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**Searching for good evaluation:  
a hīkoi**

**A thesis submitted for the  
degree of  
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in Public Policy  
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**Sandra Kerr Brown**

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## **Abstract**

This thesis uses the metaphor of a journey, a hīkoi, as a methodology for exploring programme evaluation in Aotearoa New Zealand and further afield. The word hīkoi meaning walk or march, was the name given to the mobilisation of large numbers of Māori (indigenous New Zealanders) in street marches to Aotearoa New Zealand's parliament to claim justice and self-determination premised on the Treaty of Waitangi. Hīkoi has become associated with these marches and the concept of a collective journey of Māori towards self-determination.

This doctoral hīkoi is an exploration of the movement in Aotearoa New Zealand toward tino rangatiratanga – Māori self-determination in programme evaluation.

Hīkoi is a research methodology and an approach to evaluation. It is based on a Kaupapa Māori theoretical platform where the focus is on the journey. It is a collective journey, where goals are negotiated and shared, relationships highly valued and the journey is as important as reaching a destination. Hīkoi relationships drove the direction of this research and shaped the research question: What makes evaluation good for Māori and other indigenous peoples? <sup>1</sup>

The thesis explores this overarching question from a number of different perspectives on the journey. One key finding is that tino rangatiratanga over evaluations is important in order for evaluation processes and outcomes to be meaningful and useful to Māori.

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<sup>1</sup> *Indigenous* is a term of self-identification. In this thesis the term is used based on the following (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues): Self-identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member; Historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies; Strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources; Distinct social, economic or political systems; Distinct language, culture and beliefs; Form non-dominant groups of society; Resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities.

The proliferation of Kaupapa Māori and ‘by Māori for Māori’ evaluations in recent years is an indication that significant progress has been made towards tino rangtiratanga, but there is some distance to travel before Māori worldviews and values are normative in the evaluations of all programmes that impact Māori communities. Findings indicate that Māori progress toward self-determination is greater than for many other indigenous peoples. Some are just beginning their journeys. The research reveals some of the benefits of indigenous peoples joining together to support each other, wherever they are at, on the indigenous evaluation hīkoi.

## Acknowledgements

To all my whānau, friends and colleagues who held out the hope that one day I would finally finish this doctoral journey – Ka nui te mihi ki ā koutou.

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Thanks go to my son Jake just for being you and to my husband Jim because in your own weird way you make every day a joy.

And to our creator without whom there would be no journey.

*He mahinga hoki tātou nāna, he mea hanga i roto i a Karaiti Ihu mo ngā mahi pai i whakaritea e te Atua i mua hei hāerērenga mō tātou.*

*Epeha 2:10*

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## **Preface**

Embarking on a doctorate is always the beginning of a journey, a hīkoi. Hīkoi has come to stand for a mass movement towards Māori self-determination. On this hīkoi I have been joined by, and joined with, an interesting array of individuals, groups and communities. Throughout the papers that make up the chapters of this thesis, I have endeavoured to acknowledge my fellow travelers for it would not have been a hīkoi were I travelling alone. I have not stuck rigidly to the academic convention of surnames followed by references but have put into the introduction the full names of people who have helped me on my hīkoi. This is not to downplay the importance of academic referencing, but because the academic convention privileges those that have academic writing to reference and privileges writing as the primary source of knowledge transfer. Many of the people who taught me the most on the hīkoi have not written their knowledge for an academic audience to reference and quote. Somewhere on the journey I have met all of the people I refer to in the introduction – they are not to me merely evaluators or authors, keynote speakers, funders, stakeholders or colleagues. They are people I know personally, many of whom I had the privilege of sharing food and fun with, and numerous conversations about evaluation. It has been from many of these informal conversations that I have learned the most.

Lastly, my doctoral hīkoi was a long one. In the middle I was given permission to suspend my registration so that I could take up duties as the acting Director of Te Rōpū Whāriki (Whāriki) where I was working. This was an invaluable way station on my journey because it enabled me to deepen my understanding of how evaluations are carried out in practice. I was also called away from my doctoral work to get involved in working with indigenous evaluators in Alaska to help build their evaluation capability.

This has now led to my receiving a Fulbright fellowship to continue working with them and it is to this next chapter of my ongoing evaluation hīkoi that I am now heading. What I quickly realised on my hīkoi was that, as with so many other aspects of indigenous life, there are no clear boundaries between academic demands and the demands of the community.



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## Glossary of Māori Words and Terms

Māori words and terms have much fuller meanings than the definitions given here.

These brief definitions are indicative only.

<i>Māori</i>	<i>English</i>
Aroha	love, concern, compassion
Hapū	kinship group of multiple whānau
Hauora	health, wellbeing
Hīkoi	march or walk
Hui	meeting or gathering
Iwi	tribe
Iwitanga	tribal practices
Karakia	chant or prayer
Kaumātua	respected elder, male or female
Kaupapa	platform, underlying base
Kaupapa Māori	a theory of research and practice based in Māori worldviews
Kawanatanga	governance
Kete	basket or kit
Koha	contribution or gift
Mana	prestige, integrity and honour; spiritual force bestowed on people
Manāki	care for, blessing
Mana whenua	customary authority exercised by a tribe or sub-tribe
Marae	gathering places
Mātauranga	education, knowledge, wisdom
Mokopuna	grandchild
Ora	health, wellbeing
Pākehā	people of European origin
Pono	truth, honesty
Rangahau Hauora	Health Research
Rangatira	chief or leader, male or female

Rangatiratanga	sovereignty or the right to exercise authority
Rōpū	group
Tangata whenua	people born of the land, local people
Tangihanga	weeping, funeral
Tautoko	support
Taonga	something that is highly prized
Te reo Māori	Māori language
Tika	right, correct
Tikanga	Māori practices or processes
Tino rangatiratanga	self-determination
Tohu	landmark, symbol, sign
Waiata	sing, song, chant
Wairua	spirit
Waka huia	treasure box
Wānanga	meeting
Whākapapa	line of descent from ancestors
Whakataukī	proverb, saying
Whānau	extended family
Whāriki	floor covering or mat

In this thesis, te reo Māori, the language of my forefathers, has equal status with English, my mother-tongue. Its use is therefore not subordinated by italicisation.

## **Authorship and Publication**

The candidate is the sole author of two of the five papers, first author on two papers (one is a book chapter) and coordinating author on one paper.

### ***1. First Person/First Peoples: A Journey through Boundaries***

#### Sole author

Kerr, S. (2006). "First Person, First Peoples: A Journey Through Boundaries" in *American Journal of Evaluation*. Volume 27, Issue 3. P.360-369.

### ***2. Kaupapa Māori theory based evaluation***

#### Sole author

Kerr, S. (2012) Kaupapa Māori theory-based evaluation. *Evaluation Journal of Australasia* 12(1) 2012: 6-18

Also in *Karearea Vol 1: Winter 2011 page 8*.

### ***3. Kaupapa Māori Action Research to improve Heart Disease Services in Aotearoa, New Zealand***

#### First author

Kerr, S., Penney, L., Moewaka Barnes, H. and McCreanor, T. (2009) 'Kaupapa Māori Action Research to improve heart disease services in Aotearoa, New Zealand', *Ethnicity & Health*. 2010, 1-17 (iFirst).

The candidate conceptualized, drafted, provided research results and wrote the following sections: Introduction; Kaupapa Māori and Action Research and; Phase Three: Research Reflection; and Discussion.

Liane Penney wrote the sections describing her research and the results (Phase One and Two) and contributed to reviews of the full draft and revisions to the final draft. Tim McCreanor contributed to the completion of a full draft and revisions to the final draft. Helen Moewaka Barnes contributed review and revisions to the final draft.

#### ***4. Evaluation Hīkoi: A Model for Aotearoa New Zealand?***

##### First author

Kerr, S. and Moewaka Barnes, H. Evaluation *Hīkoi: A Model for Aotearoa New Zealand?* In *Promoting Health in Aotearoa New Zealand* (in press). Signal, L. and Ratima, M. (Editors).

The candidate conceptualized, researched, drafted, wrote and revised the chapter. Helen Moewaka Barnes contributed literature and revisions. The book is in press and expected to be published in 2013.

#### ***5. Indigenous Evaluation: It's only new because it's been missing so long***

##### Coordinating and contributing author

Anderson C., Chase M., Johnson J., Mekiana D., McIntyre, D., Ruerup, A. and Kerr, S. (2012). Indigenous Evaluation: It's only new because it's been missing for so long. An Indigenous Evaluation Capacity Building Project between Alaska Native people and Aotearoa New Zealand Māori (indigenous New Zealanders) *American Journal of Evaluation* 33:566-582, first published on September 26, 2012doi:10.1177/1098214012449686.

The candidate conceptualized, planned, drafted, revised and coordinated the completion of the paper. All other authors provided individual contributions and revisions to the paper.





# Introduction

Hīkoi relationships shaped the journey and the decisions on what to write about in this doctorate. The hīkoi relationships also shaped the research question: What makes evaluation good for Māori and other indigenous peoples? The five chapters that comprise the body of the thesis were conceptualized as tohu - landmarks on the hīkoi and are therefore part of the terrain of the journey. Which landmarks would be written about, when and how, was entirely shaped by the Kaupapa Māori hīkoi approach.

The doctoral journey began with the formulation of research questions and research methods, according to my understanding of the requirements for enrolment in a doctorate. However the questions and methods were soon modified to suit new discoveries on the path - a path that was never straightforward or linear, nor was it entirely cyclic, it was a complex mix of moving forward and in circles. Now, looking back, I would have planned the journey differently. I would have planned the first step tightly and then held the plan loosely. I would have trusted the process to lead me to an answer or answers and would not have predetermined a likely research destination. I could have argued for this using Grounded Theory (Glasser 1982, Strauss 1987) or other inductive theoretical approaches such as Systems Theory (Williams and Imam eds 2007) or Complexity Theory (Patton 2009), using an abductive approach moving back and forth between the specific and general in order to develop and answer my question (Patton 2011). I may even have used Action Research methodology (Reason and Bradbury 2006) but I did not really know about any of them when I began. I now acknowledge these theories and the legitimacy they give to inductive approaches in

general and have since become familiar with them in my evaluation practice. But the evaluation hīkoi was not premised on these theoretical positions. A Kaupapa Māori hīkoi based theoretical approach was used. I knew about Kaupapa Māori Theory and it suited me as a new Māori researcher and the research I wanted to undertake. Early on the journey I learned about the use of the concept of hīkoi in this setting and together these formed the theory and approach.

In its simplest articulation, Kaupapa Māori theory based research: (Moewaka Barnes 2000):

- Is by Māori for Māori
- Māori worldviews are the normative frame
- Research is for the benefit of Māori.

Hīkoi is an approach and a process (Moewaka Barnes 2003) that stands on a Kaupapa Māori foundation. A Hīkoi approach to research and evaluation includes the following:

- It is a collective journey
- The goal of the journey is negotiated
- Inclusion along the way of others with the same or complementary goals (network building, collaborations and capacity building)
- The journey itself is as important as the goal (relationships are highly valued and sustained)
- By Māori, for Māori, towards Māori development and self-determination. (Kerr 2006, Moewaka Barnes 2009)

When woven together, the influence of the hīkoi approach on Kaupapa Māori theory based research, is to focus on the research journey - a journey that is collective, where

goals are negotiated, relationships highly valued and the process is as important as attaining the goals (indeed, attention to the process is essential for attaining the research goals). Any methods or research approaches can be utilised as long as they are appropriate for the specific purposes for which they are being used and do not contradict the principles of the Kaupapa Māori hīkoi approach.

## **Hīkoi**

*The word hīkoi<sup>2</sup> carries with it the memory of this time in 1975 when large numbers of Māori were mobilised and politicised in a reassertion of Māori identity and claims for justice premised on the Treaty of Waitangi, an 1840 covenant between Māori and the Crown and the founding document of Aotearoa New Zealand.<sup>3</sup> The word hīkoi carries the associations of that first land march back in 1975 and a more recent demonstration in 2004 over retention of traditional Māori rights to the foreshore and seabed (Harris 2004). Hīkoi was the name given to these large public demonstrations, both of which drew attention to government violations of Māori rights under the Treaty of Waitangi. Both also took the form of peaceful journeys beginning in the north of the country, collecting more people as the journey passed through different tribal areas, and culminated in massed rallies at parliament. Hīkoi has become a concept imbued with meaning, evoking images of Māori moving collectively to assert rights guaranteed by the Treaty of Waitangi. It carries with it all of the history and associations of the Māori journey towards self-determination (Page 122).*

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<sup>2</sup> Hīkoi is a word that means walk and was used in eulogies to farewell the dead. It is closely aligned with the word Hōkai meaning to straddle (Barlow 1991). A history of protest journeys can be seen as far back as 1867 when Riwha Tikokowaru led a peace march through the Wanganui and Taranaki districts (Harris 2004).

<sup>3</sup> The Treaty of Waitangi was signed by the Crown and Māori in 1840. It is considered to be Aotearoa/New Zealand's founding document.

This thesis documents my evaluation journey and the hīkoi that it became. I began the journey with significant knowledge from life experience but with an empty evaluation knowledge kete (basket or kit) – I had not even known that such a thing as programme evaluation existed, let alone that there were Māori or indigenous approaches. Within a short time of being employed as a developing evaluation researcher at Te Rōpū Whāriki (Whāriki), Massey University, I learned from my colleagues that programme evaluation was a kind of social science research but with a focus on assessing how well programmes were working (Casswell 1999) or the merit and worth of a programme (Scriven 1991).

Early on my journey I encountered the evaluation approach at Whāriki, known as hīkoi. This concept of a shared journey towards self-determination became the metaphor that coloured my view of evaluation and drove my personal practice. The first chapter in this thesis weaves together my learning of evaluation as hīkoi as practised at Whāriki, with my findings as a new indigenous evaluator attending evaluation conferences. I was surprised that people found this opinion piece interesting and that a prestigious journal in the field wanted to publish the little paper, without revisions. It was an encouraging start to have the first chapter published in the American Journal of Evaluation.

Having enrolled in this doctorate with the aim of examining how programme evaluation might contribute to Māori development, an elaborate research project was designed that included reviewing every evaluation report on every Māori community development project – ever. There were over 140 and the most interesting finding from reviewing many of them was discovering how many reports did not seem to capture the essence of

what was being done. I knew a number of evaluators by now and had inside knowledge of some of the evaluations - but I could not detect the excitement of the work they were doing in the evaluation reports. The fact was I could not find much of interest in the reports I was reading.

I had synthesized evaluation checklists with Kaupapa Māori principles<sup>4</sup> and developed a range of key criteria and meta-evaluation questions with which to assess each report (Appendix One). The exercise was instructive as it involved situating key Kaupapa Māori principles within the range of criteria considered important for good evaluation internationally and it has been a useful tool on the hīkoi.<sup>5</sup> But after reading and attempting to rate a number of the papers, I realised that the reports, for the most part could not answer my key questions. They were written for a different audience, primarily programme funders, and funders were more interested in knowing how well the programme was doing, than in knowing if the evaluation was good. The key learning from my brief dive into reading reports was to discover that reports do not acknowledge the role that evaluation may play as an intervention in a programme or community. Even reports of formative evaluation reported only what was done by the formative evaluator and gave little or no indication of whether the formative input was beneficial or not. I resolved to be more evaluative of evaluation, including my own practice, and to find ways to report my findings.

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<sup>4</sup> Synthesis was completed using Kaupapa Māori Evaluation Principles, TPK Guidelines for Conducting Research and Evaluation with Māori; Key Evaluation Checklist (Davidson 1999), Joint Committee on Standards for Education (Stufflebeam 2004), Utilisation Meta-evaluation Checklist, Empowerment Meta-Evaluation Checklist, World Bank Influential Evaluations, Evaluator Standards- Canada.

<sup>5</sup> The table has been used as a tool for meta-evaluations, as a guide for peer reviewing evaluation plans and as a check and balance for the hīkoi findings on “good” evaluation.

My initial questions were focussed on understanding how evaluation could contribute to Māori community development. There was no way to know this from just reading reports. I had planned to use the analysis of the evaluation reports to help select case studies for further analysis but decided to go directly and talk to people instead. The effort I took in locating and reading a large number of reports was not all wasted. It helped orientate me to evaluation in Māori contexts. It also meant that I was able to make contact with many evaluators in the process, and I was able to return to these people for the next part of my journey.

### **Framing Good Evaluation**

My new approach to answering this question began by talking to the interesting people at my work, at Te Rōpū Whāriki, and with other evaluators I had connected with on my journey thus far. I conducted ‘interviews as chat’ (Bishop 1996) with my evaluator colleagues. I asked each one to describe an evaluation that they had been involved in, where the evaluation might have contributed to Māori community development. It was in reflecting on these initial interviews that I realised I was not just interested in understanding how evaluation could contribute to Māori community development; I wanted a broader understanding of the ways in which evaluation could contribute something good for Māori. My framework for analysis of the interviews involved a process for selection of example cases that I could analyse further but I hadn’t planned on these initial interviews influencing my whole research focus as radically as they did.

What emerged from the interviews was a wide variation in what was considered beneficial to Māori. This variance is hardly surprising given contextual evaluation differences and the fact that Māori are not homogenous. The term Māori, meaning

normal or regular came to prominent usage after European arrival (Durie 1998, Salmond 1997). Primary Māori groupings prior to European contact were the whānau, hapū and iwi (Salmond 1997); today many continue to identify more closely with these traditional groupings than the catchall term “Māori”. As a categorising device Māori has been used by the colonising agenda to marginalize a whole group of people. On the other hand, by identifying collectively under the term, Māori have been able to rebuff some of the worst excesses of colonisation (Durie 1998). The term Māori, and the purposes for its use are perspective and context dependent and it is therefore unsurprising that any question of ‘good’ for Māori, brings forth a variety of responses depending on the context, purpose and the type of relationship between the one asking the question and the ones answering.<sup>6</sup>

As explained above, the range of responses in my early interviews, to the question of what is ‘good’ in evaluation was naturally diverse. For some it was about policy change as a result of recommendations from the evaluation.<sup>7</sup> For others it was formative programme evaluation input that resulted in better programmes or an increase in evaluative thinking across an organisation or within a community. For others it was being able to tell the story of community change, or forming a relationship that was ongoing and being invited back to contribute a whole range of knowledge and skills to the community or programme that went far beyond the original programme evaluation. These different types of benefit to Māori from evaluation warranted further thought and investigation. Widening and deepening my question to focus on understanding what

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<sup>6</sup> Emendation in response to requirement to discuss the term Māori; for an explanation see *Epilogue* at the end of this section.

<sup>7</sup> Emendation in response to requirement to discuss the concept of ‘good’ evaluation.



constituted good evaluation, and how to do good in evaluation, became the ongoing foci of my doctoral journey.

I was aware that not defining ‘good’ in a technical sense and allowing it to be ‘self-defined’ for each evaluation context was likely to be problematic when it came to making overall conclusions about what constituted ‘good’ evaluation for Māori.<sup>8</sup> I had come to know that the technical term for evaluating evaluations was ‘meta-evaluation’ (Scriven 1991) and that there were technical skills and Key Evaluation Checklists (see Scriven 2007) that could be used to determine if an evaluation was technically good. There were also lists of competencies that were meant to help ensure that evaluators were competent to be released on real people; I used all of these to develop my initial meta-evaluation table (Appendix One) but I wanted to know more than what was needed for evaluation to be reasonably safe for people. I wanted to know what was needed for evaluation to be good for people.

I knew that a Kaupapa Māori hīkoi approach based on a shared journey with others, who were also looking for ways for evaluation to benefit Māori, was likely to lead to some interesting learning. Clearly the notion of ‘good’ would be defined variously and, as an indigenous researcher highly aware of the relational nature of a hīkoi research approach, I was comfortable with taking the journey and seeing where it led.

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<sup>8</sup> Emendation in response to requirement to discuss the concept of ‘good’ evaluation.

## **Kaupapa Māori Theory**

Almost all the Māori evaluations I came across were premised on Kaupapa Māori theoretical foundations – certainly the ones identified as doing good for Māori, were all based on Kaupapa Māori approaches. I began a serious exploration of Kaupapa Māori theory based evaluation and wrote about it – this eventually morphed into a comparison with international developments in the field of evaluation (Chapter Two).

This chapter represents my entire evaluation hīkoi, and it is painful because it represents it so badly, so baldly. I feel exposed by it, as if writing about Kaupapa Māori theory based evaluation and its alignment with the international evaluation field was a dirty little thing that I did behind closed doors, but now it is out there in the public domain for all to see. Even now, I want to snatch it back, to hide its inadequacies.

I understand this feeling on a number of levels. Firstly there was a reluctance to engage with theory. This reluctance is born of the way in which the construction of theory has been largely controlled by the western academic world – a world that makes many indigenous people uncomfortable and includes programmatic exclusion of indigenous theory (Smith 1999). Although I enjoyed reading and thinking about theory, that discomfort lurked as an ever-present warning that this is not our territory – that we don't do this. Other people have theory, we have story and myth, karakia and waiata and recently we have also been granted the right to a worldview. So when I first encountered Kaupapa Māori theory, it seemed so obvious and yet so contrived. In the final paper of this thesis, there is a quote from an Alaska Native colleague who, when referring to indigenous evaluation, describes these same types of conflicting feelings I had in relating to Kaupapa Māori theory. She says it was “so foreign and yet so like home”

(Chapter Five, p.158). Kaupapa Māori theory was at once “so foreign” because it was theory, constructed within the academy but it was “like home” in that this theory made sense in my world. It was about my world and it allowed me to make academic sense of my world.

Much has been written about Kaupapa Māori theory and the space that it opened for Māori, and other indigenous people to write and practice in ways that are our own (Smith 1999, Pihama 2001, Smith 2003, Moewaka Barnes 2008). Linking Kaupapa Māori with ‘theory’ has been about giving Māori “the power to define ourselves” (Smith 1999b, p. 1). It has also provided a place from which to challenge the academy about the dominance of western epistemology (Pihama 2001, Smith 2003, Walker 1997) allowing Māori to “fend off colonizing theoretical invasions” (Moewaka Barnes 2008, p.5) and work within, and develop, our own ontological and epistemological understandings.

As a Māori researcher and evaluator, I have had reason to greatly appreciate the way in which this academic writing has indeed opened up space not just in the academy, but for Māori to design and run ‘by Māori, for Māori’ programmes and evaluations (Cram 2004b). However, theory still remains as uncertain territory for many of us. We have been glad to say that our approaches are based on Kaupapa Māori theory and leave it there. Moewaka Barnes describes this well: “When asked our theoretical basis in Aotearoa, as of the 1990s, we can reply “Kaupapa Māori” and hope that this will silence further questions.” (Moewaka Barnes 2008, p. 5)

Part of my discomfort with writing about Kaupapa Māori theory also stems from the fact that I sat at the feet of many of the rangatira of Kaupapa Māori theory (Graham and

Linda Smith, Leonie Pihama, Kuni Jenkins to name a few) when completing a Masters in Māori Education at the University of Auckland. I looked up to them as elders and did not presume to critique or think that I could add in any way to their work. These people clearly stated that no-one owned this theory, but I also heard the cautions about naming it and putting boundaries around it (Smith 1999). I knew that in effect, I was attempting to rename their articulations of what Kaupapa Māori theory was. I asked myself, “who am I then, to do this?” I am not a Smith, a Mead, a Walker or from any other of the Māori academic dynasties. I have never worked for The International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education (IRI) or Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga.<sup>9</sup> I surmise that, had I done so, I might feel that I had earned the right to write about Kaupapa Māori theory more broadly than simply describing what the ‘legitimate’ Māori academics have already stated.

I have discussed my feelings with many other Māori researchers and evaluators and it is disconcerting to know that there are many of us who feel this way. We feel the need to write about Kaupapa Māori theory because so much of our work is premised on it and yet feel inadequate to the task. Out of respect for our academic elders and awareness of our own lack of academic status, we are uncomfortable about writing. But primarily, our discomfort lies in writing about theory because the western academy still constructs the rules (Moewaka Barnes 2008, Smith 1999, Smith 2003).

Māori academics such as Graham and Linda Smith have tried to ensure that Kaupapa Māori theory is open to all Māori to work with and critique. Indeed, Kaupapa Māori theory seems open to me to use and to critique and to modify, in the knowledge that this

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<sup>9</sup> These whānau and institutions are extremely well known and respected in Māori academia.

is used by Māori, tests it and gives it meaning in the worlds in which we live. However, I am reluctant to do that publically in writing. It is writing and putting it into the public domain for all to see – Māori and non-Māori alike – that is hugely problematic. The writing, and subsequent publishing, makes it seem immutable – that I dare to think I have captured this theory on everyone’s behalf. Worse still, I have then positioned Māori theory, again, as the ‘other’ against western articulations of evaluation theory (Moewaka Barnes 2008). Adding insult to injury, by choosing to submit the paper to a western academic journal, I go on to ask the western academy for their rubber stamp of approval – in effect, to legitimate Kaupapa Māori theory. I have classified, codified and renamed in English, the coloniser’s language, in order to compare Māori epistemologies with western knowledge systems. I can hear the echo of Moewaka Barnes that we should not need to “explain the ordinary” (Moewaka Barnes 2000, p. 13) let alone position ourselves as the ‘other’; and a chorus of other Kaupapa Māori theorists refusing to ‘other’ ourselves through comparison with the western academy (Pihama 2001, Smith 1999, Moewaka Barnes 2008). I know the theory.

I have already judged and pronounced myself guilty on all these charges. As a result, the chapter was a long time coming and has not undergone the thorough and rigorous review by all of the Kaupapa Māori theorists that was my plan. I could not send it for review as it never was entirely complete. I always felt as if there was so much more to say, and paradoxically that I had already said too much. I was stuck with a partial draft for seven long years. To be more accurate – I had 13 partial drafts developed over seven years. I was afraid to send my poorly articulate, incomplete thoughts and comparisons to the Kaupapa Māori theorists that I had so admired at the University of Auckland. When Peter Mataira wrote, “there is nothing like the scorn of your own people” (2003,

p. 6) he was referring to Māori researchers working in their own communities. For me as a Māori evaluation researcher these prominent Māori academics were a part of my academic community and I was loath to incur their scorn. So I wrote and rewrote hoping for the day when this paper would be good enough to be read by Linda Smith or Leonie Pihama or Russell Bishop but that day never came. The deadline for having to submit a doctoral thesis did. It was not the process I had planned, but in order to complete this thesis, a version of the paper was recently completed, reviewed by my supervisor, Helen Moewaka Barnes, and submitted for consideration in the *Evaluation Journal of Australasia* and for the first edition of *Karearea* – a digest of the Aotearoa New Zealand Evaluation Association.

## **Evaluation Theorists**

When I started this thesis I was trying to understand the theoretical basis for Māori approaches to evaluation. Reading all those evaluation reports on Māori programmes and talking with Māori evaluators, I saw that most of the evaluations and the programmes too, were premised on Kaupapa Māori theoretical foundations. So, for my evaluation hīkoi, it became very important to understand what Kaupapa Māori theory based evaluation was.

At the same time, I was fully involved in practising evaluation, mostly in Māori contexts and undertaking an exploration into international theories of evaluation. I was testing Kaupapa Māori theory as the praxis that it purported to be (Smith 1997, Walker 1996), making comparisons with evaluation theories and approaches from the international literature and meeting and listening to some of the international evaluation gurus who came to conferences in Aotearoa New Zealand. These included David

Fetterman, Sulley Gariba, Ricardo Millet, Ernie House, E. Jane Davidson,<sup>10</sup> Zenda Ofir, Michael Quinn Patton, Patricia Rogers, Michael Scriven and Hazel Symonette.

From each of these I gleaned something of importance to put in my evaluation knowledge kete for the hīkoi. Michael Quinn Patton (2003) stunned me with his ability to introduce the three macro-theories: linear logic models; systems models; and complexity models, using Māori creation stories and with reference to the Whale Rider movie (a truly brilliant example of an ‘outsider’ contextualising a presentation); David Fetterman (2007) underscored the importance of power and relationships in evaluation; Sulley Gariba (2008) confirmed that traditional societies have excellent longstanding evaluation practices that can and should be used in programme evaluation; Ricardo Millet (2006) highlighted evaluation’s ‘social change’ agenda and the importance of what he calls ‘learning partnerships’ between funding and delivery organisations; Hazel Symonette (2004) provided a new take on the golden rule: “do unto others as *they would want you to do unto them*” – an excellent principle for cross-cultural contexts and at any time in evaluation, or life. Ernie House’s (2008) Deliberative Democratic Evaluation had me making comparisons with Kaupapa Māori evaluation and concluding that there are many alignments. From Patricia Rogers (2007) I learned that a useful skill for evaluators is the ability to create a safe space for people to identify problems and address them. Zenda Ofir (2009) gave me the best quote yet, in the debate in evaluation between Randomized Control Trials, the so-called gold standard of evidence, versus every other kind:

“randomization is not inherently a generator of superior data.... Randomization is ideally suited to addressing one major form of bias, namely selection bias. But responding in truly

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<sup>10</sup>Jane Davidson is a New Zealand evaluation expert. She is also an international expert and was residing in the USA when I first encountered her evaluation approach.

scientific ways to the evaluation challenge in any given context requires responding to the many and varied sources of bias”. Woolcock (2009).

However, the quote left me wondering if I needed to better understand bias in evaluation and what constitutes appropriate responses to all these “many and varied sources of bias” (Woolcock quoted by Ofir, 2009). Michael Scriven came to the rescue, with so many brilliant gems about bias and bias control in evaluation. I took his explanation of the role of bias control with me on the hīkoi: “[Bias Control] should be seen, not as an attempt to exclude the influence of definite views, but to limit the influence of unjustified views” (Scriven 1991, p. 69). Among the many things learned from Jane Davidson, two stand out; the importance of being explicit about the ‘values’ in evaluation and that the seemingly sterile boxes and arrows of a logic model could be used to capture the rich world of Māori values and aspirations.

## **Māori Theorists**

I was also privileged to hear many Māori research and evaluation experts speak: Russell Bishop, Fiona Cram, Peter Mataira, Helen Moewaka Barnes, Kataraina Pipi, Nan Wehipeihana and many others. From them all, I gathered knowledge to put in my evaluation kete for the journey.

From Russell Bishop (2008) I learned that numbers tell very powerful evaluation stories – Māori stories. This dispelled once and for all, the last vestiges of a belief that qualitative methods were always better than quantitative methods for evaluations in Māori contexts. Nan Wehipeihana challenged me to know what I had to offer as a person first and evaluator second. I also learned of the critical need for Māori evaluators



to work at the policy level if evaluation was to be good for Māori. Fiona Cram (2009) reinforced the notion that technical skills and cultural competence were not enough for an evaluator to be able to do good evaluation in Māori contexts – they needed access to the community – and access required relationship. I also learned from Fiona, the importance of Māori evaluators writing and publishing. She is still one of the few Māori evaluators in print and I reference her work often. Kataraina Pipi demonstrated, every time I met her, the value of waiata, karakia and wairua in evaluation for creating a safe space for Māori. From Peter Mataira, I was reminded of the whakatauki, “Kaore te kumara e whākī ana tana reka” (the kumara does not say how sweet it is). Peter’s quiet humble strength reminded me that humility facilitates the development of important evaluation relationships and knowledge sharing in most Māori contexts.

Helen Moewaka Barnes, my boss, my PhD supervisor, my main guide on the journey taught me many things. From her I learned about ‘hīkoi’ as an approach to evaluation (Moewaka Barnes 2009). I learned that, in its simplest form, hīkoi is about journeying with people, heading towards shared goals. I learned that describing evaluation as hīkoi to Māori participants would bring immediate recognition that this was a shared journey towards Māori goals. Evaluation as hīkoi broke down barriers and overcame Māori reluctance to engage in research - the legacy of a history of damaging research in Māori communities (Smith 1999). Hīkoi was more than a good introduction, it was a process and an approach that allowed evaluators, programme staff, funders, community and other stakeholders to negotiate the goals and work together towards achieving them. With my colleagues at Whāriki and the communities we worked in, I had opportunity to practice hīkoi based evaluation and engage in numerous ongoing informal feedback cycles, test new ideas and methods, critique and refine our practice of evaluation. I

learnt more from Belinda Borell, Suaree Borell, Nikki Coupe, Mandi Gregory, Wendy Henwood, Victoria Jensen, Hector Kaiwai, Tim McCreanor, Verne McManus and Liane Penney than from all the literature reviews for this thesis.

## **Kaupapa Māori in Context**

I watched and listened to all these people and many more, both local and international. From my observations, and from the literature review, Māori evaluation approaches and theories stood up well. I observed in my evaluation praxis that Kaupapa Māori approaches had much to contribute to what Gariba calls the “global pursuit of a more pluralistic paradigm for nurturing evaluation and adding value to the global thought processes” (Gariba, 2008 p.3). It began to annoy me that Kaupapa Māori theory based approaches to evaluation seemed the poor relation to theories and approaches coming in from overseas. This did not seem to be because they were actually poorer, but was related more to the fact that Māori were busy doing evaluation and had little time or inclination to write about what we were doing, for an academic audience – and writing for that audience is what creates legitimacy in the academy. I decided that I should write about Kaupapa Māori evaluation as it would at the very least, give one more Māori to reference and quote. I was pondering this a long time before the infamous Orewa Speech” in 2004 by the then leader of the National Party, Don Brash (see Pelkowit and Cringle 2004) which marked a low point in race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand. That speech prompted me to begin writing.

The writing of the Kaupapa Māori theory chapter began as a polemic for Kaupapa Māori theoretical approaches to evaluation, to the backdrop of all Māori programmes and approaches being labeled as ‘race-based’ without recognition of the Treaty of

Waitangi or the detrimental effects of colonization on Māori. I was able to argue that our approaches were actually more legitimate in our context than anything coming to us from the United States or elsewhere. I know the rhetoric and reasons for not comparing, I even agree with them, but the fact remained that I wanted to make a comparison between western and Kaupapa Māori theoretical approaches because I felt certain that Kaupapa Māori approaches could stand the comparison, not as the poor indigenous relation. I had great intentions of putting the writing out there for Māori to respond to and revising on the basis of feedback, but this never happened. A few did read various drafts and, although their responses were surprisingly enthusiastic, the practice part of praxis overtook the theoretical and I got busy with the fascinating work of becoming an evaluator.

## **Evaluation in Action**

During the time that the Kaupapa Māori chapter was being drafted and re-drafted, I worked on more than 30 evaluations, taught evaluation workshops to the public health workforce and also continued to ‘chat’ with evaluators, most of whom were Māori. In all this activity, I was focused on finding out more about what made evaluation good for Māori.

I was looking for evaluation projects that could become case studies for further research, to examine the critical success factors for good evaluation. While many evaluators described projects that had resulted in one type of good or another, there was one project that stood out as seeming to have resulted in tangible good at many levels for diverse stakeholder groups including Māori whānau participants, their communities, service providers and policy makers. It was not described as evaluation per se – rather it

was described as an action research project. As such, it did incorporate evaluative phases with feedback loops in the iterative cycle that is characteristic of action research (Reason and Bradbury 2006). I started reading and examining the intersection of approaches, purposes and underlying theories between Action Research and evaluation. Having discovered a very close alignment between action research and formative evaluation whereby evaluators provide timely feedback for ongoing programme development, I decided to take a closer look at this one project that stood out as having resulted in multiple good for Māori. I planned a small evaluation and interviewed some of the people who had been involved. The third chapter for this thesis covers the literature review of action research and evaluation and provides an analysis of that one Kaupapa Māori action research project.

It was thoroughly heartening to be able to confirm that there were indeed multiple, sustained outcomes from this Kaupapa Māori research project. Many of these changes were a result of health service providers coming to a better understanding of their Māori clients, and from this understanding, being willing to make changes to their practice in order to ensure better service delivery to Māori with ischaemic heart disease. These changes have saved Māori lives; the chapter describes these excellent results and the research processes that led to them.

However, this was just one small project and not many of this type are funded even though there is a growing literature that shows the effectiveness of anchoring programmes in communities and building community capacity using action research and formative evaluation approaches (Hawe and Shiell 2000, Henwood 2007). Reports on the health status of New Zealanders consistently show shocking disparities in life

expectancy and other health indices between Māori and non-Māori (Ajwani et al. 2003; Robson and Harris 2007). The statistics testify to the failure of many mainstream approaches to improving Māori health and strengthen the case for action research approaches in Māori communities.

The action research case study reiterated that service providers, policy makers, planners, funders and politicians were more in control of what happened in many programmes delivered to Māori, than Māori were. Further, that despite their best efforts, many Pākehā working to provide services to Māori had little idea of how to do that appropriately. It was encouraging to see that during the action research process, some underwent painful revelations of their own culturally determined blind spots, assumptions and prejudices and then were able to move past these to learn how to work more effectively with Māori. That was good, and I wondered if it was appropriate to look at how to ensure more of that occurred in the evaluation process.

Until that point, I had not looked seriously into the interplay of power and politics in evaluation. I knew some of the theory having read literature that discussed the role of power and politics in evaluation in Aotearoa New Zealand (Saville-Smith 2003) and specifically as it related to Māori (Cram 2004b, Moewaka Barnes 2009). More and more in my practice of evaluation, I encountered powerful non-Māori players whose actions and attitudes often determined whether or not evaluation was good for Māori. From my observations, these groups and individuals were rarely called to account – rarely asked to examine themselves and their culture and their own blind spots, and many of them had the power to make decisions that had the potential to positively or negatively impact Māori lives. I became particularly interested in the politics involved

in programme evaluation and wanted to understand this better, in order to understand how to do evaluation better.

## **The Treaty of Waitangi**

It seems so late in my introduction to be focusing on the Treaty of Waitangi. In truth, the Treaty was there before my evaluation hīkoi, has been there throughout and is set to remain as a guiding document into the future. Its presence is heralded at the very beginning of this thesis and can be found in every chapter. In relation to evaluation, the Treaty is the defining point of difference between evaluation here in Aotearoa New Zealand and other countries. Tino rangatiratanga, premised on Article Two of the Treaty is claimed as the right to exercise self-determination and assert Māori worldviews as normal in evaluation (Moewaka Barnes 2009). This has profound implications for the theory and practice of evaluation in our context. Other articulations of Treaty principles, while inclusive of the notion of tino rangatiratanga, have often emphasized partnership, participation and protection (Durie 2004; ANZEA 2010, Moewaka Barnes 2009).

Health promotion as practised and theorized in Aotearoa New Zealand paid particular attention to the Treaty and took the idea of Treaty based partnerships between Māori and non-Māori seriously (Health Promotion Forum, 2002). This offered a good platform from which to examine the impact of the Treaty and politics in general on good evaluation practice.

It was not until 2010 that I began an in-depth examination of the impact of the Treaty on the practice of programme evaluation in Aotearoa New Zealand. I was offered an opportunity to write a chapter on planning and evaluation for a book on health

promotion in Aotearoa New Zealand<sup>11</sup>. I took the opportunity, wanting to study the history and examine the politics involved in programme evaluation (and to a lesser extent, planning) as it pertained to health promotion and the Treaty of Waitangi. As always, I was looking to inform my evaluation hīkoi – to discover how evaluation could be good for people. I was interested in the interaction between politics, including Treaty politics, and evaluation and how and when they influenced each other. I was searching for the times when this interaction worked for the good of people, and Māori in particular. My workplace at Whāriki operationalised a Treaty of Waitangi based partnership with the Social and Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation (SHORE) team, together forming the SHORE and Whāriki Research Centre. Both Whāriki and SHORE undertook many evaluations of health programmes, jointly and separately. Together we also taught evaluation to the public health workforce in Aotearoa New Zealand. Working within this context allowed a good deal of practical experience in a Treaty based partnership and in evaluating health programmes using the hīkoi approach.

## **Building Indigenous Evaluation Capacity**

The importance of writing papers and publishing in academic journals was underscored when the first chapter for this thesis sparked a chain of events that took my hīkoi to the other side of the world, to teach evaluation to Alaska Native people. An American evaluator<sup>12</sup> who was beginning a doctorate on indigenous evaluation (aruskevich 2010) read that first paper and decided to attend the same evaluation conferences that I had attended, in order to find indigenous evaluators to interview. As she was not indigenous,

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<sup>11</sup> Helen Moewaka Barnes was invited to write the chapter but her other commitments meant she was unable to. The Editors agreed to my writing it, with Helen's supervision.

<sup>12</sup> kas aruskevich (she chooses not to capitalise her name)

she brought her Alaska Native colleague with her on the trip to Aotearoa New Zealand to help facilitate relationships. I was amongst a group from Whāriki who were the first people they met at the Aotearoa New Zealand Evaluation Association Conference in Rotorua in 2008. We soon realized that it was my paper that had brought them to Aotearoa New Zealand. When we discovered that there were virtually no Alaska Native evaluators, a plan was made for Whāriki to help build Alaska Native evaluation capability and capacity.

The final chapter in this thesis describes this indigenous evaluation capacity building project. Capacity building in any area is based on the idea of sustainable development and usually framed in terms of building organizational or community capacity (Cram 2006). In indigenous capacity building, there is the added emphasis on cultural sovereignty as a key to successful capacity building (Chino. and DeBruyn 2006). Indigenous evaluation capacity building then, aims for sustainable development of indigenous worldview-based evaluation (Cram 2006). The building of evaluation capacity became extremely important to Māori when the few Māori evaluators could not meet the growing demand for Māori worldview based evaluations. For Alaska Native peoples, the desire for building evaluation capacity grew from seeing what was happening with Māori evaluation in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Reminiscent of the first chapter, the last chapter describes another part of the journey. However, in the last paper I am not alone, writing as a new indigenous evaluator. For me, to close the circle with a paper written collaboratively with a group of people new to evaluation is an appropriate ending to the doctoral evaluation hīkoi - an ending that was a beginning for a group of indigenous people on the other side of the planet.



## **Hīkoi Methodology**

For this doctoral Kaupapa Māori hīkoi, the journey began as a collaboration with my colleagues at Whāriki, my supervisors, Massey University and my whānau and community. The doctoral journey was undertaken for them all, and they all impacted the choice of research focus and the goals in different ways. As the journey progressed, many others contributed to the hīkoi – I appreciated every contribution and valued each relationship, and as my hīkoi intersected with others on their respective journeys we found ways to help each other that often enriched us all. I learned to trust this hīkoi approach, to understand that if the relationships were right, then we would journey together and everything could be negotiated on the way. The methods of collecting data became secondary to the relationships and grew from them.

This emphasis on relationships is common to the epistemological and ontological understandings of other indigenous peoples (Wilson 2008, Kovach 2009). Shawn Wilson (Opaskwayak Cree) writes that “the shared aspect of an Indigenous ontology and epistemology is relationality (relationships do not merely shape reality, they *are* reality)” (Wilson 2008, p. 9). His experience is that relationality and relational accountability are practised in all aspects of indigenous research and relational accountability operates between himself and his “friends and coworkers” (Wilson 2008:128). For me, as for Wilson, indigenous academics who are my colleagues and friends shaped my topic and the methods and provided accountability checks.

The formal research process planned early in the hīkoi changed as the journey progressed in directions that I had not initially anticipated. My approach developed into

something akin to autoethnography (Denzin 1989, Ellis 2004, Ellis 2010) in that my personal cultural identity was drawn together with theoretical and methodological research tools and literature to tell my story in evaluation, at least in the writing of the hīkoi journey as a thesis. The self-reflective first person narrative style of the introduction, Chapter One and parts of the discussion and conclusion suggest an autoethnographic approach although I cannot claim to have explicitly based my research on this methodological understanding; it was based on hīkoi. In the same way that autoethnography “acknowledges and accommodates subjectivity, emotionality, and the researcher’s influence on research” (Ellis 2010, p. 3) hīkoi is a way of embracing my own influence on the process while allowing for multiple approaches within a Māori framing of research. In keeping with the hīkoi framework the following provides an outline of a journey that interweaves methodology, methods and process.<sup>13</sup>

Data collection methods included the following (loosely ordered according to their importance to the research findings):<sup>14</sup>

- Evaluation experience from involvement in more than 30 evaluations, mostly of programmes serving Māori
- Discussions with colleagues and my doctoral Supervisors at Whāriki and SHORE
- Discussions with numerous evaluators at: work; conferences; by email; weblogs; whenever and wherever we met
- Discussions with numerous Māori programme staff and funders of Māori programmes

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<sup>13</sup> Emendation in response to requirement to provide details of methodology and methods.

<sup>14</sup> A Low Risk Notification was prepared and submitted to the Massey University Ethics Committee after completion of the Screening Questionnaire to Determine Approval Procedure.

- Designing evaluation training workshops and teaching evaluation to: the Aotearoa New Zealand Public Health Workforce; a wide variety of government groups and organizations; and at the Interior-Aleutians Campus in Alaska.
- Attending evaluation conferences and symposia in Aotearoa New Zealand, Canada and the United States
- Presenting at evaluation conferences, facilitating discussion and receiving feedback
- Literature Reviews (published and grey literature) conducted in order to underpin each of the chapters:
  - Māori evaluation (Chapters 1, 2, 3 and 4)
  - Indigenous evaluation (Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5)
  - Evaluation history, theory and practice nationally and internationally (Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5)
  - Kaupapa Māori theory and practice (Chapters 1, 2, 3 and 4)
  - Action Research and Kaupapa Māori Action Research (Chapter 3)
  - Health promotion evaluation and planning (Chapter 4)
  - Māori health promotion planning and evaluation (Chapter 4)
- Formal interviews with Māori evaluators (x5). Participants were people who were identified as experienced evaluators and then recruited through Whāriki networks. Interviews lasted between 20 minutes and 2 hours and comprehensive notes were taken
- Formal interviews with service providers (x3). Service providers were recruited from Whāriki networks. Interviews were between 10 and 40 minutes duration and comprehensive notes were taken
- A Case study (see Chapter 4)

- Attendance at lectures and training given by expert evaluators: Jane Davidson at SHORE/Whāriki 2007, Michael Scriven – Logic of Evaluation online course. Claremont Graduate University, 2007
- Peer reviewing papers on indigenous evaluation submitted to the American Journal of Evaluation
- Review of 93 evaluation reports of Māori community development programmes (see Appendix One for the framework for the review)

The Kaupapa Māori hīkoi approach required that I trust a process to lead to the completion of a doctoral thesis - a journeying process with no predetermined tools or route to follow. Kovach writes of indigenous methodologies: “I think our methodology is process” (Kovach 2009, p. 153). On the journey, I used multiple strategies and processes to ensure rigour in this work. Verification by others, through checking and confirming both my analysis and presentation were built in to the process to build validity and reliability (Morse et al., 2002). Iterative processes were woven throughout, involving checking and rechecking data, presentations, feedback and discussion in multiple fora (Kovach 2009). As well as formal peer review and supervision, collaborative approaches to analysis and writing were employed; this is particularly evident in Chapter 5 where I worked with multiple authors through many interactions.<sup>15</sup>

There were many times when I could not see how I would reach any destination, but I was required to trust the process and to believe that it was as important as any destination. I learned that circles threatened the western linear expectation of progress,

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<sup>15</sup> Emendation in response to requirement to provide details of methodology and methods.

so inculcated during my early education. The fascinating thing about circles, when your reference points are based on linear progression, is that for at least half the trip it appears that you might be heading in the wrong direction. My fellow indigenous travelers from northern America taught me to trust circles – to let go of my fear that they would lead nowhere – to understand, that in the circle, there is profound learning to be had, if you are brave enough to risk feeling lost for a while. “It helps if you listen in circles because there are stories inside and between stories, and finding your way through them is as easy and as hard as finding your way home. Part of finding is getting lost, and when you are lost you start to open up and listen” (Tafoya in aruskevich 2010, p. xx).

To summarise, the space and approaches provided by Māori and other indigenous theorists, particularly the emphasis on process and the importance of attending to multiple voices provided an important setting off point for my journey. The idea of process as a methodology and the importance of relationships resonated with hīkoi as both a relational process and a conceptual approach. The Treaty of Waitangi is both a starting point and a navigational beacon, providing an overarching framework for health promotion and evaluation as well as being a guide. The cyclic patterns and the progression inherent in the concept of hīkoi provide a shape and purpose for the chapters that follow. They move from a more autoethnographic approach through theory and practice, ending with a chapter that gives voice to multiple evaluation journeys.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Emendation in response to requirement to conclude the introduction.

## The Chapters

The following five chapters provide stories of Māori and indigenous evaluation, examining what constitutes ‘good’ evaluation and ‘good’ evaluation practice. It is not exhaustive, but aims to contribute to current debates and to provide a record of where I (and others) have arrived at this point in the journey.

The first chapter, *First Person/First Peoples: A Journey through Boundaries* describes the beginning of the journey. It is a story - a narrative of my personal experiences in attending evaluation conferences in Australasia and North America to try and learn what evaluation, specifically indigenous evaluation, was. It is not an academic piece of writing. It is not full of references to people who write academic papers...it’s just me, writing about what I found on that first foray into the field of evaluation.

The second chapter is on *Kaupapa Māori theory based evaluation*. It was written as a paper for publication in a non-indigenous journal and has been published in the *Evaluation Journal of Australasia* and also the first edition of *Karearea* – a digest of the Aotearoa New Zealand Evaluation Association. Both publications allow for publication elsewhere, and I awaited their decisions, particularly the decision of *Karearea*, with the most apprehension and excitement. The first edition of *Karearea* focused on indigenous evaluation and every person on the reviewing panel was a Māori evaluation expert. Finally the paper underwent the rigorous review from Māori that I wanted and yet avoided for so long.

The third chapter, *Kaupapa Māori Action Research to Improve Heart Disease Services in Aotearoa, New Zealand*, makes the case for a Kaupapa Māori Action Research

approach in assisting Māori to take action to improve service provision. The action research cycles of planning action, implementing change and evaluating the results are the same as action focused formative evaluation approaches under another name. It was written for publication in an international medical journal to build the evidence base and academic credibility of research and evaluation approaches that fully involve Māori communities in evaluating service provision in their communities and generating ideas for improvements. It was written with the hope that medical practitioners and health funders might be encouraged to risk undertaking more of these types of research and evaluation.

The fourth chapter in this thesis, *Evaluation Hīkoi: A Model for Aotearoa New Zealand?* came from weaving together knowledge gained from practical health promotion evaluation experience at Whāriki with historical political perspectives and from the health promotion and Aotearoa New Zealand evaluation literature. By the time this paper was written, the hīkoi as an evaluation approach was very familiar, so the real learning for my evaluation journey, the knowledge for my kete, came from understanding the impact of the vagaries of politics on evaluation practice and the massive extent to which the Treaty has shaped our evaluation practice here, for the good.

The fifth chapter describes an indigenous evaluation capacity building project. *Indigenous Evaluation: It's only new because it's been missing so long* was written collaboratively with Alaska Native colleagues. They were at the beginning of their evaluation journeys, just like I was when I wrote the first chapter. Having picked up

some knowledge about evaluation on my journey, I passed on all that I learned to other indigenous people, who will take what is useful to them on their evaluation journeys.

The thesis ends with Discussion and Conclusions. The discussion pulls together knowledge gathered on the hīkoi into a summary table. The findings are discussed and three emergent issues arising from the findings are examined in greater detail. The Conclusions section provides a range of answers to the hīkoi research question, “what is good evaluation for Māori?”<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Emendation in response to requirement to provide a conclusion to the introduction.



## Epilogue<sup>18</sup>

It is perhaps appropriate given the erratic path of my doctoral evaluation hīkoi, that the introduction at the beginning include an ending usually reserved for the final words in a book or piece of writing. In an indigenous frame, it can be seen as closing the circle (Wilson 2008) but in a Māori frame, where circles are conceptualised more as cycles or spirals with ongoing movement it reminds me of the takarangi spiral; a double spiral that moves both toward and outward from the centre (Stewart-Harawira 2005). My doctoral hīkoi could be conceptualised in this way, moving out from my personal experiences and knowledge through wider and wider circles of relationships and influences and back again to the personal; always relating; always moving.<sup>19</sup> But I find that as I write this epilogue I am alone, at the centre of the specific and yet aware of so many influences on this long journey and with the need to write of one more – the impact of the doctoral examination and, in my case, the requirement to write emendations to this thesis. It is an influence that I do not wish to end the thesis with, so it is here, at the beginning, although its influence was felt most acutely at the end of the long doctoral hīkoi.

The doctoral examination in Aotearoa New Zealand is an evaluation that is conducted in a way that is antithetical to the findings of this hīkoi, on good evaluation for Māori. There is no journey as it only occurs at the end when stakes are highest, evaluators are external, generally with no relationship with the candidate and Western knowledge systems and ways of evaluating the success of the work are ‘normal’ and indigenous

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<sup>18</sup> Emendation in response to requirement to conclude the introduction.

<sup>19</sup> In a Western frame this might be called an abductive approach (Patton 2011) moving back and forward between the specific and general in order to make sense or answer a research question, or be seen in the cycles of action research (Reason & Bradbury 2006).

framings are ‘other’. The contrasts between the evaluations that are good for Māori and this final doctoral evaluation process could not be more marked. However, the doctoral examination, including the requirement to write emendations, has become another cycle of learning on the hīkoi. The oral examination was a short-lived horror, but the emendations gave me problems and I struggled to complete them. I recognised that the emendations would likely improve my thesis, but the struggle came because they were an inflicted interjection into my writing and my journey. They didn’t feel like mine, and I was uncomfortable adding them, particularly when it seemed I was required to retro-fit theories that had not guided my hīkoi. The conflict between appreciating the tremendous good will and expert knowledge of my examiners in asking for specific emendations and my discomfort with the intrusion of the emendations was solved when I decided to make it explicit where an emendation resulted in a significant addition to the text.

For you the reader, these additions are now transparent, marked with a footnote indicating the general nature of the emendation required. To you my examiners, I extend my thanks and a (belated) welcome to my hīkoi. You expanded the learning spiral and from my perspective now at the end of the doctoral hīkoi, I am sure this thesis is better as a result of your inclusion in the journey.

## ***Link One***

The first chapter *First Person/First Peoples: A Journey through Boundaries* documents the beginning of my evaluation and doctoral journey. It is a narrative of my experiences as a new indigenous evaluator attending evaluation conferences in Aotearoa New Zealand and North America. It includes an initial description of the Kaupapa Māori hīkoi approach to evaluation that guides this thesis – the metaphor of a collective journey towards self-determination for Māori and other indigenous peoples.

The choice of the first person narrative came as a direct result of being asked by a presenter at the Joint Canadian Evaluation Society/American Evaluation Association Conference in 2005, to write my experiences as a new indigenous evaluator for an American audience. In this context, I felt confident that this was an appropriate choice for the topic and the intended audience. In this way the following Chapter is aligned with an autoethnographic approach (Ellis 2010); it allowed personal narrative to emerge through the telling of my story as an emerging evaluator.

Much of what is covered in this chapter is well known to experienced evaluators working in the New Zealand context, but it was not written for that audience – it was written for a wider international audience and was accepted for publication in the American Journal of Evaluation (AJE) without emendations. An editorial decision was made to publish it in the journal that went out at the next American Evaluation Association conference. It had been my plan to attend that conference to present and obtain feedback on the paper from attendees, but unfortunately I was unable to raise the required funds. Although this planned feedback loop did not happen, the publication of the paper led to contacts with indigenous researchers, planners and evaluators from the

United States and collaboration with a cohort of Alaska Native people (see Chapter Five). In all these hīkoi interactions, I received feedback on the paper and on the concepts such as ‘hīkoi’ found within the paper. Indigenous feedback indicated a strong affinity with the concept of ‘hīkoi’ in evaluation and the movement toward sovereignty. The idea of a shared journey with a goal to foster self-determination resonated with the work of other indigenous writers on research and evaluation (LaFrance and Nichols 2009, Robertson et al 2004).<sup>20</sup>

Feedback from a Native American colleague fuelled ongoing writing for the hīkoi. She said that this paper was the first time she had read anything in an academic journal that “told my story”. It moved her to tears to know that other indigenous people shared her experiences and that these experiences were important enough for someone to write and publish. Particularly profound for indigenous readers seemed to be the naming of “benevolent” but “paternalistic” relationships in evaluation, where power and responsibility was not shared as it ought to be in a true partnership. My colleagues talked of how unsafe it felt to articulate the feelings of anger and shame that accompanied the paternalistic, benevolent relationships in their own work worlds. They appreciated having it articulated for them; felt safe to identify with it; empowered to face the feelings in themselves. These responses provide powerful examples of the importance of auto ethographic approaches and the publication of the paper showed the increasing acceptance in the academy of this approach to research and writing. I identified with my indigenous colleagues’ responses as they had been mine when I first encountered Kaupapa Māori Theory (Smith 1997) as a Masters Student at the University of Auckland. On the hīkoi, I often reminded myself of that sense of relief

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<sup>20</sup> Emendation in response to requirement to strengthen the links between chapters.

and empowerment encountering Kaupapa Māori Theory and of my colleagues profound reaction to the paper in AJE. As my hīkoi progressed the importance of writing for an indigenous audience was repeatedly highlighted and motivated me to write and encourage others to write. The paper published in AJE, is presented here as Chapter One of the thesis.<sup>21</sup>

I am the sole author of the chapter. It was written and published in 2006.

Kerr, S. (2006). "First Person, First Peoples: A Journey Through Boundaries" in *American Journal of Evaluation*. Volume 27, Issue 3. P.360-369.

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<sup>21</sup> Emendation in response to requirement to strengthen the links between chapters.

## Chapter One

# First Person, First Peoples: A Journey through Boundaries

### Abstract

This chapter documents my personal journey as a new evaluator traversing paradigms, continents and timelines on a quest to discover how best to practice evaluation for the benefit of Māori people. The journey has taken me to a number of evaluation conferences in Australasia and North America which I have used as monitoring tools to help assess both my progress and the progress of indigenous evaluation generally. The chapter reports on the positioning of the indigenous evaluation journey from the global perspective afforded by attendance at these conferences. As well, from an indigenous perspective, it documents my insights into the social interactions and internal politics of the evaluation conference ‘culture’.

### Introduction

My *hīkoi* (Māori word for “stepping out” as on a journey) into the evaluation field began in 2003 through the only path available in a place like Aotearoa New Zealand – over the edge of necessity and straight into an evaluation. With a high demand for evaluation, relatively few experienced evaluators and a dearth of formal evaluation training or qualifications on offer in Aotearoa New Zealand, evaluation learning is pragmatic and

gained on the job. At Te Rōpū Whāriki (Massey University)<sup>22</sup> where I had recently been employed, evaluators were typically in short supply, so with the assistance of an experienced project manager and the promise of mentoring support, my evaluation hīkoi began.

Having a Masters Degree in the Social Sciences did little to prepare me for my first evaluation, which was practiced on unsuspecting individuals and groups, most of whom were Māori as I myself am (indigenous to Aotearoa New Zealand). However, within three short years, the journey had taken me from first hearing the concept of evaluation through to seeing the potential benefits, towards a doctorate studying Māori programme evaluation approaches in a quest to find out how best to “do” evaluation for the betterment of Māori.

That route has been peopled with Māori communities and evaluators who have been my guides, ensuring that the journey did not end after that first evaluation, but remained on track. Academic theorists and evaluation experts have provided clarity and illumination when the path forward was unclear. Evaluation conferences have served as route markers along the way, providing a vantage point from which to access hīkoi progress in a broader perspective. This essay discusses my observations and experiences as a new indigenous evaluator attending four such evaluation conferences; two in Aotearoa New Zealand and two in North America.

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<sup>22</sup> Te Rōpū Whāriki, Massey University, is a Māori research group with a significant history in evaluation who work in a Treaty of Waitangi based partnership with the Centre for Social and Health Outcomes and Evaluation (SHORE).

The Aotearoa New Zealand conferences:

- Australasian Evaluation Society, International Conference 2003. Auckland, New Zealand
- Aotearoa New Zealand Evaluation Conference, 2005  
Sponsored by the Auckland Evaluation Group, Taupo, New Zealand.

The North American conferences:

- American Evaluation Association, 2004. Atlanta, United States of America
- Joint Canadian Evaluation Society/American Evaluation Association, 2005.  
Toronto, Canada.

My experiences at each of these are discussed below:

### *Australasian Evaluation Society Conference, 2003*

My conference attendance began with the Australasian Evaluation Society Conference held in my home city of Auckland in September of 2003. I was still working on my first evaluation as a formative evaluator on a multi-site evaluation of a nationwide government programme. Having only heard of the existence of this type of evaluation three months prior, I was keen to find out more about evaluation to inform my premature practice.

The conference began with an Indigenous Wānanga held on a marae to which people of all cultures were invited. The stated goal of the wānanga was to:



...provide a culturally safe space for engagement of key issues and interaction with others who have a passion or interest in indigenous evaluation. The Wānanga process will allow you to freely share your ideas and to discuss issues and challenges relating to evaluation with indigenous peoples (The Australasian Evaluation Society (AES), International Conference 2003 Registration Booklet, p.2).

Over two days and a night, approximately sixty people from a variety of countries, cultures and professions talked, sang, laughed and slept in one large, ornately carved meeting room, and shared experiences, knowledge and theories about indigenous evaluation. For the visitors to Aotearoa New Zealand who chose from the variety of pre-conference workshops to attend this indigenous wānanga, it must have been a novel way to begin a conference. For me, familiar with the protocol and surroundings it was a fun, extremely informative time and I left with the impression that evaluation is a discipline that values the contribution of indigenous peoples, at least enough to allow us to meet together to discuss indigenous evaluation issues within our own contexts.

Following the conclusion of the wānanga and other workshops, the official conference was opened with a powhiri or traditional Māori welcome. American keynote speaker, Michael Quinn Patton contextualised his presentation with Māori legend and examples from the Whale Rider movie which was set amongst Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. Māori were among the keynote speakers and the rhetoric of “valuing indigenous contributions” was heard in the workshops, addresses and discussions and throughout the many seminar presentations and formal conference proceedings.

The level of Māori involvement and acknowledgment at the conference seemed to indicate a real commitment by the Australasian Evaluation Society to a collaborative

approach.<sup>23</sup> Although the evaluation hīkoi was new to me, my journey through life had shown me that the movement towards indigenous collaboration for any mainstream organisation was usually slow and impeded by those for whom the indigenous agenda was not seen as crucial. I appreciated the level of political and relational groundwork required, probably over many years, for an evaluation conference like this to exist, but I also speculated about it possibly being a “one time only” commitment to a conference with its stated aim of, “...operating a model of partnership ... which reflects the culture of Aotearoa New Zealand, particularly in relation to partnership between Māori and Pākehā.” (AES 2003, p. 2).

This native scepticism was again piqued during a panel discussion, when a non-aboriginal Australian evaluator spoke of her evaluation work in partnership with aboriginal people. Uneasy about her use of the word “partnership” in conjunction with an indigenous group for whom she assumed the right to speak, I realised that I carry a historically and politically determined scepticism about partnerships when these appear to be dominated by one side.

Since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in New Zealand in 1840,<sup>24</sup> Māori have been sceptical of the rhetoric of partnership. At the signing, Māori and the Crown’s concepts of the Treaty partnership were at odds, causing divergent translations and controversy to this day.<sup>25</sup> The Crown’s concept was heavily weighted towards a colonial notion of paternalism, whilst Māori, not seeing themselves as needing a patron, understood

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<sup>23</sup> Input from Australian Aboriginal peoples and Pacific peoples were also officially encouraged.

<sup>24</sup> The Treaty of Waitangi is New Zealand’s founding document, signed in 1840 by the British Crown and Māori representing many of the tribes of Aotearoa, New Zealand.

<sup>25</sup> For an analysis of the different perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi see Kawharu. I. H. ed. (1989) *Waitangi: Māori and Pākehā Perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi*. Auckland: Oxford University Press

partnership as being between independent equals who come together for mutual benefit. Beneath this concept of partnership is the concept of “tino rangatiratanga” or self-determination which is imbedded in the Māori understanding of our treaty partnership with the Crown. However our history since signing the treaty has been a struggle for social justice, equality and self-determination, in the attempt to achieve the vision described by one of our foremost Māori commentators as one “whereby two people can live as coequals in the post-colonial era of the new nation state in the twenty-first century” (Walker, 1990, p.10).

The partnership ideal is one of equals, possessing equal authority, devoid of paternalism. Therefore, in the contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand evaluation context, Māori no longer condone others speaking for us, and non-Māori no longer consider it their automatic right to speak on our behalf, especially about research that is replete with “collaboration” and “partnership” on evaluations of programmes in Māori communities. When there is authentic partnership, as we see it, then the concept of partnership is negotiated along with the research design, implementation and dissemination of research findings. Under this model Māori have input into all stages which includes speaking about the research at evaluation conferences.

My first conference had given me a reference point from which to check my own fledgling evaluation progress and to observe the progress of the indigenous evaluation hīkoi in the Aotearoa New Zealand and Australian (Australasian) scene. I had learned that evaluation is a discipline with a fairly well developed rhetoric of partnership or collaboration with indigenous peoples. I had already learned from life experiences to take this with a certain amount of scepticism until I saw the proof in appropriate sustained practice.

### *American Evaluation Association Conference, 2004*

The next conference on my indigenous evaluation hīkoi was the American Evaluation Association Conference in Atlanta, USA in 2004. By the time I attended this conference I had a little more experience in the practice of evaluation and had begun a doctoral thesis with a focus on examining Māori approaches to programme evaluation. I still had not had the opportunity to attend a single class on evaluation so the mentoring I received was supplemented by reading and was to be further enhanced by attending the largest gathering of evaluators on the globe.

I duly arrived in Atlanta, with a modicum of fear about being in the esteemed company of so many of the profession's "greats". This conference highlighted the depth and breadth of the evaluation field, with its veritable feast of seminars, workshops and presentations on a wide range of evaluation themes. Attendees had to prioritise attendance at sessions and make choices based on relevance, but it was the political nature of evaluation and evaluator choices, that was strongly underscored at this conference. Held as it was, against the political backdrop of the Republican victory in the presidential elections, there was a strong sense of irony in being ensconced in a plush hotel with a crowd of voluble evaluators concerned with the implications of a Republican victory, in the capital of a solidly pro-Republican state.<sup>26</sup>

This highlighted for me how an ethically responsible evaluator should not deny the political nature of evaluation, embedded as it is in a range of social, cultural and political processes within society. Evaluation involves decisions about what to 'value' and the

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<sup>26</sup> Voices concerned about the implications of the Republican victory seemed to be the most vocal at the conference. It is not intended to imply that all attendees were anti-Republican. None were official statements of the AEA

concomitant resource allocation, often of public funds, therefore we are obliged ethically to acknowledge the politics involved in the issues on which we work, how our results are used and what happens to the programs and policies we evaluate. Reflecting on the political milieu of evaluation also reminded me to be clear about my perspective on evaluation including the influences of my own social, cultural and political background – a perspective that leads me to look and listen for the minority voices and to be sensitive to their absence. Identification as Māori and as “indigenous”<sup>27</sup> carries with it an inherent bias towards other groups who have been marginalised or are kept at a distance from the mainstream, the majority, or even the vocal minority. My perspective also leads me to believe that it is at the borders and margins of the mainstream (where Māori see themselves) that the greatest innovation and learning takes place.

Therefore my primary interest was in hearing indigenous and other minority voices for their experiences would be most similar to ours in Aotearoa New Zealand and most relevant and useful to my evaluation practice. Fresh from my first evaluation conference experience in Aotearoa New Zealand, my expectation was that Native American cultures and evaluation voices would be fully incorporated into the American Evaluation Association conference. However what I found was the culture of “Western Academia” devoid of any indigenous input except in a handful of indigenous seminars. Unlike the first conference I attended, the ‘indigenous agenda’ was not at the centre of “Evaluation Fundamentals” (AEA 2004 Conference theme) but was located at the margins amongst

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<sup>27</sup> ‘Indigenous Peoples’ as a term first emerged in the 1970s from the American Indian Movement and the Canadian Indian Brotherhood, in recognition of the commonality of experiences of some of the world’s colonised peoples. It especially recognised the struggles to maintain continuity with pre-colonial territories, societies and ethnic identities as non-dominant sectors of society. Inherent in the term ‘indigenous peoples’ are the concepts of self-selected inclusion and multiple and diversity peoples with autonomy to define themselves. See Wilmer, F. (1993). *The Indigenous Voice in World Politics*. California: Sage.

the presentations of the Multiethnic Issues in Evaluation Topic Interest Group (TIG). Given the huge selection of presentations at this conference and the consequent need to strictly prioritise attendance by likely relevance, it was inevitable that the minority indigenous American voices were only heard by a small number of people. For me personally, the opportunity to hear Native Americans share their evaluation successes and struggles and compare them with ours was one of the highlights of the conference. I learned how closely their struggles resemble ours, but that we are in a relatively privileged position in Aotearoa New Zealand, comprising 15 percent of the population and having a significant political voice with which to lobby the government for our rights.

In spite of my disappointment over the general lack of visibility of indigenous issues at the conference, it did give me the chance to network and form ongoing relationships with other indigenous peoples. The shared need for this type of learning and networking was evident at a breakfast meeting of indigenous evaluators where we decided to form an Indigenous Peoples in Evaluation TIG for the following year's AEA conference.

Among the sessions I attended was one sponsored by the International and Cross-Cultural evaluation TIG (AEA Conference 2004, Session 726) looking at evaluation organisations and evaluation issues on the international front. The reoccurring theme was the issue of relationship with the indigenous or nationals in the countries where programmes were being evaluated. The problems and issues with collaboration, partnerships and capacity building were discussed in some detail, although the discussion seemed to lack a sense of reality without a strong presence of indigenous

people speaking from their perspective about the problems and possible solutions.<sup>28</sup> After 15 minutes, weighing my options for the precious time I had available at the conference, I left and went to another seminar where a number of indigenous evaluators talked about creating an evaluation construct based on American Indian and Alaska Native worldviews (AEA Conference 2004, Session 743). In the course of their presentations, building appropriate evaluation relationships with native peoples was a key focus. The occupants of the tiny room were predominantly indigenous people from various parts of the world; the irony was so obvious, it was tragic.

In the context of the American Evaluation Association conference, it appeared that talk of collaboration, partnership, and honouring of indigenous contributions was largely empty rhetoric. Not because of the absence of indigenous voices, but because on the few occasions when they were speaking, even those mainstream evaluators who use the language of indigenous participation were not there. They were elsewhere, discussing the issues among themselves. I speculated that the conference was just too large for people to make the best choices about which sessions to attend. However, my indigenous scepticism lead me to question again what models of partnership they were using or the types of collaborative relationships they had developed, and just how serious their commitment to improving evaluation practice with indigenous and other minority groups was, if they preferred to talk amongst themselves rather than listen to the critique of expert indigenous evaluators.

As my hīkoi continued I wondered whether I would discover the reasons why the people who talked about collaboration, failed to be listening to the ones they professed to be

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<sup>28</sup> The group did include 'Nationals' from a number of different countries. I did not stay for the whole session and therefore do not know what took place after my departure

trying to collaborate with. I left the American Evaluation Conference appreciating again the relative privilege of our position in Aotearoa New Zealand where Māori have a significant voice in evaluation. I had acquired a great admiration for the handful of indigenous evaluators in North America who, apart from their sparsely attended seminar presentations, were virtually voiceless at their own country's evaluation conference.

### *Aotearoa New Zealand Evaluation Conference, 2005*

The third waypoint in my evaluation conference hīkoi led me to a national conference organised by the Auckland Evaluation group attended by around fifty evaluators from throughout the country. I had developed a doctoral research proposal that involved the daunting task of collecting together the reports from every evaluation of Māori community development programmes ever undertaken in Aotearoa New Zealand. To learn all that I wanted to know would require collaboration with the widest possible network of Māori and non-Māori evaluators working on Māori community development programme evaluations. Thus, networking with these evaluators became my principle goal on this leg of the hīkoi, although the conference would also provide the opportunity to gain much needed new knowledge, and to access the general progress of the indigenous evaluation hīkoi.

Māori made up approximately 20 percent of the attendees and met together informally over food, formally in a session to develop guidelines for Māori evaluator competencies, as well as contributing Māori perspectives, experiences, evaluation concepts and theories, to all aspects of the conference. This conference provided a new insight on the evaluation hīkoi. I could see that Māori had developed unique methodologies, theories, modes of practice and Māori evaluative language highly appropriate for working in our



Māori communities and contexts. This development in evaluation is ably illustrated through the concept of hīkoi used in this paper, but which we now also use in our indigenous evaluation practice in Aotearoa New Zealand. Thus far in this essay, ‘hīkoi’ has been defined simply as ‘stepping out’ and used synonymously with ‘journey’. If you are unfamiliar with this word, then the definition suffices in facilitating understanding on one level. If you are Māori, or indeed a New Zealander of any ethnicity, then ‘hīkoi’ will have other levels of meaning for you.

The word ‘hīkoi’ has been the name given to two of Māoridom’s largest public demonstrations, both of which asked for the government to acknowledge Māori rights under the Treaty of Waitangi. The first of these was a land march in 1975 and the second more recent demonstration in 2004 was over retention of traditional Māori rights to the foreshore and seabed. These ‘hīkoi’, took the form of peaceful marches beginning at one end of the country, collecting more people as it passed through different tribal areas and culminating in massed rallies at parliament. Thus, ‘hīkoi’ has become a concept synonymous with Māori standing up for our rights under the Treaty of Waitangi. It carries with it all of the history and associations of the Māori journey towards self-determination; a political act by Māori to affect change towards the commonly held goal of self-determination.

As a result of these associations, which aligned well with our particular approach to evaluation, we at my evaluation research group, Te Rōpū Whāriki, came to use the word ‘hīkoi’ when working with Māori, to describe evaluation.<sup>29</sup> Despite evaluation’s

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<sup>29</sup> Whāriki director Helen Moewaka Barnes developed the ‘hīkoi’ concept of evaluation in 2004.

negative associations with research and testing amongst our Māori evaluands,<sup>30</sup> describing it as a hīkoi brought immediate recognition that we were on the same path – we were journeying together and although struggle and adversity were possible along the route, the goal of Māori development would remain paramount for us all.

Hīkoi as used in evaluation at Te Rōpū Whāriki incorporates the concepts of:

- A collective journey (the evaluator and the evaluand take the evaluation path together)
- The goal of the journey is negotiated (collaboration between evaluators, evaluands and the community that the programme and the evaluation are all seeking to serve)
- All parties are united in their desire to achieve the goal (it is not a test, but a joint movement toward achieving goals)
- Others with the same or complementary goals may join along the way (network building, collaborations and capacity building)
- The journey itself is important for relationship building and learning (sustainable relationships and sustainable development)
- It is by Māori, for Māori, towards Māori development and self-determination (Māori control the evaluative process)

An evaluation hīkoi therefore encompasses all of these things.

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<sup>30</sup> See Smith, L (1999)

As my evaluation *hīkoi* passed through the Aotearoa New Zealand Evaluation Conference I was acutely aware of all the others on the same journey. I realised that Aotearoa New Zealand evaluation at this time has linked with us on the indigenous *hīkoi*. They have moved past ‘paternalistic’ type evaluation partnerships (where benevolent assistance is given but not equal rights and responsibilities for the evaluation), towards acknowledging Māori expertise in working with our own people and respecting our contribution to the theory and practice of evaluation in a wider context.

***Joint Canadian Evaluation Society/American Evaluation Association  
Conference, 2005***

The fourth evaluation *hīkoi* waypoint took me back to the Americas again, but this time on Canadian soil. I eagerly anticipated the ‘Crossing Borders, Crossing Boundaries’ joint conference of the Canadian Evaluation Society and American Evaluation Association in Toronto in 2005. The pre-conference promotional material could hardly have been more relevant to my stated *hīkoi* goals and the conference looked like a great tool for monitoring *hīkoi* progress. Only three years into the evaluation journey, I was keen to see the rhetoric of “differences providing opportunities” (Joint CES/AEA Conference 2005, The Conference Theme and Thematic Strand)<sup>31</sup> for the development of the evaluation profession, meaning more than just words at the largest gathering of evaluators ever.

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<sup>31</sup> Joint CES/AEA Conference (2005) *Conference Theme and Thematic Strands*. Available at <http://www.eval.org/eval2005/05.welcome.htm>

I expected indigenous people to be recognised as the first peoples of the land, be given a voice at the conference and their unique contribution to the global evaluation scene to be acknowledged. I also expected the conference to practically demonstrate a commitment to diversity through incorporating a variety of cultures into the conference formalities. My expectations were raised because this was a conference where the American Association was combining with the Canadian Society and Canadians have a relatively good reputation for their recent treatment of First Nations peoples. It was obvious from the existence of a Canadian Strand that they intended to be heard, and the minority French Canadians having a French-Language Strand was also a pre-conference sign that boded well for the minority indigenous American evaluators having a significant voice. Also echoing the theme of the conference, the promotional material made bold statements about crossing boundaries and borders “in the interest of the further development of the evaluation profession and international collaboration.”(Joint CES/AEA Conference 2005, The Conference Theme and Thematic Strand).<sup>32</sup>

From the formal opening, to the final closing, indigenous input was in evidence; the opening smudging ceremony, the welcoming of the AEA Indigenous Peoples in Evaluation TIG to the Association and their inaugural meeting, and throughout the Multiethnic Issues in Evaluation TIG where a good number of seminars dealt with indigenous issues in evaluation research.

At one such seminar (Joint CES/AEA Conference 2005, Session 460) a Māori evaluator<sup>33</sup> explained why indigenous peoples generally prefer to work with their own evaluators.

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid (2005)

<sup>33</sup> Wehipeihana, N Joint CES/AEA Conference 2005, Session 460.

She simply said that “we feel more comfortable around our own people” then she urged non-indigenous evaluators to “get over it” because it was nothing personal and quite normal.

I was still pondering the drawing of boundaries and the role of non-indigenous evaluators working with indigenous peoples, when at a subsequent session we were invited to spend five minutes introducing ourselves to as many people in the room as possible. I watched as people immediately introduced themselves only to those who looked physically similar. The majority, middle-aged women of European descent, merrily introduced themselves to their inexhaustible supply of similar looking people. The handful of Black or male evaluators quickly exhausted their supply then either stood awkwardly alone or continued uneasily chatting to each other. A conspicuous few stood proactively by dissimilar people until they were eventually allowed to introduce themselves.

Even amongst evaluators at a “Crossing Borders, Crossing Boundaries” conference, it seemed natural for people to identify on the basis of obvious similarities and, consciously or not, they had boundaries they tended to maintain. The conference material had talked of boundaries being “human constructions” often serving a function but also creating barriers. However, the ‘introduction exercise’ ably demonstrated a point that the conference promotional material did not bring to light, namely, that the majority are in a privileged position and their comfort levels are generally assured. It highlighted how minorities, marginalised by, and the least comfortable in groups, are forced by necessity to be proactive. For this reason they often become the initiators of border and boundary crossing.

If we concede that there are benefits in crossing of borders and boundaries, in the cross fertilisation of ideas for instance, we should be able to acknowledge that people at the edges (be they cultural, professional, theoretical or in practice) may have the most to offer in terms of innovative approaches, for it is more likely that they have had to cross many borders many times in their everyday lives. It is also likely therefore, that in their professional lives as evaluators, they have already developed “new syntheses” and “hybrid creations” “that could further the development of the evaluation and international collaboration.” (Joint CES/AEA Conference 2005)

Indigenous peoples see ourselves at these borders. We are also aware that we have learned lessons that could benefit other evaluators, not only about how to work with us in evaluation, but on alternate ways of theorizing and practicing evaluation. However we do not necessarily share all of what we have learnt because we tend to be as suspicious of the rhetoric of “crossing borders and boundaries” as we are of partnerships and collaborations – remembering that, historically, when our borders were crossed it was by dominating cultures who violated them and enforced, often violently, their own borders and boundaries on us. And they stayed. We have lived at the borders of the mainstream ever since, crossing backwards and forwards as required or when allowed.

Contemporary evaluation must be sensitive to our reluctance to share the best of our learnings until our boundaries are respected, and only crossed with permission. Indigenous communities’ suspicion of uninvited evaluators, however ‘well meaning’, is inevitable. To us they are simply the latest wave of boundary violators with all that

historically entails.<sup>34</sup> For this reason indigenous evaluators spend inordinate time and energy patiently teaching evaluators how to work with us when we are acutely aware that we could be progressing the actual work ourselves. Indigenous evaluators want to share our evaluation learning's, see the wider evaluation profession benefit from our knowledge and experience (just as we have learned from crossing into the mainstream) but, primarily, we want evaluation to be safe and beneficial for our people.

The question naturally arises amongst indigenous peoples as to whether non-indigenous people should be invited to be involved at all. There are those within indigenous circles who think not. However, many believe that any who support the indigenous desire for self-determination should be welcome to join the 'hīkoi' (a concept of 'support' without the goal of indigenous self-determination would be contrary to the indigenous agenda). Obviously, if you support our desire to do it for ourselves, then you will come to us with the right attitude to work collaboratively with indigenous peoples even if you are only there because of a contractual obligation, possibly in conflict itself with the concept of self-determination. It is this right attitude that we are looking for and trying to foster in the non-indigenous evaluators who work in our communities. Our communities are very sensitive to anything that could be construed as a continuation of colonisation and will reject, or stonewall, evaluators accordingly. The attitude of non-indigenous evaluators is so important that it can make the difference between smooth or rough border crossings into indigenous communities, especially when uninvited. It can determine whether an evaluation runs well for the evaluators, is beneficial or damaging to the communities

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<sup>34</sup> See Smith, L (1999:78-94)

and whether it leaves a positive or negative legacy for the practice and profession of evaluation for generations to come.

After four evaluation conferences, my simple observations and experiences as a new indigenous evaluator have resonated with both indigenous and non-indigenous evaluators and a number of them have asked me to write them for a wider audience. I have also been asked for my opinion on how evaluation organisations and conferences might be able to develop 'cultures' where the boundaries are routinely negotiated safely and respectfully without the need to highlight them with conference themes. In the 'introduction exercise' previously described, I witnessed the normalcy and naturalness with which people identify and create borders and boundaries. These can serve admirable purposes, as in the establishment of topical interests groups including the new Indigenous Peoples in Evaluation TIG. It would be anathema for indigenous peoples to advocate the elimination of people groupings and their resultant borders, but we do call for careful consideration of the construction of crossing points and ways of traversing difference especially when there is a significant power differential. There seems also to be a need for territory or space that is shared equally, where all consenting parties can meet on common ground. Professional conferences offer great opportunities in this regard, and the joint CES/AEA conference provided many crossing points as well as shared space. The conference, gave the opportunity for indigenous evaluators to invite non-indigenous to cross into our worlds and to learn of the attitude that engenders successful collaborations, and through such inclusions as the smudging ceremony at the conference opening and the presence of an indigenous keynote speaker, the CES/AEA indicated their desire to foster open spaces and an inclusive evaluation conference culture. Although there is some way to go before it reaches the stage, as in Aotearoa



New Zealand, where indigenous peoples are present and vocal in all open spaces at evaluation conferences, there appears to be a will for this that is encouraging for this new indigenous evaluator from Australasia (Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia). There seems to be every indication that the indigenous evaluation hīkoi, now many decades old, continues to gather supporters who understand our struggles as the journey progresses towards the goal of self-determination and excellence in evaluation for the ultimate benefit of all peoples.

## *Link Two*

The second chapter *Kaupapa Māori theory based evaluation* links the evaluation information gathered as a new indigenous evaluator in Chapter One with the Kaupapa Māori approaches to evaluation that have emerged as such a strong feature of evaluation in Aotearoa New Zealand.

As previously stated, I felt awkward about this chapter and consequently, it was an awkward one to place. It could have been the first chapter or the last or been any chapter in between. Indeed, it has been the backdrop to all the papers as it was begun before the others and, with the exception of the chapter co-written with my Alaskan colleagues (Chapter Five), it was the last to be fully drafted. It took a number of years and it was painful to write and is still painful for me to read. Initially the chapter began as literature review for the thesis, conceptualised only as an exploration of Kaupapa Māori theory and its relationship to Kaupapa Māori evaluation practice. A review of considerable Kaupapa Māori literature was undertaken, including books, papers, theses, conference presentations and a range of evaluation and other technical reports.<sup>35 36</sup>

Writing the literature review material into a paper for publication grew from a desire to write for a New Zealand audience, to argue that Kaupapa Māori theoretical approaches to evaluation were actually more legitimate in our context than anything coming to us from the United States or elsewhere. My hope was that a Pākehā audience, including those in government, might understand that Māori approaches to evaluation were

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<sup>35</sup> Only those publications that were directly used in the writing of this iteration of the chapter have been included in the Bibliography.

<sup>36</sup> Emendation in response to requirement to strengthen the links between Chapters.

legitimate and could stand proud alongside some of the most cutting edge developments in the field internationally. I aimed to add to the growing evidence for the legitimacy and effectiveness of Kaupapa Māori approaches. To make this argument seemed to require comparing and in order to compare, I found myself synthesising Kaupapa Māori models into principles that could be articulated in the English language. The synthesis process involved categorising, theming, sorting and re-sorting until each original principle was more or less<sup>37</sup> represented by one of six English concepts/principles (Table One). These principles were developed as a heuristic device for a specific purpose, context and time on the hīkoi.<sup>38</sup>

I was aware that the need to develop principles of Kaupapa Māori evaluation occurs as a result of power imbalances that drive the imperative for Māori to define, name and defend (Moewaka Barnes, 2006) because “policy makers accept the prevailing default definitions, which are inevitably those established by political power in its customary alliance with practical positivism” (Nash 2001, p. 209). I knew that those in power could potentially use the principles as a way to erase the distinctions of a Kaupapa Māori approach – which would be antithetical to my aim. I was concerned that the distillation of the original situated, complex, nuanced, Kaupapa Māori concepts into simplified principles would allow readers to think that these principles were all that was required to understand Kaupapa Māori theory based evaluation approaches. Of particular concern was that the government or others holding power, could use such a schema to justify ignoring Māori rights under the Treaty of Waitangi. To some extent this tension between wanting to show the legitimacy of Kaupapa Māori approaches and

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<sup>37</sup> Māori concepts are not directly translatable into English. As with any translation across language and culture, much of the meaning is lost.

<sup>38</sup> Emendation in response to requirement to strengthen the links between Chapters.

concern over my approach possibly being misappropriated to eradicate the very distinctives I was trying to preserve, was never resolved. I consoled myself with the fact that the chapter was written with the intent to advance Māori aspirations. As a Māori with multiple accountabilities and with direct input from many Māori colleagues,<sup>39</sup> I began writing what had begun as a Kaupapa Māori literature review into the Chapter that is presented here. I wrote to the echo of these cautionary words, “sometimes we reveal ourselves in ways that get misappropriated and used against us. Writing can be dangerous as well because by building on previous texts written about indigenous peoples, we continue to legitimate views about ourselves which are hostile to us” (Smith 1999, p.36).<sup>40</sup> With me also, was the understanding that if power imbalances based on dominant ‘Western’ epistemology were not present, there would be no need for me to write in this way, to articulate principles, to take such risks with our knowledge (Moewaka Barnes 2006, Smith 1999).<sup>41</sup>

The chapter is in two parts. The first is the exploration of Kaupapa Māori theory based evaluation; the second compares the six Kaupapa Māori theory based evaluation principles described in the first part with international trends in evaluation. A simple chart, modified from a schema by Michael Scriven (2001) provides an overview of theories of evaluation that have risen to prominence in evaluation since the practice of systematic evaluation began. Although the evaluation landscape has been in a constant state of flux since the schema was developed in 2001, the key developments shown in the table (Table Two) are all still relevant in evaluation practise today. For example,

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<sup>39</sup> Input came through informal discussion, presentation of the Principles Table at a forum with indigenous evaluators and scholars and feedback on various iterations of the draft Chapter.

<sup>40</sup> Emendation in response to requirement to address how power and politics bear on the proposed model. See also Chapter Four and Discussion for further exploration of the impact of power and politics on evaluation.

<sup>41</sup> Emendation in response to requirement to address how power and politics bear on the proposed model.

‘Decision Support’ is identified as the first development and it is still the primary purpose of many evaluations (Chemlinski and Shadish 1997, Fitzpatrick et al 2004). More recently, transformative approaches have proliferated and diversified the field (Scriven 2001, Alkin 2004, Fitzpatrick et al 2004, Patton 2011). This diversification offers greater choice of approaches for different evaluation contexts and purposes. This does not mean that the newer approaches now dominate the older; they provide other options.

The chapter shows how the more recent transformative approaches with their focus on mitigating unequal power dynamics and an emphasis on transformation, resonate strongly with Kaupapa Māori based principles. A brief comparison between the principles of Empowerment Evaluation and Kaupapa Māori based evaluation principles shows just how closely aligned they are.<sup>42</sup>

I am the sole author of the chapter. The chapter was written over a number of years as I developed my evaluation thinking and was finally completed and submitted in May 2011. It was published in 2012 in the *Evaluation Journal of Australasian* and *Kārearea*— an online digest of the Aotearoa New Zealand Evaluation Association.

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<sup>42</sup> Emendation in response to requirement to link international, transformative approaches and Kaupapa Māori approaches.

## Chapter Two

# Kaupapa Māori Theory Based Evaluation

### Abstract

Kaupapa Māori and other Māori approaches to programme evaluation are no longer radical or new in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand. From their beginnings in Kaupapa Māori theory in the late 1980s, Kaupapa Māori approaches have been evolving and developing to the point where they now influence the theory and practice of evaluation throughout Aotearoa New Zealand.

In this environment where Kaupapa Māori and other Māori approaches to evaluation are developing quickly with ever widening influence, this chapter is one small attempt to capture the theoretical roots of Kaupapa Māori evaluation approaches and demonstrate the legitimacy of their foundations within evaluation's theoretical landscape. From a range of Kaupapa Māori theorists, six principles are drawn and their relevance to evaluation theory and practice discussed. These principles are then mapped to the major movements in evaluation theory, illustrating how Kaupapa Māori theory based evaluation, arising as a unique praxis within the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, has strong alignment with international developments. It is written for those who have an interest in locating Kaupapa Māori theory based evaluation within the bigger picture of evaluation theories and practices internationally.

## **Introduction**

Kaupapa Māori theory has provided a theoretically sound platform from which unique evaluation theory and practices have been developing in Aotearoa New Zealand. The first part of this chapter describes the evolution of Kaupapa Māori programme evaluation from its roots in Kaupapa Māori theory. Drawing on a range of Kaupapa Māori theorists, six key principles of Kaupapa Māori theory are outlined and their application in programme evaluation discussed. The second section demonstrates the place of Kaupapa Māori theory in evaluation generally, by drawing parallels with the development of evaluation internationally.

## **Theory in Evaluation**

Theory is integral to evaluation as it is the point at which evaluation is able to define its purpose, parameters and to a certain extent, its modus operandi (Scriven 1991, Alkin 2004). Whether using theory or helping to create it, all evaluators are concerned with theory. It is theory that defines what evaluation actually is, who is involved and how it is practised.<sup>43</sup> Fundamentally, it is theory that decides what can legitimately be observed and what can be evaluated (Scriven 1991, 2003).

Theory has moved the programme evaluation field from perceiving its function in terms of assessment to meet management decision-making needs originating with the early educational evaluation of Ralph Tyler (1942), towards approaches that seek to affect policy and practice for the betterment of people through evaluation theorists such as

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<sup>43</sup> Evaluators both use and create theory; the two are not independent. This chapter included discussions of theorists, their theories and the relationships between them.

House and Rowe (2001) (Scriven 2003, Alkin 2004). It is theory that precipitated the move from the acceptance of an external reality and absolute truth towards belief in multiple socially constructed realities and all that entails. It is theory that now takes us deep into the minefield of what development ('betterment') is, on what basis, and who decides. It is theory too that is able to help explain and make sense of the complexities involved in embracing a multiplicity of diverse 'socially constructed' realities.

“Deconstruction of complex constructs requires a theoretical premise, thus the layering of theory upon empirical observation allows us to see how these are influenced, and in turn how they influence political social environmental and economic environments.”  
(Mataira, 2003)

So theory serves many and diverse purposes in evaluation. In Kaupapa Māori theory based programme evaluation, one of the key functions of theory is to help order and make sense of the complex world we live in. Certainly by its very name and nature Kaupapa Māori theory has its own unique characteristics and epistemological understandings for making sense within Māori contexts (Moewaka Barnes 2000, Smith, G. 1997).

## **Kaupapa Māori Theory**

The term 'Kaupapa Māori' is used to describe all manner of Māori undertakings and Māori focused endeavours and should be distinguished from Kaupapa Māori theory.<sup>44</sup> Kaupapa Māori theory is relatively new, emerging from “organic community processes”

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<sup>44</sup> For a summary of early development of Kaupapa Māori and Kaupapa Māori theory, see International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education (2000, pp. 3-8).



(Pihama 2001, p. 100) within the education field in the late 1980s and into the 1990s. “Kaupapa Māori” is not new having its origins “in a history that reaches back thousands of years” (International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education 2000, p. 3). According to Mereana Taki (Taki 1996, p. 17 in International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education 2000, p.3) the concept of kaupapa means “ground rules, customs, the right way of doing things”.

Kaupapa Māori (in contrast to Kaupapa Māori theory) existed long before the signing of Aotearoa New Zealand’s founding document, the Treaty of Waitangi (Walker 1996). Signed by the British Crown and Māori representatives in 1840, controversy exists over the interpretation of the Treaty particularly in relation to different versions; a Māori version and an English version. The Treaty is important to Kaupapa Māori theory as the principles contained within the Māori version of the Treaty underpin the argument for the theoretical space occupied by Kaupapa Māori theory, research and evaluation (Pihama et al. 2000, Pihama 2001, International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education 2000, Walker 1996). Walker (1989) contends that, if *mana whenua* (customary authority exercised by a tribe or sub-tribe) had been the term used in the Treaty of Waitangi instead of the word *kawanatanga* (a translation of governance), Māori would have had a better idea of the Crown’s intention and would have refused to sign. Contention around the Māori and English translations continues to this day, with Māori arguing that the Māori version is the legitimate version. This is also the legal position in international treaty law. The Māori version expressly preserves the power and autonomy of the chiefs and it is this commitment by the Crown in 1840 that underpins Kaupapa Māori’s self-determination stance with the government.

Kaupapa Māori theory was coined in the late 1980s as a theoretical site of resistance with links to critical theory and within a constructivist epistemology (Smith G. 1997).<sup>45</sup> The linking of 'Kaupapa Māori' with 'theory' was an express challenge by Graham Smith, a Māori educationalist at the University of Auckland, to the narrow interpretation of theory as it had been applied in education in Aotearoa New Zealand (Smith G. 1997). In the process of making this challenge, Smith opened a space to support Māori academic writing, developing a counter-hegemonic practice that aimed to be transformative for Māori. (Smith G. 1997, International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education 2000). He contends that there are at least five elements necessary for theory to be transformative for Māori:

1. It needs to be seen as a potentially useful tool for assisting positive transformation of our conditions.
2. It needs to be seen as a 'tool' – useful in the right hands and potentially destructive in the wrong hands. Thus the onus is on the person selecting to use the theory (or not to use it), i.e. to assess its relevance and usefulness.
3. It needs to be transformative because the 'status quo' for most indigenous contexts is not working well and needs to be improved.
4. It needs to move beyond homogenizing position of seeing 'struggle' as a single issue and therefore needs to be adaptable to develop multiple transforming strategies (some of which might be applied simultaneously).
5. It needs to be accountable to the community; the ideas around praxis and 'action research methodology' are useful here. (Smith 2003, p. 5)

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<sup>45</sup> For discussion on the relationship between Kaupapa Māori theory, critical theory and constructivism see Eketone (2008) and Smith (1999 p.185-191).

The importance of defining our terminology is acknowledged but Linda Smith et al (International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education 2000, p. 2) ask the cautioning question, “Who controls the definition of Kaupapa Māori principles?” They go on to caution against strictly bounded definitions that control the way that the term Kaupapa Māori can be used and applied and by whom (International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education 2000). They point out that although most of the writing about Kaupapa Māori theory initially originated from a group of academics based at the University of Auckland, Kaupapa Māori is “not owned by any group nor can it be defined in such ways that deny people access to its articulation” (International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education 2000, p .14). It must therefore be flexible enough to be inclusive of the diversity of Māori communities and contexts.

However, Kaupapa Māori theorists<sup>46</sup> have understood the need to articulate key concepts, identifying elements (Pihama 2001), practices and procedures (International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education 2000). Most have ordered their articulation of Kaupapa Māori theory around *key principles, concepts or elements*, avoiding a Kaupapa Māori checklist or recipe that would be antithetical to the fundamentals of Kaupapa Māori theory (International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education 2000). The following section draws together a number of these articulations, identifying considerable commonalities.

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<sup>46</sup> Theorists have been included in this paper because they have been instrumental in the development of KM theory (e.g. Smith, G., Pihama, L.) whilst others have written about the theory as praxis in research and evaluation (Bishop, R., Irwin, K., Moewaka Barnes, H., Smith, L., Walker, S.).

## **Kaupapa Māori Principles**

To demonstrate congruency among Māori theorists and practitioners the following table provides an analysis of key principles attributed to Kaupapa Māori praxis (Table One). Theorists were selected for inclusion in the Table because they have been instrumental in the development of Kaupapa Māori theory or they have written about the theory as praxis in research. See Kawakami et al. (2007) for a discussion of how indigenous evaluation values and methods may improve the general practice of evaluation<sup>47</sup> One evaluation practitioner who has published her concept of Kaupapa Māori evaluation has also been included (Moewaka Barnes 2009).<sup>48</sup> The practice aspects have been considered along with the more purely theoretical, as Kaupapa Māori theory, from its origin, is a theory of praxis where thinking and practice work together in iterative ways (Smith 1997, Walker 1996).

As you would expect from a dynamic but coherent theory, the following analysis reveals many overlaps and similarities. Without trying to tightly control the definition of Kaupapa Māori principles,<sup>49</sup> key concepts have been compared and contrasted, with commonalities grouped under the following five principles:

A. *Control* principle (Māori control /ownership)

B. *Challenge* principle (Analysis and mediation of power relationships)

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<sup>47</sup> Whilst these theorists acknowledge Kaupapa Māori theory within their writings, they may not identify as Kaupapa Māori theorists

<sup>48</sup> This is not to imply that Moewaka Barnes is the only noteworthy Māori evaluation theorist. There are many other influential Māori evaluation practitioner/theorists who have not been included in Table One because their theories or their published works do not fit within the framework for this paper. The writer has attempted to acknowledge and include the important contributions of other Māori evaluation theorists by referencing their work at appropriate places throughout the paper.

<sup>49</sup> The writer understands that Kaupapa Māori theorists may themselves have resisted compartmentalising Kaupapa Māori theory, seeing it as “the deconstructive mode of Pākehā writers” (Walker 1996, p. 118). Kaupapa Māori theorists are invited to critique this interpretation of their writings on Kaupapa Māori theory and by so doing will further engage the theory

- C. *Culture* Principle (Māori as normative including the survival and revival of Māori language and culture)
- D. *Connection* principle (Relationship based knowledge sharing and generation whānau/hapū/iwi etc – plus creation of new knowledge through local and international relationships)
- E. *Change* principle (Transformative for Māori).

A sixth principle emerged from theorists who focus on principles of practice in research and evaluation.

- F. *Credibility* principle (Highest quality standards for Māori)<sup>50</sup>

Table One shows the concepts articulated by theorists and gives an indication of where the concepts relate to the identified principles of Kaupapa Māori theory (columns on the right).

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<sup>50</sup> Indicated in Table One with an asterix \*

**Table 1: Māori Theorists and Key Principles**

Kaupapa Māori Theory						
Theorist	Kaupapa Māori Principles/Concepts  The order in which the Kaupapa Māori concepts are presented is taken from each theorist's writings. It does not necessarily represent a priority ranking	KM Principles				
		A	B	C	D	E
Graham Smith Kaupapa Māori Matrix (Smith, 1997)	Tino Rangatiratanga (Self-determination)	X	X	X	X	X
	Taonga Tuku Iho (Cultural Aspirations)			X		X
	Ako Māori (Culturally preferred Pedagogy)			X	X	
	Kia Piki ake I nga Raruru o te Kainga (Socio-economic Mediation)	X	X	X		X
	Whānau (Extended Family Structure)			X	X	
	Kaupapa (Collective philosophy/vision)	X		X	X	X
Leonie Pihama Unpublished PhD Thesis (2001)	Te Reo me ona tikanga (Language and Culture)			X		
	Treaty of Waitangi		X		X	X
	Tino rangatiratanga (Self-determination)	X	X	X	X	X
	Taonga Tuku Iho			X	X	
	Whākapapa			X	X	
	Whānau/Whānaungatanga			X	X	
Sheilagh Walker Unpublished Masters Thesis 1996	Ako Māori (Teach and learn)			X	X	
	Decolonisation	X	X	X	X	X
	Praxis		X			X
	Tino Rangatiratanga (Self-determination)	X	X	X	X	X
	Resistance		X			
	Living in our own world	X		X	X	
Linda Smith 1999 (Working Principles)	Treaty of Waitangi		X		X	X
	Mana whenua (sovereignty over land)	X		X	X	X
	<b>Kaupapa Māori Research</b>					
	Whākapapa (Connection)			X	X	
	Te reo me ona tikanga (Language and Culture)			X		
	Rangitiratanga (Self-determination)	X	X	X	X	X
Linda Smith (1999) Kaupapa Māori Ethical code of conduct  (See definitions in Smith, 2005)	Whānau (Extended Family)			X	X	
	*Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people)			X	X	
	*Kanohi kitea (the seen face; that is, present yourself to people face to face)			X	X	
	*Titiro, whakarongo ... korero (look, listen ... speak)			X	X	
	*Manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous)			X	X	
	*Kia tupato (be cautious)		X	X	X	
Kathy Irwin (1994)	*Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of the people)		X	X	X	
	*Kaua e mahaki (do not flaunt your knowledge)		X	X	X	
	Culturally Safe for Māori	X		X		
	*Māori researchers/Mentorship of elders	X	X	X	X	
	Culturally relevant and appropriate	X		X	X	
Russell Bishop (1996)	*Rigorous research				X	
	Whānau (family)	X		X	X	
	Treaty of Waitangi		X		X	X

	Non Māori able to be involved – Treaty Partnership	X	X	X	X
Helen Moewaka Barnes (2000)	Whānau (Family)	X		X	X
	Māori control	X	X		
	Māori as normative		X	X	X
	Benefit of Māori				X
Sheilagh Walker (1996)	Tino Rangtiratanga (Ownership)	X		X	X
	Social Justice		X		
	Māori world view	X	X	X	X
	Te Reo (Language)			X	
	Whānau (Family)			X	X
<b>Kaupapa Māori Evaluation</b>					
Helen Moewaka Barnes (2009)	A 'collective' journey	X		X	X
	The goal is negotiated	X	X	X	X
	All parties are united in achieving the goal			X	X
	Others with the same or complementary goals may join along the way (network building, collaborations and capacity building)			X	X
	The journey itself is important for relationship building and learning				X
	It is by Māori, for Māori, towards Māori development and self-determination	X	X	X	X

## Kaupapa Māori Theory in Evaluation

The six principles of Kaupapa Māori research as shown in Table One, apply to evaluation in much the same way as they apply to other forms of social science research. Although distinctions between social science and evaluation research are contested, a general distinction is that evaluation is usually designed “to improve something while research is designed to prove something” (Speilvogel, no date). Evaluation tries to access the effectiveness of a programme and may also aim to help practitioners achieve results or solve problems to become *more* effective. Casswell highlights the distinction in that “Evaluation differs from other research in the degree to which it is utilisation focused” (Casswell 1999, p.198). Scriven (1991) describes evaluation as being about making a systematic assessment of the merit or worth of something. Davidson (2005) emphasises that evaluation is about ‘values’ – these are the basis on which something will be assessed. The focus on making an assessment, based

on values or criteria of merit or worth, is a major distinction of evaluation from other forms of research.

In order to achieve a useful comparison between Kaupapa Māori praxis and evaluation, the following section describes more specifically what is meant by the Kaupapa Māori principles and how these might apply in the general context of evaluation. Once the principles are understood we are able to position them in evaluation's broader theoretical landscape.

### ***Control Principle***

The idea of Māori tino rangatiratanga or Māori self-determination is a feature of Kaupapa Māori research for all the highlighted theorists. Irwin (1994), Pihama (1993), Walker (1996) and Smith (1997) all refer to tino rangatiratanga as key to Kaupapa Māori research. For Walker (1996), all Kaupapa Māori understandings adhere to a central notion of mana whenua – translated as sovereignty over land. She contends that control over lands is at the heart of the Treaty of Waitangi and issues of control and self-determination for Māori. Smith (1997) aligns self-determination with 'relative autonomy' subtly introducing the question of how much control is enough. Although there is some discussion about the level of Māori control required for Kaupapa Māori research, there is consensus that a Kaupapa Māori approach to research must allow for Māori control of knowledge. This includes control over the epistemological understandings as well as what is being researched, by whom and the manner in which the research is being conducted.



In evaluation, Māori exercising tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) may encompass control over what is evaluated, how and by whom and might include control over evaluation theory, design, process and dissemination (Bishop 1996, Cram 1997). In general evaluative terms this could be seen as the people most involved in the evaluated programme having control over the evaluation. The extent to which this should happen is a hotly debated issue in the Aotearoa New Zealand evaluation context as well as in the international evaluation arena (Mertens 2008, Moewaka Barnes 2003, 2008).

A Kaupapa Māori context means that Māori must have at least a degree of control over the evaluation. How much control is required, by whom, and to what ends, are also contested issues even for Kaupapa Māori theorists although most call for a high degree of Māori control in evaluation premised on Māori rights as partners with the Crown under the Treaty of Waitangi (Irwin 1994, Bishop 1996, Cram 1997, Pihama 2001). The principle of Māori *control* or ownership when applied to evaluation is somewhat complicated by the general context of programme evaluation. Programme evaluation almost always needs to serve an accountability function to the taxpayers and voters of Aotearoa New Zealand as most involve public money either in the programme being evaluated or in the funding of the evaluation and frequently both. The Kaupapa Māori ideal of Māori *control* in this context can be seen to introduce a bias to the evaluation and evade necessary accountability. Bias in evaluation is of course possible and some would argue that it is unavoidable (Stake 2003). However, when it is assumed that Māori control means that the evaluation will be unfairly biased and not able to provide accountability, the underlying assumption is that non-Māori control is fairer - somehow inherently less biased. Kaupapa Māori theorists would challenge this assumption as one predicated on western hegemony. Kaupapa Māori theorists would argue that those who

make that assumption are not able to see their own culture (Pihama 1993, 2001). Further, that the combination of cultural invisibility and cultural dominance is potentially far more biasing than control of research by a culturally aware minority such as Māori (Pihama 2001). It can also be argued that Māori are citizens to whom the government must also account for their spending, and that Māori quite rightly want to see that taxes are being used for their benefit as guaranteed by the Treaty. Under the Treaty of Waitangi, Māori not only have the individual rights of citizens but collective rights as partners with the Crown. This argument is supported by statistics that indicate that government spending is failing to provide equitable outcomes for Māori who fall behind the rest of the population in all the key indices for socio-economic success.<sup>51</sup>

### ***Challenge Principle***

Theorists such as Pihama and Walker place a strong emphasis on the analysis of all power relationships in Kaupapa Māori research and on resistance against hegemonic dominance in its many guises within the research environment. For example, Pihama highlights ‘decolonisation’ and Walker ‘resistance’ as key to Kaupapa Māori research. This can be seen as the *challenge* principle whereby Kaupapa Māori research occupies a strategic position that seeks to challenge the dominant constructions of research and ensure that Māori values, priorities and processes are to the fore. Kaupapa Māori theorists argue that the need to challenge power is a product of colonisation (Cram 2004, Pihama 2001, Smith 1999) and assert that, under the Treaty of Waitangi, Māori have a right to challenge the dominant culture and the power of the Crown where it infringes on Māori rights to self-determination.

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<sup>51</sup> See Ministry of Social Development. (2010). *The Social Report 2010*.

The *challenge principle* is inseparable from issues of control and manifests in evaluation through an emphasis on examining who controls the evaluation, not only in terms of the underlying evaluation theory but also the processes for contracting and conducting evaluations and the dissemination and utilisation of findings. There is also a commitment to research and evaluation seeking to mitigate, if not eliminate, power differentials that disadvantage Māori and advantage non-Māori.

### **Culture Principle**

For a colonised people, the Māori *challenge* to the dominant research paradigms and control over research are foundational to the *culture* principle of Kaupapa Māori research. It follows that Māori control over the research agenda ensures that Māori cultural norms will be embedded in the research as the legitimate *modus operandi*. The cultural principle whereby Māori values and systems are given full recognition in the research is found in the writing of all featured theorists. Smith (1997) refers to this as “Taonga Tuku Iho” or “cultural aspirations principle”, Walker refers to “Living in our own world”, Irwin to Kaupapa Māori research as needing to be “culturally relevant and appropriate”, and Moewaka Barnes simply states that one of the key principles for Kaupapa Māori research is “Māori as normative”. Issues of Māori identity are also embedded in the *culture* principle with theorists widely acknowledging the link between cultural identity and Māori socio-economic and spiritual wellbeing.

Theorists argue that the demise of Māori language and culture as normal in everyday Māori life is a product of the colonising agenda. When Māori language and culture are regarded as legitimate then Māori will again be able to be ‘normal’ (International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education 2000). For some theorists, the

work towards this revival of language and culture is central to the Kaupapa Māori theoretical agenda and research enterprise.

The *culture* principle, translated into Kaupapa Māori evaluation context, would ensure that evaluations are specific to the Māori context. This means that Māori concepts, practices, protocols, language and cultural practices are normal in the design and implementation of evaluations. Māori cultural norms are ‘ordinary’ (Moewaka Barnes 2000) in Māori evaluation because Māori have a right under the Treaty of Waitangi to govern our own affairs and maintain traditions and resources. Again, the *cultural* principle cannot be divorced from the previous principles of *control* and *challenge* to the dominant paradigm, in evaluation research. In a Kaupapa Māori evaluation context, Māori ways of knowing and doing are integral and can never be mere add-ons to facilitate evaluation buy-in, even though Kaupapa Māori approaches to evaluation may be very useful in producing this (International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education 2000).

### ***Connection Principle***

Māori cultural underpinnings of whākapapa (geneology) and concepts of collective responsibility, generally along traditional Māori lines or community structures are important in addressing Māori socio-economic disadvantage (Smith 1997). The *connection* principle of whakawhānaungatanga (establishing relationships) is also important in the generation and sharing of knowledge. The Kaupapa Māori research theorists refer to the critical importance of the relationship of whānau (extended family) in particular as integral to Māori cultural survival and Māori wellbeing (Smith 2000, p. 28). Smith (1997) refers to the *connection* principle as ‘kaupapa’ identifying the need to

be unified around collective responsibility and a shared vision. Irwin (1994) contends that it is appropriate for Māori researchers to be under the mentorship of elders. For all theorists, the closely aligned practice of collective responsibility is a central tenet of Kaupapa Māori theory.

The *connection* principle includes Māori ways of establishing and maintaining relationships. Smith (1999) has articulated some of the protocols governing relationships in research and evaluation. These include respect, listening, being hospitable, cautious and humble. She does not prescribe a code of conduct, stressing that respect is key to Kaupapa Māori research relationships. “Through respect the place of everyone and everything in the universe is kept in balance and harmony” (Smith 1999, p. 120).

In accordance with this principle, knowledge generation and sharing in evaluation practice requires evaluation practitioners to prioritise the development and maintenance of appropriate relationships in order to be credible and for the evaluation to be valid. Whānau, hapū and iwi structures are likely to be important connections although under the *connection* principle Kaupapa Māori evaluations would prioritise collaborative relationships that will facilitate the best outcomes for Māori. In some circumstances these may be local and international connections for the creation and sharing of new knowledge of benefit to Māori. A number of Kaupapa Māori theorists stress the importance of non-Māori involvement under a Treaty based partnership model (Bishop 1996, Cram 1997). Moewaka Barnes (2009) highlights the *connection* principle in her ‘hīkoi’ concept of evaluation. Kaupapa Māori evaluation is described as a collective, collaborative journey with negotiated and shared goals between evaluators and the

evaluated where the evaluation journey is important for relationship based learning (Kerr 2006).

### ***Change Principle***

The idea of positive change for Māori is inextricably embedded in Kaupapa Māori theory and research. A Kaupapa Māori understanding of change is founded on transformative praxis and this is an important principle for all the featured theorists. Increasingly Kaupapa Māori theorists call for “Māori to develop initiatives for change that are located within distinctly Māori frameworks” (Pihama and Penehira 2005, p. 10). For Pihama, Kaupapa Māori theory critiques “all forms of oppression that seek to deny our fundamental place as Māori” (Pihama 2001, p. 139). From this perspective decolonisation means engaging with all forms of oppression and every structure that maintains oppression. Pihama warns that it must be Māori who critically analyse the impact of colonisation and seek changes on the basis of that critical analysis. Smith asserts that Kaupapa Māori needs to be transformative and asserts (in relation to Kaupapa Māori education) that there is, “the need to focus on the process of 'transforming', and on the transformative outcomes - What is it? How can it be achieved? Do indigenous people's needs and aspirations require different schooling approaches? Who benefits?” (1997, p. 17-18). Moewaka Barnes (2009) expresses the *change* principle, as Kaupapa Māori research having to be of benefit to Māori. For these reasons, Māori development is critical to the Kaupapa Māori research agenda.

The *change* principle also incorporates the concept of ‘koha’ that in simple translation could be taken to mean ‘reciprocity’ - giving something back for whatever is received. For Smith (Smith 1999) the concept of koha is encompassed in “manaaki ki te tangata”

that stresses the collaborative approach to research in Māori contexts. In an evaluation, this would mean that the evaluation would not only aim to assist Māori transformation, but evaluators would be fully cognisant of the value of information given them by participants and aim to ensure that all participants receive something of value in return (Pipi et al. 2004, Moewaka Barnes 2009). The range of possible options for contributing to a programme and to evaluation participants is as wide and varied as the programmes and participants themselves. However, the transformative *change* principle leads, in many cases, to evaluations contributing their ‘koha’ in terms of capability and capacity building. Evaluation in a Kaupapa Māori frame also often means that whākapapa based relationship or those formed in other ways prior to an evaluation, not only add validity and *credibility* to the evaluation, but are likely to endure after the formal evaluation period. Even new relationships, once established, may require evaluator contributions to a Māori group or community of their knowledge and experience well past the end of the evaluation.<sup>52</sup>

### ***Credibility Principle***

The principle of research *credibility* encompasses the idea of professional competence and also the concepts of research and researcher credibility. The *credibility* principle features explicitly in the work of a number of Kaupapa Māori theorists (Irwin 1994, Smith 1999) and is implicit in the work of all theorists. Implications for credible ethical research practices are embedded within all the Kaupapa Māori principles previously outlined, thus the *credibility* principle is inextricably linked with them all.

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<sup>52</sup> For more information on reciprocity in evaluation see *Report on the SPEaR Best Practice Māori Guidelines Hui 2007*. A collaboration between SPEaR and Aotearoa/New Zealand Evaluation Association (ANZEA) and Social Policy Evaluation and Research (SPEaR) Committee. (2008). *SPEaR Good Practice Guidelines*. Wellington: Ministry of Social Development.

In a Kaupapa Māori theory framework, research *credibility* and researcher *credibility* are interdependent. Professional *credibility* of the researcher is strongly related to the *culture* and *connection* principles. Appropriate relationships and cultural know-how are as fundamental to the *credibility* principle of Kaupapa Māori research as having professional research knowledge and experience. Smith (1999) does not attempt to define systematic or scientific research standards but argues that establishing research *credibility* requires credible researchers and systematic and rigorous research methods. In her ‘Ethical Code of Conduct’ she articulates a range of ethical practices for engaging in Kaupapa Māori research that illustrate some of the ways in which researcher *credibility* is built and maintained in Māori contexts. Irwin (1994) considers a definition of rigorous research within her Kaupapa Māori principles, firstly emphasising mentorship of elders as necessary to research being conducted competently within Māori contexts and requiring Māori researchers. Kaupapa Māori theorists argue “being Māori does not preclude us from being systematic, being ethical, being ‘scientific’ in the way we might approach a research problem” (Smith 1999 p. 203, Irwin 1994, Moewaka Barnes 2009). For Cram “A Kaupapa Māori approach does not exclude the use of a wide range of research methods but rather signals the interrogation of methods in relation to cultural sensitivity, cross-cultural reliability, useful outcomes for Māori, and other such measures” (Cram 2002, p. 13).

In evaluation the Kaupapa Māori *credibility* principle applies, as it does in evaluation generally, to the conduct of rigorous research using methods able to provide reliable answers to evaluation questions (Irwin 1994, Smith 1999). In Kaupapa Māori evaluation, the theory, methodology, methods and practices must all be appropriate to the Māori research context in order to provide reliable, competent and credible



evaluations. The five key principles of Kaupapa Māori theory as previously outlined, including consideration of Māori *control* and *challenge*, *culture and connection* practices and ultimate positive *change* for Māori are therefore integral to the sixth principle, evaluation *credibility*.

These six Kaupapa Māori principles, although having been developed within the very specific context of Māori and colonial history in Aotearoa New Zealand, show significant alignment with international developments in the field of evaluation. The next section examines Kaupapa Māori theory based evaluations fit within that international evaluation context.

## **The International Evaluation Context**

It is generally agreed among evaluation theorists that evaluation has its roots in social science research methodology and notions of accountability (Scriven 2001, Alkin 2004). It is also generally agreed that evaluation is about the assessment of merit or worth (Scriven 1991) but past these points, the field of evaluation is wide open for debate. On questions of evaluation theory and practice evaluation theorists continue to debate the purpose of evaluation, how to conduct it and what to do with the results.

The lack of agreement on the fundamental purposes of evaluation poses distinct challenges when trying to position the principles of Kaupapa Māori research within the field of evaluation. To achieve a comparison of how the six principles of Kaupapa Māori research apply to the complex milieu of evaluation theory requires some degree

of categorisation of evaluation theory.<sup>53</sup>

The following chart, modified from a simple schema by Michael Scriven (2001), is an overview of theories of evaluation that have risen to prominence as ‘the one true way’ (2001) in evaluation since the practice of systematic evaluation began. It is useful in that it indicates some of the primary shifts that have occurred over time and forms a basis for discussing how the principles of Kaupapa Māori evaluation relate to international developments in the field. By picking out the key developments in the field (which he sees as overemphasising their theoretical position), Scriven’s schema has provided a simple useful framework against which to compare the principles of Kaupapa Māori theory based evaluation.

## **Kaupapa Māori Evaluation in the International Context**

Table Two shows Scriven’s schema and a summary of the alignment of Kaupapa Māori Evaluation Principles to evaluation theories. The schema and Kaupapa Māori alignment are discussed in more detail in the following section.

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<sup>53</sup> For a fuller schema of evaluations theoretial landscape see Alkin ed. (2004) *Evaluation Roots: Tracing Theorists’ Views and Influences*. Sage Publications Ltd, California, USA

**Table 2: Development of major new directions in evaluation theory**

<b>Evaluation Theories Schema</b>						
<b>Development of Evaluation Theories</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Kaupapa Māori Evaluation Principles</b>				
		<b>A. Control</b>	<b>B. Challenge</b>	<b>C. Culture</b>	<b>D. Connection</b>	<b>E. Change</b>
		<b>* Credibility</b>				
		<b>A</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>C</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>E</b>
Decision support	*Evaluations assist programme managers to make decisions about programmes. Includes goal achievement models.					<b>X</b>
Consumer service	*Summative focus on assessing if the needs of programme consumers were being met					<b>X</b>
Formative approach	Evaluation is always formative. *Emphasis on context in evaluation			<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>
Collaborative evaluation	*Evaluation should always be a collaborative effort with the evaluated	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>
Theory driven evaluation <sup>54</sup>	*Generating explanations of success and failure as the core function of evaluation	x	x	x	x	<b>X</b>
Constructivist/post-modern evaluation theory	Evaluation is always a projection of subjective values onto the subject matter	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>
Transformative evaluation	*Evaluation exerts power that should be used to provide solutions to social problems	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>

Adapted from Scriven 2001

***Kaupapa Māori evaluation alignment with Decision Support and Consumer Service Evaluation***

The application of scientific management to state administered provision of welfare during the depression years in the United States is widely recognised as the birthplace of programme evaluation. In the years following the depression, evaluation was strongly influenced by the development of social sciences especially prevalent in the 1940s and 1950s. A focus on social enquiry and the use of science methods can be seen in the

<sup>54</sup> The smaller 'x' denotes potential alignment between KM principle and Theory Driven evaluation (see Page 83)

early work of theorists such as Ralph Tyler (1942) and Donald Campbell (Campbell 1957; Campbell and Stanley 1963, 1966).

For early theorists, the chief activity of evaluation was an unbiased assessment of the consequences of programmes or their parts (Chelimsky 1997). The preferred analytical methods were quantitative (Suchman 1967).

Scriven describes the focus of evaluation in the early days as *Decision Support* (Scriven, 2001). *Decision Support* type evaluation theory asserts that it is the job of the evaluator to focus on identifying and meeting managerial information needs based on definitions of success determined at a managerial level (Wholey 1983). This early purpose of evaluation to assist with management decisions remains an important focus for many evaluations today.

By the late 1960s and early 1970s some theorists had come to see the management orientated model as deficient because it did not take programme beneficiaries' needs into account (Scriven 1972). At this time, Scriven (1972), the principal *consumer service* theorist, argued that programmes generally exist to meet identified needs of consumers and evaluation should therefore privilege the needs of programme consumers over management. The *consumer service* approach to evaluation is based on the consumer product metaphor and is primarily summative.

Referring to Table Two, there is not great congruence between Kaupapa Māori principles and evaluation theories in the early days where *Decision Support* held practical and theoretical sway. The *change* principle is the only point of alignment and even here, the two concepts of change are divergent. *Decision Support* evaluations

typically focus on collecting data on management concerns such as budgets, timeframes, targets and value for money - information that is used to inform decisions about changes to programmes or their funding. This type of information may be collected in Kaupapa Māori evaluations, but it ideally occurs within a context where issues of *control, challenge, culture, connection* and positive *change* for Māori are major considerations. For example when Māori corporate organisations are interested in the way in which their programmes are run from a management perspective. Where *change* is a key focus for *Decision Support* evaluations it is generally according to management's criteria of success.

A Kaupapa Māori approach to evaluation does not preclude collecting data for *decision support*. Iterations based on this approach, such as Utilisation Focused Evaluation (Patton 1978, 1997) consider a range of stakeholders in ways that may be consistent with the Kaupapa Māori *cultural, change* and the *credibility* principles. However, the inclusion of cultural considerations in Utilisation Focused Evaluation (UFE) would generally have been out of concern for the 'personal factor' (Patton et al., 1977) and the buy-in that identification with the evaluation generates (Alkin 2004). The UFE concern with *change* is based upon the evaluator being able to adapt the evaluation to best suit the context and needs of the intended end users in order to ensure a higher probability of utilisation. Although UFE can, in some cases, pay considerable attention to the context including the *culture*, and place great emphasis on generating *change*, this is motivated by the overarching goal of achieving evaluation utilisation and may be quite removed from the underlying concerns of a Kaupapa Māori approach to evaluation.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Patton has more recently built upon Utilisation evaluation approaches to articulate 'Developmental Evaluation' which resonates more strongly with Kaupapa Māori principles. See 'Kaupapa Māori Alignment with Transformative Evaluation'

The *consumer service* approach focuses on assessing whether the needs of programme recipients have been met, and as such, is closer than *decision support* evaluation to the Kaupapa Māori *change* principle. *Change* for *consumer service* evaluation is about assessing whether consumer needs are being met. For Kaupapa Māori evaluation the focus is on ensuring that the evaluation is of benefit to Māori as well as assessing the benefits or otherwise of the programme to Māori. The *change* principle has led most Kaupapa Māori evaluation theorists to advocate for ‘formative evaluation’ alongside the more summative approaches of *consumer service* evaluation.

### ***Kaupapa Māori evaluation alignment with Formative Approach***

The great debates about evaluation purpose, approaches and methodologies heated up in the 1970s and 1980s, fuelled by emerging differences in fundamental epistemologies underlying evaluation. Championed by Cronbach (1963, 1982) who argued that evaluation’s primary purpose was for enlightenment rather than instrumental uses, it was argued that evaluation was not so much about providing management assistance or making summary judgements about a programme. Whereas his predecessors such as Campbell and Stanley (1963), had been influential in promoting internal validity as the primary purpose of evaluation research, Cronbach sought to establish generalisable knowledge, envisioning programme evaluation as “a process by which society learns about itself” (Cronbach and Associates, 1980, p. 2). In Scriven’s schema this approach is characterised as the *formative* approach.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Here Scriven is not referring to ‘formative evaluation’ as such but to evaluation theory that all but denies any summative merit in favour of formative educative approaches to evaluation

In Cronbach's theories on the *Formative Approach* we see the beginnings of a stronger alignment with Kaupapa Māori principles. The *Formative Approach* aligns to some degree with the *change* principle and with the Kaupapa Māori *culture* and *connection* principles. The emphasis on programme evaluation being essentially formative – that is, evaluation conducted with the “intent to improve” (Scriven 1991, p. 168) aligns, to some degree, with the *change* principle where positive change for Māori is a key aim. Cronbach contends that insights into complex social problems are attained by looking at how programmes operate across multiple settings (Cronbach and Associates 1980) and introduced the idea that evaluation give serious consideration to how context influences programmes and to gaining multiple understandings. This approach legitimised the consideration of context-specific factors such as culture and appropriate connections and also opened the door to the development of relativist evaluation theory and practices. However, Cronbach's approach, emphasising formative evaluation input, stops well short of defining evaluation as needing to fulfil any kind of social justice function, which is implicit in evaluation based on Kaupapa Māori principles of *control*, *challenge* and *change*.

### ***Kaupapa Māori evaluation alignment with Collaborative, Theory Driven and Constructivist Evaluation***

As previously stated, the purpose of Scriven's schema is to highlight some of the overemphasised theoretical positions in evaluation. With the ascendancy of *transformative* evaluation from *collaborative* evaluation, different degrees of emphasis were placed on various aspects of evaluation (Scriven 2001). It is important to note that there may be significant overlaps between all of these theoretical positions. For example, *collaborative* evaluation approaches, such as *empowerment* and *participatory*

evaluation may also be *transformative* approaches; *theory-driven* evaluation may well be *collaborative* and have a *transformative* emphasis.

In Scriven's schema all the developments in evaluation that "allow those who are being evaluated to participate in the evaluation" (Scriven 2001, p. 27), such as collaborative, participatory and empowerment evaluation are positioned together under *collaborative evaluation*.<sup>57</sup> Evaluation as a collaborative exercise resonates with all Kaupapa Māori principles, and particularly with the *control* and *connection* principles. *Collaborative* evaluation approaches, developing at around the same time as Kaupapa Māori theory, moved further towards allowing for a social justice function in evaluation, in that multiple stakeholder voices, including minority voices, are deliberately sought in all phases of an evaluation (Weaver 2004, Weiss 1986). These approaches aim for inclusiveness, but the impact of politics and power differentials may still result in inequitable programmes and their evaluation (aruskevich 2010). In aruskevich (2010) a Māori evaluator explains that the skills, self awareness and knowledge of the evaluator are probably more significant to mitigating power differentials than any theoretical position.

Evaluators have an important role to recognize theorists that talk from certain positions around the politics of power and control and the types of research activities that have been undertaken, an appreciation of the whole ethics of research and identity. Evaluation does have an important place, but I think that a lot of it depends on the skills and the grounded knowledge and experience of those undertaking the evaluation and their cultural lens. (aruskevich 2010, p. 40)

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<sup>57</sup> Although Scriven's schema, developed a decade ago, does not include some of the more recently named evaluation approaches such as Advocacy evaluation, it is likely that he would include these approaches in the general group of those that seek to be transformative.



Post-modern philosophical positions about enquiry had a major influence on evaluation paradigms from the 1970s onwards. Social reality was increasingly seen as constructed and so, for evaluation, there was no 'right' description of a programme. Seeking synthesis and consensus became the *modus operandi* of post-modern evaluation (Stake 1996). Scriven loosely aligns *constructivist and post-modern evaluation theory* with *theory-driven* evaluation (Scriven 2001, 2003). *Theory*<sup>58</sup>-*driven evaluation (TDE)*, developing out of lessons learnt in the 1970s and 1980s about the difficulties of programmes effectively addressing major social problems, aimed to explore the theory and processes involved in achieving results as well as addressing the question of whether results were achieved (Chen 1990, Donaldson 2001). Scriven characterises TDE as a theoretical approach to evaluation predicated on the notion that generating explanations of success and failure is the core function of evaluation.

Theory-driven evaluation (TDE), so defined, requires articulation of a programme theory of change and the explanation of successes and failures of the programme according to the theory of change (Donaldson 2007). TDE is not so much defined by a theoretical position as it is by a process (Donaldson 2001, 2007). Depending on who is involved in the process and how, TDE might either align closely with Kaupapa Māori principles of evaluation or be widely divergent. Although, it is difficult to relate it directly to Kaupapa Māori principles, this in no way precludes the use of theory-driven evaluation processes in Kaupapa Māori evaluations. Indeed TDE is now a widely used approach in Kaupapa Māori theory based evaluations because it not only facilitates Māori control of the evaluation and its parameters, but also assists with articulating Māori aspirations and determinants of programme success.

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<sup>58</sup> 'Theory' is used in this context to denote the very specific 'theory of change' that explains how a particular programme is expected to achieve results.

### ***Kaupapa Māori evaluation alignment with Transformative Evaluation***

*Transformative Evaluation* theorises evaluation as a process aimed at the solution of social problems (Rossi et al. 1999, Mark et al. 2000). In Scriven's schema he includes Democratic Deliberative Evaluation along with Transformative Evaluation theorists. Democratic Deliberative Evaluation (DDE) encompasses democratic and dialogical approaches to evaluation where all relevant interests in the evaluation are given full expression. The DDE approach, championed by House and Rowe (2001), rose to prominence as theorists embraced the idea that the democratising function of evaluation is a key function of evaluation along with the transformation of society towards equity goals. DDE, with its focus on mitigating power differentials so as to ensure that all stakeholders are given an equitable voice in evaluation, aligns with the Kaupapa Māori principles of *control* and *challenge* and also takes into account contextual factors such as *culture*. The DDE emphasis on reflective reasoning, with shared and negotiated decision-making, is congruent with Kaupapa Māori principles of *connection* and *change*. Kaupapa Māori evaluation is primarily concerned with control that enables Māori to have the strongest 'voice' in evaluations that occur within Māori contexts. The argument for the right to this level of control is predicated on Māori rights to self-determination guaranteed by the Crown under the Treaty of Waitangi.

Empowerment evaluation (Fetterman 2001, 2005) has become more accepted and widespread over the last ten years in Aotearoa New Zealand, as in other places (Fetterman 2005). David Fetterman outlines ten key principles of empowerment evaluation (Fetterman 2005) that clearly identify the approach as more than collaborative; it aims to be transformative first and foremost and is therefore highlighted

in this section rather than under the discussion of collaborative approaches. The following comparison of empowerment and Kaupapa Māori principles serves as an example to illustrate the close alignment between recent *transformative* approaches and Kaupapa Māori approaches.<sup>59</sup>

A Kaupapa Māori concept of *control* aligns with Fetterman's '*community ownership*' principle whereby the community's right to make decisions is upheld and ownership of evaluation lies with the community. An aim of empowerment evaluation is that all the evaluation roles should eventually be performed by community insiders. Most of the other empowerment principles come into play here in order for communities to be able to undertake all the evaluation functions. The '*capacity building*' principle highlights process use (Patton 1997) whereby evaluation contributes to stakeholder capacity to conduct evaluations and to improve programme capacity. '*Improvement*' is actually the first empowerment evaluation principle and together with '*capacity building*' and '*organisational learning*' aligns strongly with the Kaupapa Māori principle of positive *change* for communities. Where Kaupapa Māori has *connection* and *culture*, empowerment has the related principles of '*inclusion*', '*democratic participation*' and '*community knowledge*'. In a Kaupapa Māori framing, the '*community knowledge*' principle acknowledges community members as the experts on their communities and aligns with the *control* principle that calls for Māori insiders to control the evaluation design, implementation and use, based on their expert knowledge from within the culture and community.

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<sup>59</sup> Emendation in response to requirement to link international, transformative and Kaupapa Māori approaches

The Kaupapa Māori *challenge* principle is most closely represented in Fetterman's 'social justice' principle and also by 'democratic participation' which emphasises fairness and transparency. Empowerment evaluators operate on the knowledge that there are "basic social inequalities in society and strive to ameliorate these conditions by helping people use evaluation to improve their program so that social conditions and communities are positively impacted in the process" (Fetterman 2005, p. 34). For Kaupapa Māori evaluation practitioners, the need to challenge power is seen as a product of colonisation (Cram 2004, Moewaka Barnes 2009); Māori have a Treaty of Waitangi based right to challenge the dominant culture and the power where it infringes on Māori rights to self-determination.

Kaupapa Māori based evaluators and Empowerment evaluators are equally concerned with the accountability function of evaluation. For Fetterman, this is termed the 'accountability' principle and is positioned as "a mutual and interactive responsibility of funder, researcher/evaluator, and practitioner" (Fetterman 2005, p. 37). Also relevant to 'accountability' is the principle of 'evidence-based studies' counterbalanced with 'community knowledge' to ensure evaluations generate process and outcome data that fulfils accountability functions. For Kaupapa Māori evaluators, multiple accountabilities are acknowledged including those between funder, evaluator and practitioner (who may also be Māori) but the highest accountabilities are to Māori communities with whom collective responsibility is shared (and with whom Māori evaluators may hold a variety of relationships).

In accordance with the Kaupapa Māori *connection* principle, Māori recognise accountabilities that may include whānau, hapū, iwi alongside other accountabilities to

practitioners, colleagues and funders (Moewaka Barnes 2009). The *connection* principle encompasses Māori ways of establishing and maintaining these relationships. In a Kaupapa Māori frame, these are at least as critical to the credibility and validity of evaluation as the emphasis on best-practice models or ‘*evidence-based studies*’ important in empowerment evaluation.<sup>60</sup> This difference in the relational aspects of the two approaches is highlighted in the evaluator roles. In empowerment evaluation this is about technical support (Fetterman 2005), whereas a Kaupapa Māori approach recognises a wide range of possible roles and responsibilities based on relationships with and within the community. For both Kaupapa Māori and empowerment evaluation, self-determination and positive change are primary principles and the approaches share much in common.

In recent years Patton has developed UFE to include other approaches and has introduced *developmental evaluation* where the evaluator becomes a part of the programme team to assist with programme development (Patton 2010). According to Patton “using evaluation to mobilize for social action, empower participants, and support social justice” are now “options on the menu of evaluation process uses” (Patton 1997 quoted in Alkin, 2004 p. 49). Patton’s developmental evaluation has been influential recently in evaluation in Aotearoa New Zealand and deserves particular mention. Patton has taken a *transformative* theoretical position and in developmental evaluation has established a theoretical framework and approach to evaluation that resonates strongly with Kaupapa Māori evaluation principles. In his recent book on developmental evaluation (Patton 2010), an example/story from Aotearoa New Zealand

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<sup>60</sup> See Chapter Four for discussion of the role of Evidence-based Studies in evaluation in Aotearoa New Zealand. Also see Discussion for an exploration of the status of evidence in evaluation.

is included.<sup>61</sup> In the example, Kate McKegg and Nan Wehipeihana describe the use of developmental evaluation in the context of an evaluation of an innovative Māori programme. The flexibility of the developmental evaluation approach, based on systems and complexity theory, enables application to an innovative vision driven, rather than goal driven programme and aligns with Māori worldviews and aspirations. Also important is deep engagement of evaluators with the programme but with a high level of control of the evaluation by those implementing the programme and trying to create change (Patton 2010). These attributes of developmental evaluation align extremely well with Kaupapa Māori based principles such as *control, culture, connection, and change*. With regard to Kaupapa Māori's *credibility* and *challenge* principles, according to McKegg and Wehipeihana, the approach can be challenging for evaluators and funders of evaluation. For evaluators, there is a need to have a "deep methodological tools kit (multiple and mixed methods) and excellent communication and facilitation skills, so that tailoring of method to context can happen responsively" (Patton 2010, p. 279). For funders, there is tension around having no clear predetermined outputs from the evaluation, therefore requiring a good deal of trust. In a Kaupapa Māori based frame, the *challenge* to funders is to trust the innovators and the evaluators. This challenge is ongoing in the Aotearoa New Zealand context, where these types of evaluation can be viewed as not being robust enough (Patton 2010). However, the ultimate aim of Kaupapa Māori theory and its practice in evaluation is to transform society to make it a better place for Māori to thrive and this aligns with all *transformative* evaluation approaches.

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<sup>61</sup> See Patton, M. (2010). Page 274-278.

There is a note of caution in that even the newer iterations of evaluation approaches that emphasize cultural competency, advocacy and partnerships (Mertens 2008, Patton 2010) may miss the mark in terms of allowing for tino rangatiratanga (self-determination), which is foundational to the *control* principle in Kaupapa Māori evaluation. Wehipeihana (2008) cautions that these approaches may facilitate access to Māori by non-Māori evaluators and may still serve the needs of the non-Māori evaluator more than Māori.

Indigenous approaches are being developed within indigenous communities in various parts of the world. Features are indigenous control and *transformative* aims for indigenous peoples (aruskevich 2010, Kawakami et al. 2008, LaFrance and Nichols 2009). Included here are strengths-based approaches focussing on the multiple capabilities, competencies and expertise within indigenous communities (aruskevich 2010, Kana'iaupuni, 2005) and holistic approaches (LaFrance 2004) that look “to the indigenous context and community to understand larger, systemic changes” (aruskevich 2010, p. 43). Indigenous approaches come from within indigenous ontology and epistemologies (Kawakami et al. 2008, Kirkhart 2007, LaFrance and Nichols 2009); Kaupapa Māori based approaches are a prominent influence in the field. They often draw from, and increasingly contribute to the transformative evaluation theories and approaches, such as empowerment and developmental evaluation.

## **Conclusion**

Scriven's schema is a useful tool for highlighting some of the major directions in evaluation theory from the 1940s to the present. Since the schema was developed, there

has been no new ‘cornucopian revolution’ in evaluation<sup>62</sup> and more recent approaches would generally fit within the existing schema. In 2011, it still provides a simple, useful framework from which to compare and contrast Kaupapa Māori principles with major developments in the evaluation field. This comparison confirms that Kaupapa Māori theory based evaluation, arising from the specific context for evaluation of Māori programmes in Aotearoa New Zealand, is a unique expression of evaluation theory and yet is congruent with theoretical developments in the international evaluation field.

Kaupapa Māori theory is an evolving praxis, and this chapter is one small attempt to capture Kaupapa Māori theoretical roots and the legitimacy of its foundations within evaluation’s theoretical landscape. There is some urgency to this endeavour as little has been written about the theoretical foundations of Kaupapa Māori or other Māori approaches to evaluation, yet Māori approaches are developing quickly with ever widening influence. The identification of Kaupapa Māori principles must be recognised as a bounded and limiting approach to describing what a theory of praxis is. Kaupapa Māori evaluation is not a set of principles to be referred to in evaluation - it is theory that attempts to articulate Māori-lived reality.

Not all Māori approaches to evaluation are identified as Kaupapa Māori, although many share similar principles.<sup>63</sup> Some Māori evaluation theorists and practitioners, while acknowledging the influence of Kaupapa Māori theory, have developed methodologies in parallel to, rather than embedded in Kaupapa Māori approaches. Increasingly Māori

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<sup>62</sup> In recent blogs and presentations Scriven has been seeking a “Third Cornucopian Revolution” in Evaluation. For interesting discussions on this topic see <http://genuineevaluation.com/author/scriven/>

<sup>63</sup> See Kennedy and Wehipeihana (2006) for a stocktake of policies, guidelines and standards for ethical research involving Indigenous peoples nationally and internationally. The stocktake identifies a set of principles that resonate strongly with the Kaupapa Māori principles in evaluation as outlined in this paper.



evaluations and evaluators are looking to their own tribal paradigms in which to centre their work.<sup>64</sup> The developments in Māori evaluation praxis have been described and debated whenever Māori evaluators meet at evaluation conferences and on evaluation websites and blogs.<sup>65</sup> This is living theory. It is being challenged, critiqued and developed by both the old and a new generation of theorist/practitioners in research and evaluation. Some have moved beyond Kaupapa Māori to new theories while still acknowledging the platform for theorising, writing and practising evaluation within Māori worldviews provided by Kaupapa Māori theory.

In this dynamic mix, Kaupapa Māori and other Māori approaches to evaluation have influenced the general approach to evaluation in Aotearoa New Zealand and have a growing impact on indigenous evaluation theory and practice. One example of the Māori impact on the national evaluation scene is the use of Māori concepts (expressed in Māori language) in the recently released ANZEA Draft Evaluator Competencies. The Māori language is used “in response to some particular ideas or concepts being better expressed and more fully captured in another language, in this case Te Reo. The use of Te Reo is not meant to confine these particular ideas or concepts to Māori, rather they are intended to apply to and be inclusive of all people.” (Draft 31 March 2010, p. 6). The Draft Evaluator Competencies produced by ANZEA, Aotearoa New Zealand’s professional evaluation body, also indicate a very strong commitment to culturally competent evaluation, in that cultural competence is not merely a peripheral aspect but a central component of the framework of evaluator competencies.<sup>66</sup> In Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori have long argued that culture is a central part of evaluation and for

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<sup>64</sup> Emendation in response to requirement to discuss the term Māori (See also Page 7 and the Discussion)

<sup>65</sup> See <http://genuineevaluation.com/working-across-the-cultural-divide-in-evaluation/>

<sup>66</sup> <http://www.anzea.org.nz/images/documents/eval%20comp%20framework.pdf>

issues of power and control and Māori/non-Māori relationships to be addressed. Kaupapa Māori theory has provided a theoretical platform for that argument, premised on Māori rights under the Treaty of Waitangi. Although obviously specific to this context, our struggle to articulate, critique and utilise a Māori theoretical foundation for evaluation is instructive to other indigenous peoples. It may perhaps also be useful to the wider international evaluation field as we all continue together in the struggle to develop evaluation theory.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> See Kawakami et al (2007) for a discussion of how indigenous evaluation values and methods may improve the general practice of evaluation.

### *Link Three*

Chapter Two showed the close alignment between transformative evaluation approaches and Kaupapa Māori evaluation principles. Multiple variations have been embraced, developed and practised in Aotearoa New Zealand and form a significant part of evaluation's landscape here.<sup>68</sup> This extent to which transformative approaches have been accepted, adopted and adapted for use in Aotearoa New Zealand is no doubt due to the alignment with Māori aspirations; however, acceptance of transformative approaches by successive governments of Aotearoa New Zealand is no more assured than is their commitment to honouring Māori rights under the Treaty of Waitangi.<sup>69</sup>

The following chapter, *Kaupapa Māori Action Research to improve heart disease services in Aotearoa, New Zealand* builds on the previous examination of Kaupapa Māori theory based evaluation and provides a case study - one government funded project that utilised a transformative evaluation approach within a Kaupapa Māori framing. It looks at how the Kaupapa Māori basis of the project impacted on the development of services when timely evaluative feedback was included in action/reflection cycles.

The chapter is positioned in terms of action research, reflecting the fact that when doing evaluation one often works as an evaluator under different paradigms and different terms are used to describe the work. Here it is termed as Kaupapa Māori Action Research based on the alignment of concerns about power relationships, participation

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<sup>68</sup> See for example Patton 2011, p. 274-279.

<sup>69</sup> See Chapter Four and Discussion for more details of issues of politics and power in evaluation in Aotearoa New Zealand.

and the transformative aspirations of both Kaupapa Māori and action research paradigms.<sup>70</sup> My involvement with the project was to bring an evaluator's perspective to the action/reflection cycle.

For my part, the reflection was an evaluation of the overall effectiveness of the project in creating positive change for Māori. The reporting of the evaluative findings has included the writing of this chapter as a paper for publication in an international medical journal in the hope that it will generate action at the policy and funding level. It was also aimed at building the evidence base and academic credibility of research and evaluation approaches that fully involve Māori communities in evaluating service provision and generating ideas for improvement.

The initial action research project was conducted in 2005. The chapter was conceptualised in 2006/2007 and my evaluation of the project undertaken in 2007. A draft paper was completed during 2008 and submitted to *Ethnicity & Health* for consideration for publication. Feedback from peer review was received and the paper revised and published in 2009.

My contribution to the chapter included: conceptualising the overall approach; conducting a literature search and review; drafting all the sections except the parts where the initial project and its outcomes were briefly described; contributing to the completion of the full draft and revisions.

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<sup>70</sup> See Chapters Three and Four and Discussion for examinations of the impact of power and politics in evaluation in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Kerr, S., Penney, L., Moewaka Barnes, H. and McCreanor, T. (2009) 'Kaupapa Māori Action Research to improve heart disease services in Aotearoa, New Zealand', *Ethnicity & Health*. 2010, 1-17

## Chapter Three

# **Kaupapa Māori Action Research to Improve Heart Disease Services in Aotearoa New Zealand**

### **Abstract**

Action research can be a powerful tool for change and improvement in health services for indigenous people when utilised within an appropriate framework. The project *Māori Utilisation and Experience of Ischaemic Heart Disease Management* illustrates this convergence in its use of Kaupapa Māori Action Research methods in its efforts to improve the health and wellbeing of Māori within the northern region, of Aotearoa New Zealand. We outline the research processes and outcomes obtained through the application of ‘by Māori for Māori’ approaches to understanding Māori pathways and barriers to care for ischaemic heart disease. Māori understandings of their illness and experiences of treatment, and healthcare providers’ perspectives on care of Māori with ischaemic heart disease, were combined into Māori-led actions to improve service provision. The chapter examines critical factors in an action research approach to health service innovations and implications for efforts to reduce entrenched health disparities.

## **Introduction**

Cardiovascular disease is the leading cause of death in Aotearoa New Zealand, accounting for 40% of all deaths annually (Hay 2004) and indigenous Māori – 14.6% of the total population (Statistics New Zealand 2007) – are disproportionately affected. In ischaemic heart disease (the most common cardiovascular disease), between 2000 and 2004 the mortality rate for Māori males aged 45-64 years was 3 times (343.4 per 100,000), and for Māori women 45-64 years (131.4 per 100,000) 4 times higher than non-Māori (Curtis et al. 2007). These ethnic disparities in ischaemic heart disease have persisted over three decades despite investments in technology, medical and surgical management, and health promotion (Blakely et al. 2007, Reid and Robson 2007, Tobias et al. 2006).

Although ischaemic heart disease is related to current disadvantage, it is determined by disadvantage across the entire life course (Davey Smith et al. 2001, Davey Smith 2007, Kauhanen et al. 2006). The Māori population experiences greater social and economic disadvantage that is reflected in persistent health inequalities including ischaemic heart disease (Reid and Robson 2007). These outcomes remain even when socio-economic variables are controlled for suggesting that they arise partly from processes of ethnic marginalisation (Ajwani et al. 2003). Such disparities are clear evidence of the failure of health systems to deliver health equity (CSDH 2007) which remains a pressing goal for social justice. We report research investigating the experiences behind the high mortality and morbidity rates from ischaemic heart disease among Māori in Te Tai Tokerau (Northland) where death rates are higher than other areas (Penney et al. 2006)

We utilised an indigenous Kaupapa Māori Research (kaupapa meaning ‘guiding principle’) approach in concert with Action Research methodology<sup>71</sup>, an amalgamation well-oriented to Māori aspirations for social change (Moewaka Barnes 2000, Smith 1999). We describe the processes and outcomes by which the project contributed to improvements in the management of Māori with ischaemic heart disease by health service providers.

### **Kaupapa Māori and Action Research**

Kaupapa Māori Research is based on Māori worldviews (Smith 1999) and yet its major concerns parallel many of the values and principles underpinning Action Research (Smith 2003). Both arose in reaction to a lack of generalisability (beyond dominant populations) and unexplicated power dynamics in conventional positivist research (Pihama et al. 2002, Reason and Bradbury 2006, Smith 1999). Both seek to centre community concerns in research and interrogate systems of power to reposition some control with those directly affected (Cram 2001, Reason and Bradbury 2006).

Kaupapa Māori Research utilises Māori frameworks – ecological, holistic, communitarian – for understanding the world, human activity and wellbeing within it (Durie 2000, Smith 1999) with important implications for approaches to research. Our worldviews have profound effects on how we see and utilise methodologies and fundamentally shape our relationships to knowledge and practice (Moewaka Barnes 2006).

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<sup>71</sup> Here, Action Research includes variations such as Participatory Research, Participatory Action Research and Community-Based Participatory Research.



Kaupapa Māori Research focuses on Māori advancement, adopting a theoretical position and multimethods approach born of the need to challenge colonising power, norms and assumptions, so that Māori ways of knowing, and operating are central (Smith 1999, Walker et al. 2006). Moewaka Barnes (2000) emphasises three defining principles of this approach.

- It is by Māori for Māori
- Māori worldviews are the normative frame
- Research is for the benefit of Māori.

Kaupapa Māori Research naturalises Māori epistemologies, methodologies and practices so that Māori are not articulated as the ‘other’. Action Research works in empowering, participatory ways (Reason and Bradbury 2006) to generate research-based solutions to problems that impact on the wellbeing of the people and communities. It focusses on participation and change, using qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods depending on the issues and context, in cycles where each revolution consists of planning action, implementing change and evaluating the results. Knowledge created in the process of solving problems becomes the basis for further actions (Khanlou and Peter 2005). Participation by diverse stakeholders in processes that mediate power differentials, improves buy-in to work on democratically identified problems, building community capability in skills, advocacy and community cohesion.

Reason and Bradbury (2006) argue for the importance of evaluation components in Action Research and have mooted key questions against which projects can be assessed.

We have adapted these as follows for our project:

- Were collaborative relationships established and maintained?

- Were there useful processes and outcomes?
- Were plural ways of knowing generated?
- Was democracy actioned?
- Was the project worthwhile?

Action Research is supported by a growing body of literature showing effectiveness in providing innovative solutions to health issues in a wide variety of settings (Panelli et al. 2006, Patten et al. 2006).

Both Kaupapa Māori Research and Action Research are context-specific and tailored to purpose and desired outcomes (Israel et al. 2003, Moewaka Barnes 2000). Action Research, emphasising empowerment, aligns with the Kaupapa Māori Research requirement for research to be conducted in Māori ways, dealing with issues important to Māori and likely to be of benefit to us. This congruence allows incorporation of the Action Research processes into a Kaupapa Māori Research framework.

## **Methodology**

*Māori Utilisation and Experience of Ischaemic Heart Disease Management* was a three-year project funded by the Health Research Council of New Zealand and approved by the Northern Region Health and Disability Ethics Committee. The research aimed to improve healthcare practice, and Māori access to and experience of healthcare, by developing an understanding of Māori pathways to and through healthcare, for management of ischaemic heart disease. It involved collaboration among Māori patients and *whānau* (extended family), Māori primary care providers, general practices, and

health service funders in Te Tai Tokerau (Penney 2005) to identify barriers and enablers to optimal healthcare outcomes.

The project leaders (LP and HMB) are both tangata whenua (indigenous – literally translated means people of the land) of Te Tai Tokerau region, who are firmly grounded in local communities with linkages to Māori and other service providers and local Māori tribal authorities. These linkages, plus LP's professional networks through previous roles in health service planning and development in the region, were critical to the design and implementation of the research proposal.

The project consisted of three phases: enquiry and data collection; analysis and action; and reflection on impacts. Māori participants were selected through Māori primary healthcare providers and general practices, using a purposive sampling strategy to identify participants within a range of age, gender and locational variables and differing experiences of ischaemic heart disease treatment and outcomes. Healthcare professionals spanned organisations including secondary care, general practice and Māori primary healthcare. Included were eight GPs, five Practice Nurses, three Community Nurses, a Medical Specialist, a Nursing Specialist, and a Community Health Worker, with a range of length of experience.

### *Phase One*

Interviews of one to two hours were held with 25 Māori with ischaemic heart disease and their families (to extend service-user perspectives) and 19 healthcare professionals to enable comparison of differing experiences. We explored Māori understandings of ischaemic heart disease and experience of healthcare, including responses to

treatment/referral options offered. Interviews with healthcare professionals canvassed experiences and understandings from work with Māori with ischaemic heart disease.

### *Phase Two*

Phase Two worked with service-users and providers using analyses of the data to explore barriers, possibilities and actions for improving ischaemic heart disease services and care. The process involved a series of hui (Māori gatherings) and meetings during 2005, prior to which participants were sent a draft report on Phase One findings, and from which actions were developed, prioritised and put in place. Gatherings were held firstly with the research participants, and then other stakeholders including Te Tai Tokerau Primary Healthcare Organisation, Te Tai Tokerau Māori Purchasing Organisation, Northland District Health Board, Ministry of Health and consumer groups.

### *Phase Three*

Phase Three interviews were conducted in 2006 with all of those available to be re-interviewed from the sample groups, to assess impacts from involvement in the research project. Twenty follow-up interviews were conducted with Māori patients and 15 with healthcare professionals. Additional interviews were recorded with three health professionals by SK in 2007 to ascertain perspectives on project impacts two years after the completion.

## **Findings**

We analysed data from Phases One and Three, using thematic analysis to draw out patterns and variations (Braun and Clarke 2006, Edwards et al. 2005, Patton 1990, Wetherell et al. 2001). For Phase Two we offer a descriptive account based upon participant observation (Kearns 2005) of the outcomes of the Kaupapa Māori Action Research.

### *Phase One – Different worlds*

Themes from interviews with Māori patients and their families and with healthcare practitioners included understandings of ischaemic heart disease, pathways to and pathways through healthcare. We report our syntheses of the themes illustrated with excerpts from the transcribed data.

#### *Understandings*

Māori patients generally had good knowledge of ischaemic heart disease including associations with diet, physical activity and smoking. They had less understanding of the life-course impact on ischaemic heart disease, often stating that family history indicated a genetic component.

Patient: on my mum's side there's probably about 8 or 10 in our family that's died from heart attacks, but two brothers have had heart attacks and on my father's side there's one on my father's side that died of a heart attack so it's quite strong in our genes. P14

Perceptions of genetic causality without an analysis of the influence of environmental and behavioural factors, gave rise to a feeling of powerlessness to change outcomes.

Most commonly however the Māori patients viewed stress as the major contributor to Māori ischaemic heart disease. They talked about stress associated with life events like unemployment and financial hardship but also loss and grief.

Patient: it really came on bad at the time my dad had a heart attack and it actually brought mine on as well. P8

Although Māori patients and *whānau* demonstrated knowledge of causes of ischaemic heart disease, when talking about their own health problems, women in particular were less sure about how or why they had developed. Studies of other populations have also found that the most commonly held belief is that ischaemic heart disease, particularly myocardial infarctions and strokes, are caused by stress (Gans et al. 1999, Meischke et al. 2000, Mosca et al. 2000, Newman 2003).

Although some healthcare practitioners acknowledged the impact of social and economic factors on Māori health, they generally focussed their talk on Māori lifestyle factors.

Health practitioner: You know, everyone smokes, well not everyone smokes, but huge, a very high percentage of people smoke. They drink a lot, take drugs, don't exercise, and eat very high fat food. It's just a huge amount of risk taking, you know, has a big input into how healthy they are. HP12

In focussing on risk factors, systemic issues seemed obscured to practitioners. Without an understanding of broader determinants of health, it is a very short step to blaming the individual choices of people in difficult circumstances for their plight (McCreanor and Nairn 2002a, 2002b) an approach that does little to promote positive relationships between practitioners and patients or improve their health.

### *Entering pathways*

Māori patients entered a pathway of care for ischaemic heart disease at different points along the continuum from risk factor management, through to emergency admission for acute coronary syndrome. Those who came to care as a result of illness described varying symptoms and diverse health-seeking responses. Reasons for delay included interpreting symptoms as due to other conditions such as asthma, indigestion or ageing and efforts at self-management.

Patient: I was just passing it off as indigestion because I was thinking well indigestion really isn't this bad. But then it would go away. So I thought oh no, because I used to think that if you have a heart attack, it's just like one big pain and it's just constant. But it wasn't. No, I think people should go and get checked, especially when you've got heart disease in the family. P2

Other motivations included fear, disbelief and trying to avoid wasting the time of health professionals. Some participants experienced quite different difficulties related to systemic factors that blocked their efforts to get care.

Patient: He did an ECG and sent me up to the hospital here and they sort of they were really busy in the A&E and they just said oh nah it's a pulled muscle go home and so I went home and I went oh yeah okay and then six o'clock that night I still didn't feel well but I couldn't put my finger on what it was I just didn't feel myself...but six o'clock that night I just suddenly went really hot like I was burning from the inside out and I didn't know whether I would pass out or be sick or what...and then my husband said "that's it I'm ringing an ambulance". P7

As mentioned above, whānau members and sometimes work colleagues were influential in getting patients to seek help if there were delays. Participants' descriptions of

responses were consistent with the findings from other studies exploring patient variation in response to cardiac events (Dracup et al. 1995, Dracup et al. 1997, Norris and UK Heart Attack Study Collaborative Group 1998, Ottesen et al. 1996, Ruston et al. 1998).

Many healthcare practitioners described Māori as unlikely to participate in screening and expected late presentation with ischaemic heart disease, leading to a delay in diagnosis and treatment. These behaviours were explained in terms of ambivalence about health, fatalism around illness, and lack of long-term vision. Practitioners also argued that once in care some Māori concealed symptoms and withheld information undermining assessment and diagnosis.

Health practitioner: They'll come up with all these other problems that are just not really what they're worried about, they might of wasted half an hour by the time, then you say "Ok then Bill, so you've covered pretty well everything?" – yeah, and as they're going out the door "oh by the way I've had a bit of chest pain". HP2

This participant clearly recognises the process as unsatisfactory, but the interpretation (obfuscation, time wasting, minimising) reveals a blaming stance that makes the patient responsible for the miscommunication.

### *Travelling Pathways*

Participants described a wide range of treatment pathways following recruitment into healthcare, from lifestyle advice and medical management to surgical intervention. Both Māori and health practitioners clearly expressed concern about the effectiveness of communication within clinical systems. From the perspective of most Māori patients



and *whānau*, service providers did not take enough time to build relationships and Māori reported health professionals failed to listen appropriately leaving them feeling misunderstood.

Patient: I couldn't get anywhere with the doctor down here. I felt at some stage he didn't believe me, which was disappointing to me. It was on my mind for several weeks and months because there's no other doctor here ... I don't think he even concerned himself with [me]... he was more like a traffic cop issuing tickets. He just writes out a prescription. P24

Health professionals were seen to create barriers, using difficult language and not discussing their decisions. They failed to take account of, or value the supportive roles of *whānau* in listening and sharing information. Service-users felt the poor communication could be an effect of cultural difference and some talked of discrimination against Māori.

From the perspective of health practitioners Māori were passive or non-compliant by not fully and effectively communicating problems and symptoms, not keeping their practitioner informed and not giving feedback on their health.

Health practitioner: It really is very dependent on us understanding the patients and being aware of the fact that we don't get told the truth, and we don't get told how bad it is and even though I knew this person very well, and very experienced at it, I didn't get out of her how bad it was until she was better. HP6

Health practitioners felt that the poor communication was a cross-cultural issue and that it was critical to overcome this but had no clear strategies to improve the situation.

Together these data and analyses demonstrate the different understandings that Māori and providers had on the nature, diagnosis and management of ischaemic heart disease. The findings here provided the materials for the next phase of the work that brought the parties together to share the divergent views they carried and to formulate possible responses to the problems. The aim was not to apportion blame or to examine the extent to which these views were attributable to culture, marginalisation or other factors. Through Kaupapa Māori Action Research processes we aimed to present different perspectives in order to reach understandings that would create shared pathways for change.

### ***Phase Two – Change facilitation***

The Kaupapa Māori Action Research process acknowledges that time is needed in any project that is seeking systemic change. We allowed a period of six months for work with the research participants and stakeholders to develop ideas and projects for change and innovation. Initially four community-based meetings were held – two with patients and their families and two with health practitioner participants. Thirteen further meetings to discuss the research findings and generate interest in change projects were held with stakeholders.

Rather than the researchers prescribing outcomes, we presented the findings of the Phase One interviews, ideas for improvements, and facilitated discussion. The prioritising of possibilities and developing actions emerged from the groups and LP provided ongoing input and support for plans that emerged.

Concurrently the Northland District Health Board invited LP to manage the development of the Northland Cardiovascular Disease (CVD) Strategy. This presented opportunities to disseminate the findings of Phase One interviews and to influence policy and practice that was relevant to improving healthcare for Māori with ischaemic heart disease. Key elements that emerged directly from the project included:

### *Improved access to coronary angiography*

National and regional data shows a lower rate of coronary revascularisation for ischaemic heart disease among Māori than is expected given its epidemiology in Aotearoa New Zealand (Ellis et al. 2004, Tukuitonga and Bindman 2002, Westbrooke et al. 2001). Access to intervention cardiology services such as coronary angiography is further limited in geographic areas such as Te Tai Tokerau that do not have these services available locally (CMDHB 2003). The Coronary Care service of Northland District Health Board collaborated with Auckland District Health Board angiography services to implement a new angiography booking system. Reserving a set number of cases each week for Te Tai Tokerau/Northland patients has significantly improved access to this service.

A useful measure of relative access to a range of surgical interventions in Aotearoa New Zealand is the standardised discharge ratio taking into account the particular sex, age, ethnicity and social deprivation mix of a District Health Board's population. A rate higher than 1 indicates provision of a procedure at a rate higher than the average in Aotearoa New Zealand, and a rate lower than 1 indicates less than the average rate. As a measure of outcome of the new angiography booking system we observe the rate for angioplasties for the 2004/2005 year was 0.82 and for coronary artery bypass grafts

0.92. By the last 6 months of 2008 the rate for angioplasty and coronary artery bypass grafts were 1.06 and 1.51 respectively (New Zealand Health Information Service 2009) showing improvements that coincide with the timing of our interventions.

### *Pre-hospital fibrinolytic therapy service*

Despite a New Zealand guideline for pre-hospital fibrinolytic therapy and good evidence for its effectiveness in reducing mortality following an acute coronary syndrome for people living more than 60 minutes from a hospital, the service was not available in Te Tai Tokerau. The researchers supported information gathering and initial meetings with St John Ambulance services, General Practitioners and the District Health Board to progress planning towards the implementation of a pre-hospital fibrinolytic therapy service. In 2009 it is reported the Northland St John Ambulance service now provides pre-hospital fibrinolytic therapy on 14 ambulances in remote rural areas and in the first three months of 2009, four cases have been treated, all from the Mid-North (K. O'Keefe, Nurse Manager Cardiac Services, Northland Health, personal communication, 1 April 2009). The main barrier to earlier implementation of the service was available funding – eventually community fundraising contributed \$NZ70, 000 and a further \$NZ 30,000 is required to provide coverage for all ambulances in the Northland DHB area (K. O'Keefe, personal communication, 1 April 2009).

### *Manaaki Manawa*

Health provider and funder stakeholders prioritized the development of new home-based cardiac rehabilitation for Māori following diagnosis of coronary syndrome to be known as Manaaki Manawa. The research team networked with cardiac rehabilitation

experts, a Māori cardiac rehabilitation provider, and the national Māori heart health service to create the service and also had input into the “*Heart Guide Aotearoa*” trial. Over the six months the service concept was researched, the necessary relationships formed and a successful funding proposal submitted resulting in two initiatives that provide *Manaaki Manawa* services in three localities of Te Tai Tokerau – Mid North, Far North and Whangarei. Evaluation of *Manaaki Manawa* shows highly positive impacts, including lifestyle change, uptake of medical advice, self-confidence and satisfaction for clients, and strengthened service integration and co-ordination among primary care providers (Henwood and Moewaka Barnes 2008).

#### *Analysis of barriers to outpatient appointment attendance*

Māori non-attendance for specialist services was thought by many health professional participants to be a significant problem impacting on access to best practice treatment, yet little analysis had been undertaken to provide evidence of the magnitude of the problem or why it occurs. The researchers worked with Primary Healthcare Organisation providers and District Health Board staff to develop a short outpatient department study of the extent of non-attendance at medical outpatient appointments by Māori and non-Māori, barriers to accessing outpatient appointments and recommendations for change, funded through the Elective Services Initiative Fund. Improved systems for outpatient appointment booking and communication to patients has led to significant improvements in attendance – a 21% “did not attend” rate in 2006 had been reduced to 10% in 2008 (C. Rood, Operations Manager and DNA Project Manager, Northland Health, personal communication, 1 April 2009).

### *Community placement of Automated External Defibrillation*

The need for community placement of automated external defibrillator equipment throughout Te Tai Tokerau and training of community members in its use and cardiopulmonary resuscitation was a consistent theme in the data. Poor access to equipment and trained personnel for advanced life-support following an acute coronary event was considered a limiting factor, particularly in the rural areas. Subsequently a proposal was submitted to the Te Tai Tokerau Primary Healthcare Organisation from a Māori Provider for the placement of equipment in their rural communities. An ongoing District Health Board project is scoping the strategic placement of units and trained personnel throughout the region.

### *Audio visual resource development*

To improve information-sharing with Māori, the District Health Board Coronary Care Unit planned the development of an audio visual resource to support Māori in cardiac rehabilitation.

## ***Phase Three – Research reflection***

Scriven (1991) suggests checking that any observed changes attributable to interventions are logically consistent outcomes of the activities and processes of the project. One of the most effective ways to know if a project was responsible for observed changes, or if there are other explanations, is to ask the people involved (Brinkenhoff 2003). Here we reflect on the research using the questions posed by Reason and Bradbury (2006) and drawing on data from the project and three evaluative interviews carried out in 2007 by SK. These data were overwhelmingly positive,

expectedly from Māori patients but even more strongly so from health practitioners for many of whom the project represented a disruption of established practice that was valued because it improved service provision to Māori.

*Were collaborative relationships established and maintained?*

Research relationships in this project were developed to re-align power so that work was controlled by Māori, empowering to the least powerful Māori participants and focused on producing knowledge and actions beneficial to Māori. The outcomes were evident from the comments of many of the patient participants in Phase Three interviews where improvements in relationships with providers were a feature.

Patient: my blood pressure's been quite good just when I had the flu there it was up a bit but oh no they're right on my case [giggles]... I'm lucky I really am I'm grateful... but I've had you fellas there you know and I never really had it before and this is where you know, it was hard, I didn't know who to go to or ... I never had people checking on me and things like that and now I have and it's marvellous. P2006

In terms of the relationships within the research project, both patient and provider participants repeatedly drew attention to the importance of the researcher and her ability and commitment to connect, engage and remain accountable to community people and interests.

Health professional: the researcher herself is actually very well regarded in this whole, in this region up here, so people actually, I think that was an important part of this research as well that there is a degree of trust and knowledge about her competency around this area. HP2007

The idea for the ischaemic heart disease project grew from LP's grounded observations as a Māori health worker/researcher from Te Tai Tokerau. She nurtured or built relationships within her community and professional networks to address the area of research and seek possible solutions.

LP's close engagement with Māori community health workers meant Māori with ischaemic heart disease and their families were introduced to the research by someone they knew and trusted (Edwards et al. 2005). These conventionally powerless participants generated and prioritised ideas for action. The project also generated awareness that empowering community people was a desirable outcome.

Health professional: I think the real answer is going to be actually getting training people in the community to take leadership you know and to form groups, community groups based on the old system you know like the marae, whānau, hapū, iwi. HP2006

The acknowledgement of the importance of relationships with communities is a useful advance in the cultural sensitivity that clinicians increasingly require (Medical Council of New Zealand 2006) and highlighted the importance of communication between cultures of care and those of patients and their families.

### *Were there useful processes and outcomes?*

The outcomes from Phase Two represent the substantive contribution of the project. Phase One findings on Māori perspectives on ischaemic heart disease may explain the motivation of healthcare providers to make changes. The stories were particularly effective in conveying the sub-optimal treatment of some Māori.



Health professional: ... Māori with heart disease get a different series of options of management offered to them, and that really stunned me. I mean I had known it intuitively but the extent of that was actually validated by the research. I think it was people's stories that really were profound. HP2006

The research highlighted ways in which the fine-grained detail of process and patient management were constituent of their experiences and therefore important sites for improving professional performance.

A key process was the managed introduction of the findings of Phase One to both groups, which allowed the valuing of the rarely heard patient/*whānau* experience to be given appropriate weighting in the deliberations about actions. The differences between patient and practitioner perspectives of Māori use of medical advice (McCreanor and Nairn 2002a, 2002b), were a revelation to some practitioners and provided a stimulus for change. A delicate balance was needed in order to manage the tensions between professional and experiential knowledge bases in ways that kept the two groups communicating and receptive to the possibilities for change. This was achieved through trust-based negotiation among the parties mediated by the relationships that LP established before and during the project.

A number of innovative ideas were implemented in communities as for example reported by this Māori health professional.

Health professional: What came out of that research project was a proposal for a cardiac rehab programme in the community which I am now part of doing. Manaaki Manawa [is] community rehab for, mostly focused on Māori ... So a huge thank you to [the

researcher] for that because that has happened because of this research programme that she's done. HP2007

The research processes highlighted problems and possible solutions that were already held by participants or their communities as well as identifying some of the champions of change to lead innovations. The research design, especially the processes of the research-action spiral, was identified as a key to generating innovative solutions to tough problems.

Health professional: what it did was actually unleash a whole lot of information that would not be captured if you were just doing a quantitative analysis of something, you wouldn't actually understand the meaning of why these things were like they were. So it was very profound actually. HP2007

That the actions prioritised were predominantly system-oriented reflects the reality that there were many aspects of service provision that were inadequate for Māori clients. It may also be that health planners and funders working at a systems level had the capacity and readiness for change and that the new knowledge provided a sense of direction not necessarily available from within.

*Were plural ways of knowing generated?*

Kaupapa Māori Action Research values Māori knowledge and in this project the articulation and dissemination of these experiences was at the heart of its success.

Patient: I thought it was awesome...I can see there are a lot of changes going to be taking place...yes I was quite surprised with some of the uh things that were said inside [the report] there cos I didn't realise how much problems we had you know. P2006

Health service providers identified the participation of Māori patients and their families as crucial to service changes.

Health professional: but with patients that's where you get the true perspective, their perspective, and that's the one that you need to work with, that's the one that will make a research project successful, cause it's how they feel and how you can make the difference with them, it's having that buy-in from those patients that makes the big difference. HP2007

### *Was democracy actioned?*

Although Kaupapa Māori Action Research principles designed to address power imbalances took precedence, democratic processes were utilised within this project. The research was clearly conducted by Māori for Māori and many of the Phase Three participants, Māori and Pākehā articulated this as a success.

Health professional: we already know that it's helping our communities, helping our Māori people, and the result of it is, has been evidence round the service that's now being provided, so this is a really good way of doing research HP2007

The Kaupapa Māori imperative centring Māori concerns worked to ensure that all participants were given a voice through participant feedback processes that kept the groups apart at crucial stages. Māori patients and their families were free to discuss the results openly without fear about the reactions of health service providers, and vice versa. In addition, the results were disseminated to the different groups in forum familiar to them resulting in new knowledge for patients and a sense that their views were being heeded.

Patient: it's only when your report came out and discussions with your report that I found out, no you're not on your own, it's very much a widespread thing sort of situation so in

that case yes I do really like the report that you gave out and that's really getting into the professional areas of course like doctors, hospitals. P2006

Hearing the stories, understandings and experiences of Māori ischaemic heart disease patient's pathways of care in this 'one step removed' way gave health professionals the space to examine and compare these stories with the results from their sector. The process allowed the interrogation of power to occur so that health professionals were challenged about their assumptions and practices.

Health professional: I think one of the significant things for me was actually hearing the stories about patients' experience of the health services and on the other hand hearing the providers' stories about how they actually saw the situation with their Māori clients, and just the huge gulf between those two stories, so that has given us a real challenge in terms of improving cultural competency of our providers, it's really the basis for a lot of the work that we're actually doing now. HP2007

That changes were instigated by power-holders in response to the data, without the need for activism by the Māori ischaemic heart disease patients and their families, can be seen as another form of democratic action.

### *Was the project worthwhile?*

Reason and Bradbury's (2006) ultimate question invites us to make an assessment of overall worth of the project. The ischaemic heart disease project provided connections between community, public health managers and policy makers, leading to system changes that will have long lasting impacts on the provision of healthcare and Māori community capacity to make changes for health and wellness.

Patient: no I'd just say keep up the good work really...I think in the long run it will be the greatest thing for you know especially for up here where they're really quite closed I find our people and I think if we can sort of try and just that promotion or health promotion, educating them would be so much easier for them. P2006

Health professionals were also clear about the value of the project.

Health professional: I think it was actually a very important piece of work at that point in time and has been pivotal in launching a whole sort of range of different strategies since that time, where it's still got a place in the sun because you know we, at the moment for example we're developing a regional Māori health plan with the district health board, all of the PHOs, the Māori alliance and the MAPO up here which is pretty significant. HP2007

The project generated solutions from patients, providers and policymakers in the health system in response to their new awareness of the needs of Māori patients and their families.

## **Discussion**

This chapter describes an innovative use of indigenous action research to tackle a serious and deep-seated source of health inequity (Braveman and Gruskin 2003). Kaupapa Māori research principles guided and resourced the development and implementation of the research-action-reflection process that contributed to multiple material changes that reduced suffering and stress for Māori with ischaemic heart disease and their whānau in Te Tai Tokerau.

Having lived under an imposed colonial system for 160 years, Māori have developed first-hand experience and a good knowledge of medical systems, including how we are perceived within them (Cram et al. 2003, Harris et al. 2006, Reid and Robson 2007). Other research (McCreanor and Nairn 2002a, 2002b) reveals that health professionals do not appear to have a reciprocal understanding of the Māori world. Our approach allowed Māori experiences to be articulated and developed as a resource to facilitate change. The most significant outcome from the sharing of narrated experience is that health systems have been modified, primarily by health professionals who wield the most power to effect systemic change, allowing Māori participants to work for change without having to take all the responsibility for creating it.

Achieving improvements primarily in the policies and practices of health service providers, helps to entrench them as self-sustaining, making them less vulnerable to the vagaries of professional behaviour, service provider agendas or broader political climate. Once established they have become part of the service experience of users who are thereby empowered to expect and insist on these new standards of provision. Interventions informed by the project are ongoing, suggesting that the strategy of working at policy and systems level through key provider personnel has generated sustainability of outcomes beyond the end of project.

To our knowledge there are no comparable completed projects on ischaemic heart disease in this country but studies of cancer survival (Hill et al. 2009) and other conditions (Reid and Robson 2007) suggest that the problems of differing worldviews between patients and service providers identified in this project are general. While it is clear that the changes and developments that occurred in this project are particular to

the sites we believe that there are methods and outcomes that should be generalisable to other conditions, locations and settings of health inequity, both locally and internationally. Health practitioners' limited understanding of Māori patients' experiences is unlikely to be limited to practitioners in Te Tai Tokerau or apply only to Māori patients with ischaemic heart disease. The research findings indicate the need to investigate the impact of epistemological difference between health practitioners and their patients across the sector and action research is demonstrated to be a potentially useful tool for moving past investigation towards generating solutions. At the local level, the research indicates that more work is needed to improve cultural competency amongst professionals (Medical Council of New Zealand 2006) and to develop health services that are able to engage more appropriately with Māori in order to improve delivery and outcomes.

Kaupapa Māori Action Research as practised here, entailed working with stakeholders to gather information and facilitate engagement in order to bring about change; researchers and participants negotiated mutual goals, aspirations and pathways for change, and divisions of insider/outsider were less relevant. While such approaches may raise anxieties over the neutrality of data gathering, analysis and interpretation, our professional ethics and the inclusion of an evaluation stage by an evaluation specialist (SK) who was not directly involved in the project, means that we are confident that our presentation of the findings is a fair and balanced account. In addition the fact that the lead researcher (LP) has been repeatedly invited to present the project to the Ministry of Health and other audiences, along with numerous spontaneous 'updates' from stakeholders speaks to the high regard with which the process and outcomes are regarded in the Tai Tokerau community.

It is important to emphasise that the characteristics and resources available at our sites – particularly the skills, networks and commitment of the participants including the researchers – are vital for the success of such projects. This research has contributed to smoother pathways to care, better access to treatment and more appropriate ongoing care for Māori with ischaemic heart disease in Te Tai Tokerau. These are good outcomes for a small-scale, short-term action research project.

The principal factor limiting the effectiveness of the project was the timeframe that allowed only a single iteration of the research-action-reflection cycle and a six month ‘action phase’ that was too short to allow for a focus on patient, family and individual practitioner change. With more time and resources change at individual level as well as systems levels may have been evident and measurable. Despite these limitations, the research continues to impact on the provision of services to Māori in Te Tai Tokerau.

Our findings emphasise the potential of action with patients and *whānau*, the health system and individual practitioners, towards improved prevention and management of ischaemic heart disease in the Māori population. Kaupapa Māori Action Research represents a significant tool in opportunities to work with Māori communities toward the goals of health equity supported by recent work on the social determinants of health promoted by the World Health Organization (CSDH 2007). For research funders the fact that action research eschews set processes and works with the specific dynamics and contexts of communities in the action reflection cycle, may well be regarded as too risky to support. However in the setting of skilled, connected and well-resourced research teams, the pay-back in terms of sustainable systemic change that makes a real



difference to people's lives, can be very rewarding. We hope that this report of our project will encourage other research teams and funders to invest in these innovative and constructive approaches to improving population health and wellbeing.

### ***Link Four***

The fourth chapter of this thesis *Evaluation Hīkoi: A Model for Aotearoa New Zealand?* builds on the previous chapters by examining the development of the hīkoi approach to programme evaluation within the context of the field of health promotion. Chapter Two established Kaupapa Māori theory based evaluation as developing out of our unique context but fitting with transformative approaches internationally and Chapter Three applied this transformative Kaupapa Māori lens to participatory action research, arriving at Kaupapa Māori Action Research. Here I examine the story of evaluation, applying Māori concepts to trace the journey to hīkoi as an evaluation approach. Hīkoi is, of course, one of many approaches drawing on Māori concepts developed within Aotearoa New Zealand; others examples are Whakapapa (Smith 1996), Whānau (Irwin, 1994) and Mauri Ora Mauri Ora (Tunks 2010). All emphasise relationships, collective approaches and multiple accountabilities.<sup>72</sup>

The chapter first examines the struggle in Aotearoa New Zealand in regard to the Māori call for self-determination and successive governments' response to that call, illustrating the power dynamic inherent in programme evaluation. It then goes on to focus on the details of health promotion evaluation. Structuring the chapter in this way highlights the importance of understanding the history of the struggle for Māori self-determination when thinking about evaluation in any sector. This wider context provides the basis for understanding evaluation and Māori in the health promotion sector.

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<sup>72</sup> Emendation in response to requirement to strengthen the links between chapters.

This chapter was written as a chapter on evaluation within a book about health promotion. My principal doctoral supervisor Associate Professor Helen Moewaka Barnes was initially invited to contribute a chapter on health promotion planning and evaluation. She was unable to write the chapter and asked if I would be interested in writing it for inclusion in this thesis. The health promotion sector is known for taking a partnership approach to the Treaty of Waitangi seriously and is also the area in which I gained much of my practical experience in evaluation. For these reasons, it was an appropriate sector to use as an example of the impacts of power and politics in evaluation

I conceptualised the chapter and wrote a full draft in 2010/2011. After review from Helen Moewaka Barnes the draft was submitted to the editors for their review in March 2011. The editors suggested more detail about the *hīkoi* approach. The chapter was redrafted and resubmitted to the editors in May 2011.

Kerr, S. and Moewaka Barnes, H. (in press) Evaluation Hīkoi: A Model for Aotearoa New Zealand? In *Promoting Health in Aotearoa New Zealand* (in press). Signal, L., and Ratima, M (eds).

## Chapter Four

# Evaluation Hīkoi - A Model for Aotearoa New Zealand?

### Abstract

Evaluating and planning health promotion initiatives in Aotearoa New Zealand comes with its own context specific issues, challenges and opportunities. This chapter critically examines the impact of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and Māori aspirations for self-determination on evaluating and planning health promotion initiatives in Aotearoa New Zealand. Arising from this context, a range of approaches to health promotion evaluation are briefly described, followed by a more thorough exploration of one approach – hīkoi - developed from the collective experiences of Māori researchers working for Whāriki Research Group, Massey University. Hīkoi describes both a journey and an approach. Key principles are outlined and its use in guiding the development of health promotion initiatives explored. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the ongoing challenges and opportunities for innovative approaches to evaluation presented by our unique health promotion context.

### Introduction

The image of an elderly Māori woman, leaning on a stick and holding the hand of her mokopuna as she began the long hīkoi from one end of New Zealand's North Island to parliament 1,000kms to the south, is indelibly etched in the psyche of our nation (Kawharu 1989, Harris 2004).

The word hīkoi carries with it the memory of this time in 1975 when large numbers of Māori were mobilised and politicised in a reassertion of Māori identity and claims for justice premised on the Treaty of Waitangi, an 1840 covenant between Māori and the Crown and the founding document of Aotearoa New Zealand.<sup>73</sup> The word hīkoi carries the associations of that first land march back in 1975 and a more recent demonstration in 2004 over retention of traditional Māori rights to the foreshore and seabed (Harris 2004). Hīkoi was the name given to these large public demonstrations, both of which drew attention to government violations of Māori rights under the Treaty of Waitangi. Both also took the form of peaceful journeys beginning in the north of the country, collecting more people as the journey passed through different tribal areas, and culminated in massed rallies at parliament. Hīkoi has become a concept imbued with meaning, evoking images of Māori moving collectively to assert rights guaranteed by the Treaty of Waitangi. It carries with it all of the history and associations of the Māori journey towards self-determination (Kerr 2006).

The 1975 hīkoi also represents the moment when many Pākehā New Zealanders awoke to the realisation that race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand were far from exemplary and that the movement to honour Māori rights as guaranteed in the Treaty of Waitangi had garnered a ground swell of support (Harris 2004). Amongst other things, for Māori this new cultural and political renaissance raised awareness of health disparities and gave new impetus to demands for health equity as a right under the Treaty of Waitangi.

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<sup>73</sup> The Treaty of Waitangi was signed by the Crown and Māori in 1840. It is considered to be Aotearoa/New Zealand's founding document.

The time period from 1975 to 1980 also marked the beginning of successive New Zealand governments considering their responsibilities in relation to the Treaty of Waitangi. The fledgling forays into Treaty negotiations between Māori and government coincided with developments in public health and programme planning. Although in their infancy, health promotion approaches to public health issues were coming to the fore and the journey to articulate their purpose, processes and underlying theories had begun. In the field of programme planning, evaluation was emerging as a related but separate field and undergoing the same establishment struggles.

And so the paths of Treaty negotiations, evaluation and health promotion met at a time when they were all struggling to establish their legitimacy. The activities of health promotion, planning and evaluation and the struggle for indigenous rights were not new but the coalescence around health concerns certainly was. Where these paths have merged and developed together, unique Aotearoa New Zealand approaches to health promotion and its planning and evaluation have resulted.

### **Health Promotion and the Māori Rights Hīkoi: 1975 to 1985**

In common with most western nations during the 1970s, Aotearoa New Zealand realised that there was no limit to the escalating cost of health care, given longer life expectancy and the prevalence of costly chronic illnesses such as heart disease (US Public Health Service 1979 cited in Duignan 1997). In the search for more cost effective health care, disease prevention and health promotion rose to greater prominence (Duignan 1997). The challenge for health promotion was to understand how to promote health, to plan and implement health promotion programmes and to prove their effectiveness. The key question to be answered was “what is health promotion?”

The first task of health promotion planning and evaluation was to answer this fundamental question on the meaning of health promotion and then to determine how to plan, monitor and evaluate health promotion initiatives (Duignan 1997). This was daunting given that the rationalist planning approach of the time was based on the use of scientifically verifiable information (Lunt 2003, Menin 2007). Very little of this so called hard data existed in the field of health promotion and evaluation offered little hope of providing the required data as it only played a monitoring role within rationalist planning. To this fundamental health promotion challenge was added the additional health promotion challenge for Māori of having their holistic understanding of health accepted by government and the right to manage their own interests acknowledged.

The mid 1970s had seen the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal by the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975. The Tribunal, a quasi-judicial body, was formed to make recommendations on claims brought by Māori relating to actions or omissions of the Crown that breached the Treaty of Waitangi (Waitangi Tribunal 2008). Although successive governments from the mid 1970s began examining what it meant to honour the Treaty, long standing tensions over differing versions and the meaning of the articles of the Treaty remain to this day. During the Treaty negotiations of the 1970s and early 1980s, health equity emerged as an important Treaty issue for Māori and calls for self-determination extended to control over health initiatives aimed at improving Māori health based on holistic Māori views. *Te Wheke* (Pere 1984) was a forerunner of various Māori models, with others such as *Nga Pou Mana* health model developed in the social policy area (Henare 1988 in Ministry of Health 1998), *Te Whare Tapa Wha*

(Durie 1994) and *Te Pae Mahutonga* (Durie 2000) coming to prominence in subsequent years.

Although disparities between Māori and non-Māori had been included in a number of documents, reports looking at Māori health standards by Wellington based Māori research group, *Te Pūmanawa Hauora ki te Whanganui ā Tara* later renamed *Te Rōpū Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare*, brought them to the fore. In discussing the roles that the series of reports had played Robson and Harris (2007) described the first report in 1980 as highlighting the fact that “most of the common amenable diseases in this country were still appreciably higher among Māori compared with non-Māori” (Robson and Harris 2007, p. 1). Subsequent volumes in 1988 and 1995 related these disparities to socio-economic factors and argued that the Treaty of Waitangi and Māori concepts of health were important influences (Robson and Harris 2007). When the Waitangi Tribunal brief was extended in 1985 to hear Treaty breaches dating back to 1840 (Durie 1998), it seemed that the incoming Fourth Labour Government was signalling its support of the Māori rights hīkoi and that significant hīkoi progress would be made in the years ahead.

### **Health Promotion Evaluation: 1986 to 1999**

The New Zealand governments’ agreement to act upon the Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion in 1986 represented the culmination of 10 years of international discussions on health promotion (Kickbusch 2003). The main planning and evaluation question of the previous decade finally had an answer. Health promotion could begin to be understood by the Ottawa Charter and its key action strategies: building healthy public policy; creating healthy environments; strengthening community action; developing



personal skills; and re-orienting health services. As well as providing much needed guidance for the fledgling sector, the Charter and its values of social justice and equity along with community involvement (WHO 1986), aligned with Māori aspirations for self-determination, justice and equity called for as a right under the Treaty of Waitangi.

However, the period from 1985 to 1999 was characterised by successive governments struggling to determine the appropriate involvement of the state in the social and economic lives of their constituents (Duignan 1997). For 15 years, a focus on economic and financial concerns meant that the social and equity concerns so central to health promotion as outlined in the Ottawa Charter, and to Māori rights as guaranteed in the Treaty of Waitangi, were not at the forefront of health policy and resource allocation (Duignan 1997, Kelsey 1995, Thomas and Memon 2007).

In spite of a political climate that gave little credibility to social science research evidence, increased sensitivity to government spending and an emphasis on economic accountability resulted in an increased requirement for programme evaluation (Duignan 1997, Lunt 2003). Saville-Smith (2003) points out that the growth in government demand for evaluation arose out of a need for credible evidence of effectiveness and because it was seen as “an activity critical to transparent, accountable, effective and responsive government” (Saville-Smith 2003:17). From this time, evaluation in Aotearoa New Zealand was increasingly developing as a separate field of social research with a focus on evaluating government funded programmes (Lunt 2003).

The primary concern of health promotion evaluation and planning in the mid 1980s and into the 1990s was to overcome the dominance of experimental design and the

requirement for statistical proof. The methods of measurement simply did not fit with most health promotion programmes. As recognition of the wider economic, cultural and social determinants of health grew (National Health Committee 1998), it became increasingly obvious that methods such as Randomised Control Trials (RTC), considered the gold standard of proof in medical trials, could not be applied to most health promotion initiatives (Patton 2005). Double-blind controls were impossible to achieve in these settings and, in many cases, would have been ethically wrong; as well as unable to provide the credible evidence that was so badly needed. Qualitative social science research methods, including quasi-experimental designs, were more suited to the endeavour of determining health promotion actions and assessing their effects. As expertise increased, and the field of programme evaluation in Aotearoa New Zealand widened, evaluators moved towards wanting to provide credible descriptions and broader understandings of the complex social phenomena that underpinned population health. However, the government preoccupation with market forces, plus particular ways in which public sector reporting was set up in Aotearoa New Zealand, squeezed most evaluations into focussing on simple output figures. In the absence of what governments considered to be hard data, health promotion evaluations were reduced to output measures in order to show that something was being done with taxpayer money (Duignan 1997).

The Alcohol and Public Health Research Unit (APHRU) at the University of Auckland<sup>74</sup> was at the forefront of much of the planning and evaluation of health promotion programmes during this period. A key evaluation and planning question of APHRU at that time reflects the struggles to go beyond the reporting of outputs, to

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<sup>74</sup> One example was *Tipu Ora*, a Māori community based well-child programme established in 1994 (Te Puni Kokiri 1994).

deliver evaluations that articulated new health promotion approaches and honest assessments of their impact: Is this the best thing to be doing? (Duignan and Casswell, 1990) APHRU's approach included distinguishing between formative, process and impact evaluation – and ideally providing all three (Adams et al. 2007, Casswell and Duignan 1989, Duignan and Casswell 1990, Waa et al. 1998). In the field of health promotion, where many programmes were new and untested, formative evaluation and process evaluation were advocated in order to provide timely feedback for programme development and data on how a programme performed and why.

### **Evaluating Māori Health Promotion Initiatives**

For Māori, the existing health policies and practices prior to the 1990s had clearly failed and significant disparities persisted. Public health and health promotion approaches, arguably a little better understood by government post Ottawa Charter, offered some potential to improve Māori health status and reduce ethnic inequalities in health. However, the focus remained largely on individual health (Lovell and Neuwelt 2011) and further concerns were raised over the lack of effective programmes and evidence for Māori (Moewaka Barnes 2000). As a result there was mounting pressure from Māori to be given at least some ownership of their own health and health programmes within their communities (Moewaka Barnes 2000). The addition of external programme evaluation allowed Governments to risk funding short-term (generally three years and less) Māori health promotion initiatives and the era of the Māori health promotion programme pilots (and evaluation) began.

In 1991, changes to health funding arrangements provided an opportunity for a wider range of organisations to become involved in service delivery, including health

promotion – “Māori health providers increased from 13 in 1993 to 240 in 2004” (Ellison-Loschmann and Pearce 2006:8). Many of the health promotion projects were influenced by the “by Māori, for Māori” approaches (Moewaka Barnes 2000) and by Māori models of health that were beginning to rise to prominence, e.g. *Te Whare Tapa Wha* (Durie 1994). Kaupapa Māori theory, introduced in education in the 1990s (Smith 1997, 1999) became the theoretical foundation for many of the initiatives and their evaluations. Premised on Māori rights under the Treaty of Waitangi, Kaupapa Māori theory laid a theoretical foundation from which Māori could springboard political action towards self-determination. Kaupapa Māori theory is a theory of praxis, and as it gained momentum, the result was Kaupapa Māori and other by Māori, for Māori-based programmes and initiatives in the 1990s (Moewaka Barnes 1999, 2000, Moewaka Barnes et al. 1998) and a proliferation of these initiatives into the 21st century.

For the early Māori health promotion pilot programmes, many of the people involved were new to health promotion approaches. The external evaluators were often the ones who had the greatest knowledge of what officially constituted health promotion and of the accepted research evidence on effectiveness. APHRU’s three part formative, process and impact approach to evaluation became widely used, and evaluators, also with particular expertise in the field of health promotion, contributed their knowledge to programme planning and implementation. Formative evaluation allowed input into programme design and implementation (Casswell and Duignan 1989, Duignan and Casswell 1990, Duignan 1997, Waa et al. 1998) and created the space for evaluators to work together with Māori communities to help further Māori aspirations. Within the context of small community-based Māori health promotion initiatives, formative evaluation soon became linked with Māori community development. The fit seemed

natural, given evaluator knowledge of what constituted health promotion and health promotion's goal of strengthening community action (WHO 1986).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, formative evaluation incorporated more than the timely feedback of results for developmental purposes, which was the internationally accepted definition (Dehar et al. 1993, Scriven 1991) – it included a strong focus on developing community and provider relationships and allowed for considerable input into the design and planning of programmes (Moewaka Barnes 2000). In some ways its approach was in sympathy with elements of what Patton (Patton 2011) has now characterised as developmental evaluation – evaluation which works at the very early stages of programme development with stakeholders to help formulate the problem as well as possible interventions. As well as taking a broad approach in relation to formative evaluation, health promotion evaluation in general was developing a stronger emphasis on relationships with a wide range of stakeholders and, in particular, the engagement of Māori and Māori worldviews. As programmes based on Māori health models within Māori worldviews were increasingly trialled in Māori communities, the overall evaluation question was extended to include “Is this the best thing to be doing in this context?” For Māori, this meant evaluation needed to step outside the dominant paradigm and examine Māori experiences and understandings. It became imperative to describe the context and to document the processes involved in delivering pilots in different contexts, in order to understand the wider processes that impacted on programme design, implementation and effectiveness (Moewaka Barnes 2000).

However, evaluation capacity was an issue across the board and this was particularly so for Māori. Although Māori were increasingly calling for Māori led initiatives to be

evaluated by Māori, a scarcity of Māori evaluators and lack of understanding of the importance of Māori involvement in evaluation meant that non-Māori evaluated many Māori initiatives, requiring consideration of a number of issues (Moewaka Barnes 2003). For non-Māori who saw the importance of Māori involvement, one approach was to develop relationships with Māori that valued the range of skills and experiences that all parties had to offer. Alongside Māori controlled evaluation, partnership approaches based on the Treaty of Waitangi were explored, with varying success. Partnerships were one way of Māori and non-Māori attempting to work toward a Treaty-based model of practice and they continue to be an important option.

### **Health Promotion in Changing Times: 2000 to 2010**

The tables had turned from the 1970s' heyday of rational planning, where evaluation was a small part of a large planning process. Evaluation, at the programme level at least, was now concerned with, and contributed to, programme planning and development. However, forays into the funding of Māori health promotion pilot programmes had often been tentative; the few programmes that were supported were often short lived and of a small scale. Towards the end of the 1990s Māori models of health and health promotion had become more widely acknowledged and although there had been a small number of previous successes<sup>75</sup>, more “by Māori, for Māori” health promotion programmes were attracting funding past the pilot stages. Māori models of health promotion were being increasingly used to guide the planning and evaluation of health promotion programmes.

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<sup>75</sup> One example was *Tipu Ora*, a Māori community based well-child programme established in 1994 (Te Puni Kokiri 1994).

The first part of the new millennium was dominated by the policies of the Labour led government. This was the era of closing the gaps as the government took up formal responsibility for trying to reduce disparities between Māori and non-Māori that had widened during the so called decades of disparity from 1980-1999 (Blakeley et al. 2004, Duignan 1997, Thomas and Memon 2007). The emphasis on improving outcomes for Māori was reflected in evaluation concerns during the early part of the new century. Evaluations of health promotion initiatives were now often designed to answer the question “how can we do better?” and included formative evaluation to allow the evaluator to provide developmental assistance.

In a decade characterised by political change (2000-2010), the emphasis on closing the gaps soon ‘morphed’ into a focus on disparities wherever they occurred and it was a short step from there to a focus on needs (State Services Commission 2004). By the time of the 2005 Labour/Progressive Party coalition, the status of the Treaty was under increasing pressure (Moewaka Barnes et al. 2009b), and Māori driven service and programme funding was labelled as race-based and the subject of criticism (for example Act Party 2004, Ryall 2004) and review (State Services Commission 2004, 2005). This again positioned Māori as just another group with needs, with health programme funding allocated on the basis of demonstrating these needs and deficits, rather than as a Treaty right. Despite this context, health promotion programmes, planning and evaluation saw Māori approaches gaining in prominence and strength as the demand from Māori for “by Māori, for Māori” approaches continued to grow.

Prominent among these was *Te Pae Mahutonga* (Durie 2000). *Te Pae Mahutonga* and other models and frameworks such as *Kia Ururu mai a Hauora*, developed by Ratima

(2001), can and have been used to guide the planning and evaluation of Māori health promotion initiatives. Although they use different terminology and differ slightly in approach, they share some common conceptualisations:

- Incorporation of holistic Māori understandings and concepts of health
- Addressing issues of control and ownership of health initiatives
- Meeting indigenous/Māori needs and aspirations
- Being carried out within Māori worldviews; likely to involve questioning the dominant culture and norms
- Aiming to make a positive difference. (Moewaka Barnes 2009, p. 4)

At the same time, non-Māori were also grappling with the relationships between the Treaty and evaluation practice. *A Treaty Understanding of Hauora in Aotearoa New Zealand* (TUHA-NZ) positioned the Treaty at the centre of health promotion practice. The document was developed in 2002 by the Health Promotion Forum of New Zealand to help health promoters understand the significance of the Treaty and to apply Treaty principles in their health promotion work (Health Promotion Forum 2002).

## **The Hīkoi Evaluation Approach**

In 2004, Te Rōpū Whāriki (Whāriki), a group of Māori researchers and evaluators at Massey University, named their approach to programme evaluation “hīkoi” (Moewaka Barnes 2009). Hīkoi was developed, building on Whāriki’s health promotion programme planning and evaluation work during the 1990s when the group was a part of APHRU. As previously noted, the word hīkoi carries with it strong associations with the Māori journey towards self-determination. Describing evaluation as a hīkoi brings immediate recognition for Māori of being on the same path, journeying together; and



although there may be times of struggle, the goal of Māori advancement remains paramount (Kerr 2006). Hīkoi as used in evaluation at Whāriki incorporates the concepts of:

- A collective journey
- The goal of the journey being negotiated
- Inclusion along the way of others with the same or complementary goals (network building, collaborations and capacity building)
- The journey itself being as important as the goal (relationships are highly valued and sustained)
- By Māori, for Māori, towards Māori development and self-determination. (Kerr 2006, Moewaka Barnes 2009)

The hīkoi approach is outlined in *The Evaluation Hīkoi: A Māori overview of programme evaluation* (Moewaka Barnes 2009). The evaluation hīkoi conceptualises programme evaluation first and foremost, as a collective journey towards Māori development and self-determination. This conceptualisation precludes tightly bounded definitions, allowing for the inclusion of many approaches, methods and practices. However, some definitions are helpful to understanding Māori programme evaluation as used in the hīkoi approach.

”Programme Evaluation” is understood to be about collecting and providing information on the ‘value’ of a programme. It involves information on how best to run a programme (formative), finding out how well a programme is running (process) and how well it is working or what the results have been (impact, outcome). An evaluation

can be of any size and may be evaluated internally by those most involved with the programme or by an external evaluator.

”Māori programme evaluation” is likely to be distinguished from non-Māori evaluation in that it is:

- Controlled and owned by Māori
- Meeting Māori needs (although it may meet other needs as well)
- Carried out within a Māori worldview, which is likely to question the dominant culture and norms
- Aiming to make a positive difference.

Whāriki take a broad approach and use the term “Māori evaluation” to describe evaluation that is carried out by Māori; either the evaluators are all Māori or the evaluation is, at a minimum, controlled by and owned by Māori. The hīkoi approach, in common with other Māori approaches to evaluation, pays considerable attention to examining ethics and power in evaluation (Cram 1995, 2004, Kerr 2011). Consideration of ethics may include completing ethics applications from local or national ethics committees and practical issues such as confidentiality, but it is much more complex than this. To be fully dealt with, issues of power, respect and relationships must be considered as these are inextricably linked with the ethical practice of evaluation within Māori contexts (Moewaka Barnes et al. 2009a).

Using a hīkoi approach means evaluators must examine the power relationships between providers, funders, participants, communities and themselves. Evaluators need to consider who they are accountable to, and in what ways. For example, Māori

evaluators often have connections that predate the evaluation and are expected to continue past the end of it. These may be whākapapa connections based on kinship or professional connections with funders or programme providers, and there will be different levels of power in all these relationships. Hīkoi means looking to support Māori self-determination in the power mix that is inherent within every evaluation. It also involves trying to ensure that those with the least power, often the programme recipients, are accorded special honour in the evaluation process. For example, by making sure that they are aware of the high value of their contribution to the evaluation, ensuring that they receive something of value in return and that they are informed of evaluation results. Reciprocity or the giving of a koha to participants is a feature of Māori approaches to evaluation (Kerr 2011, SPEaR 2007).

There are many different views on what evaluation approaches and methods may be more suited to Māori. For example, some argue that qualitative methods are more suitable than quantitative methods. The hīkoi conceptualisation of evaluation takes the position that methods and approaches firstly need to suit the purpose for which they are being used. There is therefore no standard or defined set of methods or tools that make up Māori evaluation. However, there are some approaches that Māori and others would deem unethical; for example, taking information from Māori without consideration of Māori ownership or the use of the research (Cram 1995, Kerr 2006, Moewaka Barnes 2003).

There are also many different views of what a Māori evaluator is or should be. Some talk about the differences between a Māori researcher (or evaluator) and a researcher (or evaluator) who happens to be Māori (Irwin 1994). However, there is general agreement

that Māori evaluators are needed in order to call an evaluation ‘Māori’. This does not exclude non-Māori evaluators from taking part in Māori evaluation. Non-Māori may be involved at many levels provided they affirm Māori self-determination goals and are willing to critique Pākehā understandings of ‘Māori’ and Pākehā norms. This naturally excludes evaluations and evaluators who do not allow for significant Māori control.

Efforts to order and describe the culturally desirable attributes for evaluators working with Māori and other ‘minority’ groups have tended in recent years to centre on the concept of cultural competence. Whilst some form of cultural competence and technical competence are both required in order for health promotion and its evaluation to be effective with Māori (Durie 2004, Wehipeihana and McKegg, 2011), there is some resistance to the term ‘cultural competency’ (Moewaka Barnes 2009). It is argued that possessing the types of technical skills and cultural knowledge that are commonly found in lists of cultural competencies does not make a person acceptable to the community or to the programme being evaluated. “An evaluator may ‘know things’ but still operate within a different worldview” (Moewaka Barnes 2009, p. 11). Wehipeihana and McKegg argue that the practice of evaluation in Aotearoa New Zealand has been strongly influenced by Māori notions of connection. As a result, the ability to ‘connect’ to both people and place are key competencies for evaluators within this context (Wehipeihana and McKegg 2011). The hīkoi approach to evaluation ideally allows for the community and/or the programme to select or at least have a reasonable say in selecting the evaluator – an evaluator (or evaluation team) that is technically competent and connects with the programme or the community.

However, given a system where external programme evaluators have generally been selected on the basis of funder evaluation requirements and criteria of competence, the main challenge to the hīkoi ideal, is that funders must trust programme personnel, communities and evaluators to connect and to complete an evaluation that will meet funder requirements. This represents considerable risk and many funders prefer a more prescribed approach, particularly as evaluation aims and methods may only be fully revealed as the evaluation hīkoi unfolds. Despite this, demand for hīkoi and other Māori based evaluations has steadily increased as the demand from Māori health promotion service providers wanting to exercise tino rangatiratanga in the evaluation of their programmes, has grown. This has afforded Whāriki the opportunity to use the hīkoi approach to develop and guide evaluations in diverse health promotion settings (Moewaka Barnes 2009).

Because it focuses on sharing a journey rather than providing a set framework or evaluation method, it has been used to assist in planning and evaluating health promotion initiatives at local community, regional and national levels across a broad range of health promotion target areas. It has also been used to evaluate programmes based on many Māori models of health; for example, the *Korikori A Iwi* programme was based on *Te Pae Mahutonga*. The Whāriki evaluation approach emphasises the collective nature of the journey with the evaluator walking alongside the programme staff and their communities. This includes a range of *whākapapa* connections, explicitly valuing local experience and knowledge and contributing to planning and developmental assistance when needed. (Henwood 2007)

The evaluation hīkoi is by no means the only Māori approach to evaluating health promotion programmes. As previously noted, many Māori models of health have been used to guide programmes and evaluations over the last decade. Māori approaches generally emphasise processes and relationships (Moewaka Barnes et al. 2009a) and have been developed to ensure that evaluations focus on outcomes that represent success for Māori. A recent example at the national level is the evaluation of the Ministry of Health's, Healthy Eating/Healthy Action (HEHA) Strategy which was guided by the key principles contained in the Māori conceptual framework, *Te Tūhono Oranga Evaluation Framework* (HEHA Strategy Evaluation Consortium 2009). *Mauri Ora Mauri Ora (MOMO)* is an example of a framework developed by regional Māori public health provider *Hapai Te Hauora Tapui Ltd* (Tunks 2010). MOMO was designed to promote tikanga Māori as a base for mental well health, but is also used to evaluate programmes according to Māori concepts of care and integrity: tika; pono; aroha; whenua; manāki; tautoko; mātauranga; and tangihanga.

## **Evidenced Based Health Promotion**

Measuring the effectiveness of health promotion programmes is a complex task. As the range of health promotion activities and levels of operation multiply, the growing complexity increases the challenges of developing evaluations that, among other things, strengthen the evidence base.

In an attempt to order and understand the complexity and realistically assess the intentions and impacts of health promotion programmes, many health promotion

evaluations now use programme logic modelling<sup>76</sup>. This has allowed health promotion evaluations to concentrate on demonstrating and evaluating programme effects based on the theoretical relationship between an intervention and an outcome. It has helped with complexity and allows a focus on realistic outcomes while limiting the need for purely quantifiable outcomes that are often too distal from the programme to be useful. The shift towards a more realistic approach is evidenced by the emergence of a new key evaluation question: “what is success within the context of this programme/community/setting”? This question has allowed for Māori understandings of success and Māori measures of achievement, likely to be based on holistic understandings of health, notions of collective responsibility and indigeneity that may be very different to the health priorities of the government (Durie 1985, 2006). For example, for Te Rarawa people involved in a small whānau research project in Te Tai Tokerau (northern area of Aotearoa New Zealand), the ultimate in *whānau ora* success was defined as “giving a fish” (Kerr et al. 2005). For the local community this encompassed relationships and responsibilities, environment and food supply, work ethic and economy, future aspirations and health and wellbeing. These aspects were integrated within the concept, yet could be articulated by the community in ways that provided multiple indicators of success. However, the community’s indicators would bear little resemblance to government health goals for Māori. It is likely that the funder would not consider some of the seemingly less tangible aspects of the project as ‘evidence’ if they were outside of their accepted knowledge system (Durie 1985, Moewaka Barnes 2009).

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<sup>76</sup> A programme logic model is a depiction of the theory of change that shows the complex relationships between the intervention and the logically expected outcomes.

The issue of what constitutes evidence is complex, requiring different groups to be explicit about the values, assumptions, agendas and knowledge bases that come together when determining evidence. In the research and evaluation field what is considered to be evidence is strongly based on published literature. This tends to put Māori and other indigenous groups at a disadvantage in terms of contributing to and building evidence in these arenas (Moewaka Barnes 2009). In hīkoi and other Māori approaches to evaluation, communities are recognised for their expertise; for knowing what works for their people and what constitutes evidence of effectiveness. Evaluations can, and do play a role in telling the story of these, often rich outcomes, that provide another form of evidence to be considered by funders and others. In order for Māori evidence to be credible though, it is usually necessary to demonstrate effectiveness across a range of criteria or to show how Māori worldviews link to more accepted forms of evidence. The challenges for Māori in providing credible evidence are exacerbated by the fact that, even when evidence of effectiveness is provided, the idea that uptake by politicians will naturally ensue is not evidenced by practice (Moewaka Barnes et al. 2011).

In the current economic climate of fiscal conservatism and the need to demonstrate cost effectiveness in particular ways, epidemiological and statistical data may be seen as providing the most desirable evidence of programme success. With this approach there is the danger of only measuring success in terms that are easily quantifiable and thereby missing valuable outcomes that are not so easily quantified (Thorogood and Coombes 2004). There is also the danger of returning to the situation where RCTs are upheld as the gold standard.



When considering effectiveness for Māori, there are considerations which make such approaches unmanageable and indeed in many instances unethical (for example in tobacco programmes, 'control' groups suffer continued exposure to tobacco smoke as an experimental variable). As a result most of the research relating to Māori health promotion has taken an action research, community development approach that tests and builds evidence. Effectiveness is often measured along multiple dimensions that include indicators of community change (Jensen et al. 2007). However, evaluations of complex, comprehensive programmes across multiple settings are costly and not easy to do. Even with good resourcing, they may struggle to provide what stakeholders, and funders in particular, consider to be credible evidence.

The call for more evidence to inform practice has resounded throughout this decade and we may well ask what evaluation has been doing for the last thirty years, if not providing this level of information for 'evidence-based' practice of health promotion? Although it could be argued that evaluative evidence needs to be gathered together and made more accessible, it is clear that evaluation has been providing evidence of effectiveness. For example, we know that integrated and comprehensive health promotion approaches are most effective in achieving population health outcomes (Durie 1993, Moewaka Barnes et al. 1998). In terms of Māori health promotion we now have evidence from many evaluations (for example Jensen et al. 2007, Moewaka Barnes 2000) that programmes are more likely to be effective if they include:

- Approaches designed for and with specific communities and populations
- Māori control and delivery of interventions within Māori frameworks
- Community control and ownership through participation from the outset

- Establishment and maintenance of linkages with wider community, health and whānau organisations
- Networking and collaboration across organisations
- Development of the health promotion workforce knowledge and skills training as well as skills of allied workforces
- Appropriate resources
- National coordination of allied programmes that strengthen local community action efforts within Māori communities. Ongoing coordination and support of interventions at regional and community level
- Adequate resourcing to support programme staff and communities.

One of the challenges has been to gain credibility for building these types of descriptors as indicators of effectiveness in the face of privileging less process oriented and more quantitative forms of evidence. However, evidence of what works for Māori does now sit alongside quantitative evidence from epidemiology and other statistical data. This represents significant learning from evaluation about the effectiveness of health promotion approaches for Māori and it seems that the evaluation hīkoi has made some progress. However, Māori capacity to do what they know works and to find innovative ways forward in promoting their own health is still limited as is their power to define credible evidence.

### **The Health Promotion Hīkoi 2011 and Beyond**

Since the 1970s, planning and evaluation have shifted focus and are now perceived as related but separate activities requiring similar but different skills and processes.

Evaluation is perceived as a separate discipline with a professional workforce devoted to its practice. This is a marked change from the early days of health promotion where evaluation was a small but integral part of planning. Health promotion, too, is surer of what it is, and what it is trying to achieve; the existence of this book is evidence of that. The creation of health promotion qualifications and competencies is further evidence of the development of the field (Health Promotion Forum 2000).

Evaluation has had to grow up as a discipline, developing new approaches to fit new health promotion situations. One of the most significant responses in Aotearoa New Zealand has been the development of Māori approaches to planning and evaluation based on Māori worldviews and premised on the Treaty of Waitangi. This context has generated a whole new profession of Māori evaluators, the proliferation of which is quite unique in indigenous evaluation worldwide. Māori evaluators working externally, but having a variety of relationships, including whākapapa links with health promotion programme staff and communities, have blurred the lines between the impartial external evaluator and the intimately involved internal evaluator. Hīkoi and other Māori approaches have contributed to the situation in Aotearoa New Zealand where programmes and evaluators work together towards shared goals of Māori development.

The question remains as to whether the merging of health promotion and planning and evaluation has been transformative for the health of New Zealanders, particularly Māori. A contemporary answer to that question would have to be: it depends on your definition of success. Success in health promotion may occur in a variety of settings and from national to local and individual levels. Success in evaluation may be seen in terms of providing formative evaluation that inputs planning expertise and research evidence

into a programme that successfully engages a community in action to change their environment in a health promoting way. The health statistics are unlikely to change immediately or any positive impact to be noticeable nationally with such a programme, but evaluations have shown that both the programme and the evaluation can be health promoting. This may represent significant success of the programme in the community, but not necessarily to other stakeholders, such as the government.

Māori practices and the Treaty of Waitangi, particularly in relation to standards of engagement, have significantly impacted on evaluation practice in Aotearoa New Zealand. Evaluation of health and social initiatives today commonly requires multiple accountabilities on the part of the evaluators. Common practice for evaluators is to work closely with communities, providers and other stakeholders, whether Māori or not. Treaty-based processes, in particular issues of power and relationships, have led to increasing examinations of the assumption that evaluators are the experts. This was highlighted in the early days of health promotion evaluation when non-Māori evaluated Māori initiatives assuming that they had all the knowledge required – a situation that is untenable in health promotion evaluation today. It is increasingly common for non-Māori evaluators, working within Māori contexts to work as part of a team, usually led by Māori, in recognition of the context specific knowledge held by Māori and Treaty based rights of self-determination (Kerr 2006, Wehipeihana and McKegg 2010). Māori health promotion programmes too, are often given the authority to choose their external evaluators. The recent *Whānau Ora Te Ao Auahatanga Hauora Māori: Māori Health Innovations Fund* exemplifies the progress made by the Māori rights hīkoi in regard to evaluation. *Whānau Ora* innovation projects have been funded to include an evaluator to walk alongside the project from inception, through development to completion. Tino

rangatiratanga objectives of *Whānau Ora* are operationalised in the selection of the evaluator by the *Whānau Ora* team and the understanding that Māori worldviews and criteria of success are integral.

Another example of the impact of Treaty issues on evaluation can be seen in the recently released draft evaluator competencies of the ANZEA (ANZEA 2010). In developing the competencies, Aotearoa New Zealand's professional evaluation body used te reo Māori rather than English language to describe some of the competencies. Māori language was seen as better able to capture some of the concepts (ANZEA 2010). This use of Māori concepts along with the centrality in the framework of cultural competencies developed from within the Aotearoa New Zealand context indicates just how strong the impact of Māori models and evaluation approaches have been.

Despite significant progress in the development of health promotion and approaches to evaluating health promotion initiatives, disparities between Māori and non-Māori remain as a persistent health equity issue (Ministry of Social Development 2010, Robson and Harris 2007). For example, life expectancy for men was 5.4 years less than for non-Māori in 1981 and this had widened to 8.6 years by 2007 (Carter et al. 2010). These statistics indicate that Māori have not yet recovered ground lost during the decades of disparity and health equity is far from a reality. They signal that more needs to be done in the future to ensure the Treaty based hīkoi continues, and that health equity remains on the agenda for successive governments.

Durie (2009), in a recent address on Māori health in the future, identified five possible research methodologies: Past trends; statistical modelling; horizon scanning; life-course

epidemiology; and scenario development, suggesting something of a return to the rational planning model. The generation of multiple future scenarios echoes back to 1970s/1980s rationalist planning and yet its re-emergence in our current context is somehow comforting. The use of programme logic models and depictions of complex systems as a basis for health promotion programme evaluation, has inadvertently results in no longer plan using more than one likely future scenario.

Using these current frameworks, we usually only have one dream of success, and it is often a high level goal that is not realistically expected to be attained by the programme that is being evaluated – or at least not within the timeframe of most evaluations, or the funding of the programme. Given the impact of the vagaries of politics on the brief histories of health promotion and planning and evaluation in Aotearoa New Zealand, we would do well to generate multiple scenarios, and to plan, monitor and evaluate accordingly, despite the additional complexity this means we have to deal with. We can predict from the past, that an ongoing challenge for the future will be to provide the types of evidence of effectiveness of health promotion that the presiding government of the day will demand. We would also do well to ensure that the evaluation hīkoi continues to provide the types of evidence of success of health promotion that is important to health promotion and to Māori and not just to government funders of health promotion. Balancing this tension is an ongoing challenge.

## **Conclusion**

It has not been a straightforward journey from the Treaty of Waitangi hīkoi that started out so strong back in 1975. The hīkoi met with political opposition that slowed its progress many times, but it continued on and is stronger than ever today. The merging

of the paths of health promotion, evaluation and Treaty of Waitangi-based Māori self-determination were also subject to the politics of the day, but continued to develop together to create unique Aotearoa New Zealand approaches to health promotion and its planning and evaluation that look set to continue in 2011 and beyond –approaches that focus on Māori health aspirations, community participation, formative, process and outcome evaluation dimensions and measures that reflect Māori aspirations for health. However, the planning and evaluation of health promotion in Aotearoa New Zealand is not without ongoing challenges. We have yet to permanently dispel the idea that quantitative methods for evaluation provide the best, or the only credible evidence. However, there is reason to be confident. Confidence lies not in a single approach to Māori health promotion and its evaluation, but in the many approaches that have developed naturally from a wide variety of health promotion contexts. Together the multiple Māori health models, programmes and evaluation approaches have made significant contributions nationally and represent strength and stability as the Treaty of Waitangi hīkoi moves forward into the second decade of the 21st century.

### ***Link Five***

The final chapter *Indigenous Evaluation: It's only new because it's been missing so long*, completes the circle from the first chapter when I began the evaluation journey alone, visiting evaluation conferences in Aotearoa New Zealand and North America. In the first chapter as a new indigenous evaluator, I was surprised to find how voiceless Native American people were at evaluation conferences in their own land. By the time this last chapter was conceptualised in 2010, I had come to understand that many Native American peoples had not yet seen the potential for practicing evaluation in ways consistent with their native worldviews and values. Indigenous evaluation capacity building became important to me and so when an opportunity arose to be involved in an indigenous capacity building project in North America I was glad to be able to pass on what I had learned on my eight year journey in evaluation.

By this time I had a good understanding of the principles underpinning Māori and indigenous evaluation, so writing collaboratively was a natural choice for the final chapter. Rather than write a chapter describing why indigenous evaluation capacity building was important it was much more powerful for Alaska Native people to use their own voices to tell their stories of the evaluation capacity building project. This provided an opportunity to move from the more auto ethnographic approach evident in Chapter One to a 'multi' ethnographic approach, where the voices of many are presented. This approach could be seen in terms of the extension of autoethnographic methods that has been called "collaborative autobiography" (Lapadat 2009, DeMeulenaere and Cann 2011). It was a conscious decision made collectively, to eschew the more usual format in qualitative writings, where voices are inserted as



narrative data, and to use the multiple voices as a grounded and collective way of determining the structure of the chapter.<sup>77</sup>

I worked with my Alaska Native colleagues to conceptualise the chapter. I shaped up a draft outline and generally kept the writing process on track. As Malinda Chase says in this final comment, *“In building capacity, I think we as Native people, realize that individually we all have multiple demands, and although it may mean that someone has to “step out” of an effort, in this case indigenous capacity building, while at the same time that person can also “step back in” and continue to contribute at another time.”* My primary contribution to the chapter was to work with everyone’s multiple demands until together we had written something that we were proud to send for publication. The chapter was submitted to the American Journal of Evaluation in June 2011 and published in 2012.

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<sup>77</sup> Emendation in response to requirement to strengthen the links between chapters.

## Chapter Five

# Indigenous Evaluation: It's Only New Because It's Been Missing for So Long

An Indigenous Evaluation Capacity Building Project between Alaska Native people and Aotearoa New Zealand Māori (indigenous New Zealanders).

### **Abstract**

Despite 11 thousand years of honing evaluation skills in order to thrive in some of the harshest climatic conditions on the planet, there are few Alaska Native program evaluators and until a recent exchange with New Zealand Māori, there was no collective vision for building Alaska Native capacity in program evaluation. This chapter tells the story of a recent project that represents the first concerted attempt at building the evaluation capacity of Alaska Natives. It is written by Alaska Native and Māori people involved in that project. This evaluation capacity building story is shared with the international evaluation community in the belief that others can learn from our experiences in attempting evaluation training across cultures, and across the globe. We also hope that it will encourage other indigenous evaluators to share their stories so that a wider audience can benefit from the considerable knowledge about evaluation, held by indigenous peoples.

## Introduction

New Zealand Māori have been “doing it our way”<sup>78</sup> in the program evaluation of Māori programs for many years now. Māori have been so busy doing it, that with few exceptions they have not had the time or the inclination to write about what they have been doing. As a consequence, the considerable progress made by Māori in the field of evaluation has gone largely unnoticed internationally, limiting the potential learning for other people from Māori evaluation experience.

For indigenous Alaska Natives living half the world away from Aotearoa New Zealand, their context and therefore their experiences of program evaluation have been markedly different from those of indigenous New Zealanders. For Alaska Natives, evaluation has always been “done to us” or at best “done with us” and until a recent evaluation capacity building project between indigenous Māori from Aotearoa New Zealand and Alaska Native people, there was no collective vision for program evaluation allowing the use of indigenous knowledge or for “doing it our way”. This paper describes the vision and the beginnings of building Alaska Native evaluation capability and capacity.

The paper is co-written by Alaska Native and Māori<sup>79</sup> authors but seeks to privilege the Alaska Native ‘voices’ as they have previously been without voice in evaluation. To facilitate this, Alaska Native authors ‘speak’ for ourselves (words in italics). When first ‘speaking’ we introduce ourselves in ways that are appropriate to us, coming as we do from different tribes and villages and with diverse professional experience. These

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<sup>78</sup> Māori use the term ‘Kaupapa Māori’ to refer to programs and projects that are “by Māori, for Māori” and where Māori worldview is normative.

<sup>79</sup> The author from Te Rōpū Whāriki was Sandy Kerr. The paper was peer reviewed by Whāriki colleagues Victoris Jensen and Verne McManus who were both a part of the capacity building project team.

biographical details have been included as they provide the context for our writing, connecting us to the people and places that truly identify who we are as native people.

AMELIA RUERUP

*My Tlingit name is Tlagoonk. I was named after my paternal grandfather. I am of the Eagle moiety, Chookaneidi (Bear) clan. My father is Chief Gooch-eesh (Father of the Wolves) of the Kach-adi clan (the Landotter People) of Hoonah, Southeast Alaska. My mother is Susan Price of Irish decent and amazing character. Through guidance from my Elders, I have learned the importance of cultural balance and presence in my life and strive to “know both sides.” I live in Fairbanks with my husband and children and consider both Hoonah and Interior Alaska my home.*

*Prior to meeting our Māori evaluators, the thought of evaluating our own programs had never crossed my mind, however it was one of those things that once brought to my attention, the gaping hole that had always been there had become obviously apparent. This presented more questions than answers which was actually more inspiring than daunting and acted as a catalyst for seeking answers and establishing more pointed questions.*

*It seemed so simple, we should have our own evaluators, it made sense. So why hadn't any of us thought of this before? There are so many explanations of historical and cultural means. Over years of subjugation, racial tension and bouts with inequality and trickle effects of colonization, many things that were once proudly ours are at a loss of ownership. However, looking past the mentioned injustices that are relatively recent in the historical scheme of things, our people possess a rich history of evaluative practices that effected strict protocol and cultural lessons that led to prosperity, passed down from generation to generation, orally, through teachings. My grandfathers and*

*grandmothers evaluated constantly, deriving the best ways, that's what they passed down, what worked. We did have "indigenous evaluation." It's only a new concept because it's been missing for so long.*

*What I found most exciting was the empowerment and feeling of ownership that indigenous evaluation presented. I had not thought of evaluation as an area of personal, cultural or professional interest. Evaluation was something that someone else did, with clipboard in hand, pursed lips, stern look of disapproval and critical comments of which we would never see because it was about us, not for us, meant for a shelf in someone's office I'd never meet and no one I knew would probably ever read and even if they did, probably would never understand. However, no one had ever told me that "indigenous" evaluation existed or was an option.*

The first part of this paper briefly outlines the path leading to the Ukk'aa - Te Rōpū Whāriki (Whāriki)<sup>80</sup> evaluation capacity building project, followed by a description of the teaching and learning aspects of the capacity building project. Ukk'aa and Te Rōpū Whāriki each share their respective reflections on the challenges and successes of the teaching and learning including the advantages and barriers to the project arising from its mediation through non-indigenous institutions from two different nations<sup>81</sup> and the use of technology<sup>82</sup> to sustain momentum between face-to-face exchanges.

Following this, both groups outline their key learnings and reflect generally on the outcomes from the evaluation capacity building process. The last word belongs to

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<sup>80</sup> *Te Rōpū Whāriki* is the Māori research group from Massey University, New Zealand involved in the project.

<sup>81</sup> *Ukk'aa* arose out of the Interior-Aleutians Campus, University of Alaska Fairbanks. *Te Rōpū Whāriki* is from Massey University, New Zealand.

<sup>82</sup> Video-conferencing, telephone-conferencing, email and web-group

*Ukk'aa* as they look to the future and the way forward from here for Alaska Native evaluation capacity building.

## **Background to the Capacity Building Project**

In 2008, the Director<sup>83</sup> of the Interior-Aleutians Campus (IAC) of the University of Alaska, Fairbanks<sup>84</sup> (UAF) attended an Evaluation Conference in Aotearoa New Zealand.<sup>85</sup> She attended to support a colleague<sup>86</sup> whom she had encouraged to begin a doctorate on indigenous based evaluation the previous year. The colleague was not an Alaska Native person but she had conducted many internal evaluations for the IAC and had an interest in developing expertise conducting indigenous based external program evaluations.

For many years, the IAC Director had struggled to find external evaluators for their grant programs and none were Alaska Native so she encouraged her non-native colleague to pursue a doctorate in indigenous based evaluation. Both were unaware at the time that “indigenous evaluation” existed as a term that was used by indigenous evaluators in other contexts. By the time the two attended the ANZEA Conference in Rotorua in July 2008, this was the second evaluation conference for the evaluator-come-doctoral-student and she was looking to interview people about indigenous evaluation

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<sup>83</sup> IAC Director, Clara Anderson.

<sup>84</sup> The Interior-Aleutians Campus (IAC) is a community campus within the University of Alaska Fairbank's College of Rural and Community Development. IAC is designated an Alaska Native Serving Institution by U.S. Department of Education and serves students in 58 villages in Alaska's Interior Region and the Aleutian chain. The area includes 11 Alaska Native languages and cultures, 47 tribal governments and three regional Native corporations.

<sup>85</sup> *Aotearoa* New Zealand Evaluation Association Conference, Rotorua, New Zealand. July 2008.

<sup>86</sup> kas aruskevich

for her doctoral thesis. In Aotearoa New Zealand they both were surprised to find that almost a third of those attending were indigenous people.<sup>87</sup>

The strong presence of indigenous evaluators at the Aotearoa New Zealand conference inspired the IAC Director to catch the vision for indigenous evaluation and dream of the day when Alaska Natives would have what Māori had in New Zealand:

1. Māori aspirations considered in the evaluation
2. A significant pool of skilled Māori evaluators
3. Māori evaluating Māori programs
4. Non-Māori evaluators having considerable knowledge and respect for Māori culture and working in partnership with Māori.

From that ANZEA conference in 2008 a plan was made to build Alaska Native Evaluation capability and capacity. Te Rōpū Whāriki, a Māori research and evaluation group from Massey University who, along with their Treaty partnership group, Social and Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation (SHORE) are the largest providers of evaluation training in Aotearoa New Zealand (Adams and Dickinson 2010), were contracted to provide two, two-day evaluation training workshops in Alaska, linked with mentoring support and monthly video/teleconferencing.

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<sup>87</sup> *Indigenous* is a term of self-identification. In this paper the term is used based on the following (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues): Self-identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member; Historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies; Strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources; Distinct social, economic or political systems; Distinct language, culture and beliefs; Form non-dominant groups of society; Resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities.

## Planning the Capacity Building Project

### *IAC perspective and beginnings of Ukk'aa*

CLARA ANDERSON

*Clara Anderson (Koyukon Athabascan) is the Director of the Interior-Aleutians Campus (IAC) a rural community campus under the College of Rural and Community Development at UAF. IAC has had success in pioneering programs that interface Alaska Native Knowledge and traditions with western learning thereby providing access to place appropriate careers and higher education to new groups of indigenous and rural students. IAC has several new workforce occupational endorsements as well as a Science, Technology, Engineering and Math (STEM) Program that is of interest to students who want to increase their workforce skills and prepare for new careers. Ms. Anderson received a BA in Sociology from the University of Alaska Fairbanks and a MSW from Portland State University.*

*The plan was to draw together a small cadre of capable graduates for two workshops with teaching and mentoring between workshops using videoconferencing, a web-group and email. A cadre is a nucleus of trained people around which a larger group can be built and trained. The aim was to train a small group who would catch the vision for indigenous evaluation, receive training and mentoring support and who could then build evaluation capacity from there. The cadre was given the name Ukk'aa; the Athabascan term for an eddy or still place in a river. It is a place of reflection where upriver and downriver are both in view and is symbolic of evaluation's purpose from an Alaskan Native perspective.*

*Initially a small number of Alaska Native people were invited to become part of Ukk'aa and attend the evaluation capacity building training, but word spread quickly and the number of attendees at the first workshop grew from the planned maximum of 10 to 26.*



*The group consisted mostly of tertiary educated, highly competent Alaska Native people from around the State who came to the first training with varying motivations and levels of experience, interest and commitment to pursuing program evaluation training. There were also a small number of self-selected non-Native people who attended.*

#### MALINDA CHASE

*My parents are Rudy Chase of Anvik, Alaska and Sandra McClain, originally of California. I was raised in Anchorage and later, when older in Anvik. I live with my daughter Deenaalee in Fairbanks, yet home for me is Anvik, or Gitringithchagg, which translates as “the mouth of the long, long river,” as my Auntie Alta once told me in our Deg Xinag Athabascan language. Anvik is located at the old mouth of the Anvik River, on the lower middle Yukon River. It is beautiful country and where I am connected to generations before me – to my ancestors. It is there that I am always welcome; forever accepted and can truly be myself.*

*I was motivated to attend the indigenous evaluation training given by Whāriki, a group of indigenous evaluators from New Zealand, or “Aotearoa” as I also know it, after receiving an invitation from Clara Anderson at UAF, IAC. My motivation stemmed from a desire to have a better understanding or “a better handle” on program evaluation, which I saw primarily as a funding and reporting requirement to get feedback on how the project was unfolding and being delivered. I knew that evaluation provided some feedback of how to make improvements to a project from the participant’s or stakeholder’s perspective but I also knew that often when individuals complete evaluation surveys, which was the one common feedback method that I was familiar with, they often did so in a rush or without being given much time to reflect and provide fuller or deeper answers. Given this experience with evaluation, I did not give it much credence. Evaluation was a “removed process” and I did not see it as an overly*

*insightful tool: It was something required to be done but done by someone else – an evaluator who knew more about evaluation.*

#### DEBBIE MEKIANA

*Debbie Mekiana currently works at the University of Alaska Fairbanks as the director of Rural Student Services. She earned a bachelors degree in psychology and Inupiaq Eskimo from UAF. Debbie's grad work was completed in Community Psychology also at UAF. She calls Anaktuvuk Pass, AK home, where she was raised by her Inupiaq father, Caucasian mother and extended family which consists of the whole community. Debbie has two sons, In'uli and Usisana, who are being raised by the Yup'ik, Inupiaq and non-Native values.*

*I agree with Malinda's statement regarding evaluation's primary function being "for reporting and funding requirements to get feedback on how the project is unfolding and delivered." When I facilitated a grant funded program in my home community the whole idea of evaluation was there for the above reasons. Reporting attendance was depressing because community members did not attend the program as much as one would hope. But then, local community ideas were not implemented in the planning so once again, we were "programmed". My motivation for attending the training came from my interest in being able to evaluate a Native program with Native values rather than always attempting to make a Native program outcomes work for the non-Native evaluation process.*

### *Whāriki perspective on the development of the Capacity Building Project*

We planned to hīkoi with our Alaskan Native colleagues, recognising that the process was likely to be as important as the final destination (Moewaka Barnes 2009). In the planning stages of the capacity building project, we tried to communicate frequently, learn as much as possible about what our colleagues hoped the project would achieve, about Alaska Native cultures and about the approaches and contexts for the practice of program evaluation in Alaska and the United States generally. In these early stages, we felt the distance as a very real barrier to ‘journeying’, as communication was infrequent and mediated through unreliable technology. As a consequence we were designing the project in less than optimal circumstances: we were unable to work in a fully collaborative way and were therefore still uncertain of the evaluation context or outcomes that the Alaskans wanted from the project; funding was not confirmed until three days before we left; and we did not know how many students we would have as the number of likely Ukk’aa students had risen from between 6 and 10 originally envisaged to 20+. Word got out and people wanted to come – this showed great enthusiasm for the idea of indigenous evaluation, but threw out our planning as we had intended to work very intensively with a small group. We did what we always do in indigenous evaluation planning - we planned the first steps tightly and then held the plans loosely. We reminded each other to “trust the process” referring to the hīkoi process (Moewaka Barnes 2009). Hīkoi as used in evaluation at Te Rōpū Whāriki incorporates the concepts of:

- A collective journey
- The goal of the journey is negotiated
- All parties are united in their desire to achieve the goal

- Others with the same or complementary goals may join along the way
- The journey itself is important for relationship building and learning
- It is by Māori, for Māori, towards Māori development and self-determination.

An evaluation hīkoi encompasses all of these things (Kerr 2006). For the purposes of helping to build Alaska Native evaluation capacity, we exchanged ‘Māori’ for ‘indigenous’ and trusted that we were on a collaborative journey that would unfold as we travelled together.

We saw ourselves as passing on evaluation theories, skills and approaches from our indigenous context, to our indigenous cousins in Alaska. We knew that our theories and approaches to evaluation were strongly aligned with other Native American indigenous perspectives:

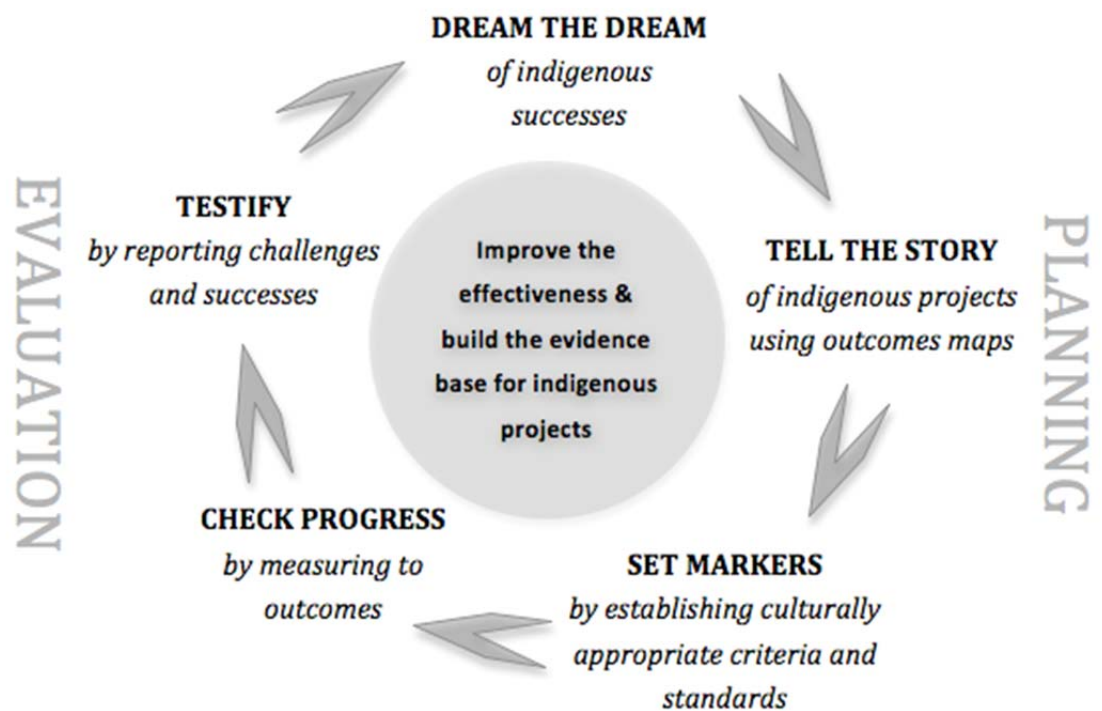
- Assessment of merit based on traditional values and cultural expressions
- Responsiveness to local traditions and cultures
- Ownership in defining evaluation meaning, practice and usefulness
- Respect for tribal sovereignty and self-determination
- Evaluation as an opportunity to learn and go forward. (LaFrance and Nichols, 2007)

In order to honour the sovereignty and self-determination of Alaska Native peoples, we planned to open our evaluation waka huia (traditional Māori treasure boxes) and allow Alaska Native people to pick out the treasures that resonated for them in their context and would assist them with evaluation, and then to use them in whatever way seemed right for them.

## **The Teaching and Learning Plan**

The overarching aim of the project was for Alaskan Native participants to catch the vision for indigenous evaluation, learn basic theory and evaluation skills and chart their own course for achieving evaluation capability and capacity. The strategy was to hold two evaluation-training workshops in Alaska, linked with mentoring support and monthly video/teleconferencing. The expectation was that the Whāriki team would teach the foundations of indigenous evaluation theory and practice in the first workshop, mentor trainees as they used their new knowledge on a practical evaluation project and reinforce the learning during the second workshop.

The first two-day workshop introduced the participants to the idea of indigenous evaluation and gave them a complete evaluation process from design through implementation, reporting and dissemination. The Whāriki team shared stories from Aotearoa New Zealand and challenged participants to think about Alaska Native approaches to evaluation throughout. In keeping with Alaska Native worldviews, the framework Whāriki introduced was cyclic and based on the workshop aim of catching the vision for indigenous evaluation.



**Figure 1: The Evaluation Cycle: Catch the Vision for Indigenous Evaluation**

During the first workshop participants were partnered with a Whāriki team member as an evaluation mentor. The mentoring relationship was to be built upon during the four months between workshops through regular email and videoconferencing. Fortnightly video-conferencing lessons were also planned and a web-group started.

The videoconferencing plan included teaching sessions on: evaluation planning; evaluation design; data collection; making evaluative assessments; and testifying to results. Within each of these sessions, trainees were taught about western and indigenous approaches and encouraged to reflect on Alaska Native understandings. Cultural values and metaphors, indigenous knowledge generation, community engagement and the place of story were all highlighted and trainees were given readings and a range of exercises to complete for each session that further focussed thinking on

Alaska Native perspectives. For example, prior to the session on evaluation planning, trainees were asked to reflect on specific questions they would want to add to the Key Evaluation Checklist (Scriven 2003, in Davidson 2005) if they were designing an evaluation for an Alaskan Native context. The exercises generated discussion and important data for ongoing reflection and use.

The second two-day face-to-face workshop focussed on using key learning on an actual evaluation project individual to each trainee. If trainees did not have a project, they worked in groups to plan Alaska Native evaluation capacity building and to develop an evaluation plan for the ongoing capacity building project. There was no plan for ongoing training past the end of the second workshop but we knew that further support would be needed to build Alaska Native evaluation capability and capacity (Adams and Dickinson, 2010). Everyone acknowledged that this was a beginning and there was a collective expectation that our journey together would continue in some way.<sup>88</sup>

### ***Ukk'aa reflections on the teaching and learning***

JAMES JOHNSON III

*I grew up in Fairbanks, Alaska with close ties to my relatives in Tanana, Rampart, and Ruby. I'm an undergraduate Sociology major at the University of Alaska Fairbanks and an Indigenous Research Assistant for Evaluation Research Associates where I assist in evaluative research of educational programs throughout rural Alaska. I'm also an alumni of the Rural Human Services program and the Arctic Institute for Indigenous Leadership. I enjoy being a father, mentor, basketball player and working closely with the Native communities of the Interior.*

<sup>88</sup> One of the *Whāriki* trainers will spend the 2011-2012 academic year teaching indigenous planning and evaluation at the Interior-Aleutians Campus in the Tribal Management Program. This has been made possible through a Fulbright Scholar-in-Residence Award. The Award also makes it possible for the *Whāriki* trainer to continue to journey with *Ukk'aa*.

*I remember this being an introduction for most of the participants that sat through this workshop, including me. Although I'd been working on my Rural Human Services Practicum and was doing some evaluative things with this project, 'Indigenous Evaluation' was still a mystery to me (as well as the concept of evaluation itself). Facilitating this workshop was a fabulous team of New Zealand Evaluators. The team immediately showed signs of great knowledge from a country far away, and there was also a feeling of familiarity about them that comforted me and gave me confidence in my position as a newcomer.*

*During this workshop and exchange of ideas about 'Indigenous Evaluation', the gathering also ignited many stories between New Zealanders and Alaskan Natives. I was especially fond of the different culture the New Zealand team brought to the training that left me fascinated with the idea of 'Indigenous Evaluation'. During the workshop I had the opportunity to show the group some of the software I was using to analyse data I was using to work on my practicum project. At the time I was doing several evaluative procedures that others weren't doing, but I knew nothing about why I was doing it. It was a strange start, but the workshop gave me some great foundation into the discipline of 'Indigenous Evaluation'.*

AMELIA

*I was so moved by the cultural presence within the Whāriki professional task of bringing us up to speed with this idea of indigenous evaluation, capacity building and ownership. They began with meaningful songs, bestowed gifts to their hosts and wove into their entire presentation a seamless, binding connection to their culture. I've seen*



*this at potlatches and spoken, taught by my aunts, but in the workplace? Of course! Another epiphany of such simplistic nature, I felt sort of embarrassed for not already being in that frame of mind.*

*Throughout our training, our Māori friends were ever mindful to not present their approach as what we were supposed to do, rather an example of how they do it. We were encouraged to use our culture, songs and stories to illustrate our approach and philosophies that made our evaluative process indigenous. There was no one way they could spell out for us, no canned or cookie cutter approach, no Iowa based standardized approach...so cool!!! They kept saying that we begin by dreaming the dream. All of this so foreign and so much like home.*

*However, it was difficult to learn about indigenous evaluation without having knowledge or even an interest in western evaluative processes. The Whāriki team went so fast and I thought I should understand faster. It felt like the time I took a computer programming class and the teacher was so used to teaching upper level courses that the intro course he was now teaching these newbs was difficult for him because he had to go from such an advanced state to the basics. I felt we were at the basics and not only did I want to be up to their speed, I felt bad for them teaching what I sure was a bunch of blank stares. But, I'm also happy that I didn't know so much of the western evaluative approach because I think that would have made it harder. I would then have to re-train myself and this way, I can start fresh the right way!*

MALINDA

*While the initial face-to-face evaluation meeting between Whāriki and a larger group of invited and self-selected group of Alaska Native individuals came together, the overall capacity building process and really our hīkoi, our journey together between Whāriki and Ukk'aa has unfolded to respond to the "place" we have been collectively at, in our indigenous evaluation exchange. To follow up with our first face-to-face meeting, a series of joint video combined with audio-conference meetings were held between Whāriki and the larger group – six of these distance meetings were scheduled. Also we were assigned a Whāriki mentor as a resource in our overall understanding of evaluation. The intention was to keep the capacity building effort going and to continue maintaining and building the relationship. In Alaska, holding audio-conference meetings is a fairly common form of conducting meetings and academic courses due to the size of and distance within the state.*

*As the series of distance conferences proceeded from month to month, we did lose some of the initial Alaska Native group members, and the number of those who remained involved declined. In part this may have been because of the challenges of video and audio-conferencing with a larger group, and that the online web meeting program that we were using was not familiar for the Alaskan group. And while the web resource was laid out well, it was almost too much information to shift through and respond to in a larger online group. It may also be connected to the fact that we as Native people have multiple commitments at tribal, as well as individual, family and community levels. These commitments often impact building capacity in a number of arenas. As a result, there was a smaller group that subsequently met during our next face-to-face meeting with Whāriki.*

*Individually my challenges included being overwhelmed with the amount of written resources and tools given to us with limited meeting time to review them, however, I see this as a desire by Whāriki to let us know that indigenous evaluation was being done and there is evidence and methods in doing it.*

### ***Whāriki reflections on the teaching and learning***

We opened our evaluation waka huia to our indigenous colleagues and let them see everything we had in there. In hindsight it was probably too much. We tried to hand over the best of our knowledge and experience of indigenous approaches to program evaluation gathered and gleaned over 20 years in Aotearoa New Zealand but we should have been more selective given such a small number of actual face-to-face teaching hours.<sup>89</sup> As a result, some of what we tried to teach was not relevant, and we missed more relevant information because we weren't prepared. For example, we were not always able to answer the questions about statistical analysis that arose during the training. Our context in Aotearoa New Zealand where evaluations in general seem to be less numbers orientated than in the U.S. and the situation of Whāriki within a university based research group with dedicated statisticians available to do the number crunching, meant that we lacked the knowledge and were caught unprepared to teach this part of evaluation that is very important, and often mandated in U.S. program evaluation.

We also struggled to maintain the relationships, so crucial in indigenous evaluation approaches (LaFrance 2004; Wehipeihana 2008) when teaching and learning was

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<sup>89</sup> Approximately 30 hours in total (included in this face-to-face time were important cultural ceremonies, greeting campus visitors, feasting and celebrating important events with our hosts).

mediated through distance technology. Although familiar to most of the Alaskan trainees, teaching by teleconference was entirely new to us. We had had a small amount of prior experience with video-conferencing and were comfortable with it as we could still read the group from visual cues and adjust our teaching accordingly. However, when the video link between our institutions would not work, we were left floundering in totally unfamiliar territory, trying to teach multiple trainees by teleconference call. The delay over the phone lines meant that dialogue and group discussion were impossible, let alone the subtler but equally important elements in relationship building such as sharing of humour. The problems were compounded when sunspot activity over Alaska cut people out of teleconference calls without us knowing. It was wholly disconcerting to never know whether we had any students on the other end or not – and it was probably very annoying to trainees to have us continuously asking “are you still there?”

The web-group was planned as an important tool for the intermediary teaching and learning phase between workshops. Although lesson plans, readings and so on were posted there, some students from remote rural Alaska had intermittent access to the Internet whilst others were without home computers and were not always able to access the web-group documents prior to lessons. For some, the unfamiliar format and sheer volume of information that rapidly accumulated was disconcerting and difficult to navigate. When the web-group hosts eventually lost all the data, it underscored the lessons for us, that Internet based groups have their purposes but they must be easy to navigate and be secure places to deposit valuable knowledge.

In hindsight, the mentoring relationships also did not work as intended because trainees did not have practical evaluation projects to work on. There is an ongoing need for evaluators in Alaska but trainees did not have enough knowledge or experience to take these positions. With 20/20 hindsight, it is obvious that most of the trainees were already fully committed in their communities and in their full-time jobs. In effect, we gave trainees a taster but without the potential to gain the needed skills, qualifications or a clear career pathway to pursue evaluation as a profession. We would help as and when we could but basically it was going to be up to Alaskan people to develop this pathway.

Perhaps the most disconcerting experience for the Whāriki team was related to the institutional position of the Interior-Aleutians Campus within the University. We were intending to train a small group of Alaska Native people in indigenous evaluation, but ended up with a class that included non-Native people who self-selected to attend. Although IAC had been designated an Alaska Native Serving Institution by the U.S. Department of Education in 1999, they were not allowed to limit attendance to Alaska Native peoples as this would be deemed racial discrimination. For Whāriki this was a strong reminder that we were in a foreign context. In Aotearoa New Zealand the norm in Māori evaluation even within institutions like universities, has become ‘by Māori, for Māori’ which is a reflection of our Treaty<sup>90</sup> based right to self-determination and an acknowledgement of the need to target scarce resources into developing this capacity. We wondered what rights Alaska Native people had to determine their own actions within the institution of the University of Alaska before being labelled ‘racist’ – it obviously did not extend very far.

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<sup>90</sup> Treaty of Waitangi - Aotearoa New Zealand’s founding document signed in 1840 by the Crown and Māori chiefs.

As evaluation trainers we lamented the loss of the ideal of an indigenous group learning together about indigenous evaluation. We were not keen to have uninvited non-Natives in the class because we knew from experience in other indigenous settings that it tended to change the group dynamic – the dreams and stories we shared would be tempered by the presence of people who did not share our indigeneity. This was not ideal for teaching and learning either, in relation to their ability to contribute to the development of distinct Alaska Native approaches to evaluation. But it was not a situation that we could change so we trusted the hīkoi process and walked alongside our indigenous colleagues, in their institutional context.

## **Key Learning from the Capacity Building Project**

### *Ukk'aa reflections*

DRENA MCINTYRE

*Drena McIntrye is an experienced community facilitator and fundraiser with more than twenty-seven years of experience in meeting and workshop facilitation, grant writing, program development, program management, and grant writing instruction. Drena lives in Fairbanks, Alaska, and is the daughter of William Guthrie of the Tsimshian nation and the late Nellie Brandal Gurthrie of the Unangan nation. She has a son, a daughter, and one granddaughter.*

*I appreciate and aspire to the Whāriki approach wherein the evaluator(s) walk beside their clients from beginning to end of a project/program including the visioning/planning phase. I believe this gives the evaluator the depth of understanding needed to not only evaluate the project/program in such a way that it is driven by the creators of it in answering questions they want answered, but also provides benefits to*

*project personnel such as mentoring and professional growth so that they may some day do their own evaluation work.*

*I am very grateful that Te Rōpū Whāriki is willing to teach and mentor our little cadre of potential evaluators here in Alaska. However, I believe our biggest challenge is that of making inroads into “institutional” change wherein grantors will support and ascribe to our new approach to Alaska Native evaluation for Alaska Native projects and programs.*

*Receiving and carrying out the goals and objectives of a government-funded grant is a profound responsibility. The relationship between the grantee and the federal government is very different to relationships within a smaller community with shared cultural values.*

*The relationship with federal agencies is:*

- *Formal*
- *Impersonal*
- *Based on federal laws and regulations, and is not community-based*
- *At arms length, and not a partner or personal.*
- *Is based upon grantee’s action or inaction to compliance, and not your intent.*
- *Is objective, not subjective.*

*In direct contrast, the relationships within Alaska Native communities are:*

- *Informal*
- *Very personal*
- *Based on cultural ways of knowing and beliefs*

- *Close-knit, as a partner and/or family member*
- *Is based upon your good intentions and your word as a person in your community*
- *Is very subjective, not objective.*

## JAMES

*I love the way 'hīkoi' is put. It is a path we take together, and should always be balanced in this way. I find that working on an evaluative project you never know what to expect when you begin the process. How are these people going to react towards me, will these people be irritated with me or will they be cool with me. Sometimes these are the things going through my head before doing interviewing research with new people involved with your program evaluation. The first times can be a little scary, but I'm always able to tell myself this is just a conversation about a subject they know about, and they are telling me a story about it. 'Telling the story' is a phrase I use a lot. Eventually I found that interviewing takes practice and preparedness, so be ready when you begin interviewing new people. I also try not to be too challenging with my questions, just enough to stir the mind, and get the people talking about stuff. And don't speak too soon...*

*More reading and writing helps in building your own capacity as an evaluator, I have also struggled with this. In order to do someone's story justice, you need to effectively learn how to interpret pertinent data found within one's research. This is the tricky part, interpreting and being culturally sensitive to a story for an audience that wants concrete answers. The goal is to make things better through these experiences, and make it sound convincing enough to keep things going. Effective reporting is where my*



*challenges began in the process of learning evaluation. My writing has come a long way since the beginning though, and sometimes you just have to force yourself to do it.*

*I have now learned that respecting a people and their culture is a big part of Indigenous Evaluation. In fact, as Alaskan Native Evaluators, we prefer to hear stories about life in a community before we even step foot into asking questions. To find success in evaluating rural programs in Alaska, you must find a way to build relationships first.*

DEBBIE

*I am reminded of the countless research that has been done on and about the Nunamiut, my “tribe”. Behavior and thinking processes are interpreted incorrectly and when published the academic/literature world believes that what is written is the truth. So information is incorrectly shared with the rest of the world and many times the information is not respectful; the misinterpretation depicts the Nunamiut as non-sensical people. If the researcher shares their information with the Nunamiut before publishing many of these errors could be avoided.*

*James speaks of building relationships with clients and colleagues. This is something that has always stayed with a majority of Indigenous people. The value of kinship. Even in my work, there is expectation to make relationships with community members before seeking help with projects or meeting students’ needs.*

AMELIA

*Many of us are not closely in touch with our culture and to me, it was another compelling reason to know who I am culturally to better understand the needs of the programs I serve and the world as a whole. Our stories are so similar, the Māori and Alaska Native, we even look similar. But, their journey is further down the road in certain respects even though the road we've both travelled is similar. This was another reason I felt that I could relate to these people from literally across the world. Our stories were similar and I wanted to go where they did...forward and how genius to use the cultural wisdom of our ancestors as a foundation for successes we have bore witness to since time immemorial.*

*I have since been inspired to learn more about the evaluative process and believe wholeheartedly in the importance of developing trained professionals that can evaluate Alaska Native programs. I had even tried to attend training on program evaluation after my enlightenment and was wholeheartedly disappointed with the linear, nonsensical approach, which I guess really just strengthened the notion that "indigenous" was the piece that made the Māori approach effective.*

*Unfortunately the resources are limited and why it is important to get the word out!  
Everyone should know!*

MALINDA

*Through our training and knowledge exchange with Whāriki and the parallel evaluation of a project that I was administering through my work, I've increasingly come to see the power and place of evaluation as a significant tool and resource in the*

*process of making positive shifts in our Indigenous organizations and communities – sites where program and project efforts are created and unfold.*

*Although I was curious about evaluation because I wanted to improve my understanding and feel more competent about administering the evaluation piece in the project I administered, I did not expect to be “pulled into” and remain involved in the ongoing, loosely structured and desired effort to continue building Alaska Native and indigenous evaluation capacity. For me, having a dialogue with Whāriki – this particular group of four indigenous women evaluators - brought more successes than challenges and elevated and revealed that yes, we Alaska Native people are making evaluation decisions all the time and we clearly have a “place” and vested interest in “doing it our way” – envisioning and following our own dream.*

*One of our biggest successes, or in my case, a break through and shift in my whole thought process was to be validated and, in a sense “freed” to experience and follow (hence implement and explore evaluation areas/topics/questions) on what you know as an indigenous person. The training with Whāriki raised our awareness and with awareness you have the choice to follow the path that you know will work best on behalf of your People. This awareness and feeling of being culturally validated in your professional work was a big internal release to perceive and proceed in a manner in program delivery and shifting that evaluative lens in a way that increases the potential to make an impact in our work. It was like someone gave me the “green light or broke the dam” so that you could pursue, record and document (write) – to take action and make explicit why you sought a certain approach that culturally aligned with ourselves as Alaska Natives.*

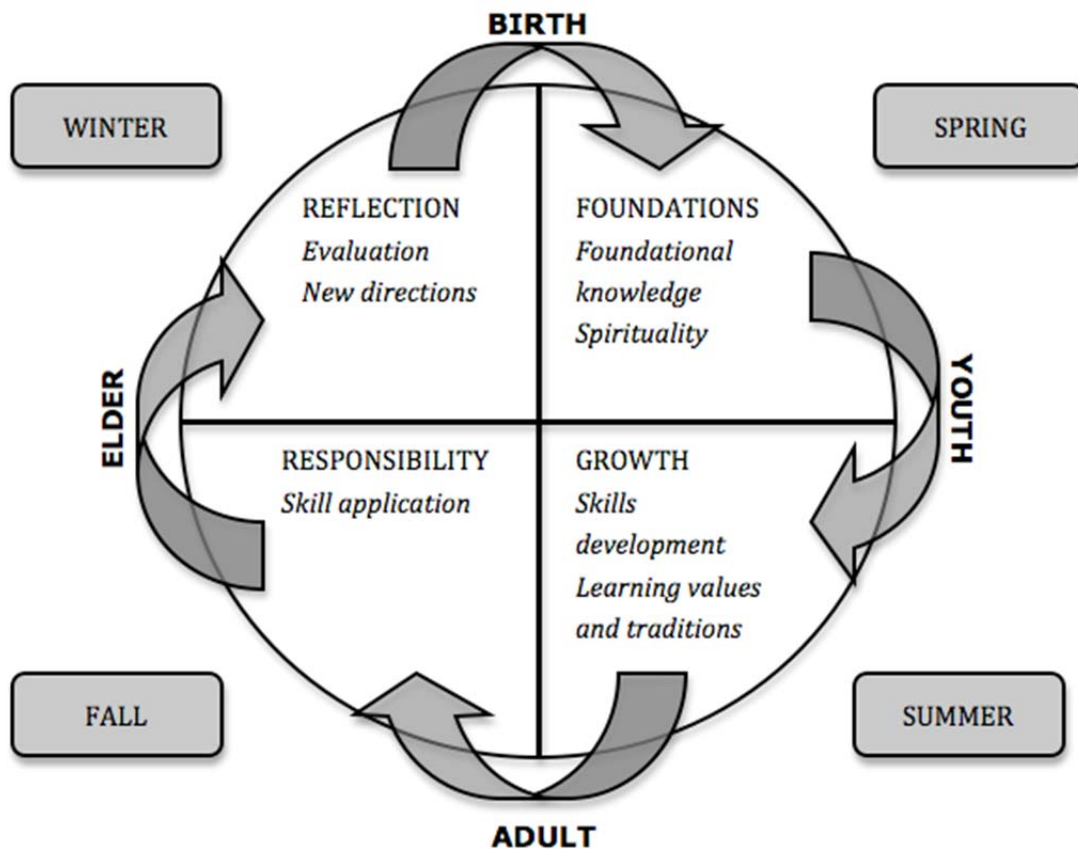
*In building a professional relationship with Whāriki, we are more able to see and articulate areas to explore in evaluation that are reflexive and respond to the vision we see for ourselves. Having a dialogue with indigenous people half way around the world provided us with a place to share stories and perspectives, and be exposed to another indigenous group that used western evaluation models and tools but were based in their own value system. It also let us know that we do have evaluation questions that we want to explore, and the ones that may be identified by a funder or by the evaluation “done to us” may not fully explore areas that we want feedback on or see as prominent. It is also important – more important than it appears - that we trained as a group and now have a small team striving to continue building our evaluation capacity. As individuals we all have layered commitments with our families, work and communities, so having a small group that collectively learns and aims to expand knowledge and skills with evaluation keeps us determined – self determined to continue our efforts on behalf of our collective community.*

### **The Seasonal Model - one example of ‘doing it our way’**

MALINDA

*As a tool that was initially introduced at the training, I struggled to “get” or understand the linear logic model, which is a common mainstream evaluation model but one that is more analytical rather than big picture or “global” in the process of using it. This was a common response for many in our Alaska Native group and so we turned to using and presenting the cyclical/seasonal model many of us could relate to or used in our own development processes.*

*This seasonal model has been developed in various forms, and been also referred to as the Athabascan Circular Model, the Community Engagement Model and the Athabascan Circle. It was originally developed as the Seasonal-Cyclical Model by class participants, who were Athabascan from Interior Alaska, during the fall of 1995 in a University of Alaska Fairbanks' Interior-Aleutians Campus course.*



**Figure 2: Seasonal Model**

DEBBIE

*A circle is a model just about any Indigenous person can relate to. Linear thinking does not make sense to me. How can something end and not begin something else? In Fairbanks, many non-Native people complain to no end about winter coming; the cold*

*weather, the darkness, etc. Without winter how would we have spring and summer? I do not understand the complaining but it happens and it irritates me.*

AMELIA

*I can't say that the circle has any one particular meaning to me other than we are an oral tradition based culture in which all stories are circular in nature. This to me seems universally Alaska Native, meaning that all Elders I've heard tell stories tell it in this manner regardless of what kind of Native they are. Also, a circle is not linear! I think the linear model is what I struggled with the most with the evaluation models that don't incorporate indigenous philosophies or approaches. The circular approach is more natural. In Tlingit culture, we are very symmetrical and balanced in the visual representation of things and the circle assists with this way of thinking. Also, the sun and moon are circular and play a significant role in stories, folklore and songs.*

JAMES

*Thinking of the circular model is something I haven't used yet, but a device my mentor uses on most projects to strategize and plan for. I like to write stuff down as it comes, and try to keep paper handy, as for sometimes I get ideas lying in bed at night before I fall asleep. As a new evaluator, I think everyone finds a personal way to plan for projects, and it should never be limited. The road of 'Indigenous Evaluation' is always changing, a people will find a way to survive, as well as a program evaluator will find a way to evaluate his/her own.*

### *Whāriki reflections*

The outcomes for us as at Whāriki have been less about building Alaska Native evaluation capacity, and more about sharing indigenous experience and knowledge. As Māori evaluators we have shared evaluation theory and practice from our context with a group of very competent Alaska Native people. What we learned in the process of sharing our knowledge has been formative in our own practice of evaluation. We realised that we shared some common experience from our histories of colonization but we also learned just how different the Alaska Native context is and therefore how crucial it is that Alaska Native people develop their own theories and methods of evaluation from the riches of their own cultural contexts. Of course we knew this before we went, but there is nothing like being in a totally different cultural context (not to mention going from 30oC to -40oC) to remind you that you do not have the answers for these people from this place.

From our common histories of colonization and subjugation to the dominant culture, we shared a deep felt empathy with Alaska Native stories of cultural loss and suffering. We understood the frustration of having to use the English language to try and express epistemological understandings that were best expressed in native tongues. We also knew the shame of not knowing our own tongue and having to try and learn it in academic settings, coping also with the tension of having a worldview that was at odds with the western academic mindset. We shared the same guilty anger at the ‘well meaning’ paternalism that seemed to thinly mask a deeper cultural imperialism, and we shared an instinctive understanding that program evaluation, as it was most often practised, was entrenched in this western cultural imperialism that made us feel so frustrated, angry and ashamed.

By the end of our capacity building project, we also shared optimism about evaluation – that it can make a real difference for our communities if we can evaluate what is important to us, in ways that will enhance our development efforts.

We learned that Māori from Whāriki and Alaska Native Ukk'aa, share a desire for evaluation to be principle based, and that there are many overlaps in the principles that we value. Examples include the high value placed on extended kinship relationships and on connection to place, spirituality and the maintenance of sovereignty. However, the differences between our cultures cannot be downplayed for they are vast as are the rich differences between tribal groups within Alaska. Representative of the diversity of Alaska Native cultures, the Ukk'aa cadre consists of Tsimpsian, Athabascans from the Deg Hit'an and Koyukon regions, Inupiaq, and Tlingit.

The Seasonal Model is a model for evaluation and planning that could not have come from our context in Aotearoa New Zealand where the seasons are very indistinct and, although we have cyclic thinking in Māori epistemology, it is not based on the four seasons. The Seasonal Model represents a way of experiencing and ordering the world, and also illustrates a profoundly different logic, in that it is non-linear. Circular logic is common among Native American peoples, but initially we Māori experienced this as somewhat confusing, wondering where people were going when they were telling stories or attempting to explain the theory of change driving a particular program. In experiencing this conflict between indigenous and non-indigenous logic systems (Woorama 2006), we learned just how ingrained the idea of western linear logic was in our own thinking.



Whāriki had planned to open our evaluation waka huia and allow Alaska Native people to pick out the treasures that resonated for them – we hadn't realised how many gems they would put into our treasure box for us to use as our evaluation hīkoi continues. We were privileged to witness this small group of Alaska Native people have the revelation that distinct Alaska Native approaches to evaluation have existed for many thousands of years and therefore indigenous evaluation is *“only a new concept because it's been missing for so long”* - one little gem of pure genius from among many that came out during the capacity building project. There is a wealth and richness emerging already as Alaska Native people begin to complete the circle from their ancestral evaluation knowledge to current program evaluations. Those are their stories to tell, when they are ready, and we hope we will still be journeying with them when they do.

Despite the many challenges, the key success story of this project from the Whāriki perspective is the ongoing journey of a small cadre who have caught the vision for indigenous evaluation, dreamed dreams and then developed plans that chart their own trails for building Alaska Native evaluation capability and capacity. A small remnant of the original Ukk'aa are the now the forerunners in indigenous evaluation in Alaska; they are the lead dogs in the team. They recognize that it is a small beginning with a long and difficult trail ahead but they are still meeting, still talking and dreaming about indigenous evaluation.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> There are a very small number of other Alaska Native people practising evaluation and also non-Native people who are very supportive of the journey. For example Dr kas aruskevich has been mentoring James Johnson III since completing her PhD in 2010.

## ***Ukk'aa Conclusions***

*DRENA*

*Our little group of Alaska Native evaluators is willing and able to learn, and support and mentor each other. If we stay cohesive as a group, we can make change happen for Alaska Native programs. We need to commit to the “long haul”.*

*AMELIA*

*I think little practical steps of applicable nature are in the cards. I figure, if we can DO, then it will be!*

*If we wait to know it all, we will waste time, which is not to say that we jump in blindly, but that we don't overkill with meetings and good intentions. I'd also love to go to New Zealand and get formal training at Massey University. Far fetched? I think not...because they told me that you have to start by dreaming the dream...this is my dream. And before I can make anything happen, I have to fully know and understand so I can teach others. Our cohort talked about going together to Massey, I think it's possible.*

*I found this process inspiring overall. It's an opportunity of a generation, of a lifetime. I feel like the Alaska Native community is on the brink of movement, a revolution if you will. We are ready, capable and possess the desire for change and I see the Māori, Whāriki, presenting an opportunity for this forward progress. I would like to find ways to develop my understanding and learn how to develop the evaluative efforts. I am honored to be included in the efforts even though I don't know much already. However, I think this also works in our favor because in essence, I represent the average Alaska*

*Native who doesn't know about Indigenous Evaluation either and I can better learn how to teach.*

*JAMES*

*I'm happy to be on this journey and to know, I'm not alone.*

*DEBBIE*

*My ultimate joy is knowing that Indigenous evaluation is thriving among Indigenous people and the day will come to Alaska when this will be a norm in Alaskan communities. Having said this, my frustration is that it is not here yet. We continue to use non-Native measurements to measure Indigenous programs, projects, experiences, etc.*

*These frustrations continue on a daily basis in the office I work in. We are a Native serving department and our successes are low because the definition of success is non-Native. An example would be graduation rates; the University looks at graduation rates (quantitative) of Alaska Native people and the time it takes to graduate. I believe the Indigenous definition of success is what the journey to graduation was like; did the student feel welcomed when they first got to the campus? Was there discrimination against said student and what were the coping skills of this student to continue as a student? How many deaths in the home community did the student have to endure? How many times did a class have to be repeated before it could be passed? How much service was performed while in college that impacted their peers? Were friends made from in-state, out of state, and internationally? These are the kinds of questions that show the success of a student.*

*Many of the evaluation processes require quantitative rather than qualitative measures and many of our successes as Indigenous people are in the stories. Sharing narratives rather than numbers is the Indigenous way to share successes. For example, when we hunt caribou at home, the success is in the process of hunting rather than the number of caribou we shoot. The process includes the amount of energy exerted during the hunt, the number of bullets needed to shoot the animal, and where on the animal the shot hit. In sharing the experience, evaluation is included. The mistakes that might have been made are shared with the audience and what the hunter could have done better. There is the belief that nothing is perfect, there is always room for improvement.*

*To be an Indigenous evaluator, using Indigenous measures validates the Indigenous experienced with the rest of the non-native world.*

*MALINDA*

*In building capacity, I think we as Native people, realize that individually we all have multiple demands, and although it may mean that someone has to “step out” of an effort, in this case indigenous capacity building, while at the same time that person can also “step back in” and continue to contribute at another time. I think sharing a vision or “dreaming a collective dream” and sharing a history allows for that inclusive movement in capacity building. Perhaps that is why our group could so easily see how James’ individual work in indigenous evaluation really aligns with our collective work and that we need and want to journey together. For us, the hīkoi, with Whāriki and internally within Ukk’aa means staying the course together.*

*For our Ukk'aa group, we have since made efforts to gather together informally to continue to jointly agree to read, review and share our thoughts on indigenous evaluation work. We meet occasionally for coffee to discuss papers and support each other in our individual and organizational work, or as it is increasingly happening we find ourselves in the same meetings or working on the same initiative and there is an underlying understanding about indigenous evaluation issues among us.*

*In our knowledge exchange with Whāriki we are coming together – even loosely but with a desire to make systematic change. We have raised our awareness – making conscious our own ability to live and envision our own dream.*

## Discussion<sup>92</sup>

### Knowledge in the kete

This thesis aimed to contribute to the discussions and debates about good evaluation for Māori. The hīkoi methodology determined that data would be collected through journeying with others, in many ways more knowledgeable than myself. Groups and individuals held all the knowledge contained in this thesis before I brought it together for journal publication and inclusion here. Some of the chapters have been co-written with these knowledge bearers. While we have covered some of the territory, we make no claim to having exhaustively covered it. Each chapter documents findings from a particular place and perspective on the journey - conceptualised as landmarks or tohu. None represent the whole journey.

It is tempting here in the discussion to provide some type of a meta-narrative on Māori and indigenous evaluation to tie together the chapters of this thesis. I will largely resist this temptation. The kaupapa Māori hīkoi methodology leads me to a deep suspicion of meta-narratives that attempt to tell the global story of Māori evaluation, or evaluation that is good for Māori. This would narrow the field and put parameters around what is and is not counted as good for Māori in evaluation. If I were to do this I would be positioning Māori again as the ‘other’, because these parameters define what is ‘inside’ as good for Māori and exclude everything on the ‘outside’ from being considered good

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<sup>92</sup> Discussion is best read in the light of the conclusion, which aligns key ideas from the Chapters with the research question for the thesis.

for Māori. Moewaka Barnes (2008) contends that people on the ‘outside’ - those in the majority culture, are not required to articulate their parameters in this way. Non-Māori requests for Māori to identify and account for Māori perspectives lead to “hierarchical categories of authenticity, denying [Māori] the right to adapt, adopt and be as eclectic as western claims to knowledge” (Moewaka Barnes 2008, p. 136). She points out that this is limiting to Māori and sets up an expectation to define and categorise; an expectation that Māori ought to resist.

However, the tensions I described earlier between writing about oneself as subject and the need to provide descriptions that express the importance, place and value of Māori approaches to evaluation are not easily dismissed. In the following section I provide a table of findings (Table 3) and a discussion of issues that have emerged as important areas for debate in Māori and indigenous evaluation: Power and politics; the status of evidence; and evaluator credibility. These are summarised in the table and followed by a discussion of the issues and how they impact on my primary question: What is good evaluation for Māori?

### **Reading between the lines and boxes of the Table**

I developed the framework for the table by drawing out key themes from the literature and from each of the papers. In doing this I revisited the principles of Kaupapa Māori evaluation in Chapter Two along with the findings from throughout the thesis.<sup>93</sup> The

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<sup>93</sup> The six principles were developed for that part of the hikoi for that context, time and point on the journey. They were not intended to be used as a summation of the entire hikoi.

resulting table incorporates the Kaupapa Māori principles but is more expansive, allowing for a much broader picture of the terrain covered in my evaluation hīkoi.<sup>94</sup>

The first key theme that emerged was Māori worldviews, values and principles for evaluation. Under this sit the sub themes of evaluation theories, models, processes and methods. Māori worldviews emerged as a super theme because they determine the values that groups hold collectively and inform our theories and models and the actions we take. This ensures that the reader of the table begins with a clear background to the rest of the table. I encountered a number of difficulties with this approach - difficulties that were paralleled in the processes of defining what good evaluation for Māori is. Firstly, there are no clear boundaries between concepts such as worldviews, values and principles or theories, approaches or models. They impact on each other in ways that are iterative and not clear-cut or linear. How to distinguish between them is problematic enough, let alone trying to determine which is formative in terms of its impact on the others.

The difficulties with categorising and defining and representing the relationships of the parts to the whole, mirror the problems Māori have with defining worldviews, values, principles and theories. As described throughout the thesis, Māori and other indigenous people want to reserve the right to define our own worldviews in terms that fit within those worldviews, which may not include categorising at all. We also want to reserve the right to adapt and change at any time, in response to new knowledge and contexts. Māori have therefore generally eschewed providing a definitive definition or description of what constitutes a Māori worldview. As noted above (Moewaka Barnes 2008),

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<sup>94</sup> Emendation in response to requirement to connect Kaupapa Māori principles with the whole thesis.



Māori try to avoid the essentialist trap of tightly prescribing what is ‘inside’ the ‘Māori’ box – or in fact, being boxed-in in any way. However, Māori do generally articulate some of the broader, commonly held characteristics. These include a Māori view of the world that is holistic, collective, and connected to place. These are common principles that we can normally agree as transcending iwi, hapū, whānau and other Māori groupings.

As represented in Table 3, the first two themes (Māori Worldviews and Evaluation Theories), include the range of values, principles, theories, approaches, processes and methods that relate to Māori worldviews. Key recurring sub-themes were also drawn out and presented. When it comes to articulating the range of possible values and principles that undergird Māori approaches to evaluation, the Treaty of Waitangi-based principle of tino rangatiratanga – Māori self-determination was a strong a recurrent sub-theme. If Māori are to be in control, there can be no ‘one way’, as the right way will be determined by Māori within their context and fitted to their purposes. Thus the desire for evaluation to be context-specific, tailored to each individual situation, emerges as a strong theme from the thesis.

Evaluation principles were strongly based on the Treaty of Waitangi. Kaupapa Māori theory and its relationship to hīkoi and action research principles stands out as a key theory underpinning Māori evaluation approaches described in this thesis. And of course, Kaupapa Māori hīkoi, the theory and approach used to guide this research, features in each of the chapters. Again, it would be wrong to read these as the exclusive approaches useful to Māori, arising from this research. Chapter Two highlights a

number of other relevant approaches and points out that Māori are continuing to develop evaluation praxis.

The hīkoi methodology involving the journeying process, revealed time and again that, what was good was context-specific, whether a process, an understanding or an outcome. It was therefore dependent on a range of factors being in the right place at the right time. For example, the good outcomes from the project described in Chapter Three cannot be wholly attributed to the Kaupapa Māori Action Research process, as they were also heavily dependent on factors such as the skills and professional and community connections of the researchers. How to depict the complex connections between good outcomes for Māori from evaluation and the multiple, context-specific factors that help create them, was challenging. In the table, a column on the left entitled “Good for Māori – General Principles” highlights hīkoi findings of ‘good for Māori’ in evaluation as it relates to each of the rows in the table. The complex ways that they connect with the points made in each chapter is not specifically shown. My problem with the table exactly mirrors the problem of showing the complex, interdependent connections between programmes and their evaluation and all the contextual factors that impact on the success of the programme, including whether any good comes from the evaluation.

Following on from the themes of ‘Māori Worldviews’ and ‘Evaluation Theories’ are three sections, each covering important themes that emerged from the chapters, and verified in discussions and debates with other evaluators on the journey. The decision to draw out and discuss these three emergent themes was made in order to provide commentary from across the chapters on key debates in the field. The selection of these

three themes was made primarily using the process for developing Table 3 based on thematic analysis. Each chapter of the thesis was thematically analysed. As I did this close rereading and coding, other related issues that had not necessarily made it into the particular chapter were brought to mind. I kept a running list of these issues and later compared it with the themes and issues that emerged from the chapters. When all the chapters had been themed, I sorted and grouped the themes until the strongest ones emerged. This process resulted in the identification of five main themes related to good evaluation for Māori; all represented in each chapter of the thesis:

1. Kaupapa Māori praxis;
2. Treaty of Waitangi principles;
3. The general influence of politics/power/control on evaluation;
4. Characteristics of evaluators; and
5. Evidence in evaluation.

Looking at the themes, I realised that it was not necessary to rewrite another description of the first theme - Kaupapa Māori praxis - and its importance in good evaluation for Māori. That was well-covered in Chapter Two and other places in the thesis. The same could be said of the second theme - Treaty of Waitangi principles, which feature throughout the chapters. I decided to provide a bullet-point summary of Kaupapa Māori and Treaty of Waitangi principles in the first and second rows of the table (Māori Worldview and Evaluation Theories). In order to show the nuanced understandings within Kaupapa Māori praxis and Treaty principles, I have included a range of different aspects. The diverse range *and* reoccurring principles provide a background to the themes that followed.

When looking overall at what was good for Māori, there were general principles that related to Māori values and worldview and theories and processes. The general principles for good evaluation were positioned in the left-hand column in the table. The column showing general principles was continued for the other themes in the table.

I crosschecked my three remaining themes with recent indigenous evaluation papers, conference presentations and weblog discussions. This confirmed that these were important current issues and allowed me to update my knowledge of the debates. Table 3 summarises each one of these themes by chapter. Rather than bullet-points, brief statements were used in order to capture the essence of the theme in that particular chapter. Again, the reader is encouraged to go outside the constraints of the ‘box’ and consider the wider context provided in the chapters and the thesis as a whole.

While drawing key points together into a table is useful for illustrating the depth and breadth of answers, this is done with some reluctance. Tables are a visual way of summarizing and representing large amounts of data, but each point is taken out of context and an entirely new context created in the layout and juxtaposition of points in the table. The reader is asked not to read Table 3 as a quick reference map to the whole terrain, but to understand that it is presented in order to show that providing good evaluation for Māori is a multifaceted undertaking.

**Table 3: The Evaluation Hīkoi**

<i>Good for Māori General principles:</i>	<i>Chapter 1 First person, first peoples: a journey through boundaries</i>	<i>Chapter 2 Kaupapa Māori theory based Evaluation</i>	<i>Chapter 3 Kaupapa Māori Action Research to improve heart disease</i>	<i>Chapter 4 Evaluation Hīkoi: a model for Health Promotion in NZ</i>	<i>Chapter 5 Indigenous Evaluation</i>
<b><i>Māori Worldviews - Values - Principles for evaluation</i></b>					
<p>Māori worldview, values and principles underpin all parts of programme evaluation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Communitarian</li> <li>• Holistic</li> <li>• Ecological</li> </ul> <p>Treaty of Waitangi principles in evaluation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Justice</li> <li>• Equity</li> <li>• Tino rangatiratanga</li> <li>• Partnership</li> </ul>	<p>Eval Principles:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Treaty of Waitangi</li> <li>• Tino rangatiratanga</li> <li>• Equality &amp; equity</li> <li>• Partnership</li> </ul> <p>Values of sharing:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Food</li> <li>• Song</li> <li>• Laughter</li> <li>• Ceremony</li> </ul>	<p>Treaty of Waitangi Kaupapa Māori Principles:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Culture – te reo; tikanga</li> <li>• Control – tino rangatiratanga</li> <li>• Challenge to power</li> <li>• Connections – whānau/hapū/iwi/indigenous /partnerships</li> <li>• Change for Māori good</li> </ul>	<p>Māori worldview is:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Communitarian</li> <li>• Holistic</li> <li>• Ecological</li> </ul> <p>Action Research:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Collaborative relationships</li> <li>• Useful processes and outcomes</li> <li>• Plural ways of knowing</li> <li>• Democracy actioned</li> </ul>	<p>Māori worldview is holistic Treaty based calls for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Equity, Justice</li> <li>• Tino rangatiratanga</li> <li>• Māori/indigenous needs</li> <li>• Questioning dominant culture and norms</li> <li>• Aiming for positive difference</li> </ul> <p>By Māori, for Māori programmes and evaluation</p>	<p>Indigenous worldviews:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Connections to people – family, clan/tribe</li> <li>• Place /land/animals</li> <li>• Spirit</li> <li>• Cyclic logic</li> </ul> <p>Principles/values</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ceremony</li> <li>• Elder wisdom</li> <li>• Native language, story</li> <li>• Indigenous sovereignty</li> </ul>
<b><i>Evaluation Theories - Models - Processes/Methods</i></b>					
<p>Evaluations of Māori programmes are based on theories, models, approaches that fit Māori contexts:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kaupapa Māori</li> <li>• Hīkoi</li> <li>• Action Research</li> <li>• Seasonal Circle; Developmental...</li> </ul> <p>Evaluation theory, processes and methods are tailored to fit the context and intended use</p> <p>Goals are negotiated and the journey is as important as the destination</p>	<p>Kaupapa Māori:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Māori as normative</li> <li>• By Māori for Māori</li> <li>• For benefit of Māori</li> </ul> <p>Hīkoi:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Shared journey</li> <li>• Negotiated goals</li> <li>• Collaborations</li> <li>• Capacity building</li> <li>• Journey as important as destination</li> <li>• By Māori for Māori development &amp; self-determination</li> </ul>	<p>Kaupapa Māori theory:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Constructivist /Critical theory</li> <li>• Transformative</li> <li>• Praxis</li> </ul> <p>Other approaches:</p> <p>Hīkoi; Formative; Collaborative; Postmodern; Theory Based; Democratic Deliberative; Focused/ Developmental; Transformative</p> <p>Processes/Methods:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To suit use</li> </ul>	<p>Kaupapa Māori Action Research:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Action/reflection cycles</li> <li>• Innovation encouraged</li> <li>• Community involvement &amp; development</li> </ul> <p>Processes/Methods:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Action/reflection cycles</li> <li>• Sharing stories</li> <li>• Actions generated within the process</li> </ul>	<p>Kaupapa Māori Hīkoi</p> <p>Formative/ process/ impact evaluations</p> <p>Developmental Evaluation</p> <p>Evaluation Capacity Building</p> <p>Processes/Methods:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To suit use</li> <li>• Logic models to deal with the complexity</li> <li>• Effectiveness measured across multiple dimensions including community change indicators</li> </ul>	<p>Seasonal Model</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cyclic theory of change</li> <li>• Native values and understandings</li> </ul> <p>Hīkoi</p> <p>Processes/methods:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Any tools that work</li> <li>• Grounded in indigenous values</li> <li>• No 'one way'</li> <li>• Dreaming &amp; storying</li> <li>• Stories for analysis/ reporting</li> </ul>

## Issue One: Power & Politics

<p>Government honour Treaty based tino rangatiratanga and equity obligations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Māori critique mainstream services</li> <li>• Māori innovation in programmes and evaluation</li> <li>• Māori right to decide what is Māori</li> <li>• By Māori for Māori programmes and evaluations</li> <li>• Equity of western &amp; Māori evidence</li> </ul> <p>Māori tino rangatiratanga</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Māori determine Māori understandings in evaluation</li> </ul> <p>Sharing knowledge and evaluation capacity building with other indigenous peoples</p>	<p>Tino rangatiratanga in Māori contexts</p> <p>Evaluation is inherently political. Indigenous minorities are disadvantaged in democratic states</p> <p>Māori have a stronger voice in evaluation than many indigenous peoples thanks to the Treaty of Waitangi and government attempts to honour it.</p>	<p>A legacy of colonisation is that KM Māori evaluation seeks to challenge unequal power</p> <p>Māori want the power to define ourselves their values for evaluation</p> <p>Crown honouring their Treaty partnership means tino rangatiratanga for Māori</p> <p>Debate over how much Māori control is enough</p>	<p>Clash of worldviews means services providers do not necessarily know how best to serve Māori</p> <p>Well-managed evaluative feedback cycles can be very effective in giving power and a voice to the least powerful</p> <p>Outcomes for Māori can be improved when service providers understand that their own assumptions, and worldview may disadvantage Māori</p>	<p>Government purposes for evaluation are often at odds with Māori purposes</p> <p>Government and Māori definitions of ‘evidence’ differ</p> <p>The dominance of government definitions of evidence is a treaty based sovereignty and equity issue for Māori</p>	<p>Indigenous people have evaluation practices based on indigenous epistemologies</p> <p>Capacity building with other indigenous people can be transformative for all involved</p> <p>Need for systemic/ institutional change to ensure indigenous values and forms of evidence are used in evaluation of indigenous programmes</p>
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## Issue Two: Status of Evidence

<p>Māori/indigenous develop and use evidence of effectiveness based on Māori/indigenous worldviews, values and principles</p> <p>There is a need for Māori/indigenous evidence base to be built – indigenous evaluation capacity building and writing for publication are important strategies.</p>	<p>Evaluation involves decisions on what to value. Partnership model means Crown and Māori deciding on all aspects of evaluation</p> <p>Māori/indigenous people are at the borders where new syntheses and innovation are most likely. They need to be allowed to innovate and provide evidence from indigenous worldviews</p>	<p>Kaupapa Māori theory has provided a platform for ‘by Māori, for Māori’ programmes and evaluation – including types of evaluation evidence</p> <p>A range of partnerships and collaborations may be appropriate in order to engage, gather and analyse evidence in Māori contexts</p>	<p>Identifying types of evaluation evidence, collecting and analysing it needs to involve the impacted community (plural ways of knowing)</p> <p>Iterative processes of evidence generation and analysis may provide strong evidence across multiple indicators and better help to inform service development in Māori contexts</p>	<p>Dominance of government definitions of evidence is ongoing – often quantitative</p> <p>Some progress has been made in Treaty based tino rangatiranga – there are growing numbers of ‘by Māori, for Māori’ evaluation based on Māori values</p> <p>Māori evidence is generally based in community knowledge</p>	<p>(See above) Some progress has been made in NZ. Alaska Natives are just beginning to have their epistemologies recognized, including what constitutes evidence</p> <p>Indigenous people are recognizing the importance of sharing knowledge - and writing as a way to share and also create credibility for our knowledge systems/forms of evidence</p>
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### Issue Three: Evaluator Credibility

<p>Credibility is based on technical skills, personal character and cultural credibility</p> <p>'Deep culture' knowledge bearers on evaluation team from the beginning – given control over sense making.</p> <p>Non-Māori partnership/collaboration with Māori</p>	<p>Evaluators need to be clear about their own values and perspectives</p> <p>Evaluators must understand that Māori sharing information is in Māori control – it is a privilege not a right</p> <p>Non-Māori evaluators should support Māori self-determination – this is the right kind of respectful attitude in Māori contexts</p>	<p>Māori worldviews embedded in the evaluation requires that Māori with appropriate cultural knowledge are involved in all stages of evaluation.</p> <p>Code of conduct – Māori understand the importance – and that relationships are long term</p> <p>Evaluator credibility is based on technical skills, cultural competence (te reo Māori, tikanga) and acceptance</p>	<p>Research/evaluator needs the ability to connect, engage and remain accountable to the community</p> <p>Tangata whenua relationships may facilitate engagement, analysis, feedback and actions</p> <p>Personal <i>and</i> professional credibility are required Treaty Partnerships - Māori and non-Māori</p>	<p>Non-Māori evaluator involvement debated. Most agree it is ok but with some degree of Māori control</p> <p>Community acceptance is more important than cultural competence. Hīkoi = ideally selected by the community</p> <p>NZ has a professional Māori evaluation workforce now – unique for indigenous people</p> <p>This has created a variety of insider/outsider relationships</p>	<p>All learners on a journey - find ways to work in your own communities</p> <p>Effective report writing to retell stories to funders who want concrete answers</p> <p>People who understand the cultural context involved in analysing evaluation data</p> <p>Indigenous people have multiple roles so there must be flexibility to o take care of community concerns</p>
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## **Māori and indigenous evaluation – emergent issues**

The following section fleshes out the key findings of the hīkoi on good evaluation for Māori as they relate to the three interrelated themes that emerged from the thematic analysis described above. The emergent themes are all issues around which there is considerable debate in the field of evaluation:

1. Power and politics
2. Status of evidence
3. Evaluator credibility

### ***Issue 1: Power and Politics***

Issues of politics and power determine what gets evaluated, how and by whom. It is therefore crucial to explore the operation of politics and power in order to understand the practice of evaluation in any context. These issues are debated every time evaluators gather at conferences, or on weblogs, and they are considered in every chapter of this thesis. In the international evaluation context, power and politics in evaluation emerged as hot topics - so much so, that there are now many approaches that explicitly aim to mitigate some of the power differentials in programme evaluation between participants, funders, external evaluators and the other stakeholders of the programme being evaluated. As discussed in Chapter Two, examples include developmental, participatory, empowerment, and democratic deliberative evaluation. Their close alignment with Māori approaches, such as the Kaupapa Māori hīkoi in regard to interrogating power relationships in evaluation, demonstrates that Māori approaches to



evaluation that give priority to Māori concerns and aspirations are not merely radical outliers – they are context-specific developments in the field of evaluation.<sup>95</sup>

The Treaty of Waitangi is the driving force behind the Māori rights movement in Aotearoa New Zealand and the evaluation hīkoi is inextricably tied to this movement. As outlined in Chapter Four, its progress has not been straightforward. It is unlikely that it will ever be straightforward as there is an inherent power and control clash between a government of a nation state and any group within its jurisdiction who claim the legal right to full citizenship *and* to self-determination. Māori argue for these rights as full New Zealand citizens *and* as people who were guaranteed the rights to self-determination, consistent with te reo Māori version of the Treaty. Māori also ask for these rights in regard to programme evaluation.

Other indigenous peoples are also claiming their sovereignty, including the freedom to practice programme evaluation consistent with their worldview and values. It was clear from the beginning of my hīkoi (Chapter One) and from the capacity building project with Alaska Native people described in Chapter Five, that indigenous people in Australia and North America share the same struggle to obtain the power to make decisions about programmes and evaluations that impact their communities. For Alaska Native people, the idea of evaluations based on traditional values was a new revelation, indicating just how powerless they have been in their own land regarding evaluations in their own communities. There were other indications too of their powerlessness. For example, Alaska Native trainees attending indigenous evaluation training were

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<sup>95</sup> Kaupapa Māori theory based evaluation drew heavily from both constructivism and Critical Theory in arguing for Māori worldview and values in evaluation. Māori approaches to evaluation are also influenced by, and influence, evaluation praxis through ongoing local developments and international knowledge exchanges.

unprepared for us to share our knowledge in ways consistent with our cultural practices and values. It had not occurred to them that we would teach indigenous evaluation using prayer, song, gift-giving, sharing food and story telling, along with the more conventional western teaching methods. This kind of native based pedagogy just did not happen at the University, even though the campus was an officially designated ‘Alaska Native Serving Institution’. Our presence was profoundly empowering for our Alaska Native colleagues - and distinctly challenging to non-native people.

By our third trip to the campus, Alaska Native people reported than non-native staff members were complaining that “*everyone gets all native when the New Zealanders come*”. We were glad that our presence on campus was permission-giving to our indigenous colleagues, even if only for a time. We worried about their powerlessness and what would happen after we left. We had offered our indigenous colleagues a vision of programme evaluation that could operate from their own worldview and of course they wanted it. We all knew that confrontation with those who held the power to determine which evaluations were funded, and what criteria and indicators were to be used to determine programme success, was highly likely. As indigenous colonised peoples, we knew that a long hard battle was usually in store whenever attempts, however meagre, were made to get our sovereignty back.

Chapter Four examined that struggle in New Zealand, as it related to health promotion evaluation. It is the call for self-determination and successive governments’ responses to that call that best illustrates the power dynamics inherent in programme evaluation in this country. The chapter looked at the power and politics that operate across society affecting evaluation practice at all levels. At the policy level, the government, as the

elected representatives of the people, make the policies upon which funding decisions are made - decision regarding programmes and their evaluation. They also have the power to decide the goals and the approaches of the programmes and how, and on what basis, they will be evaluated. This same government has the power to determine what constitutes 'evidence' of programme effectiveness, and to require this evidence from evaluation; all the while reserving the right to ignore it should they wish. Māori argue for the right to interrupt the power of central government at all these levels – to have significant input into policy and funding decisions, to decide what programmes are most likely to work for Māori, to design them and evaluate them on criteria that are important to Māori and to create an evidence base that is used to ensure policies and programme funding that work for the good of Māori.

Reaching the place where successive governments have allowed Māori, at least to some small degree, to impact across all these levels has been a process of incremental change and is an ongoing struggle to maintain ground. Part of the struggle is getting the Crown to recognise their full responsibilities as Treaty partners, with equal responsibility to ensure Māori rights are honoured. Progress has been made, in that the funding of Māori programmes based on Māori worldviews and values is now relatively commonplace, but Māori are still far from having achieved tino rangatiratanga. For example, there is still little movement in allowing Māori communities to fully design, implement and evaluate their own programmes. To fund Māori community based programmes where the focus and goals are entirely determined by the community, exemplified by the Kaupapa Māori action research project examined in chapter three, seems to require a great deal of trust on the part of funders. This project was funded by the Health Research Council of New Zealand through the Rangahau Hauora Assessing Committee.

More commonly, evaluation funders in the New Zealand context are civil servants carrying the burden of responsibility for spending money from New Zealand tax payers, for the good of all New Zealanders. They also report ultimately to government ministers who want to be re-elected by those tax-payers, among whom Māori are but a small minority. In this highly risk averse environment for politicians and civil servants, it is hardly surprising that trusting Māori communities with tax payer money to design and deliver programmes towards their community's goals and aspirations is still a rare commodity.<sup>96</sup> It is far more common for Māori community programmes to be funded with goals and strategies, timelines and budgets already established, sometimes based on evidence of effectiveness from non-Māori contexts. The phenomena of public sector managers' distrust of uncertainty that results in restrictions to programme flexibility and innovation is not confined to Māori programmes in Aotearoa New Zealand (Abma and Noordegraaf in Rogers, 2008). Māori however, are not asking civil servants to trust them with tax payer money, they are asking for their rights to be honoured by the government – rights to self-determination and as full tax paying citizens of Aotearoa - rights enshrined in the Treaty of Waitangi.

For Māori, it is not a matter of whether funders trust Māori, their organisations or communities. It is not even a matter of whether funders trust an approach, theory or model to produce measurable results. For Māori it is a matter of the Crown and its agencies honouring Māori treaty-based rights to “do it our way” – whether it works to produce results government funders want or not. Māori argue for the right to determine the type of programmes and values underpinning them, programme personnel and what

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<sup>96</sup> There are a few programmes of this type. For example, those funded under the Te Ao Auahatanga Hauora Māori: The Māori Health Innovations Fund.

results will be measured and how. Again the Treaty is the basis for arguing for this, but it is also accepted that in Māori communities, this is likely to lead to better results. This is the kaupapa that has been built into the approach to evaluation that is woven through the chapters within this thesis.

The funding of ‘by Māori, for Māori’ programmes and their evaluation has meant that the body of evaluative evidence that testifies to the effectiveness of ‘by Māori, for Māori programmes’ is growing. Māori evaluation capacity has been built and approaches such as those described in this thesis have been developed. The large number of evaluation reports on Māori pilot programmes has been instrumental in telling the story. Papers written and published in academic journals have contributed to the evidence base for Māori and other indigenous people. However, Māori still have limited power to ensure this evidence is accepted as legitimate and the use of evidence still depends on all the many and varied vagaries of our political context at any given time.

“Despite overwhelming social and health statistics that show mainstream programme are not working for Māori, some funders are not convinced of alternate programme models, which work from a cultural base. In part this is because they don’t value some of the outcomes that these programme seeks to instil (e.g. cultural esteem, collective well being outcomes) and some of the evaluation methods are not seen as offering sufficient rigorous evidence.” (Māori evaluator in aruskevich 2010, p. 74)

### *Issue 2: The Status of Evidence*

Tino rangatiratanga in its various manifestations was a recurring theme throughout the chapters set out in this thesis. Tino rangatiratanga in the evaluation setting includes

control over the building of our evidence base of programme effectiveness, freedom to use any method that fitted the purpose and to utilise the evidence to benefit Māori. We do not have this control. Too frequently evidence is collected for outcomes that we do not value, and not collected for outcomes that we do value; *and* we still have little control over the use of any evidence at government level. Salmond (2010) confirmed this when he reported on national radio that politicians in New Zealand do not use evaluation evidence to guide decision-making. He told of how they only seek out and use evidence that supports their existing positions. Chapters Two and Four show that Māori solutions to problems of evidence not being used to guide policy decisions are premised on the Treaty, whereby we continue to ask for the right to collect our own evidence, decide for ourselves what is rigorous and valid and to use the evidence as we see fit.

As previously stated, acceptance of a Māori definition of evidence is not yet the reality, so we continue to advocate for it as we face the realities of the current state of evidence in evaluation. As discussed in Chapter Four, the issue of what constitutes evidence is complex. Ideally, all the different groups involved in a programme and its evaluation would be explicit about their values, agendas and knowledge bases before deciding on the values of a programme and the forms of evidence for the evaluation. Traditionally programme evaluation evidence has been strongly based on information from published literature, which disadvantages Māori and other indigenous groups, such as our Native Alaskan colleagues whose systems of knowledge transfer are primarily oral (Moewaka Barnes et al. 2011).

Although Māori and other indigenous peoples have been willing to learn to write in ways that develop this evidence base (aruskevich 2010), it takes time to build this evidence and writing is still not a high priority. However, the creation of an evidence base was a key motivation for my Alaska Native colleagues in co-writing Chapter Five for publication in the American Journal of Evaluation. They were aware that our paper would not be able to be referenced and quoted to provide evidence of effective evaluation if it were not published in a journal. They were also aware that publication in a prestigious peer reviewed journal would give academic legitimacy to their seasonal circle and that they would be able to reference it in grant applications to add weight to their case for planning programmes and evaluating them based on indigenous epistemologies. The decision to write and the choice of AJE were strategic moves for their indigenous evaluation journey. They are already planning a shorter version for publication in indigenous journals that will refer readers to the paper in AJE, once it is published. This has the two-fold purpose of sharing their learning *and* sharing the academic reference so that their native colleagues can also use it to build their cases for using indigenous epistemologies.

They are also aware that the more they are referenced and quoted, the greater the credibility given to their model and the more power they have to negotiate its use in evaluation. The deliberate, strategic decision to write to create academic credibility for indigenous epistemologies is outlined in Chapter Two in regard to the creation of Kaupapa Māori theory. Graham and Linda Smith and many others quoted throughout this thesis have written about Kaupapa Māori theory for these reasons. Others such as Helen Moewaka Barnes and Fiona Cram have written about Māori approaches to

evaluation for similar reasons. All of their writing has contributed to creating a stronger evidence base for Māori and indigenous approaches to research and evaluation.

Although more has been written recently, writing has not been prioritised as a form of evidence because Māori approaches to evaluation, including the hīkoi approach described here, recognise Māori community-based expertise as more accurate and legitimate than evidence from academic writing. This prioritises Māori communities as holding the knowledge of what works for their people, and what constitutes evidence of effectiveness. Throughout this thesis, we see that Māori generally take a broad approach to what constitutes evidence in evaluation, with the understanding that what we call ‘knowledge’ and how we assess it, is socially constructed. Knowledge and therefore evidence too, are related to culturally-embedded ontological and epistemological considerations. Moewaka Barnes (2008) contends that science and what is considered scientific evidence have been defined within a narrow western paradigm. She argues for a definition of Māori science from within Māori paradigms and Māori methodologies (Moewaka Barnes 2008, 2010). Unfortunately the decades old qualitative versus quantitative dichotomy still dominates many of the debates over evidence in evaluation (Scriven 2008). The RCT – the gold standard of medical trials – is still commonly purported as providing the best evidence in programme evaluations, although this is strongly contested by those who see it simply as one form of evidence, appropriate for some evaluation situations and wholly inappropriate in others (Scriven 2008).

It is probably fair to say that the debate has shifted to some degree from absolute positions towards arguing for the relative positions of different methodologies in a hierarchy of evidence (Rogers 2010). Certainly in New Zealand there are few evaluation



funders that take the absolute position that only RCTs provide reliable evidence of effectiveness. However, it is likely that this is more about being pragmatic<sup>97</sup> than that funders have a clear picture of what constitutes valid evidence across the types of programmes and varied contexts of programme evaluation. In many cases, an ‘evidence-based’ approach to programme funding, design and implementation is advocated, with evidence continuing to be narrowly defined in terms of western scientific paradigms.

In relation to health promotion evaluations, Chapter Four looked at some of the political conditions that have seen NZ governments vacillate between accepting a range of types of evidence in evaluation and only accepting quantitative measures. Quantitative measures, whether based on RCTs or simple output measures, seem to be the default position for fiscally conservative governments. Based on a positivist approach to research where science is narrowly, and some would argue ‘wrongly’ defined (Moewaka Barnes 2009, Scriven 2008), this position closes off a whole range of types of evidence to programme evaluation – types of evidence that may be much more valid. Western ways of knowing - western epistemology - is privileged over indigenous epistemologies – ways of knowing connected to land, ancestors, spirituality that are orally generated and transmitted.

Many Native elders say that we have existed on our lands...since the beginning of time.

It is not written somewhere like a citation from a scholarly publication, it is what is spoken. It is what is said. Our words. Spoken words, words remembered. A way of thinking, a way of being, a way of understanding and interacting with the world around

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<sup>97</sup> Funding constraints may preclude demanding the use of costly RCTs

us. Indigenous epistemologies and paradigms developed over thousands of years of sustained living on the land. (Rains et al. in aruskevich 2010, p. 65)

This broadening of the epistemological field, the willingness to allow a much wider range of evidence into what is called evaluation, was what excited the Alaskan indigenous evaluators in their response to the partnership with Whāriki set out in Chapter Five. In the case of Māori, for evidence based on Māori epistemology to be credible to a wider audience including programme funders, Māori usually try to demonstrate effectiveness across a range of criteria that link Māori worldviews to more accepted forms of evidence. To do this effectively requires a broad range of technical and cultural knowledge that may not be found in one person. It may be more appropriate to develop partnerships and community collaboration in order to appropriately gather and analyse evaluation evidence. As outlined in Chapter Two, appropriate partnerships with Māori may take a range of forms, but will generally be respectful of Māori self-determination and recognise that deep cultural knowledge is required for evaluation evidence to be correctly analysed and utilised for the good of Māori.

### ***Issue 3: Evaluator credibility***

The above discussion about the issues of politics and power and the status of evidence leads us to another important question that arose in this study - who are good evaluators for Māori programmes?

In this thesis there are many answers to the question, but not a definite list of requirements for good evaluators of Māori programmes. In Chapter One, a number of general characteristics that evaluators ought to possess in order to work well in Māori

and other indigenous contexts can be seen. These include personal characteristics such as being humble, adaptable, clear about ones own values and cultural perspectives, respectful, patient, a good listener and open to learning. Spread throughout the chapters are understandings that would be beneficial for evaluators to possess, in order to engage and work within Māori communities. Examples include: acknowledging those who have gone before, understanding that Māori sharing knowledge is a privilege and not an automatic right, waiting to be invited and the importance of leaving something of value in exchange for the precious information that you collect during an evaluation; to name just a few. No attempt has been made in this thesis to provide a definitive list, but there are many other characteristics and understandings identified throughout the chapters.

In New Zealand and elsewhere, attempts to define the required characteristics of ‘good’ evaluators have often centred on the development of Evaluator Competencies. Chapters Two and Five both refer to recent attempts by the Aotearoa New Zealand Evaluation Association (ANZEA) to develop evaluator competencies that capture what it means to be competent to practice evaluation within the many and varied contexts of New Zealand evaluations. The values in evaluation and, in particular, cultural values as they relate to the Treaty of Waitangi, have been placed at the centre of ANZEA’s efforts to develop Evaluator Competencies (McKegg et al. 2010). Just how the principle of highly ‘valuing’ values, including cultural values, generally plays out within evaluation teams and individual evaluators, is emerging as a very important issue in our context.

In a recent evaluation conference presentation, Nan Wehipeihana (2010) made a useful distinction between the processes of engagement and the ‘sense-making’ or analysis part of evaluation, highlighting the different skills, values, attributes, relationships and

processes required for these different tasks. Jane Davidson also made a similar distinction recently in describing two levels of ‘values’ in evaluation by identifying “process values” and “deep values” (Davidson 2010b, p. 207). Nan Wehipeihana (2010) makes the point, that it is the ‘sense-making’ part of evaluation where there is a need for cultural knowledge as an insider that cannot necessarily be learned. She also points out that insider knowledge is needed from the outset of an evaluation and reminds us again to question who has the power to determine whose values are prioritised in evaluation. In Chapter Five, we highlighted the fact that some Māori contest the idea of ‘cultural competencies’, rightly pointing out that acquiring or possessing cultural knowledge does not necessarily make a person or an evaluation team acceptable to a Māori community.

Under a Kaupapa Māori hīkoi approach, the ideal is that the Māori community have the power to select the evaluators that they want. The chapter on Kaupapa Māori theory based evaluation (Chapter Two) also highlights the principle that evaluations in Māori contexts should be under Māori control, at least partly in recognition of the fact that Māori hold the deep cultural knowledge that makes them the experts in interpreting evaluation findings from their community contexts. As previously shown every chapter in various ways describes the importance and centrality of Māori worldviews, values and culture in evaluation. Hīkoi as described throughout this thesis acknowledges the importance of working together with communities, valuing the experience and knowledge and expertise that each person brings to the programme and its evaluation.

Māori have a long history of being researched and wrongly interpreted and tend to be acutely aware that it is one thing to access information from Māori and quite another to

correctly interpret its meaning. Both are important for an evaluation to be valid for Māori. We are keenly aware that there are different levels of information that can be given to evaluators. Peter Mataira (2003) describes three layers of knowledge: superficial outsiders view; understanding of values and norms; and the inner core where knowledge, assumptions and meanings are known (Mataria 2003). Throughout the thesis, there is recognition of the high value of Māori and indigenous knowledge, and therefore of the privilege of accessing it. To access the inner core is a rite of passage that requires being trusted by the community. For Māori, and many other indigenous peoples, new knowledge is precious ancient wisdom applied to a new context. A statement from Amelia Ruerup (Chapter Five), one of my Alaska Native colleagues underscores the value they place on cultural wisdom from their ancestors *”how genius to use the cultural wisdom of our ancestors as a foundation for successes we have bore witness to since time immemorial”*. Understanding then, that this type of knowledge is a treasure explains the necessity of earning the right to hold it. To have deep knowledge passed on to you by a knowledge bearer is truly a privilege<sup>98</sup> and that privilege must be earned. It can be earned by building a relationship of trust. Without this, you may be given information but it will be surface information considered of little value in the indigenous community – and unlikely to contribute to evaluation being good for Māori.

Understanding the necessity for ‘inner core’ knowledge (Mataira 2003) or ‘deep values’ as Jane Davidson (2010b) puts it, is an important prerequisite for evaluators wanting to undertake evaluations that are good for Māori. In Chapter One I suggest that if an evaluator truly understands this one principle, then they are also likely to possess the kind of humility and “process values” (Davidson 2010b) that will facilitate access to

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<sup>98</sup> In acknowledgment of this privilege, reciprocity is a key principle and the giving of *koha* or gifts are important practices in indigenous evaluation.

high quality information. They will generally be willing to admit when they do not possess the requisite deep cultural values and use appropriate processes of engagement and ensure that there are people within the evaluation team who do. This applies to Māori and non-Māori evaluators alike.

There is value in coming from within a Māori worldview, but this does not mean that Māori evaluators hold the expert knowledge of each unique evaluation context – this knowledge always belongs to the particular community, organisation, iwi, hapū and whānau. The high regard for community knowledge and expertise is a fundamental principle of the hīkoi approach to evaluation that underlies this thesis. Māori evaluators may be a part of that community or have a variety of relationships with the community with insider/outsider boundaries often blurred. Evaluation teams may be required to provide the necessary mix of skills, knowledge and relationships to facilitate good evaluation in some Māori contexts. Linda Smith's ethical code of conduct outlined in Chapter Two, articulates a range of practices for engaging in Kaupapa Māori research in Māori communities. For Māori evaluators, the consequences of not engaging appropriately are long term, with negative outcomes reverberating for generations. Moewaka Barnes (2008) points out that attending to tikanga in Māori community contexts is crucial for Māori researchers - and much more significant than attending to mainstream ethical procedures.

“In relation to ensuring ethical ways of conducting research and ethical implications, if we live within a Māori worldview, how could we as researchers transgress without serious reverberations? The care and respect (and bravery) that is needed to tread these paths is at the forefront of our minds, possible censure by the academy is truly white noise by comparison” (Moewaka Barnes 2008, p. 77).

In a number of places in the thesis (Chapters One, Two and Four) the issue of whether is it appropriate for non-Māori researchers/evaluators to be involved in research and evaluation in Māori contexts is briefly explored. Although the issue is contested, there tends to be some degree of consensus that non-Māori may be involved at many levels, and in a variety of partnership and collaborative roles, with the proviso that there is a high level of Māori control. Māori need, as a minimum, to be intimately involved in the sense making part of the evaluation.

These issues of access to knowledge are strongly related to the control and culture principles described in Chapter Two and together they are important for evaluator credibility. As discussed in that Chapter, the Kaupapa Māori credibility principle encompasses evaluation expertise<sup>99</sup> as well as being credible to the community where the evaluation is located. Researcher credibility was found to be one of the key reasons for the multiple successes of the kaupapa Māori action research project described in Chapter Three. The project demonstrated how the researchers' tangata whenua connections and their professional experience in the region provided credibility and trust. This was key to engaging with Māori communities and the communities of care, and facilitated the excellent outcomes from the project.

From the thesis the importance of evaluators being credible to Māori communities emerges as an important theme. The need for Māori types of evidence to be accepted, if evaluation is to be good for Māori, is also pronounced. However, the greatest impact on whether evaluation is good for Māori, or not, is determined by who has the power to determine what is evaluated, by whom and based on what values and definitions of

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<sup>99</sup> Including knowledge of what constitutes rigour in evaluation and knowledge and skill in using a range of tools.

success? The power differentials that exclude some groups from full participation in evaluation, even within their own communities, operate throughout the field of evaluation and are not confined to Māori contexts.

The last word in this discussion is given to a developing Alaska Native evaluator, Debbie Mekiana (Chapter Five). Debbie questions the types of evidence usually required in evaluations. Her story provides an excellent example of the “inner core knowledge” or “deep values” required to appropriately collect and interpret evaluation data within her Alaska Native context. It also reminds us again to question the power and politics that determine whose questions get asked and answered in evaluation:

Many of the evaluation processes require quantitative rather than qualitative measures and many of our successes as Indigenous people are in the stories. Sharing narratives rather than numbers is the Indigenous way to share successes. For example, when we hunt caribou at home, the success is in the process of hunting rather than the number of caribou we shoot. The process includes the amount of energy exerted during the hunt, the number of bullets needed to shoot the animal, and where on the animal the shot hit. In sharing the experience, evaluation is included. The mistakes that might have been made are shared with the audience and what the hunter could have done better. There is the belief that nothing is perfect, there is always room for improvement.



# Conclusions

## Good Evaluation for Māori

The question remains - what *is* good evaluation for Māori?

Working with other evaluators and meeting them at conferences and other hui confirmed that 'good' in evaluation was determined by a vast range of factors as diverse as the programmes, funders, evaluators and programme participants and their communities. Unsurprisingly, there are multiple answers, depending on who is looking and how they are looking. Answers can be found in every chapter of this thesis. Many answers can also be seen in relation to the three highlighted issues in the discussion above.

In the New Zealand context, involvement in the development of the Best Practice Māori Guidelines (Social Policy Evaluation and Research Committee 2007) at a hui in 2007 built upon my growing knowledge of what constituted ethical practices in evaluation in Aotearoa New Zealand and provided many answers to the question of what is 'good evaluation' for Māori. The hui also provided an opportunity to test whether my findings on the hīkoi to that point were validated by the songs, stories, poems and examples from my elders and peers in the field. In a wonderfully relational way, thanks in part to the fantastic facilitation skills of Kataraina Pipi, the hui brought forth a wealth of illustrative stories, which unfortunately were later distilled into a brief document that in no way captured the richness of interaction, or the great depth of knowledge shared. It is often the case that writing fails to capture the complexity and richness that comes when

people interact (Kovach 2009, Wilson 2008). This is more pronounced for indigenous people, like Māori, who have always been fluent in oral knowledge transfer. Although the SPEaR Guidelines are useful they prepresent one such example of the shortfall between the real learning in face to face interaction and the written account, and this thesis is another. The SPEaR Guudelines set out the principles of respect, integrity, responsiveness, competency and reciprocity in order to capture some of what is ethical when working with Māori; much is missed. This thesis captures some of what is ‘good’ for Māori in evaluation from many hundreds of conversations over a period of eight years. To say that much is missed, is an extreme understatement. What is presented in an introduction, five chapters, a discussion and conclusions, is a tiny portion of learning from the hīkoi about how a diverse Māori population, in different contexts, determines ‘good’ in evaluation.<sup>100</sup>

This section draws together the general principles on good evaluation for Māori from findings on the hīkoi. The four themes presented by way of conclusions are different to the themes teased out in the discussion although they draw from the same findings. The themes here represent another slice or view of the hīkoi.<sup>101</sup> In order to ensure that the reader gets an overview of the terrain covered, the key findings on what is good for Māori in evaluation are underlined.<sup>102</sup> I am again largely resisting providing a meta-voice, meta-narrative by way of summary, although I do admit that the temptation still

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<sup>100</sup> Emendation in response to requirement to discuss the concept of ‘good’ evaluation.

<sup>101</sup> Examination suggestion was to return to the six principles developed in Chapter Two and examine their implications for the whole thesis. I have not done this in-depth here as the principles were discussed and argued in Chapter Two in the context for which the specific principles were articulated. I have referred back to them throughout the hīkoi as a check and balance and to ensure that all the key Kaupapa Māori principles are represented in the discussion and conclusions. They were particularly included as part of the data from which I have drawn my themes.

<sup>102</sup> Emendation in response to requirement to connect themes and arguements with research question.

exists.<sup>103</sup> <sup>104</sup> It is so ingrained from reading and writing in a western frame to want to square everything off and package it in a convenient take-home box. I am reminded of Kovach's description of trying to grow something indigenous in a western methodological context. "Out of a box, you are squeezing a circle and there is something kind of wacky about that" (Kovach 2009, p. 153). Kovach goes on to say that it is a challenging endeavour because the fit is inherently bad and western thinking so ingrained in the academy (Kovach 2009). This was illustrated when a colleague who reviewed the chapter written with my Alaska Native colleagues (Chapter Five) had just one question, "why didn't you write a conclusion?" My colleague liked the chapter but was mildly disturbed with the way it ended – that there was no meta-voice nicely summing it up for the reader. As described in that chapter, I left the last word to Ukk'aa and they chose not to write a conclusion using a meta-voice. I respected their decision. We all recognised that the strength and originality of the paper lay in hearing from each very unique individual, whose biographies and original 'voice' demonstrated the diversity and also the commonality in their experiences of indigenous evaluation capacity building. With their holistic views of the world and cyclic thinking, my Alaska Native friends did not see the need for a meta-voice commentary to wrap things up - for them, nothing is ever really 'individual' nor is it ever really 'finished'.

### *Indigenous Worldviews and Values*

Being comfortable with multiple voices and not needing to use a meta-voice or a meta-narrative is a recurring theme in indigenous research and evaluation circles (Kovach

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<sup>103</sup> Emendation in response to requirement to connect Kaupapa Māori principles with the whole thesis.

<sup>104</sup> Emendation in response to requirement to reflect further on the issue of meta-narratives.

2009, LaFrance 2009, Robertson et al. 2004, Wilson 2008).<sup>105</sup> It is recurring because a holistic communitarian, ecological worldview that naturally holds all the parts together as a whole, is common among indigenous peoples and therefore important in indigenous framings of research and evaluation (Robertson et al 2004, Wilson 2005). In this context too, there are internal rules that determine who has the right to speak for the collective as an authoritative voice (LaFrance 2009). It is important to know when we do or do not have the authority to speak for the community. It is also common to avoid meta-narrative because our experiences of colonisation make us suspicious of providing any descriptions that may be used to colonise us further – to ‘other’ us, to box us and limit us; these understandings and experiences, common to many indigenous peoples, present major issues in evaluation.<sup>106</sup>

Given our common experience of ongoing oppression as a result of our colonisation, it is important for indigenous peoples to share our knowledge and write about our experiences and advocate for indigenous forms of evidence and concepts of success so that we can establish a stronger basis for doing things in indigenous ways in evaluation. As outlined in Chapters Four and Five and in the discussion of power and politics, programme evaluations are most often contracted to fulfil a government accountability function that eschews indigenous worldviews and values in favour of fiscal concerns. When evaluations are primarily concerned with cost-effective efficiency measures of programme effectiveness, they are unlikely to take other perspectives into

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<sup>105</sup> I do not mean to imply that meta-narratives are always avoided by indigenous people. Even for such a heterogeneous grouping as ‘Māori’ many meta-narratives exist. For example, all tribes share the Ranginui and Papatuanuku creation stories. Tensions around meta-narratives centre on the way in which they have been used as a tool of oppression throughout the history of colonisation.

<sup>106</sup> Refer to Chapter One for the definition of Indigenous used throughout this thesis. Most indigenous examples in this thesis are drawn from my hiko relationships with a small number of Nations, primarily in Northern America. This is a limited view of indigenous evaluation and although I have not written about indigenous evaluation in a broad global frame, I want to acknowledge the burgeoning indigenous evaluation movements worldwide.

considerations. Where these evaluations are conducted in Māori communities, it has been argued in this thesis that they represent continued colonising oppression of the concerns and values of indigenous peoples.

On the other hand, there is evidence throughout this thesis that programme evaluations developed from a Māori worldview and based on Māori values and principles are likely to be good for Māori. For example, the Kaupapa Māori Action Research project reported in Chapter Three is an example of an evaluative process based on a holistic communitarian Māori worldview that generated excellent outcomes for Māori. When evaluative feedback makes sense within Māori contexts, Māori are able to use that information to make or advocate for change/improvement to programmes and services. Māori worldview based evaluations are likely to be communitarian, involving the community as much as possible at all stages, and utilising deep cultural knowledge to make sense of findings. It is argued that this will greatly improve the chance of collecting quality information, accurate analysis and community buy-in to making changes based on the findings, and that this will be good for Māori.

### ***Tino rangatiratanga - Sovereignty***

Māori and other indigenous people ask for sovereignty – the notions of sovereignty and self-determination emerge from all the chapters of this thesis and are inherent in any Kaupapa Māori theory based evaluation. For Māori this is based on tino rangatiratanga and premised on the Treaty of Waitangi. The Treaty of Waitangi is the basis for arguing for justice and equity, seen as integral to good evaluation for Māori. There is a wealth of evidence that shows that Māori do not have equitable outcomes with non-Māori in health, education or any socioeconomic indices. Mainstream programmes aimed at

closing the gaps have still failed to close the gaps. The injustice of inequitable outcomes as a result of colonisation and the Crown having failed to honour its Treaty obligations for 140 years is one argument Māori put forward for the government funding of ‘by Māori, for Māori’ programmes and their evaluations. ‘By Māori for Māori’ programmes are argued for on the basis of our tino rangatiratanga right to do it for ourselves. The funding and evaluation of these programmes allows Māori to use our expert knowledge of our own people to design more effective programmes and to evaluate them according to our priorities.

Tino rangatiratanga in programme evaluation begins with the call for Māori control of programmes that impact Māori. It is argued in this thesis that a good evaluation for Māori is one that allows Māori to determine what gets evaluated, how and by whom. Ultimately the evaluation should run alongside Māori programmes from their inception in order to ensure that it is premised on Māori worldviews, principles and values that reflect outcomes that are important to Māori. This also allows for evaluator and programme people to journey together to determine the goals and work towards achieving them.

The tino rangatiratanga Treaty claim also encompasses Māori having some degree of input into evaluations of mainstream services where they impact our communities. There is evidence in this thesis to show that non-Māori mainstream service providers do not necessarily know how best to provide services to Māori. Māori generally have good knowledge of the dominant worldview and how they are perceived within it, but the opposite is not necessarily true. This is a powerful argument for Māori input into the evaluations of mainstream services, particularly where approaches such as action

research, or formative evaluation, provide avenues for open communication and service development based on findings, in an ongoing iterative manner.

### ***The journey is as important as the destination***

The kaupapa Māori hīkoi evaluation approach used throughout the thesis, emphasises the ‘journey’ or processes of evaluation as being as important as reaching the destination. The equal weight given to the importance of process and outcome in the *hīkoi* approach highlights the significance of getting the evaluation process right, if evaluations are to result in good for Māori. This link from good evaluation processes to good outcomes is shown throughout the thesis.

The hīkoi approach emphasises the relationships in evaluation over any particular process or methods. Aligning with a Māori communitarian worldview, relationships are primary and they guide evaluation. How well an evaluation goes in a Māori context is inextricably tied to the quality of the relationships between the key stakeholders. When the right processes for engagement are in place and the relationships built on strong foundations then the evaluation will generally proceed well – it will be good for Māori.

From my hīkoi, there were numerous examples of how good process led to good relationship and ultimately good evaluations that provided valuable information for ongoing programme development or of the merit or worth of a programme across multiple dimensions. This was also true even of evaluations where the findings may not have been favourable to the programme - where processes and relationships were strong, there were no surprises for programme staff and they were better able to accept critique in a constructive manner; the same was not always true of programme funders.

Where evaluations revealed that funding and contracting processes may have negatively impacted a programme government funders were not necessarily open to critique. This is unfortunate. One of the ways in which evaluation could be even better for Māori would be if there were a willingness among funders to allow Māori to critique funding processes so the funding and contracting of programmes that impact Māori (and their evaluations) are based on processes that are better able to facilitate successful programmes and outcomes.

### ***Fit for the context***

Just as there is not one process only, that is good for Māori in evaluation, so too there is no one evaluation tool, or one evaluator, suitable for all evaluations. The tailoring of processes and tools, and indeed the selection of evaluators tailored to each context, are important issues found throughout this thesis. Much has already been said about evaluation credibility, however it needs to be emphasised that in Māori contexts the evaluator or the evaluation team must fit the Māori community and the programme being evaluated for the evaluation to be good for Māori. There is no ideal evaluator suitable for all evaluations, although evaluators or evaluation teams are most likely to be good in Māori contexts if they possess personal attributes such as humility, technical skills and cultural credibility. Even Māori evaluators well-grounded in tikanga and fluent in te reo, with a kete full of evaluation knowledge and tools, are not going to be suitable evaluators in all Māori contexts. Increasingly programmes are being funded and developed based on particular iwitanga and in these cases it is often preferable to the community to have an evaluator from the iwi. Conversely, some communities prefer evaluators that are from outside, requiring the fresh perspective of someone not intimately involved. The hīkoi approach advocates for communities to be given the tino



rangatiratanga right to select their own evaluators to fit their contexts. For good evaluation under a Treaty of Waitangi based partnership model, non-Māori have an important role if partnerships with Māori are tino rangatiratanga based.

The same goes for theories, processes and tools. Although Kaupapa Māori theory based approaches to evaluation have provided a platform for many Māori evaluations, as Māori evaluation capability and capacity has grown, so too has the range of Māori approaches and the theories on which they are based. The Kaupapa Māori based hīkoi approach is one example where adaption of processes and tools to suit the purpose is advocated. Given that Māori approaches tend to avoid set processes and the use of particular tools, evaluators in Māori contexts actually need to have a wide range of evaluation tools available to them and have skill in selecting, and adapting them to suit the context. The skill of adapting, in some ways comes naturally to colonised peoples who are required to traversing between their community's cultural contexts and the mainstream on a daily basis. At the least it does prepare us for adapting and it is argued in Chapter One, that it also is the place at which innovations are most likely to occur.

Indeed throughout this hīkoi, this thesis journey, there are many examples of Māori innovation. Evaluation is good for Māori when innovation in the programmes being evaluated is encouraged and allowed for in the evaluation. It is good when the evaluation is able to be innovative in how it is conducted and in the measures and tools that are used. This is the place we are at in Aotearoa New Zealand. We do not have absolute tino rangatiratanga over all aspect of evaluation, but we do have a freedom to develop evaluation here in our contexts. Crossing over the borders between Māori and mainstream is producing innovative evaluation approaches and tools that are good for

Māori. Good because they fit us where we are at and ultimately help to improve programmes and outcomes for our people.

## **Concluding notes from the hīkoi**

As a new evaluator in a young discipline (not withstanding Sulley Gariba, Michael Scriven and others claiming it to be the oldest discipline) I met some of the most prominent people in the field internationally<sup>107</sup> - the ones who write the textbooks for the classes that we don't generally have in Aotearoa New Zealand. Robin Peace, the director of New Zealand's only formal evaluation qualification<sup>108</sup> recently made a comment that struck me as profoundly true, and has stayed with me as I write these notes to bring my doctoral evaluation hīkoi to a close. She said, in relation to evaluation in Aotearoa New Zealand, "the evaluation community here is extremely generous". I could not agree more. On the whole, the local evaluation experts *and* the international ones were not intimidating as I had expected – they were very humble and open and willing to share as equals on the evaluation journey. Except Michael Scriven, who fed vultures in the background of his online class "so that we would have something more interesting to look at" than him. The vultures were definitely more visually stimulating, but it hardly made Michael Scriven less intimidating looking past him to see massive birds of prey swooping in to shred the carcasses of small animals that were put there by Scriven himself to ensure our viewing pleasure! From this man that I initially found so intimidating, I learned one of the most valuable lessons for my hīkoi. Michael Scriven moved his life to New Zealand in order to start a doctoral programme in evaluation at

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<sup>107</sup> I would like to acknowledge Kate McKegg, Director of the Knowledge Institute and ANZEA for bringing many of the international evaluation experts to Aotearoa New Zealand.

<sup>108</sup> Evaluation training is available in Aotearoa New Zealand through the Post-Graduate Diploma in Social Sector Evaluation and Research, Massey University and various evaluation workshops.

the University of Auckland. He did not stay because it transpired that it was not going to be possible to achieve that goal – but the fact remains that he was prepared to come here, to spend the rest of his life here and for him there was one big attraction - the Treaty of Waitangi.

I learned from Michael Scriven to be truly grateful for what is good here – and much of what is ‘good’ in evaluation in Aotearoa New Zealand for myself as a Māori evaluator is tied to the Treaty of Waitangi and the honouring of Māori rights under that Treaty. The doctoral hīkoi confirmed this throughout. From the first chapter, attending evaluation conferences, it was obvious that Aotearoa New Zealand was a good place, relatively, for an indigenous evaluator to practice. Good for us as evaluators because we had a certain freedom to practise in ways that we knew would be good for our people. This freedom was hard won (and ongoing) over many years of struggling to have our rights recognized under the Treaty of Waitangi. I knew this, but it took an outsider’s perspective to make me truly grateful. As an insider, I am intimately acquainted with the ways in which we are still constrained from tino rangatiratanga in the practice of programme evaluation. I needed to be reminded that it’s a journey, and although there is still some distance to go, much progress has been made.

In evaluation, we have been a small part of, and benefited greatly from progress made by the larger Māori rights movement. I am most thankful to Māori and Pākehā who have worked towards justice and equity for Māori, wherever it was required. I acknowledge the many Māori and Pākehā also involved in advancing the evaluation

*hīkoi* over the last two decades.<sup>109</sup> They have been learning how to practise evaluation that is good for Māori, and have shared that knowledge generously.

The journey ended up being a long one, much longer than I anticipated. It was writing for publication that proved the most challenging part of the journey. Awareness of the audience and the necessity to comply with each publication's submission guidelines has constrained both what and how the chapters have been written. These considerations shaped the thesis in an unusual way, with divergent writing styles between chapters and some important issues written about and others barely mentioned. The decision to write for these fora was driven by the fact that indigenous evaluation is rarely written about despite significant developments. More has been published very recently as indigenous communities engage in programme evaluation and realise, as did our Alaska Native colleagues, that they can do it their way – that they can use culturally appropriate indicators and markers to measure changes that are important to them. Increasingly we are prioritising writing for publication as the realisation dawns that this is an important way to develop and share an evidence base for evaluation that operates within indigenous worldviews. It is also an important way to advocate for indigenous approaches among other evaluators and in our own communities.

Although writing for publication presented particular challenges, I contend that writing for publication is one the biggest contributions to knowledge from this thesis. Five papers represent a significant contribution to the literature on indigenous evaluation. The eagerness of the American Journal of Evaluation to publish the first paper (Chapter One) testifies to a wider interest in indigenous evaluation in the field. The Editor for the

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<sup>109</sup> A number of non-Māori evaluation experts have been particularly influential on my evaluation *hīkoi*. I acknowledge Sally Caswell, Jane Davidson, Paul Duignan, Kate McKeeg and Sharon Milne.

Teaching section of the American Journal of Evaluation has read the final paper (Chapter Five) and invited us to submit it for peer review, commenting that it will make a “unique contribution to the literature in general and the Teaching Section in particular” (personal correspondence – 08/06/2011).

The real achievement of this thesis though, from my perspective, is seen in the distance travelled from that first chapter to the last. The first paper, an opinion piece published in the American Journal of Evaluation written by one Māori author, led to meeting Alaska Native people and supporting them to catch a vision for indigenous evaluation. It was a great privilege to pass on all the knowledge in my evaluation kete to a group of indigenous people on the other side of the world. Together we wrote the last chapter for this thesis, a paper about our evaluation capacity building experiences, for publication in the American Journal of Evaluation. It is no longer my lone solitary voice that began this doctoral hīkoi. As I finish I am aware that I joined an indigenous evaluation hīkoi that had began long before I knew that programme evaluation existed. Many others have also joined along the way and more will join in the future.

It was in this last chapter, Chapter Five, my favourite by far, that I joined with the voices of six Alaska Native people who are completing the circle from their ancestral knowledge to contemporary programme evaluation and beginning a new seasonal cycle in evaluation. My evaluation journey that became a hīkoi is a part of such a cycle. As Debbie Mekiana wrote in the last chapter *“Linear thinking does not make sense to me. How can something end and not begin something else?”*

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## Appendix One: Meta-Evaluation Chart (Māori)

Meta-Evaluation Synthesis	Meta-Evaluation Questions
<p>Control Māori control Who had it and how used? Social Justice Community ownership Inclusion Democratic participation</p>	<p>Were Māori in control of all aspects of the evaluation? Planning, funding, designing, implementing, analysing findings, disseminating findings, use of findings? By Who and how were the main decisions made? Who decided on the goals of the evaluation? Where the Māori community involved and in what capacity? Where Treaty implications assessed in the evaluation design, implementation etc? Was Māori participation maximised? (if not control) Was input on issues for Māori sort? Where evaluation objectives for Māori specified? Clear and realistic?</p>
<p><b>Culture and connection</b> Evaluation is tailored to the specific cultural context Evaluation knowledge generation and sharing is based on appropriate contextually specific relationships</p>	<p>Did the evaluation use and apply Māori concepts, paradigms, viewpoints and terms in the analysis Where Māori connections such as whānau, hapū and iwi considered and respected?</p>
<p><b>Conduct and credibility</b> Professional conduct Integrity Credible source of findings Accountability Competency</p>	<p>Did evaluators adhere to basic principles of respect, integrity, confidentiality and safety? Did evaluators have cultural, language, subject and research competencies? Were the research methodologies explained to Māori? Were the aims and anticipated outcomes clearly articulated to Māori? Did Māori participants know how their information would be used? Were results reported back to Māori?</p>
<p><b>Validity</b> Are conclusions justified? Objectivity Measurement and analysis</p>	<p>Were the research methodologies valid within the context? Was it high quality data and analysis? Did the evaluation look beyond patterns to try to explain what is happening for Māori? Were results validated with Māori? (as participants, researchers and stakeholders)</p>
<p><b>Utility and Change</b> What were the impacts to which the evaluation contributed? How were the findings used? How useful? What positive benefits from the evaluation process and findings? Any misuses/detriment? How do we know that benefits were from the evaluation? Were findings delivered in a timely way?</p>	<p>Where results reported back to Māori in an appropriate and timely manner? Did the evaluation recognise issues raised by Māori that fall outside of the original objectives? Where the results significant for Māori? Did Māori benefit in any way from the evaluation? Was Māori capacity built by the evaluation? How and in what way? Was Māori community knowledge increased from the evaluation? (did the evaluation contribute knowledge for example in evidence based strategies or in increased knowledge of evaluation strategies) Were Māori skills increased from the evaluation? Was the evaluation detrimental to Māori in any way? Where results fed into policy improvements for Māori? Where results used for improvements in service delivery for Māori?</p>

<p>Social justice Improvement Community knowledge Evidence based strategies (from the evaluator) Capacity building Organisational learning</p>	
<p><b>Cost</b> How was cost effectiveness of the evaluation measured? Was it good value?</p>	<p>Were resources for the evaluation adequate for the collection of quality information for Māori? Was the benefit to Māori significant compared enough to balance the cost of the evaluation?</p>



**Appendix Two: Statements of Contribution**



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STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION  
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(To appear at the end of each thesis chapter/section/appendix submitted as an article/paper or collected as an appendix at the end of the thesis)

We, the candidate and the candidate's Principal Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

Name of Candidate: SANDRA BROWN

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FIRST PERSON, FIRST PEOPLES: A JOURNEY THROUGH BOUNDARIES

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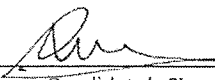
KAUPAPA MAORI THEORY BASED EVALUATION

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KAPAPA MAORI ACTION RESEARCH TO IMPROVE HEART

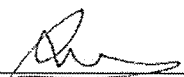
DISEASE SERVICES IN AOTEAROA, NEW ZEALAND

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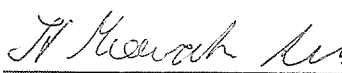
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EVALUATION HIKOI: A MODEL FOR AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND?

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INDIGENOUS EVALUATION: IT'S ONLY NEW BECAUSE IT'S  
BEEN MISSING SO LONG.

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