored?
7. Reflect on the internal review. How can improvements to it be implemented?

Chapter Seven

Legislative Aspects of New Zealand Education

In this chapter aspects of the New Zealand education legislative context are examined and particularly the educational reforms that followed from the Education Act 1989 and its Amendment Act 1990 with their dual emphasis on devolution and individual choice. These Acts also made provision for the instigation of the National Qualifications Authority and the introduction of the National Qualifications Framework. The purpose of NZQA's to reorganise a confused, overlapping qualifications system to taking a pragmatic, rational and consistent approach to the organisation and provision of qualifications. The chapter examines various definitions of quality as they relate to education and introduces the concept of quality as equity that has provided a pathway for Maori to achieve relative autonomy within education. Different theories of sovereignty exist within New Zealand. The Maori urban migration in the 1960s initiated radical activist movements including Nga Tamatoa, the Hikoi and Maori land occupations. The middle ground approach to sovereignty had two strands, namely the Waitangi Act 1975 with the creation of the Waitangi Tribunal and the Education Act 1989 following on from several social policy reports that identified social policy as bicultural including Te Puao-te-Ata-tu 1986 and the Royal Commission on Social Policy 1988. Ways in which sovereignty is expressed verbally by Maori include self determination, Maori sovereignty, mana and rangatiratanga.

The political contexts of equality of educational opportunity

The world of New Zealand education has changed. Education after the age of sixteen years is no longer seen as the right of every citizen of the nation as evidenced by the introduction of fees payments by students in tertiary learning and training environments. Questions have been posed and continue to be put as to who benefits from education and whether they should then be made to pay the costs of educating the citizen.

Professor David McKenzie of Otago University Education Department argued that the theme of equality was the rudimentary 'underlay' of the *Education Act 1877*. This Act established compulsory primary schooling in New Zealand but the politicians had to be assured that:

...it is not the intention to encourage children whose vocation is that of honest labour to waste in the highest schools time which might be better devoted to learning and trade.

(McKenzie quoted in Beeby, 1992:303).

A constant throughout the twentieth century was a record of education that failed Maori. The Waitangi Tribunal acknowledged that:

Judged by the system's own standards Maori children are not being successfully taught, and for this reason alone... the education system is being operated in breach of the Treaty.

(Report of the Waitangi Tribunal, Te Reo Maori Claim, 1985, 6.3.8)

With the election of the first Labour Government in New Zealand 1935 the new Prime Minister, Peter Fraser, who held the Education portfolio from 1935 to 1940 expressed his Government's objective in education:

... that every person, whatever his level of academic ability, whether he be rich or poor, whether he live in country or town, has a right, as a citizen, to a free education of a kind for which he is best fitted and to the fullest extent of his power

(Beeby, 1992: XV1)

By 1939 Fraser spoke of policy based on equality of opportunity in education. Years later Dr Clarence Beeby, (1992: xvii) Director General of Education from 1940 to 1960 asked:

...did we all mean the same thing?... I cannot recall that, at the time, we analysed in depth. Inequality had been so starkly obvious during the Depression that its opposite [equality of opportunity] now seemed equally clear.

Beeby noted that Fraser's declaration was never openly challenged in his lifetime although in following years there was frequent criticism of those programmes planned to carry out the policy:

...no politician has dared to denounce the principle. Politically, the idea has stood firm though the interpretation of it has changed...

(ibid: xvii)

Others outside the political environment had recognised that the myth of equality of educational opportunity :

...had been an integral part of what historians have termed the liberal ideology of egalitarianism so pivotal to our growth and development as a nation.

(O'Neill, 1992:67).

Indeed Beeby had critically deconstructed the myth several years earlier with his pronouncement:

It was not until 1981 that I was forced to face up to the full implications of my discovery of a commonsense of direction in education systems of widely different types...seen in retrospect, equality of opportunity is a portmanteau phrase...that conceals sharp differences in ideological commitment below a surface appearance of consensus.

(Beeby quoted in Renwick, 1986: 298-299)

Equality of educational opportunity remained until 1991 the dominant principle guiding New Zealand education although imperfectly realised. In fact, equality of opportunity still remains in education legislation. Goal two of the National Education Goals reads:

Equality of educational opportunity for all New Zealanders by identifying and removing barriers to achievement.

(Ministry of Education, 2000c, item 10084:1)

Despite it being contained in government policy from 1988 it was increasingly threatened by the government focus on educational reform (Lauder, 1992:2).

Of significance is the action taken by the Post Primary Teachers Association Te Wehengarua. Since the 1984 Waahi hui on *Maori In Secondary Education* it has strived to give meaning to Te Tiriti o Waitangi both in theory and in practice in its

effort to be a Treaty-based organisation.¹ However, PPTA has struggled with what this might mean and has endured challenges to its actions both internally and externally. The tertiary education sector union ASTE, also accepted the Treaty challenge. Even though the debate during this time tended to be based on the rhetoric of multi-culturalism and taha Maori rather than Te Tiriti, this debate has recognised the educational needs of Maori and the inadequacy of the mainstream system in meeting these needs.

The fourth Labour Government, during its first term in office from 1984 to 1987 undertook a number of economic and political reforms. But it had also inherited an economy in serious decline, dependent on selling agricultural products to protected markets and characterised by high levels of overseas borrowing and extensive government intervention. Treasury's report to the incoming Government, *Economic Management 1984*, became the blueprint for the next three years signalling extensive corporatisation and/or privatisation of state agencies, business restructuring of the State Services and the dismantling of the welfare state. Codd (1990:204) argued that while the State was relinquishing its control over some aspects of education and its administration, it was also tightening its grip over a number of key areas. On one hand there was a focus on the principle of devolved school-based management, on the other hand there were strong central agencies acting on behalf of the state in the areas of curriculum, assessment and institution review.

In 1987 the Labour Government returned to power and continued comprehensive reform, particularly in education. The *Education Act 1989* and the *Education Amendment Act 1990* defined the parameters of tertiary education. Changes in legislation increased both the autonomy and the accountability of the

¹ Under Rule Four (C) PPTA declares as one of its objects 'to affirm and advance Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi)'

tertiary education sector. The academic freedom and autonomy resulting from these changes:

... were accompanied by requirements for ethical standards of operation, efficient resource usage, accountability, and the need for public scrutiny.

(Coutts, 1994:88).

For Maori, the Treaty of Waitangi is the mechanism to ensure that non-Maori systems and structures respect the right of Maori to gain what the Waitangi Tribunal *Te Reo Maori Report 1985* called equality in education, as in all other human rights.

Although equality had been enshrined in education legislation as a concept since the *Education Act 1877*, equality of educational opportunity had not been translated into academic programmes or governance. Wittingly or unwittingly, the Treasury's influential 1984 economic blueprint created an environment for educational opportunity when it broached the concept of equity and the individual's right of choice. The notion of equity is based on fairness and the ability of individual(s) to make the most suitable choices for themselves. Within education this concept of choice has become a cornerstone for all sectors.

Throughout the 1990s equity was embodied in policies and translated into programmes and institutions. Whereas equality of educational opportunity had struggled for 120 years to make the transition from theory to practice, in the space of a decade the notion of equity was actualised, as demonstrated in the provision of Maori education by Maori for Maori. Equity is now enshrining equality within the education system. For Maori this can mean governance of their own educational structures, but only if there is access to resources.

Since 1990 Te Tiriti o Waitangi has become one of the critical structural and contentious features of the new education policy environment. The nature of the educational discourse about taha Maori and Maori issues has changed. It has

refigured the mainstream debate as to whether taha Maori and Maori issues are part of a bicultural or multicultural development or part of a Treaty relationship in education with quite different policy implications. Equity provision in consideration of tangata whenua is included in education policy but it is far from certain what this means. In practice, in mainstream educational institutions, it is dependent upon the practical and active recognition of Maori rights and authority. It is about being equal, as prominent Maori lawyer Moana Jackson (2000:13) observed. It is a relationship in which the idea of equality should be given institutional effect but in fact this has not always occurred.

In the wider society the term 'equality' carries connotations broader than just the notions of fairness and justness but rarely is it given the institutional effect to which Jackson refers. Equality is often understood as a concept of relativity based on perceived needs of individuals and equity as an absolute concept based on the rights of the individual.

Changes to the National Administration Guidelines (NAGS)² which took effect from 1 July 2000 included improvement in the responsiveness of schools to Maori students as well as an improvement in the achievement of Maori students. It could be argued that the requirements of this NAG are being met in assessment models that appear to be strategies of equity. 'Transparent' assessment information within the unit standard style of assessment is an expression of equity, although in practice it is not entirely achievable. A system cannot hope to eliminate completely the hidden influence of unstated assumptions of teachers, curriculum and test developers and

² The NAGS together with the National Education Goals (NEGS) and the National Curriculum Statements, form the National Education Guidelines which were established in 1990, revised in 1993, 1996 and 1999. They are given effect by sections 60A and 61 of the *Education Act 1989*. The NAGS support learning and assist schools to work towards the NEGS. They provide direction in six areas of school operations: curriculum requirements and student achievement; documentation and self-review;

text book writers. A duty as part of the commitment to Te Tiriti is to consult about education matters including the design and introduction of any assessment strategies.

Although the Treaty of Waitangi has become one of the critical structural features of the new equity policy environment it is far from certain what this means in practice. Indeed, the economic context in which all of this has been happening has created a paradox. The driving force for the educational reforms has been the desire to transform an ailing nation into an internationally competitive one through enhancing the skills base of the population. Education is seen as being at the core of the nation's effort to achieve economic and social progress. But the same economic problems are squeezing the amount of public funding available to education; that in turn creates access restrictions to courses in education and training.

The importance of equity discourse to this research work lies in the shift of emphasis in rhetoric from Maori needs to Maori rights. For Maori, a decision-making role is a fundamental constitutional expression of self-determination and sovereignty that Te Tiriti affirms. The Crown however, sees it as a type of administrative or management function:

Within a context of such different perceptions it is inevitable that there should be difficulty in defining exactly what the Treaty relationship means.

(M.Jackson, 2000:11)

Since the 1980s this Treaty relationship has been defined by the Crown as a 'partnership'. The notion of partnership has created much debate among Maori. The Crown accepts that partnership is a unique relationship based on a recognition of the special status of Maori that, by its nature, imposes obligations upon the Crown. International treaties refer to signatories as 'Treaty Parties' not to a concept of

employer responsibilities; financial and property management; health and safety; administration

partnership. 'Treaty Parties' recognises an inherent equality. The concern among Maori toward the notion of partnership is that it is often interpreted in a way that 'ensures constitutional subordination' (M.Jackson, 2000:12). Te Tiriti is not about majorities and minorities. The rights of people exist independently of the number of people concerned. Within Te Tiriti rights and duties are identified. All treaties in fact define rights and duties. The needs of a people arise if their rights are denied as happened with Maori in the process of European colonisation. The Maori needs of today have been created over the past hundred years because their rights were denied. It is important to note however, that even when people's needs are met their rights remain.

An effective Treaty relationship recognises the right to exercise te tino rangatiratanga, and that in turn implies the right of Maori to exercise it in the way that is consistent with Maori notions of accountability and transparency. It implies that rangatiratanga must be tikanga-based...equality is best met by recognising the right of both parties to determine their own priorities before negotiating with good will to determine the most equitable allocation.

(M.Jackson, 2000:14)

Within the mainstream education sectors operational shortcomings in the management and organisation of educational and training institutions have not allowed for effective and accountable involvement of Maori at governance level. Maori have been allowed greater participation but this has not addressed the continuing inequality and inequity in decision-making authority. In mainstream education sector institutions, the creation of one Maori position plus administrative backup does not indicate an equality of resourcing that would allow fair and reasonable outcomes to be expected and met.

(Ministry of Education, 2000c).

Quality: the pathway to equity

Difficulty surrounds the definition of quality which is an elusive concept, a perception, a subjective notion and as such, defies explanation. Quality can change without warning. It is a moving target that is never achieved although it is possible to move near to it.

The main consensus lies in the fact that quality is a multi-dimensional construct that is defined differently by different interests. It is a value judgement determined largely by the needs of the individuals who define it. Inability to arrive at a precise definition of quality is generally considered to be a positive factor in the practice of quality management. A precise definition would inevitably lead to a precise and prescriptive application of its principles, thus leading to uniformity. The philosophy of quality management prescribes innovative and diverse systems able to respond to the many community needs (Summers and Kavanagh, 1994:145).

Quality in both public and private business worlds is a structured process for improving the output produced. For example, a quality standard in education is established for each unit of work within the overall course process. If the worker in business achieves the quality standard for each work series, the end result is a quality product. Everyone is responsible for quality.

The *Education Amendment Act 1990* made provision for the development of a single, co-ordinated qualifications system.³ The New Zealand Qualifications

³ Other countries moved down similar paths (NZQA, Nov 1995). For example, Australia, Britain, South Africa, European Nations, Sweden, the United States, Canada and other Pacific rim neighbours. Philips' (1998) research points out that no other country as yet has chosen the NZQA unified approach to standards and qualifications development in order to create a single, national qualifications/award structure ...hence [NZQA] is extraordinary in terms of international practice (1998:4). Philips' doctoral research *The Switchmen of History: The Development of a Unitary Qualifications Framework* (1998) investigates how and why NZQA adopted 'the big idea'.

Authority/Mana Tohu Mataatauranga o Aotearoa (NZQA) was simultaneously created as a Crown agency responsible to the Minister of Education to carry out this task.⁴

Quality as an NZQA concept is used in four complementary ways. Three forms in which quality appears in NZQA-speak are described by Professor Cedric Hall (1998a: 2) using Harvey's classification framework.⁵ They are :

- Quality as meeting minimum standards:

...[where] the focus is on the specification of minimum standards or benchmarks which enable a product, programme, performance or system to be given a stamp of approval

For example, the NZQA management approach is focussed on setting goals and standards followed by evaluating practice against these standards to improve practice.

- Quality as fitness for purpose:

...[wherein] the focus of quality is on the extent to which a product, programme, performance or service meets its purpose(s)

(ibid, 1998a: 2).

For example, to ensure the quality of qualifications, one of six procedures NZQA uses is the registration of unit standards and qualifications that are 'fit for purpose':

Quality would be found for example when new skills and knowledge acquired conform with a high degree of accuracy to a well designed specification...

(NZQA, 1993i).

⁴ A critique of NZQA functions and the NQF as an accountability mechanism is found in Hodgetts and Hodgetts' article titled *Qualifications, Critiques, and Reforms: The Rhetoric Surrounding The New Zealand Qualifications Framework* (1999).

⁵ Harvey (1994) *Quality Assurance In Higher Education In The UK: Current Situation And Issues*, a paper presented at the NZQA international conference relating to quality assurance.

- Quality as transformation:

...[a] notion [that] ties in with the idea that education should empower students through their learning...so that they can influence their own transformation

(C.Hall 1998a:2).

For example, the continuous quality improvement that underpins the NZQA concept of quality management is related to that of transformation in that transformation is enhancing of participants and therefore it empowers them.

The author of this text has identified a fourth quality concept within NZQA rhetoric that does not fall within Harvey's 1994 classification.

- Quality as equity achieved through quality assurance practices such as equity performance indicators.

This is the key to unlocking the opportunities for autonomy and governance for Maori and other minority groups within education. This fourth NZQA concept is a cornerstone of this thesis. Whereas choice and devolution have attracted numerous educational critics in New Zealand, quality as equity carries inherent assumptions of fairness and justice. For example, equity is reflected in the NZQA requirement of meeting student equity targets, including Maori, and the requirement to publicly present this information. Harvey (1994: 72) warned that by using:

...sets of overlapping notions of quality...a confused and confusing system of quality monitoring in Britain [has been created].

However, Harvey's classification included three other concepts of quality assurance applicable to higher education. These were quality as exceptional (high standards); quality as perfection or consistency (zero defects, getting things right first time); quality as value for money.

Harvey (1994: 71) asserted that the British Government gave priority to value for money while expecting standards to be maintained. That the Government :

... is clear about the primary purpose; it requires accountability from the public sector...

He identified other stakeholders in higher education who would prefer to see the emphasis of quality monitoring on quality improvement. These stakeholders argue that accountability leads to compliance with no long term quality improvement. Ironically, the emphasis on quality improvement inevitably results in accountability.

Harvey (1994: 72) raised several questions:

...can accountability and quality improvement be combined in a single system? Does a link to funding lead to compliance or to real quality improvement? What is it that quality should actually attempt to improve? Is it preferable to develop a system that encourages continuous quality improvement?

An overview of the different approaches to quality: ISO, TQM, QA, CI

Over the years from 1920 to 1970 many industry/product standards were written. Maher, chief auditor, Standards New Zealand explained the history of quality assurance standards. Standards New Zealand is charged under the *Standards Act 1988* with improving the quality of products and services with regard to the economy in their production and supply. They do this on a non-funded user pays basis via the product marking and The Quality Assured Supplier schemes. The familiar 'S' mark is obtained by proving the compliance of a product and also by implementing a quality management system. The Quality Assured Supplier scheme is a co-operative activity whereby Standards New Zealand appoint a leader to look after the application because all applications come from entities which are unique but have a common

ground that has attracted such diverse industry sectors. The common ground amongst the industry sectors is a wish to satisfy clients through the consistent provision of quality products or services. Maher (1994: 111-112). observed:

...quality systems [aim] to provide consistent satisfaction to clients, be the clients purchasers of products, services, software or processed materials...The way the Quality Assured Supplier scheme works ensures that credible recognition is given to entities that comply with NZS (ISO) 9000. The compliance is measured by audit...

In the late 1980s, as accountability and competition increased internationally, many organisations began to examine more closely quality issues. The International Standards Organisation (ISO) 9000/9001, the development of standards relevant to an industry and as a basis for a quality assurance system in organisations, was introduced into the commerce and manufacturing industries. ISO 9000 is fundamentally concerned with establishing consistency of product and requires the documentation of policies, practices and the forms that are used to certify some aspect of a system.

...[It] allows the clear establishment of a management structure for the assurance of quality and is very helpful in allowing organisations to clarify what they are doing and what is required to maintain the quality.

(Male, 1994:56)

The interpretation of standards such as ISO 9001 in terms of how they might apply to New Zealand education training institutions has proved:

...most difficult for the university system because of its diverse aims, management process and outputs.

(Pithers and Peak, 1994:206).

The first public sector education institution world wide to be registered to the ISO 9000 standard was Sandwell College in England, 1992. Collins (1994:196) reported that in the absence of any agreed educational approach Sandwell College found a need to go beyond its existing practices and to look outside the education sector for inspiration. ISO 9000 was familiar to a member of the college staff from their previous experiences in the engineering industry. Sandwell found somewhat surprisingly that almost all the necessary parts of an ISO 9000 system already existed within it, although not consistently or coherently throughout. Documentation was not widespread (Sellins, 1994). In an increasingly competitive world ISO 9000 was seen as giving an edge. Through the devolution of authority and responsibility in an ISO 9000/9001 environment work roles have changed. Staff who previously were not expected to make decisions are now required to use their judgement. They are expected to work in self-managing teams.

Sandwell College found that by transferring ownership and responsibility to team level a significant amount of support was achieved and teamwork was both more efficient and effective (Collins, 1994:198). Devolving power and responsibility to the most appropriate level does represent a major transformation within organisations and institutions. One of Harvey's concepts of quality is that of transformation. He states that the purpose of tertiary education is to be transformative and that the concept of transformation contains two inter-related ideas, namely, enhancement of the participants and empowerment.

Education and training providers may wish to receive ISO 9000 certification and at the same time meet NZQA requirements for accreditation. Many significant areas required by the Qualifications Authority are not required within the ISO 9000 quality management system as Collins (1994: 200) observed. He warned educators of dangers in approaching quality matters through an ISO 9000 route, particularly

from a possible assumption that meeting the industrial standard for quality management systems was sufficient to guarantee a quality product:

... Conforming to ISO 9000 standards merely marks out the pitch, sets up the goal posts and defines the rules. It does not guarantee that a quality game will be played...like any tool...it is as effective as the person or persons who are using it.

Components of the Qualifications Authority accreditation system needing further expansion before incorporation as an addition to the ISO 9000 requirements are as follows:

- development and evaluation of teaching programmes;
- financial, administration and physical resources;
- moderation of assessment;
- staff selection, appraisal and development;
- industry/professional consultation and ongoing involvement.

These areas need to be specified either within the documentary material or as an addendum and referenced within the publication (Patterson, 1994:110).

Quality is one of the key variables that determines the success of an organisation (Peters and Waterman, 1982; Deming, 1986; Juran, 1988). Education and training providers have historically regarded quality issues as being implicit within the management, administration and operation of education. Since the early 1990s a growing awareness of the need to make quality issues explicit has developed (NZQA, 1991b:10). Seymour (1993: 3) suggested that tertiary institutions now have both the motivation and the means to drive a quality emphasis, namely:

- survival in an increasingly competitive environment;
- the escalation of the costs of doing business;
- a trend to make organisations more accountable for their actions;
- a blurring of the distinction between products and services.

The survival motivation is very strong. The accountability trend, brought about by the increased costs of doing business, has also:

...served to focus the attention of the Government and the community on the actions and management of our [tertiary institutions]

(Summers and Kavanagh, 1994:144)

Dr W Edward Deming is widely recognised as the father of quality. His total quality management (TQM) philosophy emerged in the 1950s out of necessity: the need to improve the working conditions of every employee.

An overriding principle of total quality management (TQM) is systems thinking which reinforces the 'total' aspect of TQM. Systems thinking is holistic. It identifies that an organisation wishing to create a different future must recognise that the success of any single individual depends upon the success of others. In a tertiary education training environment, for example, the learning process will not improve unless teachers work with the students who are doing the learning. Employing quality principles and tools is a cultural change. The pursuit of TQM requires institutions to provide the educational support to introduce staff and stakeholders to the principles and tools of total quality.

The roots of TQM go back to the early decades of the twentieth century to British researcher R A Fisher who developed a more systematic means to improve crop production. His methods were embraced by W A Shewhart at Western Electric

Bell Laboratories. Subsequently Deming, a prodigy of Shewhart at Western Electric, and others including Joseph Duran, utilised statistical process control to improve the quality of military armaments during World War II. Following the war, Deming took these statistical tools to Japan to develop a census for the war-torn country. Deming and Duran helped rebuild the Japanese economy in the 1950s.

Deming introduced a more probing approach to problem solving. The Deming Wheel is cyclic and uses a systematic method for evaluating any potential process improvement. Repetition of the cyclic Plan-Do-Check-Act embodies the overall concept of continuous process improvement. Deming linked the survival of a business to his fourteen point checklist for development of a quality culture which was based on delegating, encouraging and empowering people at the work front. According to him there are four characteristics of a TQM environment:

- the role of committed leadership;
- the value of commitment to the principles;
- persistence in the pursuit of quality;
- the importance of training and ongoing human resource development.

Quality as defined by Deming is the meeting and exceeding of customer expectations. American reawakening to TQM methods occurred in 1980 with the airing of a television documentary entitled *If Japan Can... Why Can't We?*

Within business no two organisations managing along total quality management principles will manage, administer and organise their people and activities in exactly the same way. However, the active role NZQA takes in governing the registration and accreditation of non-university education and training institutions,

including private training establishments, creates a situation where significant similarity occurs between education and training institutions.

Three publications produced by NZQA, (1992e,1993i,1995n) ensure a consistent approach amongst education providers and create consistency in interpretation. NZQA services its publications by making available to providers of education and training an information team, regular information training courses and quality analysts to advise on registration. The availability of the publications, information services and training courses for the specific purpose of disseminating knowledge to extend understanding, not only develops the NZQA interpretation of quality management, but also the quality management vision of the private training establishment (PTE) or the public education institution.

Total quality management is a management philosophy about quality which involves all participants in an organisation in active pursuit of a cycle of continuous improvement in respect to the products and services that their organisation supplies (C.Hall, 1998a: 3). Continuous improvement is characterised by feedback loops and responsive planning. A quality management approach implies a commitment to continuous improvement through its three basic activities:

- setting goals and standards;
- evaluating practice against those standards;
- improving practice (NZQA, 1993i: 10-11).

Furthermore it should be noted that:

...one outcome of improved quality management within tertiary institutions will be that responsibility for quality will be devolved from the centre to the providers themselves. This is consistent with the principle that quality can

only be assured by those who provide the services, and cannot be guaranteed by external control.

(NZQA, 1991b:11).

Continuous improvement can be accomplished by individuals or groups of people by using the Deming repetitive cyclic strategy PLAN-DO-CHECK-ACT. There is general agreement (NZQA,1991ab; C. Hall, 1998a) that ownership of a system, procedure or process such as the implementation of policy is the best guarantee of it happening. Academic quality is best guaranteed:

...when responsibility for it is located as close as possible to the processes of teaching, learning and research.

(C.Hall, 1998a: 3)

Quality assurance is the organisation's process to assure the quality of the activity it is providing. QA covers all the policies, actions, procedures, systems and structural provisions associated with the operation of the organisation. In order to establish a quality assurance system there is a need for a map of things to be managed, procedures for encouraging and assessing quality and criteria for judging success. The focus, in the first instance is on outcomes and, in the second, on procedures. 'Post-production' checks are carried out with the intention of improving the process, not simply separating the good from the poor.

Everyone in the organisation has responsibility for the four components of quality assurance:

- maintenance of the quality of the product or the service;
- enhancement of the quality of the product or the service;
- understanding and ownership of the systems for quality maintenance and enhancement;
- checking the validity of the quality systems.

Equity in QA as it applies to tertiary education and training institutions manifests itself through accountability procedures; transparent management and budgetary structures; the collection of data on institutional performance; public presentation of data for external review.

The prime purpose of NZQA is to provide a consistent approach to the recognition of academic and vocational qualifications (NZQA, 1991a).⁶ NZQA has evolved with a dual focus: to improve quality in education and training and to have international regard (NZQA, 1991a). NZQA published discussion papers between 1990 and 1991. In March 1991 *NZQA Designing the Framework* and *An Introduction to the Framework* explained the national qualifications framework. *Learning For Life Two* (Ministry of Education, 1989) set out the main features of the framework including the requirement of a student-centred approach to learning and assessment.⁷

Harvey's concept of quality as that of transformation is consistent with Giroux's view. It holds that the purpose of tertiary education is to be transformative and that there are two inter-related ideas in this concept of transformation. It both enhances and empowers the participants. Giroux (1988) identified the significant role of teachers in education as the objects of reform. He challenged educationalists to examine the ideological forces that have contributed to what he described as:

...the tendency to reduce teachers to the status of specialised technicians within ...bureaucracy, whose function then becomes one of managing and implementing curricula programmes rather than developing or critically approaching curricula to fit specific pedagogical concerns.

⁶ The *Education Act 1989* s.253 (c) set out the purpose of a National Qualifications Framework "...a framework for national qualifications in secondary schools and in post-school education and training in which ...all qualifications...have a purpose and a relationship to each other that learners and the public can understand; and...there is a flexible system for the gaining of qualifications, with recognition of competency already achieved (Ministry of Education, *Green Paper* June 1997:12).

⁷ Refer to section 4.2 National Education Qualifications Authority pp 44-48.

Empowerment through transformation in education-related literature means:

- teachers will have increased roles in decision making at the building level and there will be an effort to foster teacher development;
- teachers will be engaged in more problem solving together;
- there will be more collaboration among teachers and between teachers and administrators;
- the culture will be more professional in nature.

From the quality of work perspective, empowerment means more self responsibility. Empowerment, however, is dependent upon professionalism for it to occur. To achieve empowerment, professionalism rather than leadership should be emphasised. If professionalism is present, staff empowerment will occur.

The NZQA interpretation of quality

Since the inception of NZQA the quality assurance (QA) agenda has forced a more focussed investigation of equity as well as implementation of equity policy across the tertiary education training sector. By November 1992 NZQA was including the concept of partnership between the Crown and Maori on page two of many of its publications. This was in recognition that integral to NZQA operations, both internal and external, was the need to be responsive to the aspirations, needs and concerns of Maori. Of particular importance was the recognition the Treaty of Waitangi.

The Qualifications Authority will operate in a way that ensures that responsiveness is a part of everyday operations.

(NZQA News, November 1992:2)

However, QA has been part of a larger government strategy to assure systems-wide accountability, quality of performance and outputs. The National Qualifications Authority places emphasis on producing proof of continued improvement in quality.⁸ Once the provider's accreditation is accepted and in place there is greater emphasis on proof of continuous improvement than in the documentation of quality processes and procedures. Continuous quality improvement is related to the concept of transformation. The concept has two inter-related ideas: its enhancement of the participants and their empowerment. This rhetoric is found throughout NZQA literature.

Focussing on a continuous process of quality improvement shifts the primary emphasis on quality from external scrutiny to internal effective action (Harvey, 1994). For example, when NZQA talks about the design of the qualifications framework it says that it will:

... encourage more people to participate in further education and training...
develop learning that is relevant and responsive to the needs of the
individual, employers and society...introduce a fairer system which measures
achievement against clearly stated standards.

(NZQA, 1993j:2).

The National Qualifications Framework is the integral component of NZQA's quality management system:

...a system of clearly defined organisational structures, responsibilities,
processes, procedures and resources...is known as a 'quality management
system'

(NZQA, 1993:10).

⁸ NZQA has quality management systems in place at all levels including:

- i) unit standards: needs analysis; registration; endorsement; review;
- ii) providers: accreditation; moderation;
- iii) National Standards Bodies: accreditation to register assessor; review.

The NZQA (1995n: 6) quality system accreditation requires policies and procedures to be effective in ensuring that the proposed programme meets the programme-specific criteria.

The quality of qualifications related to the framework is ensured despite the fact that the Qualifications Authority recognises that there are problems. These problems are associated with collecting evidence in the workplace arising from framework moderation, assessment practices and unit standards themselves. NZQA is working through issues in several ways, although it has consistently made it clear that it is the responsibility of any provider of education and training leading to nationally recognised qualifications to manage the quality of the provision and assessment of that education and training.

The accreditation criteria that were published in 1992 requires 'a coherent quality management system of policies and practices, with mechanisms for evaluation' as the device to provide the assurance that provision and assessment is 'fit for purpose' in all instances

(Male, 1994:52).

The six distinct procedures that comprise the NZQA quality system are:

- the registration of unit standards and qualifications that are 'fit for purpose';
- the registration of approved private training establishments and government training establishments;
- the accreditation of providers to award Framework credits for the unit standards used for assessment;
- ongoing moderation of assessment determined by the standards-setting body;
- a review of accreditation on a regular basis, usually every two to five years;
- an audit by the Qualifications Authority.

Quality is monitored internally by an institution at various levels and externally by a number of bodies:

External Examples	Internal Examples
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • quality audit of assurance systems • external assessment moderation • external workplace trainers • external NSBs/ITOs examiners 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • staff appraisal and development • teaching evaluation • student satisfaction feedback • internal assessment moderation • complaints and appeals procedures

Table 3: Monitoring Quality With An Emphasis On Continuous Improvement

The National Qualifications Framework

According to NZQA (1991a: 3) the new Framework would be a single streamlined system with programmes centred on the learner, catering for the changing needs of the individual. Learners at any age or stage in life were to be encouraged to go on learning with due recognition for what they have already achieved. This is the philosophy of a seamless system of ongoing learning. One of the first tasks of NZQA was to develop a wide-ranging and consistent framework for national qualifications (NZQA, 1991a)⁹. Moderation and other quality control measures would provide consistency. Figure 13 (page 177) illustrates the extent of the relationships surrounding the Framework. The National Qualifications Framework (NQF) was seen as an essential tool for the management of quality within education (NZQA, 1991b:11). The aim of this framework was to simplify the structure of qualifications to bring a coherence to New Zealand qualifications [and] introduce a fairer assessment system that measures achievement against clearly stated standards.¹⁰ The major criticism of the NQF focuses on standards-based

⁹ NZQA uses several methods to ensure the quality of qualification relating to the framework. One quality control measure is examinations and the moderation of results. The other method employed involves specific quality assurance measures, i.e. the registration of a training provider, approval of units of learning and groups of units which make up qualifications and accreditation recognising the provider's capability to deliver on the unit standards specified. NZQA (1993b) considered the academic/vocational dichotomy outmoded and elitist.

¹⁰ The *Education Act 1989* removed the universities' monopoly on granting of degrees. Any accredited provider could offer any qualification. The exclusive rights to the teaching and awarding of certain types of qualifications disappeared (Hodgetts & Hodgetts, 1999: 34).

assessment. Academic subjects cannot be reduced to a mastery process because they are too multi-dimensional. Vocational subjects tend to be skills-based whereas academic subjects are knowledge based (Irwin et al,1995; C.Hall, 1994/1995). NZQA responded to allegations of 'dumbing students down' by identifying the critic as those interested in retaining the status quo (Hodgetts & Hodgetts,1999: 40).

M.Irwin (1994:71)¹¹ although a critic of the NQF¹², stated that a major reason for the impetus behind the implementation of a comprehensive system of national qualifications was the public's dissatisfaction with aspects of the previous New Zealand system for certifying vocational skills. He cited more specific criticisms including:

- a multiplicity of certifying authorities;
- delays in matching skills needs in industry and commerce to qualifications;
- limited provisions for cross-crediting and linkages between school and post-school qualifications;
- restrictive and inequitable entry criteria.

Philips' doctoral thesis traced the origin of a unitary framework to the mid-1980s. He saw it as part of national and international debates about the reform of qualifications throughout the 1970s and 1980s:

...official reports such as the 1988 *Hawke Report* and *Learning For Life*, Cabinet papers, and documents from officials' committees and other relevant bodies...culminated in the establishment of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority in 1990

(Philips, 1998:10).

¹¹ Refer to M.Irwin *Curriculum Assessment and Qualifications* Education Forum, May 1994 for discussion on the comprehensiveness of the National Qualifications Framework. Refer to C. Hall *Following Principles which accord with the National Qualifications Framework, but without Unit Standards*, University Teaching Development Centre, Victoria University of Wellington published in 1995 for a critical and semantic commentary associated with claims made by NZQA in relation to the NQF.

¹² Irwin et al (1995) also recognised positive aspects of the NQF, namely, the promotion of lifelong learning, self-paced learning, clear criteria for assessment, cross-crediting between courses and providers,, recognition of prior learning, increased subject choice.

NQF Erelationships

The National Qualifications Framework was launched initially in November 1991 with a target completion date of 1993 (Philips, 1998: 17) and in conjunction with a number of NZQA descriptive booklets but full implementation is unlikely to occur before 2002. The framework is based on unit standards¹³ at eight different levels, with achievement assessed according to 'clearly' defined standards.

C.Hall (2000: 4-5) challenged the notion of 'clearly' defined standards in his paper *National Certificate Of Educational Achievement: Issues Related To Reliability, Validity and Manageability*. Previously, in a critique of the proposed National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) as a standards-based system of assessment, Hall had argued that although it sounds relatively straightforward in theory, it is actually quite difficult to carry out in practice:

Unfortunately the notion of a standard is more complex than simply specifying in words the content and level. Most educational standards (student and system standards) require subjective interpretation; the specified words are not enough ...In the view of many educationalists, unit standards are a misnomer: they identify outcome objectives which only occasionally specify a standard.

(C.Hall, 1995: 8)

Hall (1995: 13) cited the example of a student standard concerned with typing speeds that is far easier to define with precision than a standard that focuses on a level for acceptable writing skills

. ... most performance criteria only provide a refinement of the major elements in a unit standard.

¹³ Units are the building blocks of the NQF. Thousands of units are being developed to cover the skills and knowledge in particular fields of study. Units are published as learning outcome statements and assessment criteria.

Unit standards taken at the first four levels can lead to a national certificate qualification; those from level five to seven to a national diploma and those from levels seven and eight to degrees and higher qualifications.

In its own right the introduction of the NQF was significant as an education and training development, the more so when considered in combination with the *Industry Training Act 1992*, Skill New Zealand strategy, the introduction of the secondary-tertiary alignment resource (STAR) in secondary schools and the Ministry of Education's discussion document *Education for the 21st Century*.

Change will continue to accelerate...People are going to have to retrain several times through their working lives. If change is constant education and training must be, too...The workplace must be integrated into the education system to ensure that we have a population skilled enough...

(Ministry of Education, 1993b: 7-8).

The *Green Paper* (Ministry of Education, June 1997) stated that industry training organisations reported an improvement in industry's responsiveness to students' and employers' needs since industry's explicit role in the design of qualifications. Over half the qualifications now on the NQF are new and are not replacing existing qualifications suggesting that they are meeting needs not previously met. The paper identified the enthusiast supporters of NQF developments as being stationed in secondary schools, industry, Maori and private providers. Industry that previously had felt that training supplied by education providers did not match its needs was being addressed by the industry-led Skill New Zealand training strategy (Ministry of Education, 1993b: 15).

Representatives from key Maori sector groups including wananga, PTEs, industry training organisations and polytechnics considered the significance of each Treaty of Waitangi article in relation to the NQF at an NQF-facilitated hui in January

1997. All participants considered the Treaty of Waitangi should be the foundation of the development of the NQF:

...Article One guaranteed Maori benefits in terms of good governance. This meant looking at issues of accessibility and entitlement for Maori. Article Two guaranteed Maori rights to their own education enterprises. This would incorporate issues such as ownership, control and protection. Article Three guaranteed equality as citizens. This would incorporate issues such as the need for consultation and equity.

(Ao Kawe, Mahuru 1997:1)

However, it is also important to note that there was and continues to be opposition to the NQF within secondary and tertiary institutions.

The introduction of the NQF is significant as an education and training development. The criteria of fairness and inclusiveness are important in achieving an equitable qualifications system, that is, one which meets the needs and aspirations of all learners and all sections of the community.

NQF Unit Standards

Unit standards¹⁴ are the building blocks of the National Qualifications Framework. All learning is translated into units.¹⁵ Unit standards describe what a learner needs to know, do and understand at a certain level. Each unit contains elements and performance criteria plus administrative information. A learner must

¹⁴ Refer to Irwin, Elley and Hall *Unit Standards-The National Qualifications Framework*, Education Forum, May 1995 for further discussion, particularly criticism focussed on the use of the unit standard and associated competency-based assessment.

¹⁵ *QA News* June 1999 issue 31 reported that NZQA registered 13,000 unit standards, 500 national certificates and 50 national diplomas. By Issue 33 in April 2000 the NZQA had registered 670 national certificates or national diplomas. More than 34,000 learners had completed national certificates and national diplomas and almost 490,000 New Zealanders were registered on the Framework. In November 1999, 83 tikanga and 64 whenua unit standards were registered in 11 sub-fields. Traditional Maori knowledge about tikanga and whenua are the latest sub-fields to be recognised on the NQF.

achieve each element (or outcome) in the standard to get credit. Performance criteria detail what is required for each element. In some unit standards there may be a range statement elaborating on the performance criteria. Unit standards can be gained individually or in packages for qualifications. Learners are required to meet all the requirements of a unit standard for the award of a credit.

Groups of unit standards, determined by industry and professional bodies, make up national qualifications.¹⁶ Unit standards may be cross-credited. Each unit that is achieved is listed in a person's *Record of Learning*. Learners may add to this record throughout their lives. Unit standards include basic information:

...the number of credits, the level, the qualification(s) for which the unit carries credit, its purpose, prior education and training required, the competencies and skills a learner will acquire and the standard against which the learner's performance will be measured. Delivery details will consist of the teaching methods and resources to be used and will be developed by each provider of the unit.

(M.Irwin 1994: 78).

Unit standards are registered for a specified time and are reviewed before the end of their time frame to ensure their relevance. Each unit standard has an accompanying moderation action plan that sets out the procedures for ensuring that assessments are nationally consistent. Moderation action plans attempt to ensure that all assessors who assess against a particular unit standard are using comparable assessment methods and making similar and consistent judgements about learners' performances (NZQA, 1996:16).

¹⁶ The word 'national' indicates the course is registered on the National Qualifications Framework. Other courses might give a successful student a useful certificate or diploma but the qualification will only show that the student has completed the course. It will not necessarily be recognised nationally.

Every institution/organisation that awards credits for a particular unit standard as a quality assurance process to ensure fair, valid and consistent assessment (NZQA, 1992d) must be part of a moderation system for that unit standard.¹⁷

National Standards Bodies

A National Standards Body (NSB) or the Maori equivalent, Whakaruruhau Matua¹⁸, now taken over by Te Tari o Te Pou with responsibility for National Standards Body Maori, represents all major user groups connected with a field, sub-field or domain, for example, financial services. It has responsibility for the development, evaluation and endorsement of all units and qualifications in that category.¹⁹ NSBs' map qualifications, undertake systematic analyses of the needs in their sphere of interest, market new qualifications to their sector and make regular reviews of their standards and qualifications (NZQA News, June 1993: 6). NSBs and Whakaruruhau²⁰ were established either by the Qualifications Authority or by industry

¹⁷ For 'transparent' standards, moderation requirements are relatively light because the 'standard' is clear and unambiguous in the specified performance criteria. For less transparent unit standards, 'agreed' standards, the standard resides in the collective judgement of the assessors and moderation requirements are more extensive. Refer to *NZQA Learning and Assessment* (1996).

¹⁸ The *QA News* advises its services to Maori: The staff of NZQA Te Tari o Te Pou facilitate the development of Maori unit standards and national qualifications and provide advice and information to Maori education and training providers and Maori learner. (June 1999 Issue 31). The NZQA publication *Ao Kawe Kupu Mahuru* 1997:2 stated the Maori will remain a priority sector for the Authority. The budget for Te Tari o Te Pou has increased each year for the last three years because of the increasing recognition of the work that needs to be done with Maori stakeholders. Te Tari o Te Pou has developed a formal relationship with the Association of Maori Private Training Establishments (AMPTE). Te Tari o Te Pou take part in fortnightly radio programmes in te Reo Maori on two iwi radio stations: Pumanawa FM in Rotorua and Atiawa FM in Wellington. The programmes allow NZQA to target fluent Maori speakers. Iwi stations have requested information about NZQA (QA News, March 1999, Issue 30:5)

¹⁹ Refer to NZQA publication *Registration Of Units And Qualifications*, March 1993. QA News is a NZQA publication produced three times per year to provide information about the NQF and other NZQA services.

²⁰ Whakaruruhau unit standards with Maori dimensions are being developed in a range of fields, for example, health, education, agriculture. Traditional Maori knowledge about tikanga and whenua are the latest subfields to be registered. The tikanga field has the largest number of unit standards ranging across all levels from one to eight. The 83 unit standards are registered in three domains, tikanga issues, tikanga practices and tikanga concepts. The whenua unit standards are registered from levels five to eight. They cover three different domains: Te Whakahaere Whenua, Te Whakamahi Whenua and Te Whakamau Whenua. (QA News, April 2000, issue 33).

training organisations under the provisions of the *Industry Training Act 1992*. A national standards body can register assessors with NZQA providing it supplies adequate information on how assessors will be selected, trained and reviewed as well as how the NSB will maintain satisfactory records of the programme (*NZQA News*, June 1993: 10).

Industry Training Organisations

Industry training organisations (ITOs)²¹ were established in the provisions of the *Industry Training Act 1992*. The idea behind their establishment was to increase the effectiveness and responsiveness of industry training, the assumption being that industry training must be owned and driven by industry to be effective and responsive.²² This Act requires ITOs to set skill standards for their industry. Where an ITO has been established it has become the national standards body for those standards specific to its industry. ITOs not only set standards for their industry, they oversee the delivery of training to achieve those standards. The role of NZQA in relation to the national skill standards is two-fold. One is to facilitate the development of standards and to register them. The other is to do quality audits to ensure that the standards are set up and maintained. The purpose of the framework is to ensure that industry-owned, standards-based qualifications are measurable, portable (both nationally and internationally) and easily understood. The standards set within ITOs cover general, academic and vocational qualifications.

The Act defines the industry an ITO may represent as two or more enterprises that use similar methods and provide similar services/products. The

²¹ Refer to Dr S. Smelt *Industry Training Organisations*, Education Forum, June 1995 for further discussion on ITOs.

²² As from March 1999 there were 51 industry training organisations. The ITOs have their own internet sites to explain how standards-based assessment and moderation systems work, list registered workplace assessors and describe the range of national certificates and national diplomas available in their industry area.

official recognition of an industry training organisation is the responsibility of Skill New Zealand/Pukenga Aotearoa (prior October 1998 the Education and Training Support Agency or ETSA). ETSA was established by the *Education Amendment Act 1990* with responsibility for managing government funding to assist the implementation of industry training programmes.

While ETSA licences and funds ITOs, the NZQA licences their product and its implementation insofar as it is part of the qualifications framework.

(Smelt, 1995:2)

An ITO is required to develop training programmes that cover a range of levels in the National Qualifications Framework. However, NZQA holds the copyright to each registered unit standard and in so doing, controls the standards produced by ITOs (Smelt, 1995).

Skill New Zealand/Pukenga Aotearoa

The purpose of Skill New Zealand (formerly ETSA) is to facilitate a diversity of training options in response to the needs of its clients and the New Zealand economy.²³ It is responsible for training initiatives and is the gatekeeper for official recognition of ITOs (Smelt, 1995). The Government's Industry Training Strategy of the 1990s was designed to increase the relevance and overall amount of industry training in New Zealand. An important part of the Industry Training Strategy involved linking industry training to national skill standards. The skill standards for industry were placed in the National Qualifications Framework (ETSA, July 1992: 8).

²³ From July 2000 Skill New Zealand became responsible for administering the new modern apprenticeship scheme.

The NQF has increased the recognition of workers' skills (Irwin et al, 1995; Hodgetts & Hodgetts, 1999).

The *Industry Training Act 1992* nominated ETSA to have regard to:

- representativeness of employers in the industry;
- capabilities and responsiveness to training needs;
- intention to cover a range of levels in the qualifications framework;
- avoiding unnecessary duplication of effort;
- intention to include employees in its work.

Providers

The term provider is used to describe an individual or organisation providing education and training. NZQA recognises education and training providers who fall within four categories:

- institutions, for example, colleges of education, wananga, polytechnics, universities;
- secondary schools;
- registered private training establishments, for example marae, YMCA/YWCA, Salvation Army, National Heart Foundation, Carter Holt Harvey, McDonalds, Auckland International Airport, Foodstuffs;
- government training establishments, for example, army and navy.

These categorial terms have specific definitions within current legislation (NZQA, 1992e: 7). Not all PTEs are privately owned companies whose core business is education and training. The training divisions of companies like Foodstuffs, McDonalds and Carter Holt operate as PTEs. Some private providers now operate entirely in the workplace, generally contracted by companies to train employees in generic skills like communications, safety and health, numeracy (QA News, March 1999:30).

Private training establishments have been born of enthusiasm and through the initiative of experts in specialty fields. NZQA offers quality assurance through registration of the provider and the accreditation of its courses. For PTEs wishing to become competitive providers, offering valuable training to students in industry, the opportunity to apply for government recognised quality assurance standards was very welcome.

These recognised standards allowed us to measure ourselves by national measurements whereas previously no matter how conscientious private training establishments were, we were still left wondering how we measured up to government training establishments or student and industry expectations.

(Yates, 1994: 181)

The Training Establishments Register published by the Qualifications Authority shows a wide array of courses. A number of PTEs operate as 'second-chance' providers, giving people who have left school with few qualifications a chance to start again in a different learning environment. Other PTEs are accredited to award credits on the National Qualifications Framework so their work ties in with training leading to national certificates and diplomas (QA News, 1999, Issue 30).

Private training establishments must have approval for a new course that leads to a nationally recognised qualification; for a course that is three months or longer in which foreign students will be enrolled; where the PTE wishes to seek Ministry of Education approval for the payment of student allowances. A common concern amongst most providers is the considerable administrative tasks imposed on them by the NQF (Hodgetts & Hodgetts, 1999).

Whereas all state education providers (schools, polytechnics, wananga, colleges of education, universities) are deemed to be registered, only private and government training establishments are required to be registered by NZQA as a first step to accreditation.

The Maori term wananga is currently not restricted by the Crown. However, in the government-defined context the term wananga is used specifically to identify three Maori institutions that are funded by the state as providers of tertiary education. These wananga are Te Whare Wananga o Raukawa; Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi; Te Whare Wananga o Aotearoa. Maori educationalist, Professor H. Mead, acknowledged the irony in this practice. He made the point that while a main stream university can appropriate a Maori name, Maori whare wananga (house of learning) is prevented by law from using the word 'university'. Maori cannot have a 'tribal university', and are prevented also from using the terms 'vice-chancellor' and 'chancellor' (Mead, 1997:57).

NZQA Registration and Accreditation

Registration is granted to training establishments, that is, those providers delivering training in one or more areas of teaching and learning. This is one of the roles of NZQA. Registration is a process which ensures that an establishment meets fundamental standards of delivery that safeguard its clients (NZQA, 1991a:19).

The Qualifications Authority's quality assurance business unit, deals with registration of private and government training establishments, accreditation for the National Qualifications Framework, approval and accreditation of local courses and degree programmes outside universities and approval of sixth form certificate local courses. This unit has quality assurance advisers based in Wellington who have their own clients and support staff with whom they work on the administration of an application from beginning to end. This provides clients with a point of contact to

check on documentation and progress. Quality systems evaluators located around New Zealand to minimise travel costs to clients, are contracted as required to evaluate applications for registration, accreditation and approval. Many of the Qualifications Authority's former quality assurance analysts (prior March 1999) have become contracted quality systems evaluators for the Authority.

There are three steps in the NZQA quality assurance process (*QA News*, December 1998 Issue 29):

- an organisation is registered;
- a course or qualification is approved;
- a registered organisation is accredited to offer an approved course or qualification.

NZQA registration and accreditation provides the public with an assurance of quality in programmes leading to qualifications. NZQA approval of Government and private training establishments to deliver education and training provides the public with an assurance that privately run courses which are advertised as 'Approved By NZQA' have been checked for quality (*QA News*, June 1999, Issue 31).²⁴

Quality in education and training requires the organisation or provider of training to be fit for purpose. The NZQA registration process evaluates how ready the establishment is to take on the responsibility that is associated with this concept of quality, namely, how fit it is for its purpose. NZQA registration endorses the

²⁴ Policy requiring accountability as a prerequisite has imposed changes on community groups, forcing them from self-help groups motivated by special interest to become incorporated societies operating as quasi-commercial enterprises. This changes staffing from volunteers to paid highly skilled administrative officers (Watson, 1996: 87). Watson offers another criticism concerning non-formal learning groups. If such groups lack finance and are unable to gain NZQA accreditation this lack of accreditation may imply that they are not offering 'proper' education. (ibid 1996: 86).

effectiveness of a private training establishment in two key areas of quality management (*NZQA News*, May 1992:3).

These areas are:

- organisational management to ensure the stability of the establishment and the fairness of its relationships with students;
- educational management to ensure staff understand educational quality management and that the establishment has the policies and procedures to carry it out effectively.

Registration of the provider ensures that basic educational and consumer safeguards are in place (ETSA, 1995: 5). A training establishment has to meet certain requirements upon registration to deliver education and training. It must define its purpose, provide details of how it established fitness for purpose and how it will ensure ongoing maintenance of fitness for purpose, supply a full description of the establishment's quality management system and meet legally the specified minimum requirements that provide safeguards for the students. For courses leading to qualifications for which national registration is sought, NZQA requires:

- sufficient details of the organisation which developed the course and which will oversee its ongoing maintenance and development to enable NZQA to clearly identify with whom it is dealing;
- evidence of the extent and nature of consultation between the developers and other national organisations and groups with an interest in the field of the qualification;
- clear statement of the aims, learning outcomes, assessment methods and standards and structure of the course, sufficient to enable an evaluation to be made of its level, quality and coverage;
- clear statement of proposals for the ongoing evaluation of the course to ensure that it continues to be relevant and up-to-date;

- clear statement of proposals for any national moderation system that is to be applied;
- details of any specific requirements of providers to teach the course;
- details of entry requirements and cross-credit arrangements sufficient to enable the level of the course to be identified.

The autonomy of training establishments remains intact. The criteria specified for registration do not interfere with their right to structure and manage their own affairs, nor with service delivery such as learning styles. A Maori PTE may preserve its system of *nga tikanga* and *te reo Maori*. Once registered a training establishment is responsible for ensuring that it maintains or exceeds the standards it has documented in its registration application.

A community-based training establishment must gain registration as a PTE from NZQA before it seeks to gain NZQA accreditation to deliver unit standards²⁵ from the National Qualifications Framework.²⁶ The provider must ensure that information provided for accreditation is consistent with that already provided for registration (NZQA, 1992e:16)²⁷. Individual work places do not have to be accredited by NZQA training. Any assessment must be carried out by an assessor who has been registered by their National Standards Body (NSB). As part of the accreditation process a provider is required to show that there are systems in place to ensure that

²⁵ For the NQF registered unit standards are already approved. Registered organisations are simply accredited for selected unit standards. The training provider may apply for approval to deliver what is termed 'a locally approved course'. In this instance a provider presents its own qualification for approval. The provider is generally the only one seeking accreditation to offer it.

²⁶ NZQA is one of two main approval bodies for qualifications; the other one is the New Zealand Vice-Chancellors' Committee (NZVCC).

²⁷ In documenting evidence for the accreditation application, the 'feedback loop' identified in the NZQA publication *Quality Management Systems For The National Qualifications Framework* provides a basis.

staff with necessary skills and knowledge will be maintained through staff selection, appraisal and development (NZQA News, June 1993: 8).

NZQA together with the ITOs determine the accreditation of providers (Smelt, 1995: 2). Accreditation involves evaluating the training provider's capacity to deliver units standards and national qualifications that are registered on the NQF.

Accreditation is not an evaluation of the provider's actual performance. The process of accreditation involves a critique of the institution's systems and capability to carry out quality assessment. NZQA appoints a quality analyst to carry out this task. NZQA is therefore in a strong position to either directly or indirectly influence the selection of providers, their modes of delivery and the quality of assessment (Smelt, 1995: 2).

The quality analyst organises an accreditation panel comprising relevant standard-setting bodies to review the institution's accreditation submission. The submission for accreditation follows a stated format including requirements and criteria.²⁸ A provider must gain accreditation for any programme or course that has one or more unit standards attached to it. Accreditation must normally be completed before the start of any teaching programme. The provider undertaking assessment must participate in a moderation system determined by the appropriate National Standards Body or Industry Training Organisation. This process is a strategy used to ensure that assessment takes place fairly and consistently throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The NZQA quality system accreditation programme stipulates a quality management system that articulates both policies and procedures in the specified education administrative areas, namely:

- the development and evaluation of teaching programmes;

²⁸ Refer to NZQA, *Guidelines and Criteria For Accreditation To Offer National Certificates and National Diplomas*, Nov. 1992, pp10-12.

- financial, administrative and physical resources;
- staff selection, appraisal and development;
- student entry;
- student guidance and support systems;
- practical and work-based components (where applicable);
- assessment;
- reporting.

Accreditation of a training establishment lasts for two to five years, by which time re-accreditation is necessary. A provider may seek accreditation for a unit, or a combination of units, or a field, sub-field or domain of the NQF.²⁹ Ultimately a well-established provider may seek general accreditation; a provider is recognised for their capacity to deliver all national certificate and diploma units within the Framework. Providers of education and training are audited by NZQA within this time frame. It seeks proof of continued improvement in quality.

NZQA quality-related policies must acknowledge compliance with the National Qualifications Framework and ongoing interaction with national standards bodies or industry training organisations. NZQA gives accreditation to those providers of education that fall within one of the specified categories outlined previously.

²⁹ The term 'field' describes a general area of education or training: there are 16 fields eg agriculture, forestry and fisheries. The 'sub-field' lies within a field which corresponds with generally recognised subject or vocational nomenclature, eg horticulture. Within each sub-field is the 'domain' which indicates a more specialised topic within the subject or vocational classification, eg amenity planting.

Accreditation may also be a requirement for funding or allowances from the Ministry of Education and Skill New Zealand.³⁰

NZQA Audit

Any quality system needs to be subject to auditing to highlight non-compliances, log jams, ineffective practices.

(Male, 1994:58)

The role of NZQA is to ensure that providers have quality control and assurance processes in place. This requires quality audit (NZQA, 1991a:8). Quality audit is an independent check of the institution's quality management processes and is used for accountability purposes. It is a monitoring role assumed by NZQA. The New Zealand Qualifications Authority audits the education institution to meet its imposed legislative obligation to gain proof of continuous improvement through the evaluation of two operating functions. First, the audit determines whether the quality systems of the establishment comply with the planned arrangements and secondly, the audit ascertains whether the quality systems are being implemented effectively (NZQA, 1993). Quality audits provide a means whereby the need for continuous improvement leads to a need for change.³¹ This change is followed by the measurement of the effects of the change so that it can be managed in such a way to ensure the objectives of the programme or course are achievable. This process is

³⁰ The universal tertiary allowance has been available to all tertiary students on the same basis since 1999 no matter where they are studying so long as they are in quality assured programmes. Outside the universities, if a course is not NZQA-approved, it cannot attract government education subsidies and students will not qualify for government loans or other assistance (*QA News*, March 1999, Issue 30:12).

³¹ Current moves within NZQA focus around developing a comprehensive quality assurance audit process for registered and accredited providers of education and training. The Hon. Steve Maharey has signalled, under the new audit process, providers that are effective and show that they can continue to be so, will be audited less often. In an OnQ article *Scheduling Quality Audits* "Organisations demonstrating high quality and effectiveness through the audit process may also benefit when applying for accreditation extensions. If these are within known areas of expertise audit requirements may be waived and the extension approved based on the application documents." (OnQ #4 August 2000: 3).

essentially one of critical reflection for the PTE in that the quality analyst nominated by NZQA asks questions of the management and the clients of the provider about the quality system of the institution.

The improvement-led external audit approach is responsive to the internal initiatives of the institution. Thus it is driven by a bottom-up process and indicates confidence in the members of the institution to assume responsibility for quality. Accountability inevitably follows on from continuous quality improvement rather than starting with it. It is a spin-off. Continuous improvement emphasises openness, transparency and dialogue. It aims to reduce hostility, suspicion and conflict, aspects of a compliant culture. The prime responsibility for the management of quality lies with the provider, therefore internal auditing should be frequent. A healthy cycle of internal audits enables the team to scrutinise itself before external auditing occurs:

It is necessary for any PTE wishing to enter into quality management to be sure that they establish an internal audit, thereby measuring their achievements and the success of the systems they have put in place.

(Yates, 1994:183)

NZQA also subjects to audit the quality systems of national standards bodies. NSBs represent a range of employer, work, education and training providers and community interests. Some NSBs have been established as industry training organisations (ITOs). NSBs oversee the writing of unit standards in their area. They set and endorse the standards and qualifications and set moderation requirements (NZQA, 1995c).

PART FOUR

QUADRANT THREE

Chapter 8

Chapter Eight

Methodologies of the research project

This chapter situates the research project within case study methodology with elements of contributing methodologies including evaluation research, action research, ethnography and grounded theory. The case study approach was a strategic decision that related to the scale and the scope of the investigation leading to the establishment of an education training organisation.

Case study methodology

According to Yin (1989: 23) a case study investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context. The rationale for this research project to qualify as a case study is that it contains the three elements in Yin's definition of a case study:

- the investigation was carried out in a real life context and used an action research method throughout the four developmental stages toward the implementation of an education training institution;
- the management team was continuously developing management skills that members used immediately in their assigned positions; management team training continued to evolve to meet the demands of the stage of development although the boundaries between phenomenon contexts were not clearly evident;
- multiple sources of evidence were gathered, validated through triangulation and with analysis of evidence.

The case study approach was a strategic decision that related to the scale and the scope of the investigation. Case study methodology was particularly relevant as a strategy for this project because the researcher, who had little control over events anyway, was not impelled to impose controls or to change circumstances

(Denscombe; 1999: 40). Essentially the nature of the research was a study of something in depth and detail, that is, the implementation of a Maori private training establishment project in the form of a tertiary education training institution. This exploratory case study describes the processes that emerged during each developmental stage of the institution and also the characteristics of each stage through the action research method. At each stage, as outlined in chapter six, the researcher has identified:

- what each cycle set out to achieve;
- how the data was collected;
- the nature of this data;
- the nature of the information gathered;
- the particular focus that predominated in each cycle;
- the original frameworks worked with and those that emerged as a result of the project.

The research was designed in such a way as to develop a practical pathway model to be used as a framework for other community-based groups to refer to when establishing their own training institutions. A more particular aim was to maximise the benefits of shared knowledge and skills to assist in the reduction of establishment costs for new or emergent private training providers arising from whanau, hapu, iwi or runanga initiatives. The model that has evolved from this research project guides community groups progressively through the building process.

A longitudinal component was inherent in the research since continuous improvement, a quality assurance concept and the organisation's response to it, were key issues to be examined. In addition, the longitudinal characteristic created

time to respond to interventions based on reflections at the end of a detailed plan of action and time to plan prior to implementing changes – each a distinctive phase of the case study process.

The physical structure of the research records what happened in terms of the steps taken and how each step occurred. The research data to be recorded were collated and selected from reflection-in-action by the researcher during each research cycle and at each stage of the project. As Thomas (1993: 20) has indicated, critical thinking begins with the recognition that ideas possess:

a dual-edged capacity to both control and liberate, and adherents pursue knowledge by challenging conventional, taken-for-granted conceptions about the world and about how we think about it in order to move beyond 'what is' to a state of 'what could be'.

The case study research focused on two aspects:

- the type of data that would be found at each stage of the project?
- the form of that data and its suitability as evidence?

The research question associated with case study methodology arose from the prime aim of the research; the development of a practical pathway model for others' reference. The researcher's concern was *how well would the research project develop as the basis for a detailed practical model and a framework that other community groups could follow in planning a vocational education training institution which would meet NZQA registration and accreditation requirements?*

'The case' that forms the basis of the research is usually something that already exists (Denscombe, 1999), a 'naturally occurring' phenomenon (Yin, 1994). It follows that a study of it has distinct boundaries that are made explicit in the text of the research. The researcher was also required to justify the suitability of the particular study for the purpose of case research. In this instance, the researcher

justifies the selection, by arguing suitability on the ground of 'test-site for theory' (Denscombe, 1999), that is, the selection of the case study being made on the basis of its fitness and relevance. Case studies can be used in two ways: for the purpose of 'theory-testing' and for the purpose of 'theory building' (Layder, 1993). The researcher uses this case study as a means of theory building.¹

The case study was an exploration of a single entity or phenomenon bounded by time and activity (Yin, 1989). Detailed information was collected over a specific time frame and a number of data collection procedures used.

By creating a single focus research project in the form of a case study, effort was concentrated. This concentration made provision for deeper insights. By studying the particular, general implications could be highlighted that would be applicable to other organisations. Although each case study is in some respects unique, it is also a single example of a broader class of things (Denscombe, 1999). This case study based on the development of a Maori private training establishment can be treated as the specific case of a broader class of private training establishments which are Maori and deliver education and training, accredited to undergraduate level by NZQA with a curriculum characterised by components of te reo Maori me ona tikanga.

The case study was comprehensive in that it dealt with a case in its entirety rather than with isolated factors. The range and complexity of the factors relating to this research project and its potential effects, necessitated such a research strategy rather than selective study of specific events and circumstances. The case study provided explanations of certain outcomes rather than merely stating what happened. Furthermore it focused on relationships and processes within a social setting which tended to be interrelated and interconnected. Systematic changes may occur in a

¹ Glaser and Strauss (1967) see the case study as theory building in one of two ways: either as a 'receptacle' for putting theory to work or as a 'catalytic element' of theoretical knowledge.

setting that reflects real environmental influences on it at both the micro- and macro levels. It also tends to opt for studying things as they naturally occur without introducing artificial changes or controls (Denscombe, 1999: 31).

This study also calls upon evaluation research essentially because the project is concerned with organisational development, management and operation. Elements of the frameworks of ethnography, action research and grounded theory are integral to it. It must be recognised at the outset that the methodology used does not fit exactly any one of these frameworks, rather it draws upon elements of them all using a systematic sequence of developmental steps. This was necessitated because of the 'barriers' experienced by indigenous groups working with geopolitical and socio-economic, theoretical and practical frameworks different from their own. Figure 9 (page 142) identifies the varied concerns of the researcher on understanding the research. These concerns are framed within the questions pertaining to each of the five research methods used during the project.

A multi-faceted framework allowed the researcher to take an ecological approach operating at four levels: the microsystem, the immediate systems, for example, the family; the mesosystem, the interlocking systems, for example, employment practices; the exosystem, neighbourhood and community structures; the macrosystem, over arching patterns of culture, politics and the economy (Bronfenbrenner, 1979)². Figure 14 below modifies Bronfenbrenner's socio-ecological model to make it more pertinent to the bicultural context of New Zealand in which the two principal cultures are Maori and Pakeha. The ecological perspective provides an

² Bronfenbrenner gives this multi-faceted way of looking another name: the Systems Approach. A systems approach provides insight into the way larger societal systems affect smaller systems.

Figure 14 : A modified Bronfenbrenner model to fit within the bicultural New Zealand context

This framework modifies the Bronfenbrenner (1979) socio-ecological model. The holistic conceptualisation of the Bronfenbrenner model appears to fit with tikanga Maori. Bronfenbrenner made the point that although people are affected by their environment, the environment they are affected by also contains them, their perceptions and responses. The Bronfenbrenner model shows policy change at the state level (or macro system) alters the nature of the exo-, the miso- and the microsystems such as community, school, family and individual. A change in education and training as proposed by either NZQA or the Ministry of Education alters the exo-, meso- and microsystems producing direct and indirect flow-on effects.

Ogbu (1974) called for adding a macroethnographic dimension to educational microethnography; that as an education researcher, the researcher not only studies, for example, classroom and tutorial interaction and the personal histories of the teacher and selected students, but also data at the level of the institution and the community. In this research project the researcher was interested in identifying which political, economic and cultural issues were important in the past and present.

Metge (1990: 7) distinguished between three expressions that either were and are commonly used by Maori people: Maoritanga; te taha Maori; nga tikanga Maori. Maoritanga and te taha Maori as singular forms stress oneness; the plural form, nga tikanga Maori, focuses on the variety within a culture. The formation of Maori identity has involved continual interaction with and reaction to Pakeha identity. Metge (1976: 46) highlighted the creation of Maoritanga against this background and the way it sometimes incorporates and sometimes rejects elements of Pakeha culture.

adaptive, evolutionary view of human beings in consistent interchange with all elements of their environment (German and Gitterman, 1980: 5). Metge (1990) acknowledged the complexity of human life when she stated that it can only be understood by using the concepts of both society and culture to explore both the social and cultural dimensions.

When a nation state contains groups of different cultures in one social system (as in New Zealand), the frictions and problems which arise are partly social, due to competition for power in the social system, and partly cultural, due to differences in ways of seeing and valuing the world. To explain and attempt to deal with these problems in terms of cultural differences only is to invite failure, because the inequities in the social system remain to cause trouble.

(ibid, 1990: 11)

Education is a set of interacting ecosystems. The components in these systems include students, tutors, administrators, politicians, agencies of the state, education and training institutions, student learning processes and teaching and learning contexts.

One of the key benefits of case study research is that it allows the researcher scope for studying in depth a unit of investigation (Anderson, 1990:13) drawing upon a range of other methodologies as appropriate. As a sole researcher several significant barriers were identified, namely, a lack of support in a very specific environment and the lack of a forum to provide support from other researchers in related fields. There was some difficulty in translating practice-based understanding into methodologically sound research.

Evaluation research methodology

The purpose of evaluation research is to assess the effectiveness of different types of actions in meeting needs or solving problems (Reinharz, 1992:189). It is used in the organisation with regard to behaviour and is undertaken to facilitate decision making and/or policy formulation. Another form of evaluation research is self-study. It enables groups to assess problems in their own institutions (Reinharz, 1992:190). As an experientially grounded activity to 'find out', it is used in ethnographic case study projects. It is typically a field activity in that the information it uses is collected primarily in situations where activity occurs in its natural setting, for example, the education institution. Some kind of evidence or experience is necessary as a starting point if relevant conclusions are to be reached.

Evaluation in education involves an appraisal of the desirability of events or conditions and is associated with growth, innovation and development. It is the means by which participants and outsiders can discover whether or not changes are needed and then to guide this process. This action determines the overall effectiveness of the solutions that have evolved.

The research question framed within evaluation research methodology in this project was *within the framework of the ethnographic case study, how successful was each stage of the project in meeting its objectives and then integrating them in the overall achievement of the project?* This question connected directly to all three aims of this research project as stated on chapter one, page 1.

This research project assumed the mantle of the problem solving model of evaluation research (Havelock; 1971).³ During each of the four stages of the project evaluation research was an integral component. The problem solving model's three

³ Two additional models used in educational change are the 'research and development' model and the 'social interaction' model. Weiss (1986) identified seven different meanings relating to research utilisation, one of which is problem solving.

defining actions were repeated within the cyclic process of the action research characteristics of *plan – act – observe – reflect* of each stage. The three defining actions were:

- a diagnosis of the needs associated in a recognised problem situation;
- the participation of an outsider ‘change agent’ who acts as an adviser;
- active participation on the part of the user in seeking a solution.

Evaluation was used in the diagnosis of the problem and in the weighing of possible ‘solutions’ during each stage of each cycle.

As the setting of the research location became more familiar and as data was collected, the researcher began looking for underlying patterns. Exactly how the researcher ‘sees’ relationships between pieces of data or ‘discovers’ theory cannot be precisely described (Merriam, 1990). As Glaser and Strauss (1967) acknowledged, theory building comes from the insights of a sensitive observer. These insights may emerge from the researcher’s imagination, personal experience and knowledge, the experiences of others and existing theory. Glaser and Strauss (1967: 253) suggested that with the use of existing theory as a resource for new theory, lining up what one takes as theoretically possible or probable with what one is finding in the field is an imprecise approach.

Action research methodology

The basic structure of this research project reflects aspects of Lewin’s (1947) original action research model wherein the process is described as a series of spiralling decisions taken on the basis of repeated cycles of planning, fact finding, execution and analysis. Action research is problem focussed and is directed towards solving real-life problems in the everyday world (Lewin, 1947; Kemmis, 1981). Action

research's aim is to increase understanding of the totality of a given situation. This research project as a case study was holistic and involved four cyclic stages of development. Thus the researcher included elements of the action research method because such a strategy was appropriate and relevant to this case study. The action research question associated with the project's developmental stages akin to action research cycles was *what did the researcher find and what evidence was received as a result of the repeated cyclic process?* This question had direct relevance to the second aim of the research project, namely the conceptualisation of the practical pathway into a theoretical framework for others' reference.

The visualisation of action research as a cyclical process, a continuous cycle of development and change fits neatly into the quality assurance model of business and its quest for continuous improvement and the resolution of problems. The purpose of research in its broader aspect is to improve on practice through a 'rolling programme' (Denscombe 1999). Improvement is built into action research in two ways by its cyclic nature. First the research feeds directly back into practice and secondly, the process is ongoing.

This research involved four independent research cycles each of which described a particular stage in the ongoing development of a wananga.⁴ Each involved evaluation inherent in action research methodology, although there was some variation in emphasis and extent of the phases between cycles. Planning and reflection were the focus of cycle one. Action and observation dominated in cycle two. Evaluation, action and planning were the significant features of cycle three and, in cycle four, observation and reflection were emphasised. A critical element in the methodology followed was the continuing effort to discuss and to reflect on the basis of collaboration and group analysis of action.

⁴ Cardno and Piggot-Irvine 1994 developed a repetitive research model in the shape of a spiral.

The project did not commence as a pre-established theoretical model, nor did any member of the project know in advance exactly what each stage would entail, or how many stages would be needed. Flexibility was possible only because it is so closely tied to reflexivity. The constant reflection by members on their own actions supplied on-going momentum and direction. Being collaborative enquiry into an educational issue, the unfolding research affirmed the action research sequence. It also drew on relevant theory and the work of other practitioners provided modifications to these ideas consistent with action research practice.

Lewin's idea of involvement in participation, of accommodation and change, is of relevance to tangata whenua. However, the methodology of this research went beyond his model in that it was linked with what Kemmis (1982) termed 'human action'. Indeed the research mirrored the aims of Carr and Kemmis (1986) namely:

- the improvement of some practice related to education and training;
- the involvement of people from within the practice working collaboratively with outside consultants and/or critical friends.

Each of the four stages of this development project entailed field data collection, recording and analysis to the extent that it was simultaneously 'deductive' and 'inductive' (Lofland, 1976:66).

The cyclic process involved the researcher in moving back and forth between observations and theory. This continuous momentum was essentially an act of discovering, sustained by modifications to original plans and theorising. These were then amended from ongoing observations to ensure their relevance and pertinence to emerging theory and planning. This might seem closer to grounded theory than action research, in that the focus of the research included the development of a conceptual framework to explain the stages of the development taking place. However, the primary emphasis of the undertaking was still the improvement of

practice in relation to the development of the NZQA process to meet the requirements for a private training establishment to deliver NZQA approved national courses.

Grounded theory methodology

As a pragmatist the researcher placed higher value on theory grounded in reality derived out of a world that is continually evolving and being actively shaped by the participants than on theory unproven in practice. Grounded theory grows out of and is directly relevant to activities occurring in the setting under study (Charmaz, 1994: 94). It is theory that develops some insights or learning that will be of use in future situations to other researchers or professionals in similar situations. In Bunning's (1995:12) words it is grounded in the empirical data of the situation and so is not mere speculation.

The process of reflection is an important aspect of the development of grounded theory. Grounded theory is also known as local theory. It needs to be new, to deal with causality and to involve a number of elements and their believed interaction and outcome.

Characteristics of grounded theory are that:

- it builds theory that reflects the reality of the situation under investigation and highlights the areas under study;
- it stresses discovery and theory development rather than logical 'deductive reasoning' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) which relies on prior theoretical frameworks;
- it endeavours to derive a theory by using multiple stages of data collection and the refinement and inter-relationship of categories of information (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

This case study utilised elements of grounded theory in that the researcher has used iteration to develop specific aspects of grounded theory. Research data

were gathered throughout all the stages in the development of the project. Figures 5A & 5B pages 114-115 reflect the iterative cycles or steps of planning, acting, observing and reflecting within the action research process. The research aspect therefore undertaken by the researcher was part of practice. The position of participant-observer is basic to carrying out naturalistic research (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). In this research the practitioner-influenced characteristic reflected a unique quality of grounded theory research; the model created from the data drew on practice rather than mirroring a theoretical exercise. The fact that the project was community-driven, being located within a proactive indigenous urban-based community, made grounded theory appear the logical research strategy. The collection and analysis of data and the theory were in a reciprocal relationship.

Implicit in the nomination of theory is the underlying assumption that concepts pertaining to the research have not been fully covered previously or, in some instances, may still remain conceptually under developed. Habermas (1972) recognised that the 'truth' of a theory is not dependent on the application of certain methodological principles and rules but its potential to orient the process of praxis toward progressive emancipation and humanisation. He placed a lot of significance on the relevance of the researcher's interpretation for its validity.

The research question in a grounded theory study is a statement that identifies the phenomenon to be studied. In this case, the project being an education institution, the organisational question was framed so that it was oriented toward action and process. It asked *what are the 'barriers' experienced by an indigenous group working with theoretical and practical frameworks different from their own?* This question is directly relevant to the third aim of this research project, showing how to maximise the benefits of shared knowledge and skills to assist in the reduction of establishment costs for emergent private training establishments, particularly those arising from hapu, iwi or runanga initiatives.

Theoretical sensitivity as defined by Glaser and Strauss (1967) is pertinent to grounded theory. Sensitivity, they said, relates to the researcher's ability to understand data as well as their capacity to understand and separate relevant information and data from that which is not. Glaser and Strauss attributed sensitivity to insight and insight to being the basis of new theory that comes from the researcher's imagination, personal experience, the experiences of others and existing theory.

Extensive teaching service in education and prior academic training had contributed to the development of the researcher's grounded theory and her theoretical sensitivity. From this she had developed practice and knowledge of how things work, why they work and what is likely to occur under certain conditions within educational institutions. She used this experience to collate and analyse the data and to draw theory from it. In this project the search for data and its collection continued through a repetitive cyclic process until saturation, at which point the theory stabilised. The steps in this process are illustrated in chapter six, figures 5A and 5B on pages 114 and 115 and figure 7 on page 119.

The researcher's understanding was derived from both implicit and explicit knowledge. She took both forms of knowledge with her into the research project and they formed the research background. On reflection, acknowledgement of this became the significant reason for choosing grounded theory as a methodology. The researcher believed that being actively involved in the field was important, as it is for any ethnographic researcher, because it enables them to appreciate and come to understand what is going on.

The 'conceptual density' (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) of this research analysis, that is, the richness of concept development and pattern of actions and interaction in relationships, was considerably strengthened as a consequence of the researcher's in-depth familiarity with the research data. The interpretative nature of grounded

theory allowed such conceptualisation to extend throughout the project. It forced the researcher to question and sceptically review her own interpretations at all stages. The questioning was initiated at those times on hearing the multiple perspectives expressed by the community and associated with their concerns. She also relied heavily on the data and readings in other fields for purposes of analysis.

Ethnographic research methodology

As a Pakeha working with a Maori community, the consultant-researcher could be termed an ethnographer but not from an anthropological stance. A distinction must be made between the meaning in this context of ethnographic and anthropological. Ethnography is essentially descriptive whereas anthropology explains and assumes a functional structural position. This research project⁵ is on an ethnographic topic and describes a study of a particular culture and group, emphasising the understanding of things from this group's point of view:

...acceptable Ethnographic work... should deal with the totality of all social, cultural; and psychological aspects of the community, for they are so interwoven that not one can be understood without taking into consideration all the others.

(Malinowski, 1922: XVI).

The aspects of ethnographic research used here includes gaining access to the people and site, recognising the reflexive nature associated with the collation of data including the inevitable influence of the research itself throughout the process and the understanding of the effects of the research on the researcher as well as on the researched community. However it went beyond the collection and collation of observational data to involve the production of a development framework for the

⁵ G Anderson (1990) *Fundamentals Of Educational Research* identifies ten categories that are often used to describe ethnographic data and research procedures. This research was not wholly one of ethnographic research.

organisation of an education institution pertinent to community development and, in this respect, it is not a true example of an ethnographic model.

The holistic approach of ethnography which stresses processes, relationships, connections and interdependency was most suited to this research. Going 'into the field' (Malinowski, 1922) to gain first hand understanding was an integral aspect of the research. The researcher spent considerable time in the field amongst the group and participated in activities with them. This afforded opportunities to look at the interlinkages that in turn provided a valuable and distinct type of data including the dedicated descriptions of specifics based on first hand observation in a naturally occurring situation (Denscombe, 1999:72). This naturalism is a key concern of ethnography. 'Going into the field' lies at the very heart of ethnography. To accommodate the need to have a theoretical basis for this ethnographic case study, the researcher created the following questions in the text of this thesis:

- how do the findings tie in with, or contradict, existing relevant theories and generalisations about culture, ethnicity and identity?
- why was the event and culture selected for this study and how did they reflect the social concerns held by the researcher.

Critical ethnography in the words of Thomas (1993: 4) is conventional ethnography with a political purpose. Conventional ethnographers study culture to describe it; critical ethnographers do so to change it. Critical ethnography, he continued is grounded empirically in explicit prior evidence of a variety of debilitating social conditions that provide the departure point for research (ibid 1993: 33).

Critical ethnographers start from a realist ontology of 'what is out there to know'. Van Maanen's (1988: 45) 'realist' narrative entails an author-proclaimed description and something of an explanation.

A realist ontology relies on the community's point of view, as filtered through the researcher's interpretive framework, to provide a detailed 'thick' description (Geertz, 1973) that lets the community 'do the talking'. Because critical ethnography begins from a set of value-laden premises, the question for the critical ethnographer is whether the researcher is able to research with a set of values without disturbing the research process. In Thomas's (1993: 21) words, is the researcher able to begin from a premise that social constraints exist and that research should be emancipatory and directed at those constraints as an explicitly value-laden position?

The penetration of the researcher's values is unavoidable in that all knowledge ultimately reflects a set of norms and values about what is worth examining and why. The solution is not to erase them in research⁶, but rather to identify them and assess their impact. The critical label refers to a broad range of approaches⁷. Critical researchers range on a continuum from those who adopt a few of its characteristics to those that attempt to incorporate all of them (ibid 1993). All approaches contain a subversive element because they advocate changes that are not merely cosmetic but possess the potential for reforms that lead to fundamental social change through modest increments (ibid, 1993).

A characteristic feature of ethnography is the significance it attaches to the placing of the researcher's 'self' that is, the researcher's identity, values, beliefs, experiences and expertise into the research process. The 'self' cannot be eliminated as an influence on account of the research (Ball, 1990). This means more than introspection and reflection. Inevitably, the sense anyone makes of their social world and the meaning they give to events and situations are shaped both by their personal experience as social beings and how they have assimilated values, norms and

⁶ Weber (1946) argued for value-neutral research, that is, the researcher approaches the topic 'neutrally' and does not prejudge or impose meanings or interpretations.

concepts during their lifetime. Therefore researchers can never stand outside of the environment they are studying in order to gain a non-contaminated vantage point from which to view the research.

The research question associated with the specific elements of ethnography as applied in this project was based on personal development and identity: *What happens to the researcher's cultural identity when immersed in the research project?*

This self reflective question was pertinent to the third aim of the research project: how to maximise the benefits of shared knowledge and skills to assist in reducing establishment costs for emergent private training establishments.

Ethnographic research involves first gaining access to the people and places involved in the research. Access may raise political, ethical, and practical implications in many instances. Access was not an issue for this research. The researcher became aware of the community's desire to give effect to their vision of an iwi-based education training institution when she was approached to act as a consultant on the project based on her prior experience. She recognised the unique possibility this presented to undertake a research study simultaneously with the assignment. It was agreed by the community that she could act as both consultant and researcher. The challenge was to direct the project and to facilitate practitioner-driven research. Access remained a constant over the ensuing five years. The 'gatekeeper', that is the person who granted the researcher access to the community, remained the same person throughout this period although the nature of the consultant role changed several times.

Ethnography recognises the reflexive nature of social knowledge and the inevitable influence of the researcher's 'self' on the whole research endeavour.

⁷ Categories include postmodernist ethnography (deconstruction and social inquiry); participatory ethnography (participatory action research, action research and participatory research); and Marxian-oriented approached.

Reflexivity suggests that there is no prospect of the researcher achieving an entirely objective position. There is a need to provide a public account of the self which explores the researchers 'self' within an ethnographic perspective. In this research a reflexive attitude toward the entire research process from problem formulation to write-up gave rise to both psychological questions and contextual issues.

Reflexivity concerns the relationship between the researcher and the social world. Making sense of what was observed in this case study was a process that relied on what the researcher already knew and already believed. In this text the researcher describes the researched community only 'as she saw them', that is, her description was shaped by her culture not theirs. There is personal bias in observation and interpretation. The text of this research was therefore a constructed account of a community based upon the researcher's interpretation of events. This account then is partial. However, subjective experience can be a source of insight and understanding both of researched participants and the researcher. It is therefore not only a source of bias; it also documents the researcher's reflection on the reality of the situation she set out to study. With such an extended degree of introspection on the part of the researcher travelling through four research cycles over four years, the research text has a well developed exploration of the researcher's 'self'. Figure 15 (page 211) entitled *Key Components of Personal Change* explores graphically the reflective travelling of the researcher.

In terms of the methodological approaches used the researcher did not conduct a truly collective piece of team research. The researcher retained the power of authorship and. constructed the research largely according to her interests and concerns in teaching, learning and training in Aotearoa/New Zealand. It was her vision of bicultural partnership and reciprocity, albeit based on discussions, combined

Figure 15: Metamorphosis: key components of personal change in the researcher

The case study was a deeply personal and transformative experience. The researcher changed in the process of the case study and her 'self' was fundamentally affected by and changed, in the research process. Field work is essentially a process of 'relearning' and 'resocialisation' (R Wax, 1971).

with the fact that the research would be a research of herself and her experiences over a period of time, that would moderate the inherent power imbalance of the researcher-researched relationship throughout the project. By 'coalition building' (Weiss, 1986) the researcher found sufficient common ground with the researched community.

There are at least two clear obligations facing the ethnographer in regard to the written text for public consumption. The first involves ensuring the information is accurate and true within the limitations of current knowledge. The second concerns the manner of presentation: the willingness to acknowledge the inherent fallibility of any ideas expressed due to their source.

Table 4 following relates each research question to its specific methodological approach as discussed above.

Research questions	Methodological Approach
How well has this research project developed a detailed practical model as a framework that other community groups can use when planning and establishing a vocational education training institution?	Case study
Within the framework of the case study how successful was each stage of the project in meeting its objectives and then integrating these in the overall achievement of the project?	Evaluation research
What did the researcher find and what evidence did she receive as a result of the repeated cyclic process over the four stages of the project's development?	Cycles akin to action research
What are the barriers experienced by an indigenous group working with theoretical and practical frameworks different to their own?	Focus on theory grounded in the data: grounded theory
What happened to the researcher's cultural identity when immersed in this research project?	Elements of ethnography: personal development

Table 4: Research questions and methodological approaches

PART FIVE

QUADRANT FOUR

Chapter 9

Chapter Nine

Research Praxis

The triad of research strategies, namely, participatory action research, co-operative inquiry and action inquiry have independent strengths although fully dependent on one another for the development of knowledge through experiential knowledge that reconciles action with enquiry. They differ from each other primarily on the degree of participation by the subjects in the research process itself. Participatory action research serves the community and large groups of people. Co-operative inquiry is more likely to be successful with a group of people already relatively empowered wishing to develop their practice together. Action inquiry best suits the individual practitioner with the particular skills required for valid inquiry with others.

The learning processes used in this research project were experiential learning and action learning. Reflection and reflexivity characterised stages of these ways of learning to incorporate active thought on judgements, goals, assumptions and actual outcomes related to each stage of project development. Multiple research modes were utilised to produce evidence from a variety of sources that would ultimately contribute to the production of the grounded theory, a methodology that was to become a major contributor to the interpretation of the data. Research modes included the gathering of ideas from experience, talking with others, testing ideas in practice, seeking information from written texts and research and participation with community members.

Participatory Action Research

Participatory action research¹ strategy has a double objective. It aims to produce knowledge and action that is directly useful to a group of people. Secondly it strives to empower people at a deeper level through the process of constructing and using their knowledge (Reason, 1991:328).

This is what Freire (1970; 1985) said was the meaning of consciousness-raising or conscientization. Participatory research values the processes of genuine collaboration as well as that which is rooted in cultural traditions of the common

¹ William Foote Whyte is recognised as the exemplar of participatory action research (PAR) with his study of Italian 'corner boys' in *Street Corner Society* (Whyte, 1943) in which he reflects on the biographical, ideological and other baggage he brought with him into the field. Typical studies have focussed on agricultural collectives, workplace relations and employee-management relations (Thomas, 1993:26). Participatory action research's original work was in the Third World, hearing 'other' voices and recognising the plurality of contemporary communities and societies.

people (Fals-Bouda and Rahman, 1991:5). The emphasis of participatory action research is in the establishment of dialogue between the researcher and the community with which she works. Dialogue is used to discover and realise the practical and cultural needs of other people.

PAR offers a way to redirect attention from those who wield power to those who bear its consequences

(Thomas, 1993:27)

Subsequent research becomes part of the development process including education in action. Participatory action research does not mean that the community as co-researcher has to develop comparable research expertise to that of the researcher, nor does the researcher have to encounter similar outcomes, symptoms or experiences to those of the community co-researcher. Researchers and co-researchers may come together somewhere in the research project. For example, the management team that included the researcher and the researched community in the role of co-researchers, was fully co-operative with an emphasis on a sense of community during their formal meeting times.

The stress of participatory action research on inquiry as empowerment places the emergent processes of collaboration and dialogue that empower, motivate, increase self-esteem, and develop community solidarity (Reason, 1991:329) before research design, data gathering and data analysis that normally assume primal importance in orthodox research. The emphasis on inquiry as empowerment complemented the concerns of the researched participants in this study who aspire as an indigenous community to work towards economic security and sovereignty.

Co-operative Inquiry

Co-operative inquiry when used for the purpose of institutional change is one way of gathering together and acting on the collective wisdom of organisational members, an approach to professional practice. At a minimum, for a research strategy to claim the term co-operative inquiry:

... the nature of the involvement of all participants should be openly negotiated, that all should contribute to the creative thinking that is part of the research, and that relationships should aim to be culturally collaborative.

(Reason, 1991:9).

Ideally, there is full reciprocity in co-operative inquiry, all those involved in the research are co-researchers whose thinking and decision-making contribute to the generation of ideas, the design and management of the project and the drawing of conclusions from such experiences. They are also co-subjects participating in the activity being researched.

Reason (1988) drew attention to several features of an inquiry group which struggles with the problems of inclusion, influence and intimacy. At any time there will be differences in both the quality and quantity of members' contributions particularly surrounding the management and operation of their respective roles. How the group deals with these potential differences in power will affect the quality of its work. Indeed, it is rarely practical to reach full consensus on all decisions.

As a research technique used in this study, co-operative inquiry was overwhelming in that not only was the researcher, continually reflecting-in-action, but also encouraging the researched community to do the same. This type of behaviour takes an extended period of time to develop. In this research several difficulties were struck . Two features complicated the research process and caused difficulty in

terms of valid action. The first was the insider-outsider nature of the researcher's role. The second arose out of cultural differences in expression, particularly with the explicit need to share reflections about the community's dream and mission. The researcher changed from outsider to insider to create open interpersonal relations, but the reality was constant cultural difference.

Action Inquiry

Action inquiry is consciousness in the midst of action (Torbert, 1991). It differs from PAR in that the researcher uses the questions and findings to build descriptions and theories and then tests them from within the research setting itself (Argyris and Schon, 1991). It is concerned with 'primary' data encountered 'on-line' and 'in the midst of perception and action' and only secondarily with the recorded information (Reason, 1991:331). Action inquiry is committed to participative approaches to inquiry and is predicated on people who wish to play a leadership role in cultivating this process with others.

These three research processes were used in this project. A specific group of people from the community, engaged in ongoing developmental work in their community, came together as a co-operative inquiry group to work together to implement a wananga, defined by a common area of interest, namely, sport, fitness and well-being. They met regularly as the management team to review their progress engaging the developmental dialogue of participatory action research. As the research was a development project characterised by distinctive structural stages, the members of the management team employed a process of action inquiry to scrutinise their individual practices, simultaneously reflecting on their experiences and actions.

The Learning Processes

Understanding, improvement and transformation of the specific situations in which the group is working is the ultimate outcome of learning cycles. In this research project, participation meant full involvement. As the researcher had chosen grounded theory as a methodological approach, she had to learn the concepts the community used and to understand the researched community's perspectives. Observing, listening, and working collaboratively with the management team over five years, she was able to analyse the social processes of the researched community and the relations between the participating group and also amongst staff of the institution.

Experiential Learning

Experiential knowing arises from these three forms of inquiry, namely: co-operative inquiry, participatory research and action inquiry.² The primary outcome of all these forms of inquiry is a change in the lived experience of those involved in it. The three approaches are based on the conviction that people learn by self-reflection about their world and their role in it.

In experiential learning, knowledge and understanding is gained from observation, questioning and reflection related to concrete experiences or actions. This leads to generalisations, the implications of which are tested in novel situations.

² Action inquiry and action research bear a resemblance. They are both concerned with taking action to improve a situation while simultaneously learning from that experience. The essence of both processes is the experiential learning cycle, the model popularised by Kolb (1984). However, action research places a stronger emphasis upon...rigor in the collection and interpretation of data (Bunning, 1995:4) as well as processing a requirement to work collaboratively with others. It also places more importance on the generalisation phase of the experiential learning cycle. At this stage in the cycle, the researcher is seeking not only personal generalisations useful to them personally, but also local theory, grounded in the data of the fieldwork. This data is subsequently made available to others via some public reporting process.

A new experience then occurs followed by another cycle of learning. Kolb (1984) developed the 'experiential learning cycle', as follows:

The Maori term 'ako' means both to learn and to teach. Within Maori society the knowledge the individual holds through life learning is passed on through the teaching of younger generations. The knowledge and skills acquired in this experiential way are not formally recognised as an educational qualification in either Maori or European culture but are significant in matauranga Maori.

As the researcher moved to participant-practitioner and critical friend role she became as much as is possible an insider. In the role of researcher, as an observer systematically watching and recording, she became an outsider. The two roles of participant and observer often resulted in tension which through the discovery of 'problems', 'concerns', 'different interpretations' and 'issues' was fertile ground for cultural analysis. The hypotheses developed arose from the interaction between her wide understanding of social, economic, political organisation and the staff and community perspectives learned in the field. If the researcher had only been an 'observer', participating in limited ways and privately thinking that the

community was too different for her to fully immerse herself in, she would not have undergone this sort of transformation.

Action Learning

Action learning is a process underpinned by a belief in individual potential, a way of learning from doing as well as from what is happening to and around us. It is achieved by taking the time to question and to reflect so that insight is gained which might help in the future. Learning is most likely to occur when there is an issue or challenge to face, the resolution of which is central to the person being effective and successful. There are two important elements to action learning. It involves a group of people working together 'doing' and their 'learning'; it requires regular vigorous meetings of the group to allow space and time for questioning and reflection. The development of skill usually draws on such experience and feedback. The core of action learning lies in the 'learning' rather than in problem solving.

Action learning fits well into the education and training environment of tangata whenua. Their key cultural concept of whanaungatanga, a term used to denote their empathetic family ties in Maori society, recognises the importance of inter-relationships of people and social roles. Empathy is a significant attitude in action learning. Feeling empathy assists people to make better contributions. By conveying empathy people demonstrate that they are 'on side'. This encourages greater sharing and reciprocity.

Bunning (1994) identified three principal assumptions underlying the practice of meeting in an action learning group:

- examining, reviewing and reflecting upon your recent past experiences as a worthwhile activity because it may lead to improved strategy in the future;

- reflecting with others who are active and interested can improve the quality and quantity of your own learning;
- unbounded opportunities for continuous improvement in your personal and professional functioning may be created.

Action learning involves experiential learning cycles. Reg Revans (1982), the originator of action learning in the 1930s, described it as narrowing the gap between theory and practice. It is learning gained from concrete experiences followed by critical reflection on those experiences either through trial and error, group discussion, discovery or learning from one another. Action learning does not assume that knowledge has to be transmitted and received in the form of information, theories and research findings before it can be applied to practice.

Action learning does recognise the immense productivity involved in learning from undertaking 'real' tasks shared between the researcher and the researched members. In this project, action learning was used as a managerial technique and enhanced the management team's performance by providing opportunities for integrated outcomes.

As a practising researcher and a secondary school teacher, the author had become increasingly concerned about ways of learning from experience³ and, more significantly, with the high quality attention needed if this kind of learning was to be successful.

³ In *Experiential Method* 1971 John Heron explored the relationship between personal development and inquiry. Heron called this approach experiential inquiry to emphasise the fundamental importance of acknowledging personal experience as the touchstone of valid psychological inquiry.

The Learning Practices

For more than a decade, literature has revealed the ‘sustaining influence’ (Zepka, 1996) of reflection (Boud et al, 1985; Carr and Kemmis, 1986; Schon, 1987; van Manen, 1990; Valli, 1992; Letiche, 1993; Thomas, 1993; Hatton and Smith, 1995). Dewey is acknowledged as a key twentieth century originator of the concept of reflection. He drew on the ideas of earlier educators including Plato, Aristotle, Buddha and Confucius (Hatton and Smith, 1995: 33). Dewey considered reflection to be a special form of problem solving “thinking to resolve an issue which involved active chaining, a careful ordering of ideas linking each with its predecessors” (Hatton and Smith, 1995:33).

During this thinking process, consideration has to be given to any form of knowledge or belief involved and the grounds for its support (Adler, 1991). This is an active, deliberative and cognitive process. Reflective thinking usually addresses practical problems and allows for doubt and perplexity before a possible solution is reached.

Reflection

From Dewey’s original conception of reflection as a consciously rational search for solutions to problems,⁴ several different conceptions of the term have been identified. Schon (1983:1987) talked about ‘reflection-on-action’ and ‘reflection-in-action’, the latter implying conscious thinking and modification while on the job. There is a form of knowledge he termed ‘knowing in action’; our actions reveal an ‘ordinary knowing’, that sort of knowledge that we normally do not identify.

⁴ Although there is some consensus that reflection is centrally concerned with finding solutions to real problems (Adler, 1991), questions can be raised about whether solving problems should be considered as an inherent characteristic of reflection. Hatton and Smith discuss this in their article (1995:34).

Only through reflection-in-action can we come to recognise it. This confirms that the person has reached a stage of competence where she can think consciously about what is taking place and then modify actions virtually spontaneously. Most other kinds of reflection involve looking back upon action some time after it has taken place (Hatton and Smith, 1995).

Van Manen (1990) proposed three levels of reflection that were derived from Habermas (1973). The first level, 'technical reflection' is concerned with the efficiency and effectiveness of means to achieve certain ends which themselves are not open to criticism or modification. 'Practical reflection', the second level, allows for open examination of means and goals and the assumptions upon which they are based as well as the actual outcomes. The third level, 'critical reflection', locates any analysis of personal action within wider socio-historical and politico-cultural context. Critical reflection requires considerations involving moral and ethical criteria (Adler, 1991) as well as making judgements about whether professional activity is equitable, just and respectful of people. Van Manen's concept of critical reflection, derived from Habermas is more than constructive self-criticism of your own actions with a view to an improvement – a loose use of the term.

As evidence of reflection, Hatton and Smith (1995) identified four types of writing, three of which were characterised as different kinds of reflection, namely descriptive reflection, dialogic reflection and critical reflection.⁵ 'Descriptive writing', the fourth type, is not reflective. It merely reports events or describes the literature. Descriptive reflection on the other hand attempts to provide reasons most often based on personal judgement. Dialogic reflection is a form of discourse with yourself, an exploration of possible reasons. Critical reflection involves giving

⁵ Refer to Figure 16 (page227) entitled Types of Reflection and their contexts for a graphic description.

reasons for decisions or events that take account of the broader historical, social and/or political contexts.

Valli (1992), in addressing the issue of whether there are discrete different models of reflection, sides with van Manen. Her six level hierarchy from the lowest is behavioural; technical decision making; reflection-in-action; deliberative; personalistic; critical. Valli places Schon's reflection-in-action at level three, yet Schon described reflection-in-action as the most complex and demanding kind of reflection that calls for multiple types of reflection and perspectives to be applied during an 'unfolding' situation. This approach to reflection develops as a consequence of considerable experience.

For reflection-on-action, three distinctive forms are identified in Hatton and Smith's (1995) model which, in essence agrees with similar categories constructed by other reflection researchers such as Valli (1992). The three forms are descriptive, dialogic and critical. They are placed in this order as a perceived developmental process that begins with technical reflection. To Habermas (1973), technical interest represents the human need to control and manipulate the external environment. The knowledge required to do this he called instrumental rationality: the empirical knowledge of normal science.⁶ The other two categories of human interest involve reflection (Mezirow, 1981, cited in Zepke, 1996: 10). They are practical interest wherein people are able to interpret and understand how they and others construct social reality and actions to fit that reality and emancipatory interest and knowledge:

...the human drive to transcend self imposed constraints, controlling social forces and institutions and conditions of disturbed communications.

⁶ Technological rationalism (Marcuse, 1964; Habermas, 1973; Giroux, 1988) has a commitment to the project of harnessing science to the conquest of nature, including human nature, as necessary for continued societal well being.

Reflection type	Nature of reflection	Possible context
Reflection-in-Action (Schon, 1983, 1987) addressing IMPACT concerns after some experience.	5. Contextualisation of multiple viewpoints drawing on any one of 1-4 below and applied to actual situations happening (most demanding type of reflection)	Dealing with on-the-spot professional problems as they arise (thinking can be recalled and then shared with others later.
Reflection-on-Action (Schon, 1983; Hatton and Smith, 1995) addressing TASK and IMPACT concerns in the later steps of a programme	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg); margin-right: 10px;"> Perceived as developmental; use of critical perspectives depends on development of metacognitive skills. </div> <div style="flex-grow: 1;"> <div style="margin-bottom: 20px;"> 4. Critical (social reconstructivist) seeing as problematic, according to ethical criteria, the goals and practices of your profession. </div> <div style="margin-bottom: 20px;"> 3. Dialogic (deliberative, cognitive, narrative) weighing competing claims and viewpoints and then exploring alternative solutions. </div> <div> 2. Descriptive (social efficiency, developmental, personalistic), seeking what is seen as 'best possible' practice </div> </div> </div>	<p>Thinking about the effects upon others of your actions, taking account of social political and/or cultural forces (can be shared).</p> <p>Hearing your own voice (alone or with another) exploring alternative ways to solve problems on a professional setting.</p> <p>Analysing your performance in the role (probably alone), giving reasons for action undertaken.</p>
Technical Rationality (Schon 1983; Shulman 1988; van Manen 1990;) addressing SELF and TASK concerns early on in a programme	1. Technical (decision making about immediate behaviour or skills), drawn from research/theory base but always in light of personal worries and previous experience (least experience, or less confident, controlled or simulated environment)	Beginning to examine, usually with peers, your use of essential skills or generic competencies in a small setting.

Valli, 1992; Hatton & Smith 1995

Figure 16: Types of reflection and their contexts

Two significant dimensions are pertinent to the process of reflection:

- speaking the truth as the researcher sees it to ensure ideas and beliefs are articulated and clarified in that it provides a useful basis for reflection;
- giving voice to your ideas and being heard which requires others truly to listen which may present opportunities for verbal reflection (Valli, 1992).

The ethnographic researcher is an active creator rather than a passive recorder of events or narratives:

All ethnography requires systematic intellectual or personal involvement with our subjects, regardless of whether we are relying on artefacts or fully immersed with the subjects themselves. ...Through reflection and active repeated thinking about our project, we attempt to become self-aware of the process and consequences of knowledge production by bringing the original act of knowledge back into consciousness.

(Gadamer, 1976:45 cited in Thomas, 1993:46).

Reflexivity

There is a need in ethnography to understand not only the effects of the researcher, but also the effects on the researcher, as well as those researched.

Feelings are recognised and utilised in the text:

...because the basis of all research is a relationship, this necessarily involves the presence of the researcher as a person

(Stanley and Wise: 1983: 162).

Experiential fieldwork or ethnography is considered to be a particularly appropriate phenomenological methodology for biculturalists and feminists insofar

as it can be used to understand the experiences of Maori and women who other more quantitative methodologies tend to ignore. Although ethnography does not resolve the problem of social justice, it does recognise it as a problem:

...And in doing so, ethnography creates the pre-conditions for research and social responsibility if only by arguing that the worlds of words separating 'us' from 'them' are not natural boundaries, but social borders that we help maintain when we refuse to travel into uncharted territory.

(Brodkey, 1987: 42).

The most significant feature in fieldwork for the researcher is the reflexive component, that is the location of self in the research. As Rhodes (1997: 31) stated:

'Ethnography' in composition does not explore cultures so much as it explores individual experience within closely defined cultural institutions

For Bunning, however, the reflexive critique is derived from the belief that social reality is intrinsically subjective. Thus, in addition to seeking the views of others as a way of making your own understanding of a situation more robust, you need to:

...explicitly and regularly step back and question your own presuppositions, values and implicit paradigms, to see how they are influencing your interpretations and your strategies.

(Bunning, 1995: 9)

Research Modes

Contextual research and literature review provided the background information on the methods used, that is, case study, evaluation research, ethnography, action research and grounded theory as well as the various techniques

including participatory action research, co-operative inquiry, action inquiry and experiential learning. The review of literature contributed an overview of the entire area, placing the research project in context. The Catherine Wheel, (Figure one, page 3) illustrates the contextualisation of this research.

The ethics and politics that guided my research originated more in the researched community's values and politics than in any literature on ethics. The researched really did want to do the project for the community and was prepared to accept guidance and risk criticism from members of it whose opinions she felt mattered most. She did in fact make strategic use of the participant observer status accorded her by the 'gatekeeper'. She had no notion of non-participation observation. The inclusion of the personal, in turn, raised ethical concerns in deciding what material to use. There was an ethical commitment to the researched community and to the cause the research espoused. Impinging on this were the demands of academic research. This created a dilemma and manufactured some tension. The detachment associated with the research process was at odds with the emotional demands for collectivity central to continued work with the researched community. Equally the emotional experiences of doing fieldwork were intricately tied to the interpretations and theories ultimately produced.

This case study combines many strands and comprises an intertwining of research modes. The researcher gathered ideas from her experience (experiential research); talked with others including peers, colleagues and community about them (dialogic research); tested and developed them in action (action research); simultaneously drew up written texts and published papers, archival records and documentation (contextual research); participated with community members (collaborative research) and developed theory grounded in all of this.

The most important advantage of multiple evidence is the development of converging lines of inquiry (Yin, 1994). Glaser and Strauss (1967) opposed the focus on verification for theory development which is the basis of positivist definition of theory. The ultimate goal of positivist theorising is to develop universal laws of human behaviour and societal functioning. In *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1967), Glaser and Strauss proposed an inductive strategy whereby the researcher discovers concepts and hypotheses through constant comparative analysis. The researcher generates theory through discovery and bases explanation and prediction on the results of this 'grounded theory'. The process the researcher may undertake is as follows:

This research project goes beyond the 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) of interpretivists who probe the intentions, motives, meanings, contexts, situations and circumstances of action (Denzin, 1988:39). It is more than 'lived experience'. It combines thickness of description with critical self-awareness that encourages a fully participatory reading. Consequently, both the participants of the research and the readers of the research share in its construction. In this respect, the ethnography is neither 'objective' nor 'subjective', generating a profound 'anti-antirealist shared 'author-ity' (Rhodes, 1997:31). The ethnography generates theories, explanations and perceptions that require solidarity and collaboration among participants, researcher-writer and readers.

To acquire a working knowledge of Maori culture the researcher reviewed selected literature, held talks with individual Maori and participated in the researched community. Such dialogic research centres around two-person interaction and uses dialogue as a mode of 'finding out'. It is based on an interpersonal relationship of two people and is not a group process.

Collaborative research occurs among a group of people who together pursue an investigation. It has two forms:

- researchers study their own experiences in a group of which they are a member and engage in co-operative inquiry;
- people come together to study an experience that has occurred outside the group, and co-incidentally, they study the group's processes and collective experiences.

The type of collaborative research used in this study is based on reflective co-operative inquiry. Experiential research in this instance was research that used

the researcher as the 'subject.' It focussed on the direct experience of the researcher. Experiential research has two forms;

- personal, where researcher and subject are one and the same;
- dialogic, where experience and/or response to experience is shared with others.

In this ethnographic case study, the researcher used both forms of experiential research and the research material was based both on dialogic instances and personal experiences:

Because the basis of all research is a relationship, this necessarily involves the presence of the researcher as a person. Personhood cannot be left behind, cannot be left out of the research process.

(Stanley and Wise, 1983:162)

The advantage of taking a membership role over other forms of research involvement lay in the researched community's recognition of the researcher as a fellow member. This perception allowed the researcher to participate in several routine practices of the researched community to 'naturalistically' (Adler and Adler, 1987) experience their world.

Doing 'membership work' forced the researcher to take on some of the obligations and liabilities of community members. She assumed a functional role, not solely concerned with research, consultancy and social participation in the research setting. This accorded her a higher level of trust and acceptance among the people. She was drawn into an active membership role for two reasons; first, structural factors endemic to the project and secondly a personal belief in the significance of understanding the subjective world of the researched community.

The dialogic nature of the research combined with the fact that the researcher was also examining herself and her experiences, helped to lessen the inherent power imbalance of the researcher-researched relationship. 'Coming to know' through participation in other cultural environments is a personal transformation and a process that only the individual identifies and can signal through reflection.

To become a successful consultant-researcher, it was important to have balance between a solid, personal, neutral relationship with both the management team and the community and a balanced perspective. As consultant, she needed to be alert to the danger of losing faith in her own competence to work within a cultural environment different from her own. She had to come to the 'heart of the matter' (Broughton and Hampshire, 1997) to enable her to interpret and analyse within the context of the work she was asked to do. The researcher took the midpoint of an imaginary 'continuum' wherein distance is located at one end (and perhaps never coming near to understanding what was happening) and, at the other end, of becoming too involved. She appreciated that neither rigidity, passivity or too much pushing ahead would enhance her understanding.

Story telling was not needed in the context of the aims of this research. It was not required to uncover the 'complexities and contradictions in peoples' lives' (Salter, 1999). Maori story telling is their unique whakapapa, mihi, waiata and karakia. The interpretation of this research is not informed by a Maori epistemology and ontology; the researcher is not Maori. *Herstory*, chapter three, is the researcher talking. It is a vignette of her educational life history, contextualised politically and sociologically. The researcher's political aim and one that she will gain a sense of satisfaction from is if the research will be politically helpful for individuals and if it challenges readers to critically reflect on their own beliefs. It is through the latter or

what Freire (1976) called 'conscientization' that equity, fairness and justness might emerge. The text became an amalgam of the theories and concepts grounded in her unique professional and personal experiences. The research is based on her engagement with policy and the documents created by policy makers. The project was a problem solving situation where a problem had to be defined and solved somewhat in isolation.

The researcher has long association with the Maori feeling that they have become disaffected with researchers wanting to carry out research 'on Maori' and not 'for Maori'. Throughout the project the researcher was particularly aware of who she was answerable to and who controlled the process and the knowledge generated. The narrative inquiry research method that is located within a Kaupapa Maori research framework (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999) is about 'research by Maori, for Maori and with Maori.' It was never intended that the research should be within a Kaupapa Maori research framework and use the narrative inquiry or story telling research methodology.

PART SIX

Chapter 10

Summary and conclusions

Chapter Ten

Quality as Equity: Summary and Conclusions

This concluding chapter presents by way of summary an overview of the research project then sets out the practical pathway model followed as a framework for other community-based groups to refer to. Finally, it articulates the grounded theory developed to achieve quality as equity.

Background to the research project

The community-initiated development project involved the consultant-researcher in the conceptualisation, development and implementation of a tertiary education training institution. Research data were gathered throughout the four stages of the development of the wananga. Research was an integral aspect of practice. The community participatory characteristic was driven through action research. Implicit in action research's emphasis on collaboration and dialogue is the notion of a participatory democratic community, an emphasis that is mirrored in the Maori communal way of working; whakawhanaungatanga.

The Catherine Wheel model (chapter one Figure 1 and on the following page) is one outcome of this thesis and is a diagrammatic illustration of the interrelationship of the processes, theories and methodologies involved. The model reflects the four quadrants of the research. Super-imposed on these are the Maori concepts of mahinga (praxis) and whariki i te mahara (philosophy) that cannot be separated from turanga (where do I come from) and whakapapa (who am I) which are at the centre of the four quadrants.

Figure 1: The Catherine Wheel Model

Four quadrants make up the Catherine Wheel. They are philosophy, continuous quality improvement, research design and research praxis.

The researcher gained significant and particular insights from each of the four quadrants. Quadrant one, the 'weaving of ideas', whariki i te mahara /philosophy, translates into a metaphor of a woven mat giving an appropriate Maori dimension involving people, place and roles. The insight gained was that in quality there is equity. The warp strands of the mat represent the community and the management team. The weft weaves the multiple roles of the researcher between the warp strands producing a pattern of reciprocity. A parallel weaving is the idea of taking the various disparate elements of quality assurance, the National Qualifications Framework and the legislative provisions and weaving these into the structure of the wananga.

Quadrant two, continuous quality improvement illustrates how the discipline of quality assurance moved the researched community within another direction. The insight gained was that quality assurance was empowering through the acquisition of knowledge and skills gained in the implementation of the project. A self determining process evolved.

Quadrant three is research design and case study methodology. The nature of the project in effect self selected the methodologies that were used. The research is essentially a case study but with aspects of ethnography, action research, grounded theory and evaluation research. Using multiple methodologies a participatory process evolved. The research design raised the researcher's awareness of the need in project development to look beyond the immediately obvious. In fact the researcher believes that much research would benefit from the application of multiple methodologies which introduce considerable reflection and broader interpretation of data analysis. The insight gained was that in the use of this technique challenges are posed, particularly in the

drawing of definitive results. However, when conclusions are drawn they appear so much more robust.

Quadrant four, mahinga/praxis introduces the concept of whakawhanaungatanga, the building of relationships within and across communities, between individuals and amongst groups. It reflects the value of reciprocal arrangements and processes, the systems incorporated and operated and the knowledge that is disseminated and used. Working within this quadrant provided the researcher with a more intimate understanding of the significance of the socio-ecological perspective that developed as the project proceeded. It shaped the researcher's appreciation of the unique way in which each individual creates and interacts with the environment which has a significant bearing on the development of greater understanding and tolerance between cultures.

Ethnic identity is strongly linked to participation and behaviour. Access strategies for Maori include physical accessibility; the provision of adequate services to match particular needs of different groups; points at which continuing opportunities for participation are provided in the administrative and political structures including working parties and committees and the establishment of a number and variety of links and transcontextual relationships between, for example the educational institution and the neighbourhood, the home and commerce.

Support strategies may be, for example, shared values; opportunities for success through skills, interests and qualifications; personal development to increase expectations, assertiveness, self-confidence and self-esteem, the building of the skills necessary to participate in and develop alternative approaches. It may also involve support for people to get together and work in groups including payment for training and

development costs and the practical support to enable people to take part, including information, transport, meeting places, advocacy, child care.

Ethnic identity is first and foremost a matter of ancestry, a self-definition that is both handed down within the family and created on the basis of family history. For Maori, the significance of the family for transmitting ethnicity is magnified by the comparative weakness of ethnicity in the public spheres, including schools. The Pakeha experience has dominated the common school tradition, a tradition that supports the assimilation of Maori students.

Having grown increasingly aware of the unequal relationships that exist between Maori and Pakeha students in mainstream education, the researcher became involved professionally and emotionally in seeking justice and fairness. She learned from working within the secondary and tertiary education sectors that public policy has the power to affect the wellbeing and development of people by determining the conditions of their lives (Ogbu, 1974; Bronfenbrenner, 1979; L.Fulcher, 1998). She materialised this understanding pragmatically by working on the initiation, development and implementation of policies, procedures and strategies that could influence with greater fairness the lives of Maori students and their whanau and hapu. Critical self-reflection (Spoonley, 1995) on 'being pakeha' (M. King, 1985) and the reports of the Waitangi Tribunal (1991; 1995; 1997) that recognise Maori as tangata whenua and Treaty partners rather than a minority group had radically conscientised her (Freire, 1970;1974).

In this account the researcher hopes that she has not slipped too easily from a mainstream situation into that of a Maori community, and in so doing ignored the possibility that these two situations are substantially different. The writer believes she

has resisted rather than adopted what is a currently fashionable, personal confessional stance which can be open to unconscious processes of censorship (Spoonley, 1995). Nonetheless this kind of stance has impacted on this research. She moved away from an analysis focussed on 'belief' to one focussed on 'practices'. Instead of trying to understand racism and the associated feelings of alienation, discrimination and harassment as mental phenomena, she has taken them as mind sets that have strongly influenced governmental and institutional practices of organising and managing others, (Awatere, 1984; R.Walker 1987; Puao-te-Ata-tu 1986, Tuhiwai Smith, 1999) their culture, their numbers, their settlement patterns and their everyday behaviour.

The purpose of the research project

The research project was based on the establishment of a wananga as a private training establishment. The aims of the research, as set out in chapter one were threefold: to develop a practical pathway model for community-based groups to use when seeking NZQA registration and accreditation of their education training institutions; to conceptualise this pathway into a theoretical framework; to illustrate how to maximise the benefits of shared knowledge and skills. This may assist in reducing establishment costs and contribute to capability-building within the community for emergent private training establishments.

Research design and strategy

Since the first aim of this case study was to generate a practical pathway model, it was considered appropriate to present a case study based on five research questions. Each question was attached to a specific methodology and a theoretical model, Table 4 below was conceptualised. Yin (1994: 29) described research design as the logical sequence that connects the empirical data to a study's initial research questions and

ultimately to its conclusions. The five questions were central to the aims of the project. Their relevance to specific aims of the project are discussed in chapter eight. The researcher used a multi-methodological approach because such an approach best suited the context and nature of the project, the analysis of data and the development of the grounded theory.

The range of research methods employed reflected both its breadth and diversity. From the wealth of data collected a theoretical needs and actions model, Figure 9, page 144 for use in a bicultural environment was developed. This model involves ways of working and communicating and also links the actions undertaken at each stage of project development with the specific needs of that stage. Theory construction according to Yin (1994) attempts to break down the theory-method split.

Major concerns / Research questions	Methodological Approach
How well has this research project developed a detailed practical model as a framework that other community groups can use when planning and establishing a vocational education training institution?	Case study
Within the framework of the case study how successful was each stage of the project in meeting its objectives and then integrating these in the overall achievement of the project?	Evaluation research
What did the researcher find and what evidence did she receive as a result of the repeated cyclic process over the four stages of the project's development?	Cycles akin to action research
What are the barriers experienced by an indigenous group working with theoretical and practical frameworks different to their own?	Focus on theory grounded in the data: grounded theory
What happened to the researcher's cultural identity when immersed in this research project?	Elements of ethnography: personal development

Table 4 (repeated from page 215): Research questions and methodological approaches

It still remains largely confined to the statistical analysis of variables and related modes of theorising. Its distinguishing quality is the shift from the established convention of the testing of given theories to strategies for generating new theoretically-based propositions.

In this research study, theory is normative in that to claim there should be more social justice or less inequality is a normative statement as well as a value judgement. Normative theories, being concerned with 'what ought to be', become broadly associated with the philosophical or metatheoretical field of ethics. Normative theorising is central to social criticism and political philosophy as well as theories of ideology. As Morrow (1954: 50) commented despite the aspirations for 'value-free' social science, it is clear that value questions have always been central at various stages of research practices. Ideological processes are a pervasive feature of New Zealand institutional and social practices even where they are not overtly associated with ideologies as organised belief systems.

The fieldwork for this case study was personal in that it was a transformative experience. As consultant-researcher-observer-practitioner-critical friend, the researcher was changed in the process of the fieldwork. At stages two and three the depth of her immersion in the field was such that analysis proceeded on an unconscious level and the subjective emotional experiences associated with the fieldwork became interwoven with the interpretation and the theories ultimately produced. Had she been a detached observer or a participant in a limited way she would not have undergone such a personal transformation and the analyses would not have been formed independently.

The dual location from which she operated throughout the project, namely, 'inside' and 'outside' on different occasions, was possible for quite

specific reasons. She was 'insider' researcher, or in social science terms participant-observer who shared the vision and the goals of the community and Maori aspirations for tino rangatiratanga. During those times when she was 'outside' and her primary location lay beyond the environment of the organisation any communication was spasmodic. Most of her time was spent documenting the research.

The researcher found difficulty during stages one and two of project achievement to strike the necessary balance between direct authentic involvement on the one hand and the mental distance requisite for quiet reflection on the other. Reflection was necessary to facilitate critical interpretive inquiry from which to build the theory. Stage three, implementing the vision', was a relatively easy time to come and go from the organisation. She was able to do this freely for several reasons. First, substantial changes occurred in terms of communication at each stage. During stage one, information sharing and consultation predominated. For the researcher this stage was one of conceptualisation. The context was collaborative in spirit and in practice. The community articulated its vision. Collaborative inquiry involved the explicit sharing of reflection about the community's 'collective dream' and 'mission', characterised by open interpersonal relations and systematic feedback. The researched community and the management team were served well through collaborative inquiry.

In stage two, observation and decision making prevailed. The intensity of involvement experienced by the researcher deepened considerably. At this planning stage the context was participatory. The implementation process of stage three incorporated evaluation and action as well as planning. During this phase, the participatory aspect of the study was plainly apparent. The researcher's role had become fourfold: practitioner-consultant-researcher-critical

friend. By adding practitioner to her roles, communication with the researched participants became succinct and rational in contrast to the communication style during the first two stages of organisation and development. As a practitioner, the researcher was engaged in organisation not project research. Data for the project research continued to be collected although it was less significant than that assembled when her role was that of either consultant or researcher.

The level and intensity of participation of the researched community increased progressively between stages one and four. At stage four, the researcher found that calls on her time were significantly reduced. This allowed her more time for self-reflection. The emancipatory aspect that predominated in stage four related to the transformative process that the researcher was undergoing (Figure 15, page 214). This related to her involvement in such a community project and tracing and recording this in the form of an ethnographic case study. By stage four, the processes, procedures and policies involved in registering as a provider of education and training were in motion. Organisation, management, administration and ongoing development planning operated with or without the presence of the consultant-researcher. Paralleling the development of the project was the growth of a common identity and sense of belonging that held (and continues to hold) the organisation together bound by a distinct system of shared meanings among members. Shared norms and values were the 'culture' of the organisation. The culture provided a consistency of an action towards the common purpose towards which the organisation was directed.

Case study methodology was particularly relevant as a research strategy for this community project in that the consultant-researcher as 'outsider' with little control over events was not impelled to impose controls or to change circumstances (Denscombe, 1999: 40).

The fact that the project was community practitioner-driven made action research the logical research strategy to employ. The visualisation of action research as a cyclical process fitted neatly with the quality assurance business cycle and its quest for continuous improvement and the resolution of problems and conflict. In its broader enterprise, the purpose of research was aimed at an improvement of practice through a 'rolling programme' (Denscombe, 1999). The improvement aspect was built into the action research in two ways, namely, by cyclic repetitive nature and feedback directly into practice, creating an environment wherein this process was ongoing. Action research was used in this context as a critical educational science (Carr and Kemmis, 1986) in that as a reflective practitioner the researcher not only reflected upon her practice but also on the relationship between her practice and the wider social, political and economic conditions in New Zealand. In this respect, the problems addressed through the use of the action research method were similar to those addressed by liberal market politics. In short, they appear to share similar views associated with 'new times' 'changing times' and 'knowledge economy'.

The Practical Pathway Model

Once the pathway was developed for the project, the researcher's task was to conceptualise it into a framework for the production of a detailed development model for other interested community-based groups to make reference to when establishing their education training institutions or undertaking similar projects. The basis of this task was to maximise the benefits of shared knowledge and skills, to contribute to a reduction in establishment costs as well as to capability build within the community.

The model on page 248 guides community groups progressively through stages of the building process. This model reflects practice in preference to the mirroring of theoretical exercises. The strategic pathway model follows a logical series of steps

common to the rational planning that is involved in the creation of a tertiary education training organisation by a private training establishment. It is a workable planning cycle, tested and proved in the field. It may require adaptation in another community context.

The practical pathway model documents what happened in terms of the steps taken and, how and why such steps were undertaken using processes such as reflection-in-action within cycles akin to action research for dual purpose. Firstly as an approach to the collection and selection of research data and second to ensure that the building of continuous quality improvement into each stage happens throughout the implementation process.

The pragmatics of the pathway model

Using this case study as an example, the researcher has described how the experience of quality management has created positive outcomes for a community-initiated organisation development project in a local context. For the comprehensive description that has been supplied in the text she has drawn upon her own professional experiences and observations in other contexts and melded these into the four quadrants of the Catherine Wheel. The text of the research represents how a corporatist management agenda such as quality assurance can be strategically used as a politics of transformation in the interests of Maori self determination within a liberal market political environment.

Although community aspirations and perceptions of need are highlighted in the needs assessment at stage one of this pathway model, it is important that communities continue to be actively involved in all the stages of promotion, planning and implementation described. This is an essential aspect for effective ongoing development of the community project. It must also be pointed out that each stage of the cyclic

Stage One : Articulating the vision

1(a) Assess community education and training needs

- Identify professional bodies, participating community and individuals
 - Identify problems/issues
 - Recognise community aspirations
 - Identify existing activities/programmes
 - Build governance structure
-

1(b) Set goals

- Sphere of education training action
- Target group/s
- Education training outcomes
- Time scale
- Establish management team

Stage Two: Designing the vision

2 (a) Explore pathways for change

- Identify problems
 - Identify theories of change
 - Clarify community's views
 - Recognise community of individuals' beliefs, knowledge, attitudes and behaviour
-

2(b) Examine possible approaches

- Establish networks and advisory groups
- Liaise with other providers
- Identify community skills, experiences and prior knowledge
- Liaise with ITOs, and NSBs
- Establish pilot activity/programmes

Stage Three: Implementing the vision

3(a) Establish effective methods, settings and key actors necessary to achieve project

- Explore acceptability with community
 - Incorporate mix
-

3(b) Determine available resources for feasibility

- Political constraints
- Legislative constraints
- Budget constraints
- Assess existing pilot activities/programmes

Stage Four: Coordinating the vision

4(a) Decide on programme of actions and initiate

- Test acceptability and feasibility with community
 - Establish targets and indicators
 - Develop five year strategic plan
-

4(b) Monitor and evaluate

- Nominate measures of progress toward objectives and of eventual outcomes
- Involve community in evaluation process
- Undertake internal self review

Figure 12: The Practical Pathway Model

process (Figures 5A, 5B & 6, pp. 114,115,117) is dependent on availability of accurate, comprehensive and timely information. Such information is the cornerstone of effective strategy development.

Equally important is the emphasis on participation, joint decision making and equality in power relations, qualities that define a participatory democratic community. Other characteristics frequently found in such communities are the negotiation of values and beliefs by the participants; direct relations among members unmediated by others; reciprocal relations involving care, mutual aid, cooperation and sharing.

In the education context three elements need to be structured into the environment: empowerment, community participation and collective action/community development. These three reflect respectively the ethos that information leads to knowledge and knowledge to rational choices in attitude and behaviour. Skills and the confidence to change attitude and behaviour are more important than knowledge and that attitude and behaviour take place in a social context. Changes in individual attitude and behaviour both lead to and are accelerated by a shift in societal attitude and behaviour patterns.

Empowerment approaches to education include the concept of self determination and aim to help communities of individuals (Dewey, 1978) to develop the confidence, skills and knowledge necessary to make their own decisions about education and training. In theory, the decision taken is not the concern of the consultant or educator. In practice, however, empowered approaches emphasise knowledge as the basis of decision making. The values of the educator often inform and even direct the educational process.

The ongoing thrust within Maoridom for tino rangitiratanga (self determination) has become a strategy for Maori decolonisation. The concept of self determination is based on empowerment and empowering. The concept of self management is based on partnership. The ongoing issue in education for Maori is the dominant system's focus on partnership, but the decision making as it affects Maori education within the partnership is not equal. Partnership as self management is oriented towards the dominant group because it is this group that issues the policy. Empowering through self determination encourages policy orientation that is based on knowledge and skills.

The fragmentation of processes creates barriers to coherence and practice and to the building of relationships amongst community members of the education institution. Fragmentation thus denies empowerment. Reciprocal processes may prevent the separation and fragmentation of governance commonly experienced within an education institution and often reflected in the number of separate specialist committees. Yet it is the reciprocal processes that enable us to construct meaning within the context of relationships. As Lambert says (1997: 34)

[we] need to stop thinking of roles or people as fixed entities and instead view them as relationships that 'involve' one another rather than 'containing' one another.

For this to happen Lambert suggests that there is a need to develop an ability to practice empathy and to move outside our self, to differentiate our perception from those of another. Reciprocal processes will mean breaking with old assumptions and myths, focussing on the 'construction of meaning' and producing actions that embody new behaviours and intentions.

The production of knowledge in the management of this project put the researcher in close contact with the researched participants. This closeness created problems with the management of anonymity and confidentiality, particularly as the

result of the overlapping roles in relationships the researcher assumed. These created a range of complex and unavoidable dilemmas associated with establishing friendships which enabled the researcher to access confidences. Multiple roles during research projects may set up a conflict of interest. Betrayal of trust is recognised as a potential risk of multiple roles (de Laine, 2000). Denzin (1994) outlined the art of representation. It revolves around how the researcher makes sense of what they have learned through their own research experience. In this research text the researcher weaves a story of her experiences in Herstory and in doing so creates a context for her interpretations. Geertz (1973: 9) recognised the subjectivity of research:

...what we call our data are really our constructions of other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to.

Language is not transparent (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). This questioning of textural value raises concerns of legitimisation although legitimisation acknowledges the researcher's interpretation. The 'textural management of self' (de Laine, 2000) requires a balance between the public's right to know and the researched participants' right to privacy. When the researcher transforms data to knowledge and discloses it to the public, damaging possibilities may be created.

There are at least two clear obligations facing the ethnographer in regard to the written text for public consumption. The first involves ensuring the information is accurate and true within the limitations of current knowledge. The second concerns the manner of presentation, that is, the willingness to acknowledge the inherent fallibility of any ideas expressed due to their source. With regard to accuracy and truthfulness the primary obligation lies in the tacit trust that the researched community has in the information produced by the researcher of this text. This trust creates a situation whereby it is incumbent upon the researcher to place a high value on what is presented as fact.

The ethical concern is that recontextualisation is a subtle and powerful manipulator of community values and opinions in the development and presentation of an interpretive account. The trust of the researched community must be considered of paramount importance.

By a process of co-joint consultant and community planning this wananga initiative described in this text has developed. Ongoing community participation will be essential to ensure the continuing responsiveness of the wananga to local needs.

A window of opportunity: Quality as Equity

Quality assurance discourse nominates equity as one of its measures of excellence and quality. However, quality assurance is not only discourse, it is a set of practices. Equity within QA systems and procedures in tertiary education and training environments manifests itself as accountability procedures; transparent management and budgetary structures; the collection of data on institutional performance and public presentation of data for external review. These measures make a substantial difference in institutions, particularly to groups that in the past have been sidelined or silenced.

As we have seen, The *Education Act 1989* created initial opportunity for Maori initiatives in the delivery of education and training and subsequently they have enthusiastically embraced the provision within this legislation for the registration of private training establishments. Quality assurance is used by Maori as a mechanism for equity-oriented change management. It has accommodated effective and accountable involvement of Maori in governance and allows them to exercise tino rangatiratanga with a tikanga base. The introduction of the National Qualifications Framework in 1991 was an equally significant development in education and training. The criteria of fairness and inclusiveness inherent within the NQF are important in achieving an equitable

qualifications system, one that meets the needs and aspirations of all learners and all sections of the community. As stated in *Ka Awatea* (1991:13):

Although interpretation of what constitutes equity may be contentious, there is increasing consensus that whereas equality involves identical treatment of all individuals and groups, equity may involve different treatment of individuals and groups where justified.

There is a quantity of literature that has identified the negative consequences of corporatist quality management initiatives for 'others' (Connell, 1987; Grace, 1990; Lauder, 1990; O'Neill, 1992). For example, Spoonley (1995: 107) commented that:

Self-labelling as Pakeha and the implied or stated concern for the cultural and economic integrity of Maori have to be seen alongside the emphasis on a total quality management approach that might well grant a new status to Maori as 'client' communities or one service or another, but in an environment that does not grant sufficient resources to those same communities. The rhetoric does not disguise the fact that services are ineffectual in meeting iwi requirements.

There is a range of opinion among Maori. A key issue identified in *Ka Awatea* (1991) was the lack of equity capital to develop Maori resources. K. Irwin (1991) identified how, through the invocation of tikanga Maori, Maori educational processes were ensuring dynamic Maori educational output across a range of educational organisations. In 1991 four organisations, namely, Te Roopu Whanui (Maori educationalists), Te Roopu Whakahaere (senior Maori managers), Nga Purapura Whetu (Maori women in education), and Te Roopu Whakamana Wahine (Maori women in government policy making agencies) created networks at a time when in Irwin's opinion (1992: 80) there could well have been Maori educationalist pitted against Maori

educationalist under the auspices of the corporatisation of education. Irwin (ibid) recognised the strength of tikanga Maori :

...these [Maori] initiatives seem to suggest that the wisdom of our tipuna, retained for us in many forms, including our whakatauki, provide us with both the visions and processes necessary to make them real, regardless of the prevailing constraints, or ideologies of the day.

Irwin (1992:108) suggested that legislation had both created new educational organisations and redistributed some of the power of existing ones. Maori educators within the researched community of this project repeatedly stated that Maori educational concerns could be advanced through the National Qualifications Framework.

Allowing that there are those who view the education field as appearing to leave little room for a Maori agenda, equity is now effectively central to the education policy agenda. This research shows that there are gaps and openings available, however apparently invisible, ambiguous and contradictory, for Maori to work productively and politically within what Mouffe (1993) called 'nodal points' of shared interest and opportunity. G. Fulcher's (1989) view of policy identified the existence of disjuncture between written, stated and enacted policy. This disjuncture allows for contradictions and anomalies. For example, within the education context, when implementation of a ministerial policy document takes another direction in practice.

Many private training establishments in Aotearoa/New Zealand are Maori providers. Quality assurance discourse nominates equity as one of its measures of excellence and quality. In education, practice is the primary measure. Equity is reflected in quality of opportunity, participation and outcomes for student equity targets including Maori. Equity is made obvious and accountable through equity performance indicators.

Accountability procedures require an institution to publicly present information wherein the collection of data in institutional performance for external review makes transparent the management and budgetary structures. These measures make a substantial difference in institutions, particularly to groups that have been sidelined or silenced. The quality assurance process can be used by Maori as a mechanism for equity-oriented change management.

Although there is evidence to support the idea that the QA agenda is being used to tighten the belts of institutions and to intensify work (Kelsey, 1993; Easton, 1997; Philips, 1998), has there ever been an era of access, equity and representation for indigenous peoples? Historically, tertiary administrative structures and pedagogical processes such as 'collegiality', 'co-operation', 'partnership', 'consensus style management', have been informal mechanisms of the mainstream culture within which difference has been ruled out or excluded.

The ability or inability of the Maori social movement to institutionalise their values will essentially depend on their relationship to the Crown. As K. Irwin (1992:108) has said it is important that this work is increasingly managed by Maori in proactive ways, rather than reactive responses. Maori need to be the educational planners and educational providers. However, Spoonley (1995: 107) was less than enthusiastic about any such opportunity being realisable:

The ejection of Maori from the paid workforce, and the reliance on an informal communal economy or mauritanga... has noticeably increased the marginalisation of Maori in terms of the formal economy, despite the rhetoric of biculturalism and tino rangatiratanga.

The technical emphasis on the actual production of empirical quantitative indicators in tertiary education and training may actually pressure institutions into making substantive visible progress in terms of equality of opportunity and participation rather than merely using the discourses of equity. The set of quality assurance practices has internalised the gaze, namely, peer review, peer appraisal, client evaluation, self assessment and grievance procedures. All these mechanisms actualise principles such as equity, performance, accountability and quality. It must be recognised that the quality assurance agenda discourse has a number of dimensions ranging on a continuum between positivity and negativity and to acknowledge that it has a positive transformational potential as well as a negative potential. Quality assurance cannot be seen in simple binarist terms as having either negative or positive effects. Outcomes are always mixed, local and contextualised by the historical conditions on which they are attached. In Aotearoa/New Zealand quality assurance can produce positive and empowering effects for any disenfranchised group.

From: B.Hemmingson (2000)
introduced by J. Rangihau at
a Waikaremoana hui on
Tikanga

Appendix 1: A Maori interpretation of the research project's Catherine Wheel framework.

Appendix Two

Data

NZQA Quality Assurance Services: Quality Assurance System	2 pages
NZQA Registration Accreditation Application Status	4 Pages

Quality Assurance Standard 1 and specific requirements for recognition

Standard for the quality assurance of education and training organisations

This standard sets out the general requirements that underpin the specific requirements for each of the categories of recognition offered by NZQA Quality Assurance Services.

All organisations quality assured by NZQA Quality Assurance Services must provide evidence that they meet the following general requirements as they relate to the scope of recognition of that organisation.

General requirements

A quality education and training organisation is one where:

1.1 the organisation has appropriate and measurable goals and objectives for its clients and stakeholders.

1.2 the organisation has adequate and appropriate means to achieve its goals and objectives, including, but not limited to:

- 1.2.1 governance and management**
- 1.2.2 input from clients and stakeholders**
- 1.2.3 personnel**
- 1.2.4 resources**
- 1.2.5 client relations and support**
- 1.2.6 delivery of education and training (where relevant)**
- 1.2.7 assessment and moderation (where relevant)**
- 1.2.8 research (where relevant)**
- 1.2.9 quality assurance of qualifications, courses, and national standards (where relevant)**
- 1.2.10 quality assurance of education and training organisations (where relevant)**
- 1.2.11 notification and reporting.**

and

1.3 the organisation is substantially achieving its goals and objectives, and can provide assurance that it will continue to do so.

Comparison Chart of Standards between the old (Registration of Training Establishments) and the new (Quality Assurance Standard 1) *2000 August*

		Old Standards (Registration of Training Establishments) - Policies and Procedures									
New Standards (QAS1)		Purpose and Goals	Quality Management System	Development and Evaluation of programmes	Resources	Staffing	Student Entry	Student Guidance and Support systems	Off-Site Practical and Work-based Components	Assessment	Reporting
Standard 1	Goals and Objectives	•									
Standard 1.2			•								
1.2.1	Governance and Management					•					
1.2.2	Client Input			•							
1.2.3	Personnel					•					
1.2.4	Resources				•						
1.2.5	Client Relations						•	•			
1.2.6	Delivery			•							
1.2.7	Assessment and Moderation									•	
1.2.8	Research (Where relevant)										
1.2.9	Quality assurance of qualifications			•							
1.2.10	Quality Assurance of organisations								•		
1.2.11	Notification & Reporting										•
Standard 1.3	Goal Achievement		•								

NEW ZEALAND QUALIFICATIONS AUTHORITY
Mana Tohu Matauranga o Aotearoa

9 May 1997

Dear

The Qualifications Authority has considered your application for registration as a private training establishment. The evaluation was led by

I am pleased to inform you that your organisation has been granted registration. Your certificate of registration is enclosed.

Your organisation may make the following statement on certificates, in publications and in publicity material:

"Registered as a private training establishment by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority under the provisions of the Education Act 1989 and its subsequent amendments."

and / or

"He mea rehitia na te Mana Tohu Matauranga o Aotearoa kia tu hei Wahi Whakangungu Motuhake i raro i te maru o te Ture Matauranga 1989 me ona menemana."

Continued registration is dependent on your organisation maintaining or improving the policies and procedures that were documented and demonstrated in your application. If there are significant changes you must advise NZQA immediately.

Registration will be reviewed annually, and your next review is scheduled to take place by the end of May 1998.

Three months before the review date, information will be sent to you which details the review process. In general terms, you will be required to submit a report on your establishment's activities and significant developments, and supply a statement from your chartered accountant. You will be required to pay all the costs relating to this review, and a deposit should be forwarded with the report (the current deposit is \$337.50, inclusive of GST).

The documentation for review should be submitted two months before the end of the review month. Failure to provide the information on time could lead to a process of cancellation of registration.

Yours sincerely

Acting Director Operations
Quality Assurance

9 May 1997

Dear

The Qualifications Authority has considered your application for accreditation to provide education and training based on the National Qualifications Framework. The evaluation was led by I

I am pleased to inform you that your organisation has been granted accreditation to assess within the following scope:

- domain: Exercise Prescription (levels 1-5)
- domain: Fitness Assessment and Individual Fitness Instruction (levels 1-4)
- domain: Fitness Education (levels 1-2)
- domain: Fitness Industry Management (levels 1-5)
- domain: Group Fitness Instruction (levels 1-4)
- domain: Interpersonal Communications (levels 1-3)
- domain: Maori Geography (levels 1-4)
- domain: Recreation Facility and Resource Design and Management (levels 1-5)
- domain: Recreation Management Including Programmes and Events (levels 1-3)
- domain: Recreation Theories (levels 1-3)
- domain: Self-Management (levels 1-3)
- domain: Social and Cooperative Skills (levels 1-3)
- domain: Sport Management (levels 1-5)
- domain: Sport Science and Technology (levels 1-5)
- domain: Sport Teaching and Coaching (levels 1-5)
- domain: Work and Study Skills (levels 1-3)
- unit: 1030 Record, edit and relay interviews and programme material for radio broadcast (level 4)
- unit: 175 Write news stories for radio broadcast (level 4)
- unit: 176 Conduct interviews for radio broadcast (level 4)
- unit: 177 Present radio news for broadcast (level 4)
- unit: 187 Identify news for story publication and broadcast (level 3)
- unit: 190 Conduct research for journalism (level 4)
- unit: 191 Gain knowledge of aspects of Maoritanga and issues for reporting (level 4)
- unit: 192 Gain knowledge of multi-cultural issues and minority groups for reporting (level 4)
- unit: 193 Work in a newsroom (level 3)
- unit: 195 Demonstrate numeracy skills for journalism (level 2)
- unit: 377 Work with diverse groups in the workplace (level 2)
- unit: 378 Provide customer service for international visitors (level 2)

- unit: 405 Demonstrate knowledge of consumerism (level 2)
- unit: 467 Demonstrate group and personal skills through adventure based learning (level 2)
- unit: 496 Manage personal wellness (level 1)
- unit: 497 Protect health and safety in the workplace (level 1)
- unit: 548 Manage personal use of alcohol and other drugs (level 1)
- unit: 56 Attend to customer enquiries (level 1)
- unit: 57 Provide customer service (level 2)
- unit: 58 Complete a simple sales transaction (level 2)
- unit: 62 Maintain personal presentation for the workplace (level 2)
- unit: 64 Perform calculations for the workplace (level 1)
- unit: 6401 Provide basic first aid (level 2)
- unit: 6402 Provide basic life support (level 1)
- unit: 6634 Demonstrate knowledge of basic human nutrition (level 1)
- unit: 6639 Explore nutritious food choices (level 2)
- unit: 6640 Describe and prepare locally available food (level 2)
- unit: 6641 Provide nutritious food for a family (level 2)

Your organisation may make the following statement on certificates, in publications and in publicity material:

"..... is accredited by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority under the provisions of the Education Act 1989 to provide education and training based on (indicate as appropriate from the above)."

and / or

"I raro i nga tikanga o te Ture Matauranga 1989, kua whakamanatia a Te Wananga e te Mana Tohu Matauranga o Aotearoa ki te tuku akoranga me te mahi whakamatautau mo te (indicate as appropriate from the above)."

The granting of accreditation requires organisations to:

- supply records of students to the New Zealand Qualifications Authority
- collect and remit fees associated with the Record of Learning
- accept appropriately verified credit transfer from other accredited providers
- abide by the regulations governing the use of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority logo

Continued accreditation is dependent on your organisation maintaining or improving the policies and procedures as were documented and demonstrated in your application. If there are significant changes you must advise NZQA immediately.

Accreditation will be reviewed as part of your establishment's annual review in 2000. The month set down for this review is currently May.

Three months before the review date, information will be sent to you which details the review process. In general terms, you will be required to report on the programme you have delivered in relation to the unit standards and the results of evaluation of your quality management system. You will be required to pay all the costs relating to this review.