Cultural Competence at the Department of Corrections – an Exploration into the Perspectives of Frontline Staff

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Abstract

Public sector organisations in New Zealand have long faced challenges in their mandate to 'succeed with Māori', both in terms of providing services to Māori client groups, and in developing a culturally-capable workforce. Biculturalism in New Zealand is at an interesting cross road, 179 years on from the signing of New Zealand's founding document, Te Tiriti o Waitangi (*The Treaty of Waitangi*). While Māori as indigenous people continue to remain over-represented in many negative socio-economic statistics many Treaty claims are settled and iwi have a degree of economic stability previously unrealised. Alongside this, demand for tikanga Māori skills and knowledge in the public sector workplace is increasing, whilst Māori academics and iwi leaders have begun to refer to the Crown as representative of Māori, instead of the distinct and hostile presence previously positioned.

As public sector agencies seeking to provide social services to Māori as an overrepresented client population, the cultural competence of frontline staff becomes paramount. Cultural competence describes the provision of services in a way that is genuine and fosters appreciation of differences in mannerisms and traditions, values and beliefs of different cultures. Westernised professional contexts have an inherent structure of power and privilege that presents a challenge in restoring self-determination to Māori. Shared control and decision making through policy, procedure and practice are key elements in the work of decolonialisation, and cultural competence offers a foundational opportunity to begin this important work.

This study seeks to investigate the challenges frontline staff in the Department of Corrections face in engaging with te ao Māori (*a Māori world view)* in the workplace, through their interactions with offenders they work with. It will explore the moments of exposure to te ao Māori, and the challenges faced in the development of cultural competence, in an attempt to explore the dynamics at play between te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā in the prison environment. Through this understanding future research can then build upon solutions to overcome these challenges and explore the factors that make for successful development of cultural competence in the New Zealand public sector workplace.

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The Department of Corrections has gone through a significant change journey already, in the short 18months I've been doing this research. My Managers and colleagues have continued to inspire me, support me and been committed to its value, to the degree that we are now embarking on a significant opportunity to contribute to transformational change. My career and indeed my life, has been irrevocably changed for it.

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1.1 Research Overview

Public sector organisations in New Zealand have long faced challenges in their mandate to 'succeed with Māori', both in terms of providing services to Māori client groups, and in developing a culturally-capable workforce. Specifically, trying to engage employees with minimal knowledge or exposure to Māori cultural can raise a number of challenges for organisations seeking to instigate cultural awareness and competency development programmes. This project explores the individual perspectives of staff working as Corrections Officers at the Department of Corrections, to build an understanding of how prepared they feel to work effectively with Māori prisoners in a frontline role. It applies cultural competency frameworks developed for psychology and counselling practice overseas, in a New Zealand correctional context.

Biculturalism in New Zealand is at an interesting cross road, 179 years on from the signing of New Zealand's founding document, Te Tiriti o Waitangi[1] (Te Tiriti). Māori as indigenous people continue to remain over-represented in many negative socio-economic statistics (Robson, 2000), however some signs of change are starting to emerge. With most Treaty claims settled (Hurihanganui, 2017), iwi have a degree of economic stability and power previously unrealised. While in recent history Māori have been positioned as 'radical activists' (Phelan & Shearer, 2009), and deeply entrenched attitudes on race have shaped New Zealand's cultural identity (Sayers, 2014), a re-positioning is starting to occur - the demand for tikanga (*process and protocol*) Māori knowledge in the workplace has increased exponentially (Mahrooqi & Asante, 2012; Woolf, 2018) and the profile of the Māori workforce is changing with increased skills and salaries (State Services Commission, 2003). Māori academics and

[1] Te Tiriti o Waitangi is the Māori name for The Treaty of Waitangi. It shall be referred to in Māori here to recognize the difference of meaning between the English and Māori versions, as a recognition of the agreement Māori signed that retained their sovereignty.

iwi leaders have begun to refer to the Crown as representative of Māori, instead of the distinct and hostile presence previously positioned (Kawharu, 2018).

Workplace dynamics in the New Zealand public sector are challenged by the inherently different collectivist principles characteristic of Māori, alongside the individualist nature of merit-based success measures in the Pākehā[2] system (Brougham & Haar, 2012; Haar & Delaney, 2009; Houkamau, 2010). When bicultural practices are employed by organisations, research has shown Māori are positively impacted in terms of cultural identity, mental health (Brougham & Haar, 2012), decreased work-family conflict and turnover intentions (Haar & Roche, 2012). The public sector provides an especially interesting case study. Biculturalism is foundational to governance, with legislative requirements to support the advancement of Māori, while at the same time Māori make up most of the client population for social services such as welfare, healthcare and supported housing. This raises issues in the capability to effectively deliver culturally-appropriate services, and the degree to which Pākehā as the majority population believe biculturalism is resource-specific or merit-based (Jackson, 2007; Sibley, 2004). New Zealand also grapples with increasing multiculturalism, and must acknowledge that biculturalism is not to disregard the other many cultures in New Zealand, but specifically addresses the recognition of both cultures by the state (Hayward, 2012). In the workplace, westernised professional contexts have an inherent structure of power and privilege that presents a challenge in restoring self-determination to Māori. Shared control and decision making through policy, procedure and practice are key elements in the work of decolonialisation, made more difficult by highly individualistic workplaces.

Cultural competence is the ability for an individual to relate to and work with cultures different to their own, in a way that is genuine and fosters appreciation of differences in mannerisms and traditions, values and beliefs (Lowell, 2016). It describes not only the recognition and adaptation of

[2] Pākehā is the Māori name for New Zealanders of European descent or alternately 'foreigner'. It is used here deliberately to position the analysis of relations between Māori and non-Māori in a colonised context, acknowledging non-Māori in New Zealand today are not all of European descent.

services to meet the needs of different cultural groups (Sue, 1998), but grows upon this further by reflecting upon the power and privilege dynamics of the majority ethnicity (Sonn, 2004), and the appropriate application of skills and knowledge in an organisational context (Balcazar, Suarez-Balcazar, & Taylor-Ritzler, 2009). In New Zealand, cultural competence has the opportunity to play a significant role in building awareness and understanding between Māori and non-Māori and offers a valuable path to progress a new generation of race relations in New Zealand. While police, education and health sectors in New Zealand have well researched and established cultural sensitivity frameworks developed to meet the needs of Māori (King, 2000; Macfarlane, 2007; O'Reilly, 2014), they tend to focus more on the 'cultural sensitivity' of their staff (an awareness of similarities and differences with other cultures) instead of the expected behaviours, attitudes and policies set by an organisation with a more mature competency model (Cross, et al., & Georgetown Univ. Child Development Center, 1989). Cultural competence as a concept was made popular in mental health frameworks in the United States of America over the past two decades, however has remained limited to the healthcare sector and has not been comprehensively applied in a New Zealand workplace context.

This study seeks to investigate the challenges frontline staff in the Department of Corrections face in engaging with te ao Māori (*a Māori world view)* in the workplace, through their interactions with offenders they work with. It will explore the moments of exposure to te ao Māori, and the challenges faced in the development of cultural competence, in an attempt to explore the dynamics at play between te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā in the prison environment. Through this understanding future research can then build upon solutions to overcome these challenges and explore the factors that make for successful development of cultural competence in the New Zealand public sector workplace.

1.2 The Department of Corrections

The Department of Corrections (Corrections) offers a complex case study for analysing cultural dynamics. Established in 1995, Corrections manages 17 out of 18 of the country's prisons, with over

10,000 prisoners in custody. It also provides probation services to over 35,000 offenders based in the community, through a network of more than 100 Community Corrections Service Centres. Corrections is largest core public service department in the country with almost 10,000 staff (Department of Corrections, 2019a).

An overall target to reduce re-offending and Māori incarceration rates takes on a particular focus when considering that over 50% of the prison population is Māori, a significant over representation when compared to an overall NZ population that is 16% Māori (Statistics New Zealand, 2017). Corrections Officers make up a significant proportion of the workforce, with almost 4000 staff working as Corrections Officers in frontline roles in prisons (Department of Corrections, 2019a). They are well positioned to influence through daily interactions with prisoners; consequently, recruitment and training strategies in the past few years have focussed on a motivation to 'change lives, shape futures' and the ability to role model positive behaviours.

Corrections has had multiple strategic plans to address Māori re-offending over the past two decades, however efforts to develop capability in this respect have been mixed and largely ineffective. The 2017 Waitangi Tribunal review of Corrections efforts to reduce reoffending for Māori found Corrections in breach of Te Tiriti through the lack of performance targets, dedicated budget and accountability measures (Waitangi Tribunal, 2017). Although responses to the review have centred around the recent launch of the new 'Hōkai Rangi' organisational strategy, Corrections have not yet incorporated accountability measures to track progress. This year, the wider criminal justice sector in New Zealand has acknowledged the long standing statistics of Māori in the system, through the publishing of a number of reports including 'He Waka Roimata – Transforming our Criminal Justice System' by the Safe and Effective Justice Advisory Group (Te Uepū Hāpai i te Ora, 2019). The report highlighted the ways in which structural and systemic discrimination continues to re-traumatise Māori and further serve colonial power structures. Combined with increasing pressure to show accountability for the

outcomes of the Waitangi Tribunal breaches, Corrections is poised to respond with changes to the way it approaches 'succeeding with Māori'.

1.3 Research Purpose

The complex nature of Māori and Pākehā dynamics in the workplace, along with the lack of direct application of formal cultural competence frameworks in New Zealand, prompted this research. It seeks to contribute to the literature by developing an understanding of the challenges faced by frontline staff seeking to engage with the Māori in their care in New Zealand's prisons. The study was not designed to test assumptions or assess the degree to which Corrections is supporting its staff to develop their cultural competence. Rather, an exploratory approach seeks to understand the variables that mitigate the success of frontline staff engaging with Māori offenders. It also broadly contributes to a dialogue regarding race relations for future generations in New Zealand, by looking at current changes in workplace dynamics and seeking to understand the attitudes and fears that may present challenges in moving biculturalism forward.

Through identifying attitudinal challenges, HR practitioners have the ability to tailor staff training and cultural interventions to enable more successful outcomes. It is this audience the research is primarily intended for; however, a secondary audience could be found in any leader or staff member seeking to better understand the dynamics between Māori and Pākehā in the workplace. As the national race relations profile evolves over time, academic research plays a valuable role in building understanding of the world and articulating the perspectives of others.

The principally Māori view is that it is impossible to achieve true understanding of Māori values and culture objectively (Mihaere, 2015) at a time when 'by Māori, for Māori' or 'kaupapa Māori' (i.e. *the Māori way*) (Cram, Kennedy, Paipa, Pipi, & Wehipeihana, 2015) is the prevalent approach to developing positive socio-economic interventions. This thesis does not seek to address questions of Māori cultural identity as a mediating factor in providing programmes in the prison service, nor does it assume that all Māori hold their cultural knowledge and experience as central to their identity and

engagement in public services. Instead it looks to explore the experience of staff with varying degrees of comfort in their engagement with Māori concepts in the workplace, and as public servants required to work with Māori in a way that engages them to achieve equitable outcomes.

To do this the research has employed a mixed methods approach. Firstly, a quantitative survey was sent out to a selected cohort of Corrections Officer staff, to collect baseline data and elicit participants interested in being interviewed. From there, semi-structured interviews were conducted to explore in depth the social world perspective of participants. Grounded theory offers a fundamental approach for data analysis, as themes emerge in an iterative and multi-faceted way, reflective of both the complexity of the participants perspectives and the topic chosen.

1.4 The researcher's stance

Entering this research process I was drawn by an interest in organisational behaviour. My experience working in human resources is that staff are more engaged, experience greater job satisfaction and therefore perform more highly, when they feel safe to bring their 'whole selves' to work. Additionally, it has been a personal privilege to have married into the Tuhoe whanau 14 years ago, however it did confront me with the multitude ways that my upbringing in middle-class Christchurch was removed from any exposure to te ao Māori. Developing a level of confidence and comfort in a Māori environment only showed me how universal these values and beliefs are and fostered an interest in the ways in which workplaces can play a part in the interpretation and identification with Māori cultural identity by all ethnicities who now identify as New Zealanders.

However, I was completely unprepared for the journey of reflection and self-discovery this research would provoke. As Diana Amundsen (2018) describes in her reflective study, the more intimately she encountered te ao Māori, the more she found herself reconsidering her own Pākehā identity narrative, and the journey becomes "inextricably woven with learning to understand Māori identity, impacts of colonisation and the importance of Pākehā-Māori reconciliation" (p.141). This can be an uncomfortable journey; in recognising and accepting the colonial impact on Māori there is inevitably

an upheaval in self-identity that comes with recognition of systems of oppression. The writings of Mason Durie (2004) and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) played a fundamental role in reshaping my understanding of what it means to define Māori aspirations and success, and made me highly aware of the tensions between Pākehā research methodologies and indigenous world views. Decolonisation, systemic discrimination and the influence of privilege became paradigms impossible to ignore and developed within me a determination to contribute to the discourse and progress of Pākehā attitudes toward race relations in New Zealand.

1.5 Summary

As outlined in this introduction, cultural competence offers a valuable path to fostering greater biculturalism in New Zealand workplaces. This work takes on a particular focus when considering both the legislative obligations of the New Zealand public service, and the gross overrepresentation of Māori in all negative socioeconomic indicators requiring social services. This research project began with a review of the literature to set the human resources context as it pertains to biculturalism in New Zealand, and specifically the ways in which cultural identity influences workplace dynamics. From there, Chapter three will introduce the Department of Corrections, and the case study population of Corrections Officers at Rimutaka Prison. The mixed method research design that has been developed to explore these complex interrelationships will be outlined in Chapter four and Chapter five will provide the results of the survey and interviews undertaken. This study concludes with a discussion of the outcomes and summary conclusions that impact future research in Chapters six and seven.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Overview

Human resources has an important role to play in the shaping of organisational culture and equitable policy. This chapter will begin by outlining the development of the field of human resources (HR) in terms of how behaviour is managed at work, particularly in light of using competency frameworks for performance. From there, it is critical to summarise the key historical events that provide a foundation for race relations in New Zealand, including the necessary components of decolonisation and Māori self-determination. Biculturalism in the workplace focusses this review further, by discussing current trends of Māori population in the workforce and the differences between multiculturalism and biculturalism. Bicultural HR practices clarify the importance of organisational culture, policy and practice being aligned to achieve diverse workplaces. Cultural competence is then introduced as a critical component in the success of bicultural workforces and the New Zealand social sectors is reviewed in terms of its maturity with these frameworks.

2.2 A brief history of Human Resources

Human resources (HR) is the profession concerned with managing the needs and abilities of employees in any organisation. The very nature of organisational performance requires optimal management of people as a resource, and throughout history many different strategies have been applied. Beginning with the Industrial Revolution in the early 18th century, forward-thinking factory owner Robert Owen recognised the importance of working conditions for staff and sought to introduce moral persuasion instead of corporal punishment (Wagner-Marsh, 2019). The field of 'personnel administration' was borne from the need for basic protections and rights for staff and developments in safety standards, employment legislation, selection, training and remuneration functions, formalised the HR profession (Losey, 1998). The 19th century saw a progression in experimental thinking regarding workforce management and industrial relations. Notably, Frederick Taylor conducted time studies to analyse productivity by task and to introduce incentive systems for

performance, while Max Weber and Henri Fayol developed principles of 'bureaucracy' and management administration that introduced concepts such as command and control, and hierarchy to organisations growing in scale (Wagner-Marsh, 2019). HR and management are therefore inextricably entwined, as resource-based theories illustrate that staff provide a source of competitive advantage, productivity and performance for organisations that invest in increasing discretionary effort (Huselid, 1995).

While HR continued to administer employment relations practices, it wasn't until the early 20th century that it began a distinct separation from the field of management, developing expertise in human behaviour through research in social psychology and behavioural sciences. Elton Mayo conducted the 'Hawthorne experiments' in 1929 that analysed mental attitudes in workers who developed social units; acknowledging the social needs of staff and the impact of interpersonal leadership skills required by managers in order to motivate workers (Hsueh, 2002). World War Two created labour shortages that saw women and people of colour enter the workforce and developed a management profile that focussed more on social responsibility and the development of skills in diversity leadership and relationship management (Losey, 1998). The war also introduced key developments in the assessment of behaviour through the use of abilities and psychometric testing, and assessment centres in the enlistment of recruits (Munchus III & McArthur, 1991). Industrial and organisational psychology began to focus on motivation and cognitive ability as key influences on learning, ability and performance (Kanfer, 1990), and by the 1960's a 'competency movement' developed as psychometric assessments were empirically validated for correlations with on the job performance (Spencer, McClelland, & Spencer, 1997). David McClelland (1973) was the first in the 1970's to build upon intelligence testing with 'competency-based' human resource practices, proposing competencies as a critical enabler of performance and setting a new norm for medium-to-large organisations to select, recruit, retain and manage the performance of staff against a set of prescribed behavioural capabilities (Boyatzis, 2008).

Workplaces have become a highly complex, diverse landscape for HR practitioners. Historical events have continued to influence the development of key practices, such as the American Civil Rights Act in 1964 which banned workplace discrimination on the basis of colour, race, sex or religion, and created Equal Employment Opportunities blueprints for workplaces worldwide (Losey, 1998) - legislation that was not reflected in a New Zealand context until the Human Rights Act in 1993 and later the Employment Relations Act in 2000 (Human Rights Commission, 2015). High-performance work systems (HPWS) emerged in the early 1990's, introducing a more sophisticated approach to recruitment and selection, incentives and benefits in an integrated way in order to retain high performing employees and gain competitive advantage (Boxall, 2003). Appelbaum et al. (2000) were key proponents of this thinking with their 'AMO' model that ascribed variables of employee ability, motivation and the opportunity to participate as critical inputs for performance outcomes. Emerging technology and a 'globalised' society in the early 2000's created competition for highly skilled staff and threatened low skilled workers, placing further importance on creating and retaining a diverse workforce of multi-faceted, agile talent. Increased competition for skills and the rise of the 'Information Age' placed great importance on knowledge and learning agility competencies as critical for maintaining competitive advantage (Yeniyurt, Cavusgil, & Hult, 2005).

Now in the 21st century, technology has progressed to such a stage that a digital revolution and 'gig economy' has emerged – where online algorithms organise and allocate work and manage performance outcomes, absolving the need for traditional hierarchies and localised managers (Bellace, 2018). The rise of multinational corporations has redefined 'local' and 'global' business and face challenges with creating of organisational culture and values in a new 'borderless' world (Holmes, 2011). The public service and localised markets are impacted by the same expectations from employees as those in global organisations, to foster work life balance through remote work technologies, to be trained and developed through e-learning platforms, and through the 'war on talent' created by employees now having multiple careers in their lifetime, and the demand for new skills (Frank & Taylor, 2004). This creates an HR environment that prioritises a different leadership

competency profile, one that can communicate more flexibly, manage across multiple generations, and adapt to fast changing environments (Horney, 2016). HR is a key enabler of many people-focussed practices that draw on the expertise of psychology, learning and development, employment relations and management theorists. It is in the increasingly diverse, post-globalised world that HR can be a strategic partner in developing the organisational competency needed to thrive.

2.3 New Zealand Race Relations

Race relations in New Zealand reflects a complex and ever-evolving dynamic that belies the country's short history. Over 179 years on from the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Māori make up the majority of New Zealand's unemployed population, under-achieve in educational outcomes, suffer health conditions related to poor housing and healthcare accessibility and are arrested and imprisoned at a rate disproportionately higher than any other ethnicity (Human Rights Commission, 2012; Robson, 2000). Whilst efforts over recent decades have extended opportunities for Māori to achieve higher tertiary qualifications, greater job prospects, increased salaries and consequently greater wealth and quality of living (Huygens, 2006; Nairn, 1991; Sinclair, 1971), the over representation of Māori in these negative socioeconomic statistics still reflects a concerning disparity of power and privilege between indigenous Māori and the majority New Zealand European population (Human Rights Commission, 2012). A researched distinction between 'good' or 'high merit' Māori who achieve highly within Pākehā structures of individual merit, and 'low-merit Māori' who exemplify negative stereotypes (Jackson, 2007), is a representation of attitudes that widen the inequality gap and enforce class structures despite an egalitarian national identity (Nolan, 2007).

Te Tiriti o Waitangi set a precedent for the disconnect between Crown and Māori interests. The English version of the document set out the Crown's intention to hold full sovereignty over New Zealand and its lands, however the Māori translation specified retaining tino rangatiratanga (*independence and authority*) over their territories (Huygens, 2006). While Māori have continued to contest this

absolution of power since the signing, political and economic control retained by settlers in New Zealand has characterised the Pākehā majority in the century and a half since.

Māori in the late 19th Century were regarded as verging on extinction, with a population of less than 40,000 recorded in the 1896 census ("NZ Race Relations - Overview of Maori and Pakeha relations in the twentieth century," 2014). Violent oppression came up against peaceful protest with the invasion of Parihaka, a Māori pacifist settlement in the Taranaki region, where over 1500 people were forcibly displaced, homes and crops destroyed, women raped, and leaders imprisoned (Sanders, 2005). Race relations in the early 20th Century were then further characterised by reduced land ownership, with Māori land holdings being halved and halved again over the second half of the 19th Century, as well as the conscription of over 2000 men to the Māori Battalion in the First World War, and the influenza pandemic of 1918, which killed seven times more Māori than Pakeha ("NZ Race Relations - Maori and Pakeha Relations 1900 -1945," 2014).

Race dynamics in New Zealand experienced a key shift in the 1970's and 80's. Racial tensions escalated with the 1975 Land March, and Māori protests at Raglan and Bastion Point, where public attention was drawn to the issue of Māori land alienation, signalling Māori would not be passive in their fight for equal recognition (Thomas & Nikora, 1992). The 1981 Springbok Tour was also stark reflection for NZ on the world stage, as parallels with South African apartheid were drawn when it was proposed Māori players were excluded from the All Blacks rugby tour of South Africa (Sayers, 2014). Combined with ongoing annual protests at Waitangi Day celebrations ("Waitangi Day 1980s," 2014) and an increase in grievances regarding unresolved land claims, the Government's response included establishing the Race Relations Act (1971), The Treaty of Waitangi Act (1975) and the Waitangi Tribunal as a mechanism to independently investigate claims of breaches to Te Tiriti. In addition, a Pākehā-led anti-racism movement named 'Project Waitangi' was organised to educate Pākehā on the inherent ways in which colonization was at odds with the principles of Te Tiriti and to promote large scale attitudinal change (Huygens, 2006). Focussed on educating organisations and community

groups, workshops were held to analyse and challenge the commonly-accepted view of New Zealand history and the Pākehā perspective of the role Te Tiriti had to play within it. In response to this, many public sector organisations adopted some Māori cultural practices, changed their charters and value statements to reflect Māori principles and values, and began actively hiring more Māori staff (Huygens, 2006).

The activism of the 1970's continued to simmer throughout the 1980's and 90's and again flared in 2004 with the largest nationwide hīkoi (*march*) over the Foreshore and Seabed land confiscations by the then Labour Government. The debate over the 'ownership' of New Zealand's coastlines was reported widely by the mainstream media and characterised Māori as 'radical activists' intent on a separatist agenda (Phelan & Shearer, 2009), dividing the country again along racial lines. This deterioration in Crown/Māori relations that was further epitomised when National party leader Don Brash gave a speech on Waitangi Day at Orewa (Brash, 2004). His speech bluntly called out organisational assimilation and affirmative action legislation as creating further divide in New Zealand by creating a 'treaty grievance industry' and promoting 'special status' for Māori (Fyers, 2018). A surge in support for the National Party following the speech reflects a view of NZ society at the time, contributing support to the profile of Māori as 'stirrers' inclined to protest (Phelan & Shearer, 2009; Sayers, 2014), seeking to gain and control special privileges at Pākehā expense (Sibley, 2004). Today, future focussed commentators have predicted Te Tiriti will come to hold a different value in modern NZ society. With many Tiriti settlements completed (Hurihanganui, 2017) Māori academics outline the need for a change in focus toward reconciliation and the rebuilding of an ongoing relationship. The post-treaty settlements relationship must not only meet the objective of restoring "the mana and rangatiratanga of the claimant group and … increase the honour of the Crown" (Office of Treaty Settlements, 2015), but also create a fundamental change away from viewing the Crown as an external Pākehā institution, but as one made up of Māori and inherently representative of Māori interests (Kawharu, 2018). As stated in the Waitangi Tribunal Report on te reo Māori:

> Fundamentally, there is a need for a mindset shift away from the pervasive assumption that the Crown is Pākehā, English-speaking, and distinct from Māori rather than representative of them. Increasingly, in the twenty-first century, the Crown is also Māori. If the nation is to move forward, this reality must be grasped. (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010, p. 51)

Inherent tensions arise when assessing the values profile of New Zealand society today. Historically the national identity was created around egalitarian ideals, which state everyone as deserving of equal access to wealth and opportunity (Easton, 2016). In the post-war generation, New Zealand boasted full employment, open access to free education and the third highest standard of living in the world (Nolan, 2007). However increased wealth prompts a rise in individualism (Hofstede, 1983), as people become more focussed on individual achievement and measures of success. Research has suggested that the individualist/collectivist continuum is not only reflective of national culture and ethnic identity but also class systems, with lower socio-economic classes likely to demonstrate collectivism (Marshall, 1997). Regardless of economic indicators, many aspects of Māori culture are aligned with collectivist ideals through the recognition of wider social connections of whakapapa (*ancestry*), whanau (*extended family*), waka (*canoe*), iwi (*tribe*) and hapū (*sub-tribe*) (Brougham & Haar, 2012). A significant shift in Pākehā cultural norms will need to take place before the Crown is in a more equal place to recognise Māori aspirations, as these current differences in individual versus collective success preserve the distance between these two cultures.

2.3.1 Decolonisation & self-determination

Study into the impact of colonisation on colonised people is part of the critical work of 'decolonisation', and is "a primary and necessary step towards a more just, inclusive and diverse society" (Huygens, 2006, p. 364). It reflects on the causes for the socio-economic disparities experienced by indigenous populations and acknowledges the historical and institutional constructs created by non-indigenous, mainstream Western society that contribute towards these outcomes (Sherwood, 2009). Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (2012) seminal work describes the limitations of

decolonisation that focusses only on the formal process of handing over instruments of governance to indigenous peoples, and instead highlights the need for a "long term process involving bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic and psychological divesting of colonial power" (p.98). Decolonisation starts with restoring self-determination, giving the oppressed group power and control of their own affairs, and for the dominant group to absolve power and privilege to aid in the development of a secure cultural identity (Bishop, 2005; Durie, 2006). However, is it difficult for the dominant group to acknowledge, let alone dismantle, the psychological constructs that make for their privileged position. However well-intentioned they may be, the strength of cultural conditioning over generations, combined with the validation of views shared by the majority, enables the re-framing of history and 'colour-blind' policies that further eliminate space for indigenous perspectives (Sherwood, 2009; Sue, 2004). It is important to acknowledge the tasks of the coloniser and the colonised are different in this work, but can be approached co-intentionally; working toward mutual goals in different ways (Huygens, 2006). Based upon the theological premise of Freire's 1972 pedagogy of the liberation of the oppressed, co-intentional decolonisation relies upon the willingness of the powerful group to deepen their awareness of the realities that shape their lives and their ability to transform this (Huygens, 2006, p. 364).

Post-colonial constructs still intervene in a myriad of ways in modern day interactions in New Zealand, where Pākehā may experience fears of being the minority or exposed of their ignorance to indigenous cultural practices, and have their settler status confirmed in the unfamiliar context of te ao Māori (Bell, 2016). Alongside this, Māori have understandable interests in maintaining distance from mainstream Pākehā society in order to rebuild and solidify their cultural traditions (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). Sue (2004) describes how a motivation to seem unbiased and a fear of being perceived as racist, develops a "colour blindness" that "whites-out" cultural differences, and that this rejection of differences enables a denial of power imbalance and creates a false illusion of equality (p.763). Sibley and Liu (2004) put egalitarian values to the test in their study of resource-specific aspects of bicultural policy, revealing Pākehā that were lower in Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) – those inclined toward

"group-based dominance, competition and power" (p.89), supported affirmative action policies in principle but only when it didn't impact their own self-interest, while Pākehā higher in SDO, opposed these policies regardless of self-interest. Sibley and Liu's research begins to illustrate the complexities of post-colonial dynamics and some of the many fears and obstacles that can present when the majority Pākehā population look to engage in cultural interactions and the recognition of power.

2.4 Biculturalism in NZ Workplaces

2.4.1 Māori in the workforce

To understand the drivers behind an increasing emphasis on bicultural practices in New Zealand workplaces, it is helpful to look at the changing profile of Māori participation in the workforce. Today Māori make up approximately 15% of the total population in New Zealand, having progressively increased due to improved census identification measures (Statistics New Zealand, 2013) and high birth rates for Māori women (2.5 versus 1.9 for non-Māori) (Statistics New Zealand, 2015). Combined with lower life expectancy, Māori also represent a significantly younger population with over 50% under the age of 24, compared to a median age of 40 years old for non-Māori (Statistics New Zealand, 2015). Political dynamics will inevitably have an impact on young Māori today. As it did in the early 2000's the Labour Government regaining power in 2017 again drew the focus back to inclusive, participatory social policy making, raising the national dialogue on diversity and fostering democratic pluralism (Simon-Kumar, 2018). With Treaty settlement negotiations nearing completion (Hurihanganui, 2017), the increased availability of funds combined with the strengthening of iwi organisational structures has enabled young Māori to grow up with political nous and the support required to achieve highly within their tribal systems. The liberal political landscape supports this by increasing the value placed on diversity and indigenous issues.

Workplace diversity is increasing as Māori participation in the workforce changes. Future workforce trends project an increased Māori population in the workforce, greater representation of Māori

leadership in the public sector (Human Rights Commission, 2015), and more Māori taking up skilled professions such as law, technical trades and professional services (Brougham & Haar, 2012). While these trends signify a more equitable workforce of the next generation, for now the State Services Commission (2017) report into Human Resource Capability in the public service still showed a stagnant Māori workforce at 16% and greater representation at low skilled, social service roles, with Māori women paid an average salary $20,000 lower than that of European men. Further data into the demographic breakdown of Māori in the broader workforce has not been updated for some time. Te Puni Kokiri, the Ministry for Māori Development, released a 2006 report that showed increased participation rate of Māori in the labour force from 62.1 percent in 1995 to 68.9 percent in 2005. The employed Māori population were largely in Wholesale and Retail sectors (9,600 staff) followed by Manufacturing (7,500 staff) and Health and Community Service (6,300 staff) (Te Puni Kokiri, 2006). This aligns with the public sector profile which sees Māori highly represented as Inspectors and Regulatory Officers, and as Social, Health and Education Workers, and starkly underrepresented in Management roles (State Services Commission, 2017). The current state poses a potential barrier for increased biculturalism in the workplace; it is critical that Māori are represented in decision making positions if the delivery of public social services is to meet Māori needs.

As Māori participation in the workforce increases, the value and importance of Māori cultural skills and knowledge has also increased. Younger generations of Māori have grown up influenced by parents reclaiming language and cultural identity (Mahrooqi & Asante, 2012), the rise of education through Wānanga (*Māori tertiary institutions)* and accessibility of Māori tikanga education online. This has fostered the reclaiming of cultural identity, not only for Māori but for non-Māori interested in developing their competence as part of their identity as a bicultural New Zealander (Woolf, 2018). Public sector targets to deliver social services to a Māori client base has focussed efforts on increasing workforce diversity. Combined with the scarcity of Māori in public sector leadership positions and increasing demand for cultural knowledge, organisations face a challenge in trying to develop a culturally capable workforce for the future.

2.4.2 Multicultural vs. bicultural

Despite increasing ethnic diversity and multiculturalism, Te Tiriti has set a fundamental baseline for biculturalism in New Zealand that the country has struggled to navigate in practice. There is an ongoing distinction between high level ideals of equality as a part of national identity, and the application of policy that redistributes resources to Māori to address inequities (Sibley, 2004). It may be that biculturalism is not an appropriate measure in this context. Acculturation is the process of adapting to a new culture, and commonly includes four key measures - biculturalism, separation, integration and marginalisation (Nguyen, 2012). Biculturalism by definition measures the complex process of adopting another language and culture, either in respect to the dominant cultural orientation or the heritage cultural orientation (Nguyen, 2012; Thomas & Nikora, 1992). In New Zealand, acculturation has distinct properties in the discourse of decolonisation as tension rests in whether it is for Māori to integrate into the dominant western culture, or for Pākehā to acculturate to indigenous Māori culture as per the contradictory intentions of the founding documents (Sibley, 2004). The debate between biculturalism or multiculturalism must acknowledge that it is not to disregard the other many cultures in New Zealand, but specifically to address the recognition of both cultures by the state (Hayward, 2012).

2.4.3 Bicultural HR practice

Biculturalism is a key principle underpinning the dynamics of the New Zealand public sector workplace. Key legislation such as the State Sector Act 1988 specifies the aspirations and employment of Māori and identifies the need for greater involvement of Māori in the public service, however Government entities have grappled with integrating Māori values and protocols into everyday human resource practice (Peace, 2009). Indeed, analysis of bicultural policies and processes in the public sector shows a failure to empower Māori, nor fairly allocate resources as intended in te tiriti agreement (Tauri, 1999). Te Tiriti principles of partnership, participation and protection are required in policy decisions, values statements and business processes, however the interpretation and intention of these can

contradict practice as often they are both created and enacted by Pākehā leadership (Brach, 2000; Mihaere, 2015).

Whilst legislative requirements set an obligatory foundation, research suggests HR practices that effectively support biculturalism in the workplace have encouraging outcomes for Māori in terms of positive mental health and increased cultural identity (Brougham & Haar, 2012), a decrease in work-family conflict and turnover intentions (Haar & Roche, 2012) and especially in the public sector, promotes national identity, pluralistic politics and the restoration of pre-colonial sovereignty (Durie, 2004). However, the challenges in creating appropriate and effective cultural diversity interventions in Westernised organisations are multifaceted. One of the key distinctions often made is between the individualistic nature of Pākehā society in opposition to the collectivist concept of whanaungatanga, a sense of belonging or connection, in Māori society. While the individualistic society views people as a resource with which to complete tasks, a highly collectivist society is characterised by an emphasis on shared achievement through belonging and emotional membership to an organisation or group (Brougham & Haar, 2012). The collectivist identity is based on the social and personal value systems that play a key role in the facilitation of participatory decision making (Hofstede, 1983). This is not to say that elements of both don't exist in each culture. Sue's (2001) tripartite framework describes the formation of personal identity as three concentric circles beginning with a universal outer circle that recognizes all individuals are similar in terms of their shared human and biological experience, but then moves inwardly to recognize the cultural matrix of beliefs, values and individual unique experiences that have a much more profound psychological effect on worldview. Biculturalism recognizes the deep-seated values and beliefs that will dictate cross-cultural relations and behaviours and seeks to find ways to create an environment for both.

In New Zealand workplaces, the concept of whanaungatanga (*relationships/belonging)* emphasises connectedness and sets terms of engagement for processes and practice, as well as providing an approach to relationship building that recognises the whakapapa (*genealogy*) of all individuals

(Bishop, 2005). This approach lends itself towards more co-operative strategies, a higher tolerance for ambiguity and a focus on partnerships typified by a 'feminine' society (Steensma, Marino, & Weaver, 2000). It is at odds with some of the factors that characterise a New Zealand cultural identity motivated by 'masculine' factors of individual achievement, visible success and a willingness to take risks (Hofstede, 1983). Human Resource practices can also be designed to enable both sides of this spectrum – practices such as formalised individual performance appraisals, merit-based hiring and promotion cultivate an individualist culture, while group performance recognition, informal appraisals and hiring based on loyalty or seniority can be more appropriate for a collectivist culture (Ramamoorthy, 1998). Haar (2009) aptly notes that Māori concepts are also not easily translated into conventional economic value too, so while whanaungatanga is an obvious investment in social capital (Bishop, 2005), Pākehā power structures are not well equipped to recognise this in conventional organisational terms.

While Māori have a legal recognition of their rights and aspirations, an emerging focus on 'reversing the effects of colonisation' has acknowledged that healing exists in the reclaiming of cultural identity and immersion in culture (Awatere, 1984). Therefore, social policies and interventions designed to benefit Māori will only be successful by effectively accommodating Māori people's values, beliefs and perspectives (Houkamau, 2010). Effective biculturalism in New Zealand requires a fundamental acknowledgement of the value of connectedness and cooperation, and it is only through this recognition can there be a shift in the power dynamics in organisations. It is here that HR functions have the opportunity to develop culturally competent practices that truly embody Te Tiriti principles of partnership, protection and participation in the workplace, beginning with recognition and understanding of biculturalism.

2.5 What is cultural competence?

When terminology of race, ethnicity, nationality and culture can often be interchangeable, it is helpful to consider widely shared definitions that provide consistency and clarity for analysis. Culture is the environmental acquisition of beliefs, values, principles and experiences that are essential for the survival and acclimatisation of race-based population groups (Lowell, 2016). Therefore, the simplest definition of cultural competence lies in a set of behaviours and attitudes that reflect a self-awareness and willingness to be understanding, flexible and communicative when working with differing cultural needs (Lowell, 2016; Sue, 2001; Yan, 2005).

Cultural competence is a movement away from conformist assimilation principles that require an ethnic minority to give up their language, culture and traditions to adapt to ethnic majority society (Olcina, Panebianco, & Zenou, 2017), and offers a more nuanced approach than simply tolerance or sensitivity toward other cultures. It describes "the belief that people should not only appreciate and recognise other cultural groups but also be able to work effectively with them" (Sue, 1998, p. 440). Cultural competence is reflected in the adaption of services so that they meet culturally specific needs through the growth of knowledge and awareness in those providing services (Betancourt, 2016), therefore enhancing the clients self-determination by acknowledging their cultural preferences (Cross et al., 1989). It also goes as far as addressing fundamental human rights, as Brach (2000) describes the entitlement of culturally competent services as an observation of consumer rights, and by extension the mechanism to change health and social services outcomes for minority populations. In many ways, cultural competence is not about building learned knowledge of the 'other' culture at all. Instead cultural competence is the willingness to reflect and understand one's personal experience and the ways in which it may influence their perspectives of others. Inherently in westernised (and colonised) nations, this requires members of the majority culture to acknowledge the ways in which power and privilege have influenced their personal experience, therefore impacting the way they provide care to the minority member with which they are seeking to relate (Sonn, 2004).

2.5.1 Cultural competence frameworks

The development of operational frameworks has suffered from ongoing debate regarding definitions and outcomes (Ridley, 2001) and until the early 2000's remained at a conceptual level as a cluster of techniques that were theoretically designed to enhance cultural competence, such as interpreter services, recruitment & retention, training and cultural immersion (Brach, 2000). Sue et al. (1982) were some of the first academics to articulate a moral obligation for psychologists to develop multicultural competence as part of effective practice and went on to develop one of the first empirical models. The multi-dimensional model of cultural competence (MDCC) illustrated three facets – first, racial and culture-specific attributes of competence (with factorial combinations for specific ethnicities), second, the components of cultural competence (including individual, professional, organisational and societal) and finally the motivations of cultural competence (Sue, 2001).

Later empirical validation by Balcazar et al. (2009) reviewed the literature and distilled 18 different cultural competency frameworks down into a synthesised model that contained just three components and developed a survey assessment tool from this. The components as described in Balcazar's model are: critical awareness, skills development and organisational support. The critical awareness component encapsulates the self-reflection and awareness of personal biases that is critical in maintaining professional boundaries. Distinct from the ethnicity-specific knowledge of other frameworks, the skills development component is more than learning the characteristics of a particular culture. It instead describes an openness to understanding the impact of observable (i.e.

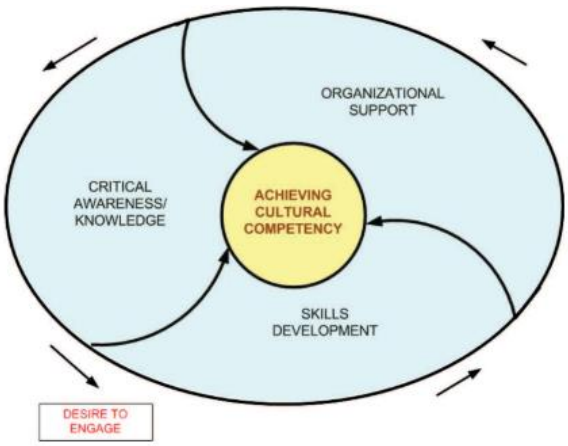


Figure 1: Balcazar et al. (2009) Cultural Competence Model

age, gender, disability) and non-observable factors (i.e. religious affiliation, education, socio-economic status) and for the practitioner to be able to effectively communicate with empathy to the consumer. The organisational support component is the critical application in context; the alignment of individual and organisational practices that enhance staff ability to engage in a culturally competent way.

The emergence of cultural competency frameworks particularly in the psychology/counselling and social work sectors in North America, has raised a range of criticisms not unusual for a relatively new field. Empirical criticism has been levelled at the construct of cultural competence for being overly generalised, with benefits only realised through the aggregate improvement of skills, understanding and awareness, and lacking in specific purpose (Ridley, 2001). Indeed, cultural competence shares similarities with cultural sensitivity, cultural humility and cultural awareness that dilutes its empirical value and encourages interchangeable terminology. Additionally, the field of cultural competence research suffers from "the invisibility of monoculturalism" as concepts and theories are developed from a Euro-American perspective that is inevitably limited in application to multicultural groups (Sue, 2001, p.790). In application cultural competence holds an intrinsic contradiction by suggesting the suspension of personal cultural influences, whilst recognising the individual being treated in light of their cultural identity. (Yan & Wong, 2005). Cultural competence frameworks have also been predominantly developed for the provision of psychological, counselling and mental health services, however validated frameworks are limited (Balcazar et al., 2009; Sue, 2001) and often have not been applied in other sectors or countries beyond the United States of America.

Measurement of cultural competence primarily falls into two methods – psychometric assessments and self-identification along a continuum. The continuum approach certainly started earlier, with the Cultural Competence Continuum (Cross et al., 1989) outlining six stages, starting with cultural destructiveness, moving through cultural incapacity, cultural blindness, cultural pre-competence, cultural competence and finally cultural proficiency. Later models were simplified, such as Orlandi's (1992) Cultural Sophistication Framework which distilled these stages down into three – cultural

incompetence, cultural sensitivity and cultural competence. As seen in Figure 2 below, Wells' (2000) Cultural Development Model synthesised these, and provided the additional distinction of the 'cognitive phase' where the primary focus is on acquiring knowledge, and the 'affective phase' where the goal is the application of that knowledge through changes in attitude and behaviour. Whilst developed for the nursing and healthcare environment, the 'applied' focus of Wells' model provides a valuable measurement component to Balcazar's (2009) framework by capturing the cognitive elements such as self-awareness and reflection, and the affective elements of practice in an organisational context.

Figure 2:'Cultural Development Model'. Wells, M., (2009)

Cognitive Phase			*Affective Phase*		
Cultural Incompetence	*Cultural Knowledge*	*Cultural Awareness*	*Cultural Sensitivity*	*Cultural Competence*	*Cultural Proficiency*
A lack of knowledge of the cultural implications of health behavior	Learning the elements of culture and their role in shaping and defining health behavior	Recognizing and understanding the cultural implications of health behavior	The integration of cultural knowledge and awareness into individual and institutional behavior	The routine application of culturally appropriate health care interventions and practices	The integration of cultural competence into the culture of the organization and into professional practice, teaching, and research Mastery of the cognitive and affective phases of cultural development

Psychometric tools offer a quantitative measurement of cultural competence, however suffer from the limitations of consistency, clear definition and bias that also occurs at a conceptual level. Kumas-Tan et. al (2007) conducted a critical examination of fifty-four quantitative tools, with a close focus on the 10 most widely used. They identified a number of assumptions that restricted effective application of the assessments and in some ways even further perpetuated cultural bias. Largely the study found a problematic assumption in instruments that assumed practitioners were white and western, where increased confidence or comfort with different ethnicities equated to cultural competence. By creating a focus on the minority group, it has an effect of 'othering' them, thereby not examining the dominant culture and implying that some people are 'ethnically diverse' while others are not. The study also identified that many instruments will focus on measuring exposure to cultural practices and knowledge as a means of identifying comfort and understanding, however they do not capture the use of that knowledge in application, or whether the learner can also recognise the systematic and

structural realities of inequality. Kumas-Tan et al. also make a very valid point that exposure to cultural content may actually lead to less confidence through the recognition of lack of knowledge, and that confidence does not equate to competence but instead could indicate low insight and awareness.

2.5.2 Cultural competence and biculturalism in the NZ public sector

Cultural competence still offers a fundamental basis for staff to demonstrate the bicultural principles that underpin the provision of social services to Māori in New Zealand. Health, education, housing, social development and justice sectors share the same features of over-representation of Māori client demographics, and core legislation requiring provision of Māori-specific strategy to address these issues (New Zealand Health and Disability Act, 2000; Education Act, 1989; Public and Community Housing Act, 1992; Oranga Tamariki Act 1989). The Government agencies serving these sectors have developed frameworks that exemplify the behaviours expected of a bicultural workforce, however they have acknowledged the varying degrees of success in measuring resulting impacts on Māori wellbeing (Durie, 2006). In the education sector, the New Zealand Curriculum Framework (Ministry of Education, 1993) embodies the Hikairo Rationale which recognises an inherent idealism in expecting full biculturalism will be realised by all teachers, in all classrooms. Instead, the Hikairo Rationale describes an expectation of teachers to strive towards exploring Māori concepts and perspectives for themselves, and to utilise their personal knowledge through a Māori lens in day to day interactions with students (Macfarlane, 2007). The health sector in New Zealand has also progressed over the past two decades, beginning with the acknowledgment of the value of biculturalism in delivering services that target a reduction in health disparities for Māori (King, 2000). Sector frameworks have then acknowledged the need for health practitioners to first reflect on their own cultural identity as a key influencing factor in the provision of their services in a 'culturally safe' manner, regardless of ethnicity (Papps, 1996). These sector examples provide an important baseline of the self-reflection and awareness necessary for success in delivering culturally competent services, however gives little insight into the specific delivery of interventions in a culturally appropriate way.

2.5.3 Specific considerations for the criminal justice sector

The criminal justice sector is unique in its provision of services to Māori clients, in that three separate agencies –New Zealand Police, Ministry of Justice and Department of Corrections – all manage an individual's journey through the system in an intertwined, yet independent way. The over-representation of Māori increases through each stage of the process - rates of Police contact double that of non-Māori (Fergusson, Horwood, & Lynskey, 1993), 41% of all apprehensions are Māori offenders, and rates of imprisonment are seven times the corresponding rate for European men, and nine times the corresponding rate for NZ European women (Te Puni Kokiri, 2011). Factors contributing to offending including low education, unemployment, drug abuse, and socio-economic deprivation, are further compounded by structural biases in the criminal justice sector that perpetuate direct and indirect methods of discrimination through profiling, arrest, charging, sentencing and incarceration (Department of Corrections, 2019b; Human Rights Commission, 2012; Jackson, 1987; O'Reilly, 2014; Tauri, 1999).

The Police *'Turning of the Tide'* strategy (New Zealand Police, 2012) centres around mutually beneficial relationships with iwi networks and Māori leadership, and focusses internal strategies on representation of Māori in their frontline workforce (10% of the constabulary identify as Māori), development pathways for Māori staff into leadership roles, and developing the cultural competence of staff (O'Reilly, 2014). Cultural development mechanisms are in place at multiple levels in the organisation, in training new recruits, through localised training and support with Iwi Liaison Officers, and specific performance targets delivered to managers. The Ministry of Justice encompasses the Māori Land Courts and Treaty Settlements functions through Te Arawhiti, the Office of Crown Māori relations. To better serve Māori needs, they have instigated cultural training for judges, restorative justice programmes, Māori Court Liaison Officers and marae (*traditional meeting house*)-based youth court hearings (Tauri, 2005). However at this stage comprehensive accountability measures are somewhat lacking across these organisations, and more broadly Government Departments have

received criticism for euro-centric evaluation methods (Cram et al., 2015) and for failures to develop Māori-led, culturally specific interventions (Mihaere, 2015).

Sector-wide strategies have remained at a broad and over-arching level, concentrating on measures of effective public services, developing effective relationships between justice agencies, supporting those most affected by crime and reducing pressure on the bureaucratic system (Serious Fraud Office, 2018). Indeed, the only mention of Māori in the recent '*Criminal Justice Sector Strategic Intent'* 4 year plan was to "improve outcomes for Māori in contact with the criminal justice system" (Serious Fraud Office, 2018, p. 13). This tone significantly changed with the formation of Hāpaitia te Oranga Tangata – Safe and Effective Justice initiative and Te Uepū Hāpai i te Ora - the Safe and Effective Justice Advisory Group who commenced nationwide consultation by focussing on victims, whanau and their communities, offenders and frontline staff to collate their views on the ways in which the justice sector was failing them, and specifically failing Māori. Their report, titled '*He Waka Roimata*' (Te Uepū Hāpai i te Ora, 2019) translates as '*A Vessel of Tears'* and describes the grief felt by those, especially Māori, re-traumatised by a system that is not effective in meeting rehabilitation requirements its current state. While next steps in terms of recommendations and required interventions are yet to be published, the report still sets a challenge for the sector to be brave about addressing Māori offending and the needs of Māori communities.

2.6 Summary

As seen in the discussion above, biculturalism is a key foundational element of New Zealand's culture and history. However, the over-representation of Māori in all negative health, education, crime and wellbeing statistics would suggest a system of oppression that is not empowering or meeting indigenous needs. Historically New Zealand has held egalitarian values as a core part of its national identity, believing everybody deserves equal access to wealth and services. As individual wealth has increased, increasing individualism has created a division that perpetuates the colonial dynamic. Compounded by the whanaungatanga and collectivism that characterises the Māori culture, there is

a division of perspectives that present a challenge to overcome in the delivery of social services to Māori.

For the public sector to deliver effectively to Māori it is critical staff are not only culturally competent, but that the adopted model of cultural competence recognises the ways in which Pākehā culture influences the institutional world view. In some ways, the very nature of Pākehā driven organisations is the removal of Māori self-determination as the ability to allow open decision making and absolve control and power to Māori is limited when Māori clients are in a vulnerable position. Culturally competent staff are a foundational element in the critical work of decolonialisation. It is a critical time politically, economically and socially to revisit the ways in which public sector organisations are structured, and to re-think how this might be changed to address power imbalances and uphold the responsibility to foster the aspirations of Māori.

Human resources functions have an essential role to play in facilitating this journey for organisations. As critical enablers of organisational competence and wellbeing, HR holds great opportunity to coach leaders and train staff in new ways of working. An integral part of this is the development of organisational culture that creates the psychological safety for self-reflection and the tools to dismantle sources of bias and discrimination. It is only through the willingness of staff, leaders and organisations to do this work, will genuine and long-lasting change be possible.

Chapter 3: Corrections Context

The Department of Corrections in New Zealand manages 17 out of 18 of the country's prisons, with over 10,000 prisoners in custody. It also provides probation services to over 35,000 offenders based in the community, through a network of over 100 Community Corrections Service Centres. Corrections is the largest Government employer in the country with close to 10,000 staff, 21% of which identify as Māori compared to a public sector average of 16% (Department of Corrections, 2018a; State Services Commission, 2017). Representation is primarily at an entry-level, with 22.4% of Māori staff working in frontline roles (Corrections Officers, Case Managers and Probation Officers), while the proportion of Māori at leadership levels steadily decreases the more senior the level, with only 9.4% of Senior Leaders identifying as Māori (Department of Corrections, 2018a).

New Zealand's rates of imprisonment place it at 61st in the world – with 211 prisoners for every 100,000 members of the national population (World Prison Brief, 2018), and a recidivism rate that sees 49% of offenders return to prison within 48months of release (Department of Corrections, 2003). Even before Corrections was formed as a standalone entity through the Department of Justice (Restructuring) Act in 1995, the prison population has remained steadily at 50% Māori (Department of Corrections, 2018b). Mental health and addiction services are a core part of Corrections work, as 91% of prisoners come to prison with a lifetime diagnosis of mental health or substance abuse issues (Department of Corrections, 2018a). Additionally, one third of the prison population affiliates with a gang, and of those gang members, 70% are Māori.

3.1 A history of Māori strategy

Corrections has had a number of strategies designed to address Māori imprisonment and reoffending. It began with the policy statement '*He Whaakinga'* that set out a broad objective the organisation would work towards under it's obligation to Te Tiriti (Department of Corrections, 2001). Strong iwi partnerships and thorough consultation with Māori and other Government agencies led to the 2001 report *'Let Māori Take the Journey: Na Tau Rourou, Na Taku Rourou, Ka Ora ai te Iwi'*, then forming

the basis of a more fully developed strategy, '*Treaty of Waitangi Strategic Plan, 2001- 2003: Kotahi Ano te Kaupapa – Ko te Oranga o te Iwi'* which as notable for specifically outlining Māori interests in reducing reoffending targets (Department of Corrections, 2004). Additional emphasis on inter-departmental Government partnerships was added in the updated '*Māori Strategic Plan, 1 July 2003 – June 2008: Kotahi Ano te Kaupapa – Ko te Oranga o te Iwi',* introducing the vision statement "To succeed overall we must succeed for Māori offenders." (Department of Corrections, 2008a). In 2008, the '*Departmental Strategic Business Plan 2008 – 2013'* encapsulated a '*Māori Strategic Plan 2008 – 2013'* section, which was then allowed to lapse in 2013 and was not replaced (Department of Corrections, 2008b; Waitangi Tribunal, 2017).

Consistent across all these strategy documents is an intention to partner more closely with Māori stakeholder groups and an acknowledgment of the importance of Tiriti principles however, by Corrections own admission, the accountability for measurable outcomes is lacking (Waitangi Tribunal, 2017). The executive level Government initiative that developed the *Better Public Services* framework (State Services Commission, 2018), led to Corrections' *'Creating Lasting Change'* strategy and a specific target to reduce reoffending by 25% by 2017 (referred to as 'RR25') (Department of Corrections, 2011). Whilst no distinction between the rates of Māori and non-Māori reoffending was made in this strategy, Deputy Chief Executive Vincent Arbuckle under questioning by the Tribunal acknowledged that key to achieving this target would be making significant progress with Māori (Waitangi Tribunal, 2017). The RR25 target achieved some progress between 2012 – 2014 through "collecting the low hanging fruit"(Waitangi Tribunal, 2017, p. 44) however then proceeded to not only slow but reverse progress by June 2016 whereby the reimprisonment rate for Māori had risen from 29.7 per cent in June 2011 to 33 per cent in June 2016.

In 2016 the Waitangi Tribunal heard a claim brought by ex-Probation Officer Tom Hemopo alleged Corrections to have failed in its Treaty responsibility of protection, by failing to commit to reducing the Māori prisoner population and rates of reoffending. Through the lack of specific Māori strategy,

performance targets or dedicated budget the tribunal found the Department as guilty of a "dereliction of duty" (pg. 21). The lapse of strategy in 2013 was a key line of investigation by the Waitangi Tribunal and Corrections diluted its previous statement to assert that a reduction in reoffending overall is a reduction in reoffending for Māori (Waitangi Tribunal, 2017) – a subtle but significant shift that no longer placed Māori offending at the centre of the approach.

3.2 Interventions and support

Around the time of Mr Hemopo's tribunal claim, Corrections established a Māori Services Director, and a team of eight regional Māori Services Managers and Advisors who pulled together 26 various programmes and initiatives the Department already had in place to form a work plan entitled '*Reducing Reoffending Among Māori Work Plan 2015 – 2016'*(Department of Corrections, 2015). Today this work is further supported by a Director Cultural Capability, and the Rautaki Māori team at National Office, who are responsible for policy and strategy development to be operationalised in the regional sites. Key rehabilitation programmes specifically designed for Māori offenders include whare (*house*) or 'Māori focus units' on five prison sites across the country, where the Te Tirohanga theraputic programme is delivered in partnership with Māori providers. Alongside this 15 formal relationships with iwi nationwide have informed 'kaupapa Māori' based interventions pathways, drug and alcohol programmes, educational opportunities and transitional housing (Department of Corrections, 2018a). Corrections has also recently developed the 'Te Tokorima a Maui' values framework, that describes core organisational values of wairua (*spirituality*), kaitiaki (*guardianship*), rangatira (*leadership*), whānau (*family/community*) and manaaki (*respect*) as a signal for organisational culture change to come. It is visualised as an open palm, with each of the values on each of the fingers of the hand, symbolising the embrace and 'helping hand' provided to offenders to take the next step on the 'Ara Poutama' pathway to excellence – 'Ara Poutama' is the Māori name gifted to the organisation.

Corrections has recently responded to the outcomes of the Waitangi Tribunal and the 'He Waka Roimata' (Te Uepū Hāpai i te Ora, 2019) report by launching 'Hōkai Rangi', the Department's new organisational strategy for 2019-2024 (Department of Corrections, 2019b). It directly acknowledges the systemic discrimination apparent in a system long overrepresented by Māori and commits to focussing efforts on wellbeing and a whanau-centric approach. The strategy signals a significant change for Corrections as part of wider justice sector reform required and outlines a long-term approach to improving cultural capability, therapeutic practice frameworks and an investment in developing partnerships with iwi that foster stronger cultural identity in Māori offenders.

The success of rehabilitation programmes run by Corrections is measured by a 'Rehabilitation Quotient' (RQ) that compares the rates of re-imprisonment between offenders that have completed the programmes versus those who haven't (Johnston, 2018). While recent research has shown Māori prisoners respond as well to mainstream rehabilitation programmes as non-Māori prisoners, RQ scores for interventions run in the Te Tirohanga units and Special Treatment Unit Rehabilitation programmes (STURP) have at times been up to double the success rate in Māori than non-Māori (Johnston, 2018). This would suggest programmes tailored to Māori that promote their cultural identity have a higher degree of success than those that don't. However as discussed, there are limitations on the ability for a Government organisation to provide effective cultural solutions to Māori offenders. To begin with, Māori are not a homogenous group, so benefits from scalable, resource-efficient programmes are difficult to realise in an equitable way (Durie, 2006; Edwards, 2003). On top of this, policy and programmes designed and delivered by a Crown entity do not often come from a Māori world view and do not often authentically resemble Māori culture (Mihaere, 2015; Te Puni Kokiri, 2011). Finally researchers argue that the very nature of imprisonment is the removal of self-determination and control that enforces colonial power structures and maintains the status of oppressed indigenous groups (Baldry & Cunneen, 2014; Crewe, 2011; Nichols, 2017). Corrections Hōkai Rangi strategy proposes development of interventions through 'co-design' partnerships with whanau and iwi however the benefits of this new approach are yet to be realised.

3.3 Corrections Staff Today

Training, capability development, leadership and culture functions at Corrections are all developed by the Human Resources function at National Office (NO) in Wellington, and delivered with the support of regional HR teams across the country. In the last two years, growth in the prison population has resulted in a significant increase in staffing, with 1500 new Corrections Officers hired within the 2017-2018 financial year (Department of Corrections, 2018a).

3.3.1 Corrections Officer role profile

The role of a Corrections Officer today has moved on somewhat from the traditional perceptions of Prison Guards as they were once known. While the traditional view of the role focussed on locking and unlocking cell doors, the Corrections Act 2004 clarified a focus toward assisting in the rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders into the community through the provision of programmes and interventions. It encapsulated further reaching principles such as the interests of victims and the recognition of an offender's family in terms of sentence support and restorative justice. The legislation also made allowances for Corrections Officers safety by allowing staff to use force when necessary (Corrections Act 2004, s83) and positioned them alongside community health workers due to the nature of working with vulnerable people including youth offenders and interaction with offenders' families (Children's Act, 2014).

In recent years, the Corrections Officer career pathway is marketed as one offering an opportunity to 'change lives, shape futures' with an emphasis on the ability to be a role model and make a difference in the lives of offenders. The rehabilitative aspect of the correctional system is emphasised as a key motivational driver for new staff even though the role itself still involves the same core tasks of locking and unlocking cells, prisoner transfers and cell searching. The recruitment strategy and 'Ara Tika' training pathway were updated in 2016 and refreshed again in 2018 to reflect this renewed tone and incorporate more holistic assessments such as situational judgement, safety awareness and influential communication skills. Training covers an 11-week period based both at the National Learning Centre

(NLC), a custom-designed training facility in Wellington, and at the recruit's home prison site for on-the-job training and observation. At the end of 11 weeks, final assessments are completed and the staff member graduates as fit to work on the floor and commence full duties on the roster. This training also forms the basis for NZ Qualifications Authority standards for a National Certificate in Offender Management, the levels of which signify a pay increase for staff under the collective employment agreement. Promotional pathways include Senior Corrections Officer (an increased operational responsibility) and Principal Corrections Officer (leadership of staff on a unit), along with secondments into Tactical Operations/Site Emergency Response teams and are awarded on an individual merit-based system through an internal recruitment process.

While the training pathway has received various upgrades in recent years, unfortunately the components addressing cultural competence are somewhat limited. Core operational skills such as fire and first aid training, control and restraint techniques, and gang intelligence are the focus, while cultural dynamics and working with Māori offenders takes the form of a 'briefing' from the Director Cultural Capability in the first week at NLC, alongside meeting the executive team and learning about the justice sector. Staff seeking further training in this respect would need to access limited and outdated resources on the organisations' intranet, Tātou, or draw upon the knowledge of Māori individuals they work with.

3.3.2 Rimutaka Prison: a profile

Rimutaka prison is the largest prison in New Zealand with approximately 1000 minimum to high security male prisoners in custody, or 10% of the total prison population. Established in 1967, it sits on the edge of the suburb of Trentham in Wellington's Upper Hutt valley. Today it boasts offender training pathways in carpentry, painting, engineering, motor industry and brick laying skills qualifications. It also promotes offender employment opportunities in the kitchen, asset maintenance, hospitality, grounds maintenance, warehouse distribution, commercial printing, horticulture and community contract work. Despite this positive profile, it has been mired in controversy with staff

corruption and prisoner relationships (Manch, 2018), gang activity and prisoner contraband (Hatton, 2018), and recently the trial of a 'paedophile village' for the housing of released sex-offenders on probation (Stewart, 2018) all within the past year.

Staff at Rimutaka prison are largely male between the ages of 45-64 and the majority staff having between 10-19 years tenure. Staff ethnicity profiles are 59% NZ European/Pākehā, 17% Māori, 20% Pacific and 13% Asian. Rimutaka Prison has suffered from decreased staffing levels largely due to high turnover in recent years, possibly indicative of a changeable culture under the different leadership styles of multiple Prison Directors. Rimutaka Prison offers tikanga Māori therapeutic programmes through it's 'Māori Focus Unit' which delivers a range of tikanga-based courses, utilises relationships with local iwi groups, and uses prisoner-staff panels for decision-making. However these programmes have had mixed outcomes due to the challenges presented with high turnover of offenders in these units as they are rotated between sites (Department of Corrections, 2009). In addition, staff ethnicity profiles may suggest the Māori focus unit faces challenges in being managed by culturally competent staff, as well as the overarching limitations of cultural programmes designed and delivered by large, westernised institutions.

The Department of Corrections manages a large offender population and prison system for New Zealand through an extensive specialist and frontline workforce. Despite the challenges it has faced in embedding strategies to address Māori reoffending, the organisation still successfully runs a range of rehabilitation intervention programmes, including those focussed on tikanga Māori. In addition, a wide range of qualifications and work opportunities are made available to offenders serving sentences, increasing the chances of reducing reoffending and offering opportunities to give back to the community. The role of the Corrections Officer has shifted in recent years, to position the role as one capable of influencing offender behaviour on a day to day basis and has begun to invest in recruitment and training to support culture change. As the largest prison, with a wide range of services and programmes, Rimutaka Prison provides a somewhat representative case study for this research.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Overview

The following chapter outlines the research design approach taken in this study, focussing on the merits of case study research for complex research questions regarding the individual perspectives. It will then describe the data collection methods used and identifies the participant sample of Corrections Officers working at Rimutaka Prison. Development of survey and interview materials are explained, and the procedures for undertaking the research are described in detail. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the grounded theory data analysis techniques utilised for this research.

4.2 Research Design

This study utilises a qualitative case study design. Case study research is a valuable way to gain insight into an organisation or individual perspectives at a single point in time (Bell, Bryman, & Harley, 2018). It is the most appropriate design for research that is focussed on the lived experience and perspectives of its participants as rich data can be provided through this deep-dive analysis into a small sample group. While other options were considered, an experimental design would be limited due to the requirement for variables to be controlled and independent, likewise a longitudinal or comparative design would pose difficulty in finding and retaining comparative samples (Bell et al., 2018). Case study research benefits from an interpretivist paradigm, where qualitative methods, thematic analysis and an empathetic approach is essential to developing a deep understanding of the social world created by the perspectives of its participants. An interpretive approach relies upon keeping an open mind, refraining from developing a hypothesis or any initial theories until inductive reasoning is employed to explore the themes that emerge from the subjective experience of participants.

Case study research is criticised for weaknesses in terms of objectivity, reliability and validity (Yin, 2009) as small sample sizes and lack of quantitative analysis is viewed as subjective and undermining the rigour of more experimental research (Andrade, 2009). The positivist perspective would suggest large sample sizes, statistical analysis and a linear deductive process is the only way to achieve a high

quality, objective approach (Bell et al., 2018; Riege, 2003). However this approach misses the opportunity to develop an understanding of complex social worlds, and it is only through a constructionist ontology that researchers can draw theory from such fluid social interactions (Bell et al., 2018; Braun & Clarke, 2006).

4.2 Data collection

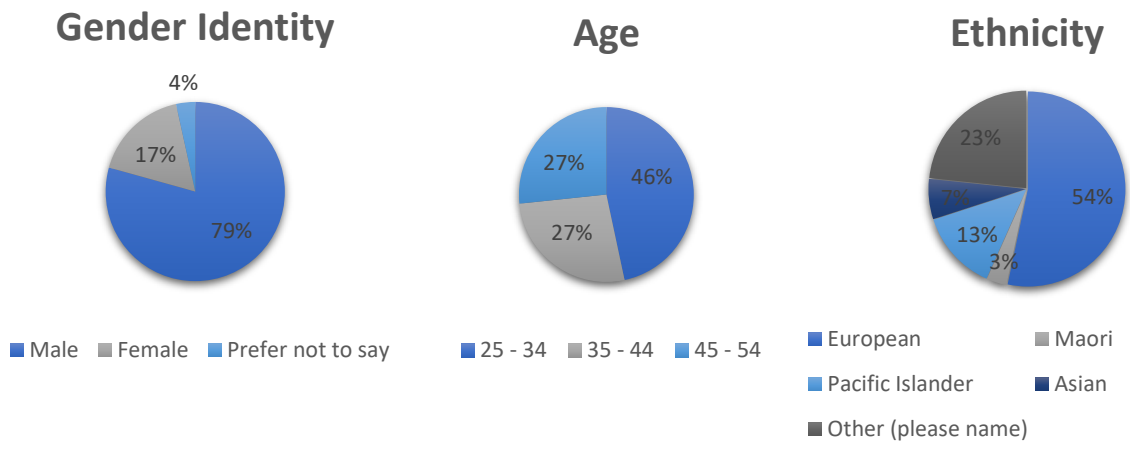
Mixed method data collection was employed through both a quantitative survey and qualitative interviews. Mortenson (2009) provides support for this approach, describing how the combination of ”qualitative and quantitative approaches allows researchers to address research from multiple perspectives to facilitate understanding about multifaceted phenomena” (p.14). A survey was initially developed to collect baseline data and test some of the initial themes that might be further pursued in interview. This combination is a suitable approach when the topic is complex in nature, and when it relies heavily upon the lived experience of an individual. This way, some context as to the degree to which the themes are shared by others can be tested, and the potential problems of construct validity are addressed by employing multiple sources of data exploring the same concept (Yin, 2009). Teddlie & Tashakkori (2012) further support a mixed method approach, suggesting methodological eclecticism is of value to the researcher who is able to use whichever methods best answer the research question.

Criticism of the mixed method approach is levelled at the researcher’s capability and training in each stance and fundamental differences in epistemology (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2012), however Shulha and Wilson (2003) argue that minimum competency in both qualitative and quantitative methods, and expertise in one promotes greater collaboration and the ability to problem solve from a methodological perspective. In this study, the data sources are both quantitative and qualitative, however as the survey was primarily employed to collect participants and baseline data, qualitative data analysis techniques enabled a rich exploration of insights that allowed investigation of the research question focussed on individual perspectives of cultural competence.

4.3 Participants

Data were collected from persons currently employed as Corrections Officers with the New Zealand Department of Corrections at Rimutaka Prison. Formal inclusion criteria also specified individuals who had been employed between November 2016 and November 2017 to ensure the same training and years of experience were mediated. This resulted in an initial participant sample of 77 individuals invited to complete the initial survey stage of the research. The survey garnered a strong response with 29 individuals completing the survey, resulting in an 37% response rate. At the end of the survey, participants were invited to volunteer their interest in being interviewed, of which eight respondents provided their contact details. For the purposes of explorative research, five participants for interview were selected based on the disparity of their survey responses, and their availability to attend during the interviewing period.

Figure 3:Demographic profile of survey respondents:



Of the 29 survey respondents, 23 identified as male, five female and one preferred not to say. The majority, (14) were in the 25-34-year-old age range, and the remaining participants were divided with eight in the 35-44 age range and seven in the 45-54 age range. Over half of the respondents (15) identified as European, while Pacific Islanders were the next largest group with four respondents. Interestingly, seven respondents (23%) identified as 'other' including two South African respondents, and one English and one Indian respondent. The remaining three free-text answers to the 'other'

option were ‘Irrelevant’, ‘New Zealander’ and ‘Human’. None of these respondents volunteered interest in being interviewed so further explanation was not a possibility.

The interviewed participants were three females between the ages of 25-34, and two males between the ages of 35-44. Ethnic composition included three British immigrants who had joined Corrections as part of an overseas recruitment campaign, one Pacific Islander and one Pākehā New Zealander. Interview results may therefore be influenced by the views of those relatively new to the country, as opposed to those who have grown up in New Zealand. It should also be acknowledged that these demographics differ from an organisational profile that is 71% European, mostly aged between 45-54 years old (26% of all staff); it is therefore (in addition to the limitations of case study design) not representative of the wider organisation. Also, some degree of bias is introduced through the voluntary nature of the interview participation as these staff are already more likely to be interested or positively biased toward discussing this topic.

The participant group used in this sample was gathered through non-probability, purposive sampling techniques to deliberately select a specific group of participants relevant to the research question, and in this instance, provide rich insight into the perspectives of Corrections Officers (Bell et al., 2018). Selection based on tenure and the convenience of Rimutaka Prison was employed to gain a depth of insight into this specific business unit within the organisation, and to identify those with a comparable experience based on their training and length of time in the job. It could therefore not be said that these insights are representative of all Corrections Officers as variables in site differences, geography and tenure may hold significant influence.

Ethical issues were also considered in the selection of this participant group. The nature of discussing highly personal, values-based themes in an employment context may pose discomfort or morally compromise the participants. In addition to this, as the researcher is employed as a Manager at National Office with Corrections, the risk of power imbalance was heightened. Mitigation techniques included clear privacy and confidentiality mechanisms explained to each participant verbally and in

writing. The researcher is also a trained interviewer focussed on putting participants at ease. Participants were not required to answer any questions that make them uncomfortable and were offered Employee Assistance Programme (EAP) support services. Data collection and analysis were authorised by permission granted by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (see Appendix 1) and Department of Corrections Research and Ethics Committee (see Appendix 2).

4.4 Materials

Firstly, a survey was developed to set baseline data and draw broad themes from which to develop further interview questioning. The survey explored key elements of Balcazar's (2009) cultural competence framework and accompanying questionnaire – however shortened and adapted for the organisational context (see Figure 1, p.22). As shown in Table 1 below, survey questions were designed to cover both the core elements of the framework, and to draw out themes related to these elements that could further be explored in interview. The language in these questions was kept as unambiguous as possible, framed in first person and related to elements of motivation, importance and duty to encourage emotive, values-based responses from participants.

Table 1: Overview of data collection and analysis questions used to explore framework themes

Framework Category	Survey Questions	Interview Questions	Data analysis questions
Critical awareness/knowledge	I think it is important to consider the cultural backgrounds of the offenders I work with	What are the challenges you face in being confident working with Māori offenders in this role? What support do you need to be successful in this regard? How confident do you feel engaging with Māori (either in or out of the workplace)? Tell me more about what is on your mind when you have these interactions?	What value do staff place on cultural backgrounds? to what degree do they reflect on the differences between cultural identities? What are the in-the-moment challenges they experience?
	I am confident in my ability to engage effectively with Māori		
Skills development	I feel comfortable participating in tikanga and te reo in the workplace	Tell me about your experiences engaging with a Māori world view in the workplace?	What are the barriers to developing cultural skills and

		What factors have influenced you to make it a positive/negative experience? How do you feel about improving your cultural knowledge?	knowledge? What is their motivation to develop further?
	Working with Māori is a skill I would like to develop further		
Organisational support	I see Corrections as being successful in working with Māori	To what degree do you feel a 'duty' or a sense that you are 'supposed to' engage with Māori as an aspect of your role as a Corrections Officer?	How aligned do staff feel the organisation is with support to work with Māori? To what degree do staff feel obliged?
	As a Corrections Officer, I feel it is my duty to effectively work with Māori offenders		
Skills development/Organisational support	The training I have received has prepared me for working with Māori offenders	How do you expect Corrections to support you with developing your cultural competence?	

Reliability and validity measures in case study research are obviously limited in terms of replicability and generalisability tests normally applied in other research methods. In addition, exploratory case studies are unable to provide the causal relationships that contribute to internal validity measures. However as Yin (2009) suggests, validity in case study research does not so much sit in the design stage, but in the way the research is conducted. In this study, construct validity was maintained as much as possible by collecting multiple sources of evidence, maintaining well documented evidence and analysis processes, and peer review with research supervisors (Riege, 2003; Yin, 2009). The ease of survey creation in the internet age can call into question the validity and reliability of user-created surveys that have not had the methodological rigour of empirical or psychological study (Evans et al., 2009). In this instance, content validity was ascertained through the reviews required in the ethics process for both Massey University and the consultation process with Corrections, where subject matter experts reviewed the likelihood of the proposed questions obtaining relevant information.

4.5 Procedures

A letter outlining the study and an invitation to participate (see Appendix 3) was sent out to the identified distribution list of suitable participants via electronic mail, with the permission of the Rimutaka Prison Director. The email content emphasised that participation was completely voluntary, that results would remain anonymous and confidentiality would be strictly adhered to. It also outlined the second stage of the research and explained participants would have the opportunity to declare their interest in being selected for this at the end of the survey. The further 'Information for Participants' document (see Appendix 4) was attached and included more detailed information on privacy, ethics and data security.

The email included the link to complete the survey and a two-week deadline for survey completions. Reminder emails were sent after one week and 24hours ahead of the survey closing. Survey responses were administered and received through Qualtrics survey software. Participants were given the opportunity to express interest in being surveyed and were selected based on the methodology described above. Interviewees were contacted via the email address they provided and offered times for interview in person in a meeting room at the Rimutaka Prison Regional Administration Block (RAB) on the 7th of March 2019. The interview confirmation email advised participants that they would be required to sign an Authority to Release Transcript (see Appendix 5) as part of audio recordings, and the interview guide was attached to encourage prior consideration of the topic. Interviews were recorded using a digital audio recorder and verbatim transcription was completed by the researcher in Microsoft Word.

With over 10 years' experience in recruitment, the researcher is an experienced interviewer, and as a current Corrections staff member, is familiar with the setting in which the participants work. Further consideration was given to Kvale's (2009) criteria for a successful interviewer, which suggests following an intended structure and asking clear, open, critical questions in a gentle and sensitive manner. Interviews followed a semi-structured format, which were broadly in line with the three key

components of Balcazar's (2009) cultural competence framework – critical awareness, skills development, and application in organisational context. Semi structured interviewing is a highly effective method of obtaining detailed information through a conversational style (Harrell & Bradley, 2009) which is particularly appropriate when dealing with personal and potentially emotive topics. McCracken McCracken (1988, p. 9) describes interviews as "one of the most powerful methods in the qualitative armoury. . . . [it] gives us the opportunity to step into the mind of another person, to see and experience the world as they do themselves" (p. 9). While the interview guide was developed to ensure the framework categories were discussed, the conversation was very much participant-led to ensure data collected was a representation of their perspective and the aspects they valued. This meant questions were raised in context of the conversation, as they naturally arose, and were not always posed in the same structure for each participant. This tailored approach created a sense of comfort and trust in the participants and allowed them to open up in a more informal way.

4.6 Data Analysis techniques

Grounded theory is an approach to the analysis of qualitative data developed by Glaser & Strauss in 1968. It describes an iterative approach in which theory is a constantly evolving process, emerging through the joint collection, coding and analysis activities known as theoretical sampling (Glaser, Strauss, & Strutzel, 1968). It is therefore concerned with the development of theory from data and the recursive nature of collection and analysis activities repeated throughout the process (Bell et al., 2018). Grounded theory offers benefits for case study research, as it is not concerned with generalisable findings, instead offering insight into the conditions and expressions of specific cultural concepts (Mjøset, 2005).

Criticism of the grounded theory method arose when Glaser and Strauss diverged and grew their research in separate ways - Straussian theory focussing on a more prescriptive approach and emphasising concepts rather than theories (Glaser, 1992). Alongside their individual positions a third approach surfaced – the Constructivist angle – which emphasises the influence of the researcher's

perspective, position and priorities on the resulting analysis (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). The fluidity of these three approaches, combined with difficulty in consistently measuring an iterative process has made grounded theory a contested concept (Bell et al., 2018; Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). Despite this, grounded theory still offers valuable advice in approaching this study. It provides a fundamental pathway for ongoing analysis of emerging themes and how they might contribute to theory development. The Constructivist angle also provides a valuable reminder of the ways in which bias can be introduced in analysis, particularly with highly personal, values and beliefs-based work in the behavioural sciences, which can be particularly susceptible to the influence of an individual's frame of reference.

Descriptive qualitative analysis practices were utilised in the coding of interview data. Vaismoradi, Turunen, and Bondas (2013) describe how thematic analysis and content analysis are often used interchangeably as both offer descriptive analysis techniques of qualitative data. When further clarified, content analysis specifically applies to the quantitative interpretation of coding and counts of codes, whilst thematic analysis works best when utilised as a purely qualitative, detailed and nuanced account of data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In this instance a combination of the two was utilised, as the reoccurrence of a theme (content analysis) contributed to the clarification and classification of core outcomes of the data collection. Alongside this, a thematic approach meant no data was excluded from analysis and latent content was still considered as important as part of the interpretation of participants experience (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Vaismoradi, Jones, Turunen, & Snelgrove, 2016; Vaismoradi et al., 2013).

The first stage of thematic analysis involved the researcher listening to audio recordings multiple times to electronically transcribe the interviews. This enabled the transcription to be thorough and accurate, but also to ensure no nuance or context was missed (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Vaismoradi et al., 2016). Whilst transcribing, notes of interesting comments and repeated themes were taken to revisit in later stages of analysis. Initial coding of themes classified responses into a very long list, while second stage

analysis then compared and clarified themes into a smaller number of distilled topic categories. The responses in each topic category were again read to see if any outlying information was missed and to ensure all responses clearly supported the scope of the category. From there, final labels and definitions were created. This allowed for the 'grouping' of themes under the theoretical framework used for analysis – the three categories of critical awareness, skills development and organisational support in Balcazar's (2009) cultural competency framework. Quoted comments from participants have been utilised in the description of results to highlight the depth of individual perspectives offered in this study. Analysis of results were then aligned with Wells' (2000) Cultural Development Model (see Figure 2, p.24), to provide a comparative analysis of the ways in which competence would need to be developed to become more culturally proficient.

4.7 Summary

This research topic has been best served through its case study design, offering the ability to explore individual perspectives on the social world of race relations and biculturalism in the Corrections workplace. Grounded theory adds value through the evolving, iterative approach to data analysis, while content and thematic analysis techniques allow for multi-faceted, nuanced themes to emerge. These methods have contributed to the collection of rich, complex data from participants to contribute to the answering of this broad research question.

Chapter 5: Results

5.1 Overview

Data was collected to explore themes related to the challenges that Corrections Officer staff face in engaging with te ao Māori in the workplace. The research question sought an exploration of staff perspectives and experiences working with Māori offenders in their roles, to understand any challenges that might impact the development of cultural competence.

The survey was delivered online to 77 Corrections Officers at Rimutaka Prison that had been in the role for a period of 1-2 years. 29 individuals completed the survey in this study, resulting in an 37% response rate. As seen in the Table below, survey results built a picture of motivated staff with a desire to work more effectively with Māori.

Table 2: Survey Results (formatting applied to illustrate proportion of respondents per answer)

Q1 - I think it's important to consider the cultural backgrounds of the offenders I work with					
Extremely important 27.59%	Very important 44.83%	Important 13.79%	Somewhat important 10.34%	Not at all important 3.45%	Don't know 0.0%
Q2 - I feel comfortable participating in tikanga (Māori customs) and using te reo (Māori language) in the workplace					
Extremely comfortable 13.79%	Somewhat comfortable 31.03%	Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable 17.24%	Somewhat uncomfortable 20.69%	Extremely uncomfortable 17.24%	Don't know 0.0%
Q3 - Working effectively with Māori is a key skill I would like to develop further in my role					
Strongly agree 48.28%	Somewhat agree 27.59%	Neither agree nor disagree 17.24%	Somewhat disagree 0.0%	Strongly disagree 6.90%	Don't know 0.0%

Q4 - I am confident in my ability to effectively work with Māori offenders					
Extremely easy 17.24%	Somewhat easy 51.72%	Neither easy nor difficult 24.14%	Somewhat difficult 6.90%	Extremely difficult 0.0%	Don't know 0.0%
Q5 - I see Corrections as being successful in working with Māori offenders					
Extremely successful 3.45%	Very successful 31.03%	Neither successful nor unsuccessful 51.72%	Not very successful 6.90%	Very unsuccessful 6.90%	Don't know 0.0%
Q6 - As a Corrections Officer, I feel it is my duty to effectively work with Māori offenders					
Strongly agree 44.83%	Somewhat agree 17.24%	Neither agree nor disagree 27.59%	Somewhat disagree 3.45%	Strongly disagree 6.90%	Don't know 0.0%
Q7 - The training I have received has prepared me for working with Māori offenders					
Strongly agree 10.34%	Somewhat agree 27.59%	Neither agree nor disagree 34.48%	Somewhat disagree 27.59%	Strongly disagree 0.0%	Don't know 0.0%

Analysis of answer trends across multiple questions showed strong correlations between those that felt a sense of duty to work effectively with Māori offenders, also placing importance on the consideration of cultural backgrounds, showing a great deal of comfort in participating in tikanga protocols and using te reo in the workplace (see Appendix 6). Correspondingly, those with a low sense of duty also did not value the importance on considering the cultural background of offenders and were less comfortable in utilizing te reo and tikanga practices. Interview results outlined in the following sections reinforced this desire to develop further, highlighting an openness and willingness to engage, an interest in te ao Māori and an acknowledgement of the importance of an offender's

cultural background as a means of establishing rapport. The interview schedule can be found in Appendix 7 and shows the semi-structured approach to probing these key themes from the survey.

5.2 Critical Awareness

Survey questions explored this framework category through the statements: 'I think it is important to consider the cultural backgrounds of the offenders I work with' and 'I am confident in my ability to engage effectively with Māori'. Survey results painted a positive picture, with over 70% of respondents describing that they believed it was either extremely (27.59%) or very (44.83%) important to consider the cultural backgrounds of the offenders they work with. This importance on the consideration of cultural backgrounds is supported by 68.96% respondents reporting that they were confident in their ability to engage effectively with Māori finding it extremely easy (17.24%) or somewhat easy (51.72%).

This survey data was then explored further in interview with the questions – 'How confident do you feel engaging with Māori (either in or out of the workplace)? Tell me more about what is on your mind when you have these interactions?' and 'What are the challenges you face in being confident working with Māori offenders in this role?' These questions produced five key themes:

- Importance of cultural background
- Self-reflection and awareness
- Treat everybody the same
- Lack of confidence
- Staff attitudes, which included a subtheme regarding generational and tenure differences.

5.2.1 Importance of cultural background

The first theme to emerge was an awareness of the importance of considering the cultural background of offenders. Participants acknowledged the need to specifically engage with Māori offenders as a core part of their role, due to the over representation of Māori in the prison population *"52% of our offenders are Māori, so in terms of rehabilitation it's a duty that we can connect, and learn",* and the

recognition they believe should be given to them as an indigenous population - *"because they are the natives of this country…yeah there should be respect for them".* References were also made to the diversity of other cultures in the prison population *"I've also got to be able to look after the other races in there*" and staff:

> "*I'm not being racial but you've gotta be able to have…the Māori, the Samoan, the Indian officers, we've gotta have people with a lot of various cultures, with different cultural backgrounds".*

When probed, interview participants did not necessarily place particular importance on an ability to work with Māori specifically, as one participant said: *"umm I kind of see it as a core part but I've also got to be able to look after the other races in there as well".* Overall the acknowledgement of cultural background as an important consideration in working with offenders came through, as summarized by this participant:

> *"You've got to understand that it's a different culture, so you've got to relate to that if you even want to speak of make any difference, and if you don't make the effort I think you make your job very hard."*

5.2.2 Self-reflection and awareness

Participants demonstrated awareness with self-descriptive statements such as *"I'm a very open to everything sort of person I'm non-judgmental"* and *"I'm a very open person, so I accept everyone for who they are".* They reflected on the ways in which their own cultural background influenced their interactions with Māori – "*I guess we're used to being a bit more…well we sit on the fence a lot in the UK, so I'm used to that*" and *"I mean for me, being a Pacific Islander, I got on with every race out there".* This theme also captured ways in which awareness impacted day-to-day role requirements *"I've got to be aware of my boundaries as well, make sure I don't break the rules"* and beliefs about role purpose:

"our job as far as I know is, we are not to judge them, they have already been judged in the justice system, in the justice courts, and our job is just to rehab them and get them integrated into the community"

5.2.3 Treat everybody the same

A theme of treating everybody the same was repeated throughout the data. Participants described an increasing reluctance to 'single out' Māori with comments such as *"people are people for me", "Yeah you're Māori, but you're also a Kiwi, you know"* and *"I just treat them all the same you know, it's my everyday thing, I just treat them all equally".* Further to the importance placed on cultural background in the overarching theme, participants spoke of how acknowledging culture can make things more difficult:

"I don't get drawn into cultural conversations as such cos obviously it can cause so much unrest, so I just try to stick to the script and for me, it doesn't matter who they are, where they're from"

or create favouritism:

"or a scholarship for University and they might not have been doing well and all they had to do was apply for it you know, like where is our opportunity? … but then I don't know, everyone is equal"

Treating everybody the same was also a way of protecting oneself from making judgements *"I try not to stereotype"* and approaching all offenders equally:

"it doesn't matter then, doesn't matter if you're white, pink, orange, you are who you are, and unfortunately you're on the journey that you're on and it's going to be hard for you to break that cycle"

As one participant stated:

"There's no one who is better than anyone else, so it doesn't matter what your skin colour or whatever it doesn't matter to me"

5.2.4 Lack of confidence

Contrary to the survey results, all participants spoke of a lack of confidence when working with Māori offenders and engaging with cultural practices in the workplace. Particularly when it came to pronunciation of Māori words, responses included *"I don't want to offend anyone you know, so you've got to just like think about what I'm talking about," "yeah I don't want to get it wrong as well. I'd rather just hold my tongue then go and look it up," "I guess it's like 'ooo shit am I saying that right?'".* Low confidence also seemed related to anxiety about appearing disrespectful:

"yeah so for me it was not being culturally insensitive. so being aware, but at the same time, I'm not going to stand up and say anything because a. I don't speak Māori and b. is it disrespectful?"

or being incorrect *"if I'm having a conversation with them, I don't want to like put my foot in it you know".* Participants also spoke of other challenges they faced, in terms of how they are perceived "*the initial resistance of 'I'm not talkin to you' because I'm English, female. And they sometimes state that – no, go and get me a male officer"* and a lack of familiarity:

"that was the challenge for me to maybe not necessarily speak Māori fluently, but to understand what it is that is so unique about them, because it is a different culture, totally different".

5.2.5 Staff attitudes

Another emerging theme centred on the attitudes of other staff, particularly the views of Pākehā or non-Māori New Zealanders. Participants spoke of a reluctance to engage *"it was the kiwis that were resistant to learning about the Māori"* and attitudes borne from statistical representation *"I think statistics, that they've tarnished their opinions",* a perception of special treatment *"what I'm getting*

from New Zealanders that are not Māori, it's that 'why are they getting all the special attention?'" or obligation *"I don't think the passion is there with everybody. I think some see it as a tick box exercise, for reasons I don't know why".* Multiple responses identified Pākehā specifically as being resistant *"that's the most resistance I've heard is from Pākehā kiwis, like against the Māori culture, like you're all from here! and I don't know why that is".* Participants also referred to Pākehā stereotypes of Māori:

> *"they say, 'they don't work, Māori people don't work' and 'they just rely on the government for support so why should we care about them'? that's the thing, this is what I've seen since I've been in New Zealand…they just see Māori as just a number kind of thing"*

> *"they say 'oh the Māori have got the Treaty of Waitangi, they have got the settlement, they are wanting more…that is what we work with, that is the mentality they've got".*

Two participants expressed the difficulty this creates in a team environment:

> *"it is hard yeah, cos you need like-minded people in those roles or within your team that are like you, so they can buy into it. If they don't buy into it and you've got that clear divide, then that's a big problem as well"*

and the view that it will take a long time to change *"in time the mentality will change but it's going to be years".*

5.2.6 Generation and tenure differences

A subtheme of staff attitudes identified differences in older staff, with longer tenure in the organisation. They described these staff as dismissive *"I've seen it quite a few times. Like by older officers they, I mean they have that don't care attitude towards them"* and disengaged:

> *"if you're working with an officer who's been working there 20 years and he just comes and lock and unlocks doors, cell doors I mean, he doesn't care. He's either on his way out or he's over it"*.

Three of the participants acknowledged the influence older officers had on new staff, in both a positive and negative way with comments such as:

> *"I mean the older staff, I'm not saying they are wrong, they do have that experience, it is good to learn from them, but there is some out there who you really can learn from, but there is some out there who not so much".*

5.3 Skills Development

Survey questions measured skills and knowledge by focusing on familiarization with cultural characteristics and motivation with the statements: 'I feel comfortable participating in tikanga and te reo in the workplace' and 'Working with Māori is a skill I would like to develop further'. Survey results set an encouraging baseline for the confidence and comfort participants have in participating in tikanga practices and using te reo in the workplace, with 44.82% of respondents feeling comfortable or extremely comfortable in these situations. An overwhelming 75.87% of survey participants also expressed their desire to develop skills to work more effectively with Māori.

The interview utilized the questions - 'Tell me about your experiences engaging with a Māori world view in the workplace?' and 'How do you feel about improving your cultural knowledge?' This produced rich data across five key themes:

- Exposure to te ao Māori/cultural characteristics
- Specific knowledge increases confidence
- Establishing rapport
- Motivation to learn
- Specific individuals.

5.3.1 Exposure to te ao Māori/cultural characteristics

Each participant described some level of exposure to cultural characteristics in their lifetime, including *"the poi and counting to ten and a bit of colours", "obviously we have some guys who have the*

traditional tattoos on their faces", "just like their beliefs, and where they came from, with the hills and the grounds and the water and things they believe…it's just pure", "I know with Māori when there is a death in the family, there is a time of grieving and a time of when they can have funerals and stuff", "yeah and then when we had to hongi, the first time as well it was like 'oh!'".

All participants also expressed a direct connection between Māori and spirituality too, in terms of the natural environment *"just how they talk and the connection to the land and everything like that, it's very spiritual"* and workplace practices *"some people have blessed the food".* Spirituality also had an application when carrying out their role, through dealing with offenders *"we've had a guy that's been very haunted by spirits and honestly that's not something that I believe in"* and the services staff engage *"the Māori pastor… you know they'll get called upon and they'll come down and bless the cell and that sort of stuff", "yeah the guy with the voices, they're like 'oh just send him to forensics' and I'm like 'I'm pretty sure it's not forensic'".* Data references in this theme spoke positively of exposure to te ao Māori; comments included - *"people who can trace back to where they came from it is impressive, yeah", "I always think it's very beautiful", "I wish I was this passionate about my culture!", "I love that about New Zealand", "blows my mind really. Especially in the 21st, 22nd century almost, it's amazing", "I must admit, I didn't feel uncomfortable, but I guess I did feel a little bit empowered, privileged to be there".*

5.3.2 Specific knowledge increases confidence

A lack of confidence is mitigated by specific cultural knowledge, not only with Māori culture, but two participants gave examples with other cultures too:

> *"I can speak very little Japanese, but I can understand quite a lot so if I come across someone that's Japanese it's amazing the reaction you can get, you know it's a whole different ballgame".*

And *"if a Muslim comes in, that's my bread and butter so I'm like, 'move over guys I've got this one'".* Reflection on similarities in cultures also helped build confidence, as one participant reported:

"I feel confident with the little knowledge I have, [because of your identity as a Pacific Islander?] yep, and I can relate well to them… I mean the Māori culture and the Pacific Island culture is very similar. Their values, their families, their spirituality and all things like that, and the way they talk, their manners, is very similar".

Participants again spoke of pronunciation knowledge playing a key role building confidence, with one participant clarifying it's *"also like how and when to say things"* and another expanding:

"the more I get to know them, the more we get to know each other, it gets a little bit easier. Once I can pronounce their name… or if they have like four names, and so it's knowing which one to use".

5.3.3 Establishing Rapport

A critical theme in the development of culturally-specific skills was the ways in which specific knowledge influenced the staff members' ability to establish rapport with a Māori offender. Responses highlighted the inherently resistant nature of the dynamic *"They're naturally stand offish anyway", "they're hard to deal with already", "especially if you're dealing with Māori gang members… they just see you as an outsider", "don't expect that someone's gonna accept you straight off the bat even if you're accepting of them".* However, trying to connect with an offender's culture had an immediate response *"so as soon as they know that I'm learning about their culture and them, the respect just goes up"* and enabled a relationship to be built:

"I can relate well to them and tell them this is what I think… because I've already been able to build a rapport and relationship with them they think 'oh yep he's the one I can go to talk through things'".

Four of the five participants spoke about the value of communication as a critical part of being successful in establishing rapport – *"it's better to talk to them, influence that way", "you feel like you can reach some level of respect between you just by having that conversation", "you've got to*

understand that it's a different culture, so you've got to relate to that… if you don't make the effort I think you make your job very hard", "if I'm ignorant to different cultures and stuff then I'd really struggle for any form of respect or credibility". As one participant summarised:

> *"I think to earn the respect you have to make some kind of connection with them. Whereas if you're just an authoritarian they have no time. Because they might have been brought up all their life with people telling them what to do with no reason and if you're that officer, yeah, you're still successful in your job but you're not making a change to that person. You'll still be enforcing the rules, you'll still get everything done, you'll still go home at the end of the day, but you're not making a difference".*

5.3.4 Motivation to learn

All interviewees spoke of their motivation to engage in training to develop their skills further. Responses included *"I'd like to have some tools in my pocket", "yeah it'd be quite ignorant of me to not jump on board, even if it's just a basic understanding", "it's something I know I need to develop".* They described a range of areas they would like to learn more about, including *"the cultural side, how to interact with them and to know their values", "what it's like now, more day to day, of how to, what's the best way to manage them", "the five values, but then incorporating them into our everyday work", "understanding what makes them tick, what's important to them, their values, their beliefs I guess as well".*

5.3.5 Specific Individuals

Throughout the interviews, participants frequently spoke of individual Māori staff members in their workplace who had a critical effect on their learning. Across the five interviewees, the names of the same seven individuals continued to be mentioned as key influencers, utilised for the knowledge of their Māori culture. Participants asked various specific cultural questions, relied upon them for explanations of the Corrections values framework, for induction training and to check tikanga protocols. These individuals were described as *"very passionate, but she's passionate in a way that's*

not in your face, which is good, so she doesn't push it on you", "they are full of Māori knowledge you know", "I could sit and listen to him all day", "really impactful", "very captivating…it still resonates with a lot of us". These individuals are unofficial teachers, and champions of cultural knowledge in the workplace, providing necessary exposure *"even just talking to her about stuff, you pick up stuff immediately because they talk about the day to day"* and role modelling of beliefs and behaviours *"so I've got a really good role model and good potential source to go to*".

5.4 Organisational Support

Survey questions gauged a mixed response through the statements: 'I see Corrections as being successful in working with Māori', 'As a Corrections Officer, I feel it is my duty to effectively work with Māori offenders', 'The training I have received has prepared me for working with Māori offenders'. Some ambivalence started to show when considering cultural competence in an organizational context, with 51.72% of respondents perceiving Corrections and 'neither successful nor unsuccessful' in working with Māori. Further to this, an even spread of 'somewhat agree' (27.59%), 'neither agree nor disagree' (34.48%) and 'somewhat disagree' (27.59%) responses showed little clear support as to whether the training they'd received had prepared them to effectively work with Māori. A positive sentiment toward the sense of duty to work with Māori offenders in the Corrections Officer role came through with 43.33% of respondents strongly agreeing with that statement.

The interview built on this further by directly asking 'to what degree do you feel a 'duty' or a sense that you are 'supposed to' engage with Māori as an aspect of your role as a Corrections Officer?' and 'How do you expect Corrections to support you with developing your cultural competence?'. This resulted in only one key theme exploring expectations of organizational support. Investigation into survey results regarding a sense of obligation or 'duty' to work with Māori found very little strength in the interviews, with all five respondents broadly commenting that they felt it was their duty to work effectively with all cultures, including Māori. When asked directly, one respondent dismissed it

completely, commenting *"nah that's not thought about in any way".* The only further comment was from another participant:

> *"I think it is part of our duty, but I don't feel like its duty, its passion for me, but I feel like it is a duty because what is it? 52% of our offenders are Māori, so in terms of rehabilitation it's a duty that we can connect, and learn more"*

When asked about expectations of organizational support for culturally competent practices, all participants largely focused on training opportunities. Responses included *"night classes", "just some form of training, even a token gesture", "education courses", "you could even do it online".* They took note of *"all these new guidelines, policies, you know the kaupapa values up around the place*" but stated *"they don't actually give you any training on it, you just see a new poster coming out".* Another participant said, *"no body's sat us down and gone 'here's our way forward', which I think we'd benefit from"* and described a desire to learn *"more on how we can relate our new values to prisoners".* One participant described how he expected cultural values to be supported by the organisation:

> *"sometimes if it's not coming from the top, from a particular manager then you can't expect staff to do that; it only comes from the top, and then if it's going from the bottom up, the management system, there's something wrong. You can't push it up, it needs to come down from the top… I see it's happening out here in Rimutaka that the management, the Prison Director, the Deputy Prison Director are pushing it quite hard"*

Other responses provided specifics on what content they would like to see covered in training:

> *"I think there could be more specific knowledge for the induction for us… how to deal with certain things, things that are maybe like insensitive, we get told all the things we can do, we can hongi, we can do this, we can do that, but are there things that are a real no, don't do that."*

Another key area was a desire for transparency regarding what works for Māori:

"It will all be down to stats wont it? and that's the one big thing that everyone seems to say when you're on courses or training days, the one thing that all the staff are interested in is what stats show that all the work that we are doing around Māori's is actually working? you know what percentage don't reoffend? what percentage do? and what timeframe, is it in the first two months, is it the first six? that's the one question that I think frustrates a lot of staff. Its ok putting all the time and effort and resources into it but how do we break it down, how do we analyse it to see what we're doing, is it right? are we doing it the right way? or can we do it a slightly different way that will improve it and then reduce those stats."

Interviews also produced data from three of the five participants regarding their perspectives on offending and the rehabilitation interventions they believe work for Māori. While many of these perspectives spoke to the negative socio-economic indicators of Māori offending such as healthcare, a lack of education and the prevalence of gangs, this data was not central to the research question regarding their experience of cultural competence and has therefore been left out of the analysis.

In summary, the main themes emerging from this chapter show that while staff acknowledge the importance of recognizing cultural backgrounds when working with Māori, they remain more likely to 'treat everybody the same' and speak broadly about relating to all cultures on the basis of similarities, not differences. Interviews showed cultural considerations and being able to communicate with offenders about their culture is a key part of building rapport and establishing respect and credibility. Whilst survey data indicated a great deal of confidence in working effectively with Māori, interviews discovered anxiety and fear related to being incorrect or causing offence. The participants in this study perceived resistance to engaging with Māori specifically in older, Pākehā colleagues who had worked at Corrections a long time, and they relied heavily upon the knowledge of their Māori colleagues to develop their own knowledge and skills. When it came to organizational support, interview participants focused narrowly on training needs and survey data showed a mixed response to the degree of success Corrections has had in working with Māori. Interview responses suggested a lack of

clear success metrics, uncertainty about what works for Māori, and visible leadership as key contributing factors for organizational support of cultural competence. These themes will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Chapter 6: Discussion

6.1 Overview

This chapter will discuss the findings from the data collection and analysis in relation to the literature review. It centers around the research statement:

- Cultural competence at the Department of Corrections - an exploration into the perspectives of frontline staff

And supplementary questions:

- What challenges do staff face in engaging with te ao Māori/a Māori world view in the workplace?
- What are the barriers to the development of cultural competence?

As noted in the literature review, cultural competence describes the ability for an individual to relate to and work with cultures different to their own. When successful, cultural competence should facilitate genuine connections, a recognition and appreciation of difference and the ability to adapt services to meet the needs of different cultural groups (Balcazar et al., 2009; Sonn, 2004; Sue, 1998). Additionally, cultural competence has a role to play in decolonisation by reflecting upon the power and privilege dynamics of the majority ethnicity (Sonn, 2004), and how this impacts the appropriate application of skills and knowledge in an organisational context (Balcazar et al., 2009).

This research utilized the cultural competence frameworks of Balcazar et al. (2009) and Wells (2000) to provide a basis for analyzing results, and seeks to apply these frameworks in a New Zealand Correctional context. Balcazar et al.(2009) (see Figure 1, p.22) provide overarching categories of critical awareness, skills development, and organisational support through which to assess behavioural data, while Wells' (2000) (see Table 1, p.40) Cultural Development Model offers a proficiency scale through which results can be analysed in terms of the development required to realise greater cultural proficiency. This chapter will discuss the results and literature in relation to

these three categories – critical awareness, skills development and organisational support - and will summarise results within Wells' model to determine proficiency.

6.2 Critical Awareness

Primarily, the most encouraging part of this research are the signs of willingness to learn and engage with a Māori world view that the participants demonstrated. Over 70% of survey respondents believe it is very important to consider the cultural backgrounds of offenders, and interview responses further illustrated the benefits for rapport building that come from communicating and connecting with cultural identity. A desire to develop further skills and knowledge was also strongly expressed, with over 75% of survey respondents very interested in learning more. These results show participants to be well placed to further develop their cultural competence, as willingness and motivation provides a valuable basis from which to advance. Indeed, much of the literature describes the primary barrier to developing cultural competence as the unwillingness for participants to take part in the exercises that enable them to recognize and examine themselves and their behaviour (Balcazar et al., 2009; Kumas-Tan et al., 2007; Wells, 2000). However the cynical lens would suggest that willingness is not enough, and much more nuanced self-reflection is required to develop the critical awareness vital for greater cultural competence.

6.2.1 Self-reflection and awareness

The self-reflection and awareness demonstrated by the participants through statements such as *"I'm a very open to everything sort of person, I'm non-judgmental"* doesn't go as far as understanding the ways in which bias and privilege might be influencing the interactions they have with those of a different culture to themselves. While a non-judgmental identity is a safe and socially-acceptable attribute to offer, it remains surface-level and does not provide insight into any understanding of the deeper or more complicated dynamics at play. Likewise, statements about own cultural identity such as *"for me, being Pacific Islander, I get on with every race out there"* is more focused on similarities than differences and remains in a safe and positive realm of discussion. The literature supports a non-

judgmental attitude as being the first part of moving from cognition to affective stages of cultural development (Wells, 2000) however further development requires deeper analysis.

As per Sue's (2001) tripartite framework of personal identity, these results suggest that the participants are speaking from the outermost circle, that recognizes all individuals are similar in terms of their shared human and biological experience. However it is the inward circles of the model that recognize the cultural matrix of beliefs, values and individual unique experiences that impact an individual's worldview. Further growth of critical awareness would then look at examining positions of privilege in society and recognising mechanisms of oppression, as they may or may not relate to the individual themselves (Balcazar et al., 2009). This then develops a level of self-insight that mitigates the risk of ethnocentrism, using one's own culture as a measure by which to compare the culture of others, and the imposition of beliefs, values and behaviours onto cultures different to their own (Balcazar et al., 2009; Kumas-Tan et al., 2007; Sue, 2004; Sue, 1998; Thomas & Nikora, 1992; Wells, 2000). Failure to recognize these systemic influences risks perpetuating the power imbalance of a post-colonial society.

6.2.2 Treat everybody the same

The theme showing a tendency to 'treat everybody the same' further supported this lack of insight, and reluctance to discuss or identify cultural differences. The phrase one participant used as a disclaimer *"I'm not being racial but…"* showed a reluctance to use race and ethnicity as an identifying feature, when in fact the remainder of their comment *"…you've got to be able to have…the Māori, the Samoan, the Indian officers, we've gotta have people with a lot of various cultures, with different cultural backgrounds"* actually demonstrated support for diversity in the workplace. The caveat may then be an indication of discomfort in identifying colleagues by race, instead of a demonstration of pride in the diversity of the workplace interpreted here.

A similar lack of clarity was further built upon in other statements regarding 'treating everybody the same'. Participants identified differences in terms of favoritism *"Or a scholarship for university…and*

all they had to do was apply for it you know, like where is our opportunity?... but then I don't know, everyone is equal" or causing difficulty *"I don't get drawn into cultural conversations as such cos obviously it can cause so much unrest"* that were at odds with the value they placed on learning more about different cultural characteristics. These contradictions show an uneasiness that Bell (2016) attributes to fear, with a variety of possible reasons, including exposing ignorance, a fear of enacting colonizing relationships, or discomfort from the reminder of their own non-belonging/settler status. Certainly the participants comments demonstrate a lack of clarity in their ability to articulate differences in race and as Sue (2004) describes, they may default to treating everybody equally to keep them safe from getting it wrong, and to appear unbiased or avoid being perceived as racist.

Further to the theme above, the repeated mention of 'it doesn't matter' in comments such as *"it doesn't matter what your skin color or whatever, it doesn't matter to me," "I just treat them all the same you know"* and *"it doesn't matter then, doesn't matter if you're white, pink, orange, you are who you are"* could be construed as dismissive of difference. While comments like these protect the participant from making unfounded or inappropriate judgements (as one participant said, *"I try not to stereotype"*), it also speaks to the 'color blindness' that Sue (2004) poses as a problem of ethnocentric monoculturalism. There may be a number of drivers for this behaviour. While staff are clearly well intentioned and hold values of equality and fairness in high regard, the tendency to treat everybody the same enables them to continue seeing the world from only one perspective, and often that is a majority Eurocentric perspective (Kumas-Tan et al., 2007). It is certainly more comfortable to share this perspective, as any challenge or implication that their worldview may result in injustice to others is inevitably a confronting and difficult alternative reality (Sue, 2004).

Thomas & Nikora (1992) place these attitudes in a New Zealand context, by suggesting that Pākehā seek to avoid ethnic conflict in New Zealand thorough minimizing and avoiding any reference to ethnicity or race and look to reduce differences among ethnic groups, under the guise of egalitarian ideals. It is also likely that social norms create a fear of being perceived as racist, and that values of

equality hold such importance that it is easier and more socially acceptable not to say anything at all, or to use disclaimers such as 'I'm not racist but…' (Augoustinos & Every, 2010; Van Dijk, 1992). It is a reluctance to 'name' race and racial differences that makes sense within the New Zealand national identity, where the past egalitarian views of a 'classless' society have denied differences (Nolan, 2007), and the modern day political climate positions critical voices as extreme and taboo (Augoustinos & Every, 2010).

6.2.3 Lack of confidence

Confidence is a core part of much of the literature regarding cultural competence, although it has received criticism as a measure of competence, instead suggesting that increased confidence might actually be a sign of low self-insight and awareness (Kumas-Tan et al., 2007). It is then interesting to see contradictory results reflected in the research data. Survey results reported 68.96% of respondents were confident in their ability to engage effectively with Māori, finding it extremely easy (17.24%) or somewhat easy (51.72%). However when it came to specific examples in interviews, participants described the anxiety they felt about pronouncing Māori words incorrectly, causing offence or being perceived as disrespectful, and having a lack of familiarity or credibility in terms of Māori culture.

When seeking to understand the dynamics influencing the participants lack of confidence, we start to see some of the in-the-moment challenges they face and the obstacles that are presented in attempting to develop cultural competence. The interview responses in this theme describe anxiety resulting from low skills and knowledge, with limited experience or language available to handle an unfamiliar situation. Responses such as *"I don't want to offend anyone you know, so you've got to just like think about what I'm talking about," "yeah I don't want to get it wrong as well. I'd rather just hold my tongue then go and look it up"* demonstrate a lack of tools to draw on to communicate on a cultural identity level with an offender. In terms of positioning this behaviour in a framework for analysis, it doesn't place them at the 'culturally incompetent' end of the spectrum, as instead of being oblivious

and apathetic they are aware of the gap in knowledge and are sympathetic (Orlandi, 1992). This positions the participants as 'culturally sensitive' on Wells' (2000) Cultural Development Model continuum, however a lack of skills and paralysing awareness still has an overall outcome of neutrality and an inability to respond appropriately. In order to move into cultural competence, participants will need to improve their knowledge, gain experience in applying their skills and be committed to changing their behaviour in a routine and ongoing way (Herbert, 2015; Orlandi, 1992; Wells, 2000).

6.2.4 Staff attitudes

Another key theme to emerge in the analysis of critical awareness, were the responses regarding the attitudes of other staff. It is here that participants use much stronger language and demonstrate more polarizing views. Typecasting comments such as *"they say 'they don't work, Māori people don't work'"* and *"they say 'oh the Māori have got the Treaty of Waitangi…they are wanting more'"* whilst not necessarily the views of the participants themselves, still contribute to the discourse regarding the way that Māori are perceived. Positive social self-presentation and face-keeping are well researched facets of social research and communication fields (Van Dijk, 1992), and projecting the views of others into a dialogue regarding culture and ethnicity is a safe and protected way of having those views expressed. Should they have demonstrated a greater degree of cultural awareness described in the Cultural Development Model (Wells, 2000), the participants may have reflected on the ways in which they agreed or disagreed with the more polarizing view or reflected upon the origin and socio-political context of their colleagues comments.

Nevertheless, the data in this theme still illustrates a concerning picture of discrimination and a reluctance to engage from those Pākehā staff who are older and longer tenured in the organization. It may be that this is a result of the organizational culture and more traditional positioning of the Corrections Officer role in the past, and that the interview participants are reflective of changes to the recruitment and training programs in recent years, focusing on values and role modelling behaviour, that are more likely to see them be open and tolerant of difference. Recent research also provides

further hope for the next generation workforce, as Millennials have grown up in a political climate that has them more likely to acknowledge bias and the negative effects of discrimination (Egan Brad, Spisz, & Tanega, 2019).

6.3 Skills Development

Exposure to a different cultural group is the key mechanism for developing culture-specific skills and knowledge, and data suggested that participants have developed a great deal of comfort and confidence in engaging with tikanga and te reo in the workplace, with close to half of all survey respondents feeling comfortable or extremely comfortable in these situations. Skills development may occur through a variety of mechanisms, such as repetitive engagement with diverse groups (Balcazar et al., 2009), through educational programs and mentoring by culturally proficient staff (Wells, 2000), and with the applied use of relevant tools and resources in a supported organizational environment (Cross et al., 1989). However the nature of engaging in indigenous cultures requires more than just training of pronunciation and protocols, as concepts of spirituality and connection are often strongly embedded (Hook, Waaka, & Parehaereone, 2007; Sue, 2004). Interview data found that participants were required to engage with te ao Māori on a much deeper level, with exposure to death, management of mental health and connection to the spiritual world, requiring a much more philosophical skill set.

6.3.1 Exposure to te ao Māori/cultural characteristics

Participants spoke of a number of ways in which they were exposed to Māori cultural characteristics in the workplace. While some experiences were focused on day to day customs and basic knowledge - *"the poi and counting to ten and a bit of colours," "we have some guys who have the traditional tattoos on their faces," "yeah and then when we had to hongi, the first time as well it was like 'oh!'"* others touched on much deeper universal human experiences, particularly cultural practices around the management of death, spirituality and mental health (Balcazar et al., 2009; Sue, 2001). The degree to which a Corrections Officer has to manage these elements in their day to day role is quite extensive.

Their interaction with death in a prison environment can range from supporting an offender who has had a family member die outside of prison, to managing the incidence of death in prison[3]. This means the culturally appropriate skills that a Corrections Officer must develop are at a profound level and require a great degree of sensitivity and emotional maturity. The interview themes supported this with a clear connection between exposure to te ao Māori and spirituality. Participants spoke of a range of skill requirements in their role, including supporting offenders through the death of a loved one:

> *"I know with Māori when there is a death in the family, there is a time of grieving and a time of when they can have funerals and stuff. So when someone tells me they have had that sad news that someone has passed away, it's trying to bring that from the outside into play or trying to help them in that way. Do you need time to grieve, do you need help from a kaumatua to come and pray with them or seek counselling or that kind of thing."*

and calling in chaplaincy services after a death in custody *"the Māori pastor… you know they'll get called upon and they'll come down and bless the cell and that sort of stuff".* They talked of supporting offenders with mental health issues:

> *"We've had a guy that's been very haunted by spirits and honestly that's not something that I believe in, but like he believes it enough that actually I'm like 'do I believe it?' So how I'd deal with that ordinarily is not at all what I am used to"*

and the ways in which they are observant of those behaviours and adapt their support depending on the individual:

> *"We've got one in our unit that will start to hear the voices again 'they're telling me to end it all, to kill myself'… then I'm like 'oh yep ok, that's fair enough' you know like, 'I hear you'. 'Do you want some time out down at the at-risk unit, go gather your thoughts?' and it all arises*

[3]In the 2017/2018 annual report, Corrections had seven unnatural deaths in prison largely due to suicide, and had 23 investigations into death in prison that may have included natural deaths handled by the coroner (Department of Corrections, 2018a). In addition, 91% of prisoners arrive with a lifetime diagnosis of mental health or substance abuse disorders.

when he's got stuff going on... he stopped washing, stopped communicating, stopped coming out and he's like 'no I need to speak to you' so I'm like, 'yep, let's go'"

In addition, all participants described some connection between Māori and their spiritual beliefs; in terms of the natural environment *"just how they talk and the connection to the land and everything like that, it's very spiritual,"* workplace practices such as saying prayers before eating staff morning tea *"some people have blessed the food"* and the importance of ancestry *"like if there are pictures up on the wall…we wouldn't remove it because if it was a deceased family member or someone of significance in their heritage then that could cause quite a lot of issues".*

Exposure to different cultures is both a key mechanism for developing cultural competence and, at least initially, a detractor for development. The research suggests that exposure to another culture may instead prompt a realization about how little they know and further add to insecurities (St Clair & McKenry, 1999). However sustained, immersive experience is critical for developing familiarity. Indeed, MacFarlane (2007) cites the whakatauki (proverb) "Kia kite, kia matau, i te ao Māori, ma te reo" that describes how it is only through exposure to Māori culture and language that an understanding of the Māori worldview will develop (p.73). The data in this theme demonstrates the importance of learning and development interventions not only covering surface level interactions but including the much deeper spiritual content necessary for developing an understanding of te ao Māori.

6.3.2 Specific knowledge increases confidence/establishing rapport

Interview participants spoke of cultural knowledge making it easier to establish rapport with offenders, with comments such as *"so as soon as they know that I'm learning about their culture and them, the respect just goes up"* and *"if I'm ignorant to different cultures and stuff then I'd really struggle for any form of respect or credibility".* However as described in section 6.3.1 above, exposure to te ao Māori in the prison environment often involves spiritual practices and concepts that may be unusual for western professional contexts. Where the individualistic Pākehā world doesn't often invite

dialogue about spirituality and a holistic view of mental health at work (Mitroff, 2003), the spiritual world is embedded in all things Māori (Hook et al., 2007) in a way that is often entirely distinct from organised religion. In a workplace context, Schnurr, Mara and Holmes (2007) discourse analysis reveals how Māori will use formalities such as karakia (*prayer*) in most settings from large events to small, everyday team meetings as a cultural protocol as opposed to religious ceremony. And while karakia plays an important part of setting the tone for the meeting, reflecting the importance placed on ethnic diversity, whanau support and Māori values, Pākehā-run organisations might be more likely to dismiss formalities to encourage more relaxed, open interaction (Schnurr, 2007). It would be short-sighted to dismiss spirituality as a facet of cultural identity relevant only to indigenous communities, as the research suggests this to be a key way for staff to connect with their personal sense of meaning, purpose and community and to be comfortable to 'bring their whole selves to work' (Hook et al., 2007; Houkamau, 2010; Mitroff, 2003).

In order to engage appropriately on a cultural level with an offender, the staff member must be prepared to engage in this way in a professional environment and have the relevant skills to connect over spiritual concepts. At the very least, an increased understanding of spiritual beliefs is one of the many 'non-observable factors' that contribute to diversity, and offers the opportunity for staff to communicate more effectively by incorporating the offender's beliefs into their treatment and care (Balcazar et al., 2009). These skills might be quite outside of the more conventional communication skills expected in their job description and requires a degree of self-awareness and maturity not always expected in a professional context or entry-level frontline role. Encouragingly, the references to spiritual practices in the interview responses do show a fundamental level of cultural knowledge and awareness. Responses such as *"we've had a guy that's been very haunted by spirits and honestly that's not something that I believe in"* and *"yeah the guy with the voices, they're like 'oh just send him to forensics' and I'm like 'I'm pretty sure it's not forensic'"* show staff unfamiliar with specific knowledge or practices in terms of an appropriate way to respond. Increased proficiency could be built through an understanding of the cultural context of an offender's behaviour and greater tools to manage the

situation appropriately (Wells, 2000). While building a connection with offenders is not necessarily a requirement of the role, all participants spoke of how much easier it was to establish the respect and credibility that makes it easier for them to manage offenders when they had a degree of cultural knowledge.

6.3.3 Specific individuals

Engagement with culturally proficient Māori colleagues had a significantly positive effect on participants' exposure to te ao Māori and the development of their skills, however it does present a possible barrier to development of cultural competence at an organisational level. To begin with, the reliance on an individual perspective still limits the wider application in an organisational context. Just because a staff member may be Māori, it doesn't mean they are culturally competent and they may have a greater exposure to te ao Pākehā than te ao Māori (Cross et al., 1989). The staff member may also be limited in their exposure to application of knowledge in an organisational context and should be offered the same opportunity to be trained and developed in the organisational values as non-Māori. There are obvious limitations in relying on these individuals to share knowledge across a large organisation or for the dissemination of their knowledge to become a part of doing their job that is not expected of others. In addition, it should not be the role of the indigenous person to have to educate the coloniser. Drawing upon the valuable knowledge of the Māori colleague, without a mutually beneficial outcome could be perceived as another form of colonialization and risks the tokenism that comes from knowledge used out of context (Bishop, 2005; Cross et al., 1989; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012).

Overarchingly, the high proportion of survey respondents purporting comfort in participating in tikanga practices and using te reo, combined with the strong motivation to learn and develop cultural knowledge, shows some staff are willing to continue their journey toward greater cultural proficiency. The challenge is to develop skills that are deeper than just day-to-day interactions and enable staff to connect on a more profound level. It is important this focussed on individual and somewhat

independent learning, to ease reliance on specific Māori individuals sharing their knowledge in order to realise widespread competency outcomes.

6.4 Organisational Support

Results from the survey set a tone for indecision when it came to the perception of Corrections success in working with Māori, as 51% answered 'neither successful or unsuccessful'. Interviews further clarified this, with one participant saying:

> *"I'm not too sure to be honest, again it will all be down to stats wont it? … the one thing that all the staff are interested in is what stats show that all the work that we are doing around Māori's is actually working? you know what percentage don't reoffend? what percentage do? … that's the one question that I think frustrates a lot of staff. Its ok putting all the time and effort and resources into it but how do we break it down, how do we analyze it to see what we're doing, is it right? are we doing it the right way? or can we do it a slightly different way that will improve it and then reduce those stats."*

While at face value this response could be indicative of little visibility for staff of the statistics around Māori offending, it also speaks to a lack of clarity about what measures of success look like, the absence of celebrating success, and no observable view of progress. Aside from a broad 'reducing reoffending' target stated in Corrections material (Department of Corrections, 2018a; Johnston, 2018), this is an astute observation about the opportunity to improve oversight and definitions of success in order for staff to engage more in the delivery of culturally-specific services.

The data in this category described participants expectations of Corrections to provide support in terms of training. The initial survey responses did little to ascertain whether the training provided had been effective, with an equal distribution of 'somewhat agree' and 'somewhat disagree' responses, and the majority (34.48%) responding with 'neither agree or disagree'. Interview responses gave more insight into the training they would expect to receive, with participants providing suggestions such as *"there's not much done about the gang culture as such, whereas again coming in as a total outsider*

that would have been really useful," "I can't even think of the word but you know when you talk about your mountain and your river and all that sort of stuff, then maybe I think there should be a class where you do get in touch with maybe the potential Māori side of you," and *"how to deal with certain things, things that are maybe like insensitive, we get told all the things we can do… but are there things that are a real 'no, don't do that'?".* There were also multiple mentions of the need for formal training around the 'five values' that have recently been introduced, with one participant commenting:

> *"they put all these new guidelines, policies, you know the kaupapa values up around the place, but they don't actually give you any training on it. You just see a new poster coming out, and obviously for the SCO (Senior Corrections Officer job) application, a big thing they were focusing on was the 'te tokorima a maui' values, and we're like 'aye? is that what's on the posters?' you don't look at the posters, you know"*

Wells' (2000) Cultural Development Model provides support for the training the participants request. In order for the affective stage of cultural competence to be facilitated, it must be in an organizational environment that demonstrates a commitment to cultural diversity through the mission statement, values, job descriptions and employee performance criteria. It is not enough for a staff member to only have good intentions, but the workplace must provide support through attendance at workshops, changes in resourcing or work schedules and by being committed to fostering positive dynamics in multi-cultural populations in their work (Balcazar et al., 2009).

Striking a balance of culturally appropriate protocols and interventions in a Pākehā-led environment can be difficult for several reasons. Corrections has already faced some difficulty with this with a Human Rights Tribunal case brought about by Probation Officer Josie Bullock in 2005. Josie claimed gender discrimination due to not being able to speak on the marae or sit at the front of the paepae (*orator's bench*) because tikanga protocols prevented women from doing so (NZ Herald, 2005). When the Tribunal upheld the claim, Corrections found itself in a difficult position to try and defend its decisions between Māori customs and Pākehā laws (Hook, 2009). Critics also question whether a

Government department like Corrections is able to provide authentic cultural identity programmes and policies through simply projecting Māori cultural identity into western therapeutic interventions (Mihaere, 2015). Attempts to integrate cultural frameworks can be construed as obligatory efforts to meet Te Tiriti obligations instead of genuine partnerships with Māori to deliver Māori-focussed outcomes.

Another interesting response regarding the expectations of organizational support was the interview participant who said:

> *"Sometimes if it's not coming from the top, from a particular manager, then you can't expect staff to do that, it only comes from the top. If it's going from the bottom up, the management system is something wrong. You can't push it up, it needs to come down from the top… I see it's happening out here in Rimutaka that the management, the Prison Director, the Deputy Prison Director are pushing it quite hard"*

It is a reasonable expectation for leaders to be visible in their support of organizational values initiatives. However, Hook's (2007) study of Māori mentorship in a Pākehā framework suggests that this nature of hierarchy and imposition of ideas is another way in which the two worlds are juxtaposed. While Pākehā frameworks may be suited to a 'top-down' approach, Māori rules of engagement are better established through the emergent group behaviours that give rise to a 'bottom-up' process, ascertained through local control instead of the global control that directs outcomes through authority. It may be that this approach is not entirely possible in the hierarchical structure of a large Government department such as Corrections, however it does pose another interesting challenge in engaging with a Māori world view in the workplace. It is also likely that the participant's comment is more of a reflection on the role modelling of behaviour they expect from people in leadership; again supported by the research, which calls for "forward thinking and visionary leadership to undertake an examination of the assumptions that shape and define organizational behavior" (Wells, 2000, p. 195).

6.5 Summary

Overall analysis of results against Wells' (2000) Model for Cultural Development, shows participants are still very much in the cognitive phase, namely for the primary barrier between cognitive and affective which sits in the individual's examination of their underlying assumptions about people of a different culture to their own.

Elements of the 'Cultural Knowledge' phase in Wells model were demonstrated in the 'Skills and Knowledge' category of Balcazar's framework, where participants showed a willingness to learn and engage with Māori cultural elements. However the participants inability to articulate cultural differences and reflect on the ways in which their ethnic identity may influence their interactions with those different to themselves, are more likely to be indicators of cultural incompetence and place results at this end of the spectrum. While organizational support and the application of skills and knowledge in an organizational context are a critical part of the development of cultural competence, the results from this research would suggest this is a key opportunity for Corrections to improve. Participants called out for training programs that focus both on every day knowledge delivered through conventional training resources, as well as facilitated learning that delves deeper into identifying with organizational values and Māori spiritual concepts. The delivery of this support will always be a fine balance for a Government entity to do so in an authentic way, however it is through partnerships that enable Māori-led initiatives that successful outcomes will be realized. In addition, visible leadership that outlines the key markers of success and progress against them will be integral to getting staff on board.

Data highlighted the importance of considering cultural backgrounds as a means of building rapport with Māori offenders. Staff therefore were highly motivated to learn more and distinguished a priority for training to not only cover surface level interactions but also include a deeper understanding of the spiritual aspects of te ao Māori. However staff are unaware of what they don't know, and demonstrated a tendency to remain non-judgmental, treating everyone equally and focused on

similarities between cultures. This reflected a limitation in the ability to articulate difference and to reflect on bias and systemic discrimination. To be successful in the development of cultural competence, participants articulated a need for the organisation to provide visibility of measures of progress, in order to engage staff in the provision of culturally-specific services.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The Department of Corrections faces challenges as a large Government department attempting to deliver culturally appropriate interventions in a genuine and meaningful way. The very nature of imprisonment by a Westernised crown institution brings with it inherent colonialist complexities, further added to when considering the over representation of Māori in all socioeconomic indicators. However Corrections has articulated a movement towards positive change, recognizing the need for cultural competency in delivering tailored services to Māori in its care and management. This study provides a compelling case for the investment required in developing critical awareness and nuanced skills and knowledge in the frontline workforce. Successful outcomes for Māori are more likely to be realized through a 'bottom up' approach to cultivate behavioural change at a local level, through genuine and mutually beneficial, collectivist partnerships with Māori.

The frontline staff who participated in this study were well intentioned when it came to engaging with Māori in their care and perceived connection with cultural identity as important for success in their role. They expressed a particular interest in further developing their cultural skills and knowledge and communicated an expectation that Corrections would provide further opportunities for this development. A number of challenges in engaging with te ao Māori in the workplace were identified. The primary barriers were a lack of depth in critical awareness and the need for culture-specific knowledge required to effectively engage with Māori offenders. Barriers to cultural competence were also found in the organizational context they are operating in, as the workplace environment needed to provide more visibility of outcomes and targeted training interventions.

Cultural competence begins with critical awareness and a desire to engage with different cultures. The results of this study showed participants valued the importance of an offender's cultural background, however faced challenges in their ability to identify power and privilege dynamics and articulate cultural characteristics. Data showed that a barrier to developing cultural competence exists in the tendency to treat everybody the same, to promote oneself as being non-judgmental and to only focus

on similarities between cultures. All of these behaviours provide a safe, socially acceptable approach to race dynamics in the workplace and are highly reflective of New Zealand's egalitarian cultural values. However the development of cultural competence relies upon recognition of bias, power and privilege as influencing factors in engaging with cultures different to your own. Without this acknowledgement, staff risk perpetuating 'colour blindness' that assumes one's own culture as a measure of comparison, and limits understanding of the complex beliefs, values and behaviours that shape individual experience. A lack of critical awareness at a deeper level and reluctance to recognise privilege presents a significant barrier to the development of cultural competence.

Participants also faced challenges in terms of a lack of confidence engaging with te ao Māori. They expressed fear and anxiety about causing offence, saying or doing the incorrect thing, and from being in an unfamiliar dynamic. These fears created a barrier to the development of cultural competence by motivating 'safe', non-participatory behaviours for participants to rely on. The literature suggests this may be reflective of discomfort in revealing their own ignorance or from having their non-belonging status exposed. A lack of confidence in articulating racial stereotypes was also seen in the data regarding the attitudes of older, long-tenured, Pākehā staff. While discriminatory tendencies may exist in this demographic, the participants responses didn't position or reflect upon these comments, suggesting positive social self-presentation and face-keeping behaviours.

Cultural competence literature suggests that exposure to a different cultural group is a key factor in the development of cultural skills and knowledge. Results found participants were gaining much of this exposure through day to day interactions with culturally proficient Māori colleagues. They relied upon these individuals for specific questions, interpretations of protocol and values, and training. However reliance on culturally proficient individuals can be limited in both the assumption of the individual's competence, and in their ability to meet the ongoing requirements of a large organisation. Fundamentally it is not the role of a minority member to be responsible for the cultural education of the majority ethnic group, particularly in a colonized relationship. Cultural competence will be realized

on a larger, more systemic scale when Pākehā recognise their role in decolonization and show willingness to deepen their awareness of influences that shape their lives and their ability to transform this experience for others.

This study found a strong connection between cultural knowledge and the ability to establish rapport with offenders, whereby specific cultural knowledge (such as pronunciation skills) gave participants confidence and credibility to engage. One of the challenges in engaging with te ao Māori in the workplace is the deeply spiritual context interwoven in the Māori worldview. Beyond everyday knowledge of ancestry, connection to the environment or use of karakia (*prayer*), the occurrence of a death in custody, the death of an offender's family member, and/or management of mental health issues made spiritual customs and beliefs a cultural facet Corrections Officers were highly likely to engage with. These scenarios present a potentially confronting challenge for individualistic and Westernised professional contexts where spirituality and a holistic view of mental health at work is not always an open dialogue. While participants demonstrated a high degree of cultural sensitivity, this aspect of cultural knowledge sets the tone for any interventions Corrections might seek to implement; it would do staff a disservice to introduce only generic programmes that do not address the profound realities of te ao Māori in a prison environment.

Application in an organizational context also identified a number of barriers to the development of cultural competence. Survey data did not provide clarity or confidence in terms of the expectations participants had of Corrections to develop their cultural competence. Interviews identified some of the competency challenges participants faced by providing a long list of the training support they would like to receive, including more knowledge about gangs, pepeha (*a formal Māori introductory speech*) and a thorough introduction to Corrections' new values and strategic direction. Within the context of Wells' (2000) Cultural Development Model, this organisational support is critical for enabling the affective stage of cultural competence. It is not enough for staff to simply be motivated or have good intentions, the organisational environment must demonstrate this commitment to

diversity throughout all human resource practices; including fostering positive dynamics between cultures and providing support for staff to engage differently by managing resourcing requirements and work volumes.

A lack of visibility in terms of what works for Māori and Corrections' progress against strategic outcomes for Māori presented another barrier for the development of cultural competence. For staff to be motivated to engage in the strategic purpose to reduce the Māori prison population, they identified a need for greater understanding of the scale of the problem, and clarity in terms of how they might contribute to addressing it. Alongside this, participants identified the need for highly visible leadership to promote culturally competent behaviours and strategic vision. Indeed, the literature encourages leaders to take this one step further, to examine organizational behaviour and allow for emergent, collaborative cultural practices to take shape to overcome long established, Western organizational norms. Corrections will face challenges as a large Government department attempting to deliver culturally appropriate interventions for Māori in a genuine and meaningful way. It is only through recognition and responsibility for power, privilege and bias dynamics that genuine, collectivist partnerships with Māori will be realized.

While this study has provided a good source of multi-faceted data through utilizing case study methods, its insights are limited to the small group of participants at Rimutaka Prison. Certainly a wider sample population across other sites, and other frontline role types would provide a greater range of perspectives and the ability to further validate themes. The application of research data from facets such as participant's personality type, overall confidence with other cultures, or degree of prior exposure to Māori culture, would all offer valuable contributions to the topic.

In order to obtain rich insights from interview data, participants had to be made comfortable enough to speak freely about their perspectives. However this did come at the cost of not asking more confronting questions that may have prompted the participants to reflect further on the complexities of the topic. It may also be that the lack of deeper self-reflection in interviews was hampered by the

workplace context and the absence of a prior trusted relationship with the researcher that might have enabled participants to further open up. Interviews may have also been biased through voluntary participation, indicating that those volunteering to be interviewed were already interested in the subject matter and inclined toward discussing it. Three of the five interview participants were recent immigrants from the United Kingdom, which may have introduced a cultural bias that might not be as representative of the views of those born-and-bred in New Zealand.

This study provides a valuable foundation from which future research could leverage. It has focused on barriers to the development of cultural competence, therefore next steps could explore the contextual, environmental and capability requirements for successful growth of organisational cultural competence. Cultural competence research, although widely adopted and thoroughly examined in the literature, has largely been applied in healthcare and social sector contexts and could look more broadly gaining insights from non-therapeutic environments. There are also a number of framework elements that are under-explored. First, understanding personality as a mediating factor would offer insights into whether certain personality traits are more susceptible to cultural competence development. Second, an analysis of national cultural identity indicators would provide a greater ability to predict multi-cultural congruence. New Zealand could offer an interesting profile for further research in this respect, both in terms of high multi-culturalism in a bicultural paradigm and in respect of the measure of 'confidence' within a changing national cultural identity. Research into the influence of confidence would strengthen cultural competency frameworks, and validation against national cultural identity would offer a valuable addition to the comparative experience of indigenous cultures globally. In addition, measurements of cultural competence tend to 'other' the minority culture and would benefit from including aspects of both sides of the interaction.

The New Zealand public sector has long grappled with its role as a Te Tiriti o Waitangi partner to Māori in the provision of social services to marginalised and vulnerable populations. True biculturalism will be realised when recognition of colonial power and privilege dynamics enable the delivery of tailored,

collectivist, Māori-led solutions. In the case of Corrections, cultural competence is an essential antecedent to changing workplace dynamics and enabling frontline staff to work differently for Māori. This study shows that in order to develop cultural competence in staff in a prison environment, a safe space for personal reflection and the development of critical awareness must be created first. From there, exposure to cultural characteristics will likely include a more profound personal journey, as the inherent spirituality in Māori culture requires the skills and knowledge to engage on a deeper level. Corrections is embarking on a long and challenging road with the release of the Hōkai Rangi strategy and will face many obstacles in its attempts to deliver services to Māori in a genuine and meaningful way. It is through investing in partnerships with Māori, understanding complex bicultural dynamics in the workplace, and developing the cultural capability of staff, that the organisation will realise its strategic aspirations.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Ethics Approval Massey University

From: Broad, Patsy <P.L.Broad@massey.ac.nz>
Sent: Wednesday, December 19, 2018 11:39:18 AM
To: Stephanie Rakuraku
Cc: Jurado, Tanya; Barnett, Shirley
Subject: HEC: Southern B Application SOB 18/57

SOB 18/57 **Cultural competence at the Department of Corrections – an investigation into the perspectives of Frontline Staff**
Stephanie Rakuraku (HEC: Southern B Application 18/57)
College: School of Management
Supervisor: Dr Shirley Barnett, Dr Tanya Jurado

Thank you for your email dated 9 December 2018 outlining the changes you wish to make to the above application.

The changes have been approved and noted, as follows:

Summary of changes

	Previous submission	New approach
Participant group	• New Corrections Officer recruits based nationwide	• Experienced Corrections Officers with between 12-24months on the job • Based only at Rimutaka prison
Methodology	• Survey approx. 50 staff in new recruit cohort • Interview 3 staff - selected for disparity of views in survey	• Survey all staff hired between Nov 2016 – Nov 2017 (approx. 100) • Interview 4 staff maximum – 2 male, 2 female, with attention paid to age and ethnic differences
Procedures	• Deliver survey briefing in person at National Learning Centre, survey completed under supervision. • Interviews completed in person whilst staying at college (participants known by college staff only)	• Survey emailed out to all staff to complete during work time • Interviews completed in person on prison site (management permission required)

If the nature, content, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise the Secretary of the Committee. If over time, more than one request to change the application is received, the Chair may request a new application.

Regards
Patsy
(on behalf of the Chair, HEC: Southern B)

Patsy Broad | Team Leader, Research Ethics | Research and Enterprise
Massey University | Private Bag 11 222 | Palmerston North 4442 | New Zealand | 06 951 6840
Web: https://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/research/research-ethics/research-ethics_home.cfm

Appendix 2: Ethics Approval Department of Corrections

From: BEVAN, Marianne (WELLHO)
Sent: 09 January 2019 1:55 p.m.
To: RAKURAKU, Stephanie (WELLHO)
Cc: DUNCAN, Anna (WELLHO)
Subject: Approval of research project

Dear Stephanie,

The Research & Evaluation Governance Committee (RECG) has approved your research application *Cultural competence at the Department of Corrections – an investigation into the perspectives of Frontline Staff* pending receipt of a copy of your university's ethics approval. Once we have received confirmation that you have received ethics approval we will send the research agreements for you to sign. I'm away from 14 Jan – mid-June so Anna Duncan from my team will help with these next steps. I have cc'd her to this email.

Thanks for your patience through this process.

Kind regards,

Marianne

Marianne Bevan | Senior Research Adviser |
Service Development | Department of Corrections *Ara Poutama Aotearoa* |
Mayfair House | 44-52 The Terrace | Private Bag 1206 | Wellington 6140 | NEW ZEALAND
Phone +64 4 819 1749 | Ext 68749 | marianne.bevan@corrections.govt.nz |

Appendix 3: Invitation to Participate

Kia ora,

Thank you for completing my research survey regarding how Corrections Officers feel about working with Maori offenders. I would be really interested in meeting with you for an interview to discuss your thoughts further.

While I wont discuss your name and will maintain confidentiality, this research does have the permission of the Prison Director and she is aware that I will be holding these interviews on the 4th of March - you do have permission to be released from the floor to complete this (if needed).

Can you please let me know what time will suit you to do so on Monday the 4th of March? Interviews will be held at the RAB building, room E.26. and should only take an hour.
8.30am
11.30am
1.30pm
3pm

Please reply to this email to confirm which of the above times would best suit you. If you have any questions or anything further you'd like to discuss, please feel free to contact me on 0278866911.

Much appreciated,

Steph

Appendix 4: Information for Participants

Massey Business School, Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North, 4442, New Zealand

Cultural Competence at the Department of Corrections – an investigation into the perspectives of Frontline Staff

INFORMATION SHEET

My name is Stephanie Rakuraku, and I'd like to invite you to take part in my research exploring the individual perspectives of Frontline staff at the Department of Corrections, and how they perceive their competence in working with Māori offenders.

This research is part of my thesis, which will complete my master's in business studies, majoring in Human Resources. I have over 10 years' experience in HR and am interested in understanding the challenges people face in building their cultural competence, to hopefully enable better understanding and more effective cultural initiatives in the workplace.

The research will include a survey and then a small number of people will be selected for a follow up interview. If you don't want to take part, you don't have to give a reason. If you do want to take part in the research, but change your mind later, you can pull out at any time up until the 1st of March 2019.

Project Description and Invitation

This project seeks to explore the individual perspectives of staff new to the Department of Corrections, to build an understanding of how prepared they feel to work effectively with Māori in a Frontline role.

Public sector agencies put significant resources into developing the capability of their staff through various training programs and interventions, all with the objective to 'succeed with Māori'. This research takes a slightly different approach, and instead of evaluating the effectiveness of these strategies, it instead looks at the attitudes and beliefs of the staff members themselves. In a Corrections context, it is Frontline staff who have the most interaction with Māori offenders, and this study seeks to understand how important it is to you that you are supported to relate to Māori effectively.

Participant Identification and Recruitment

Who will take part in this study?

Participants will be Corrections Officers at Rimutaka Prison who have been in their roles for between 1 year and 24 months. Your participation is optional, and it will have no bearing or reflection on your employment if you choose to participate or not.

Possible benefits:

There are no specific benefits to you participating. Your contribution may benefit the readers and interested organisations that seek to improve their frameworks for working with Māori, so they can better engage staff in making initiatives successful. Your insight contributes to a wider conversation regarding the different perspectives that people have in working with Māori, and how human resources staff can facilitate the development of staff capability.

Participants will not receive any financial compensation or benefit from participating but will be supported by your manager to take part during work time.

Perceived risks:

Confidentiality of your participation will be stringently maintained. Only the researcher and Massey University supervisors will have access to names and identifying information during data analysis. Results will be reported anonymously and in aggregate form, so responses cannot be traced back to individuals. Any identifying information disclosed will be changed to protect anonymity. Within the Department, details of the research will be on a strictly 'need-to-know' basis to mitigate the risk of identification by deduction.

Project Procedures

There are two ways we will collect data in this study – firstly, an electronic survey will be emailed to your Corrections email address. If you are interested in participating, you can complete the survey either during work time or you can email it to your personal email address to complete at home. It will not take any more than 10 minutes to complete and it's important that you complete it honestly, based on your own thoughts and without input from others. At the end of this survey, you will have the opportunity to indicate your interest in participating in an interview to discuss your perspective further.

Only a few participants will be invited to complete a one-on-one interview with me, Stephanie Rakuraku. The interview will take approximately an hour and will be audio recorded. It will take place in a meeting room at the Rimutaka Prison Administration Block. In total, if you choose to participate and are selected for interview it will take no more than 1.5 hours of your time.

As I am a Manager employed at National Office, the risk of a perceived conflict of interest will be actively managed. Privacy and confidentiality will be managed as described in the ways above, and this research must meet the reliability and validity standards of both Massey University and the Department of Corrections Research and Evaluation Ethics Steering Committees. This research does not reflect the views of the Department of Corrections.

You are not required to answer any questions that make you uncomfortable and should the process cause you any distress, Employee Assistance Programme (EAP) Services are available to you.

Data Management

Survey responses will be collected using online surveying software Qualtrics and will be coded and analysed through statistical software SPSS. Qualitative data analysis will 'code' the key themes across all responses and will provide overarching insights into how the data addresses the research question.

Data will only be stored on the researcher's personal computer, located at their home to mitigate risk of results being accessed by anyone else through Corrections servers. If you withdraw from the study, any information about you or responses from you will be securely destroyed on all software platforms being used.

You have a right to access a summary of the project findings and can do this by indicating your interest at the end of the survey you complete. However, as the information is collected anonymously it will not be possible to release individual answer submissions.

Participant's Rights

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any question;
- withdraw from the study at any time during the data collection stage
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.

Project Contacts

If you have any questions about this project, please contact:

Stephanie Rakuraku (Researcher)

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+64 0278866911

Shirley Barnett (Supervisor)

S.J.Barnett@massey.ac.nz

+64 (06) 356 9099 ext. 84932

Committee Approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application number SOB 18/57. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Rochelle Stewart-Withers, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, telephone 06 356 9099 x 83657, email humanethicsouthb@massey.ac.nz

Appendix 5: Authority to Release Transcript

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

Massey Business School, Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North, 4442, New Zealand

Cultural Competence at the Department of Corrections – an investigation into the perspectives of Frontline Staff

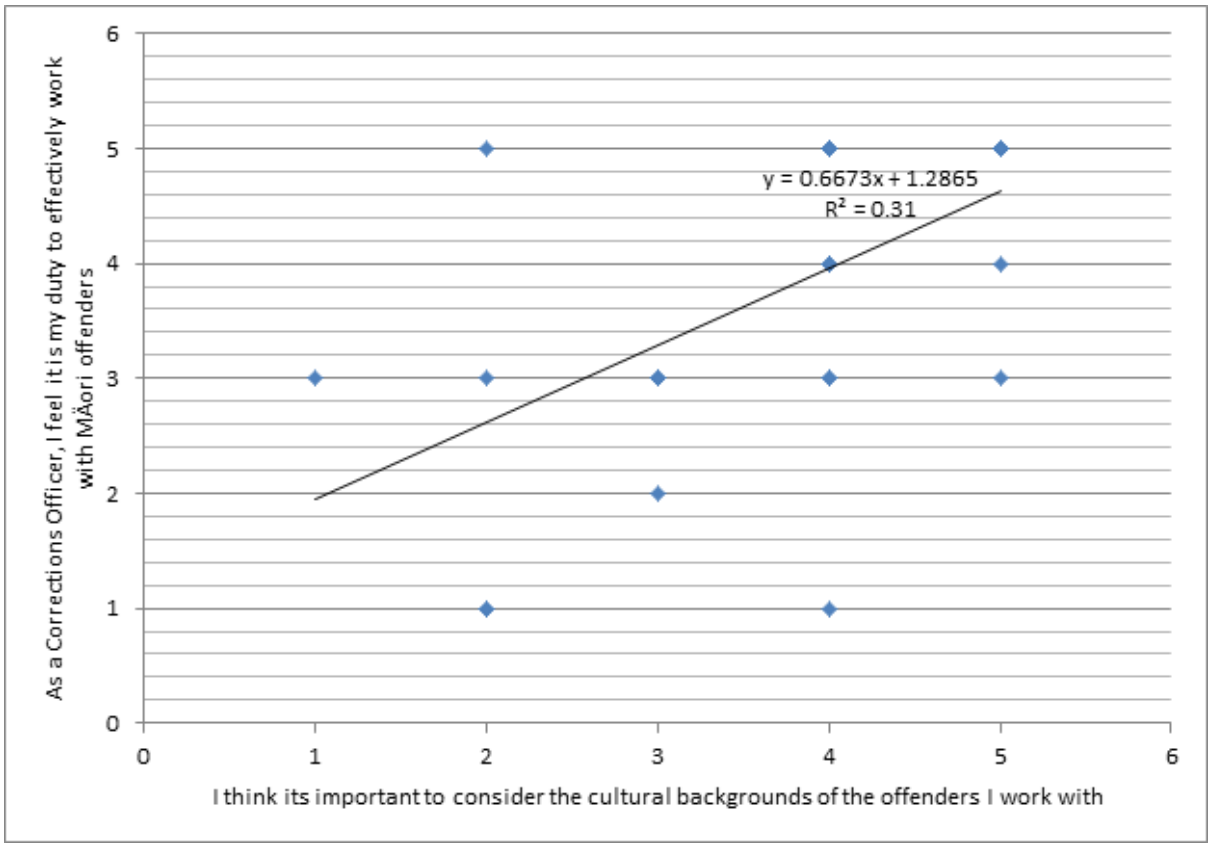
AUTHORITY FOR THE RELEASE OF TRANSCRIPTS

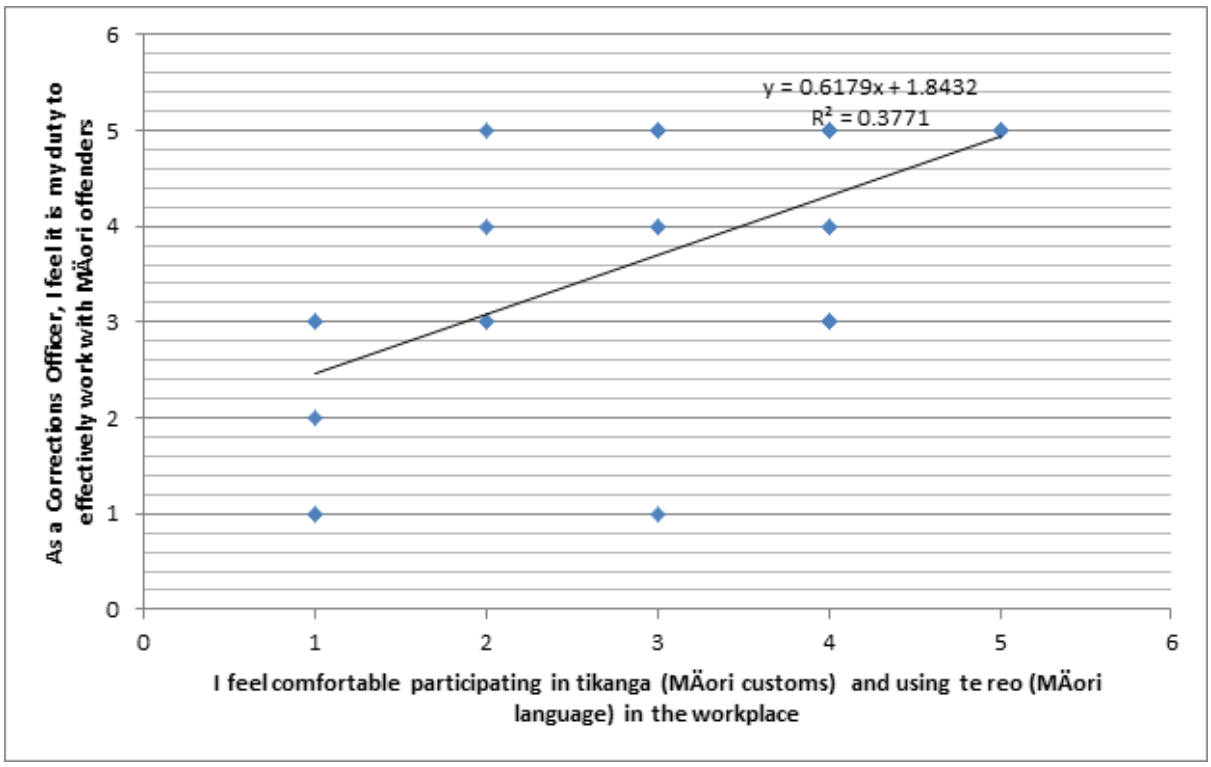
I confirm that I have had the opportunity to read and amend the transcript of the interview(s) conducted with me.

I agree that the edited transcript and extracts from this may be used in reports and publications arising from the research.

Signature:		**Date:**	
Full Name - printed			

Appendix 6: Initial Survey Analysis





Appendix 7: Interview Guide

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

Cultural Competence at the Department of Corrections – an investigation into the perspectives of Frontline Staff

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Participant ID: _____ Interviewer: _____ Date/Time: _____

1. Qualitative Introduction

This interview is likely to take approximately 1 hour.

Its purpose is to understand the way you perceive your own ability and feelings about working with Māori offenders in your current role as a Corrections Officer. It is designed to be semi-structured, so will be a conversation with a focus on your experience, your opinions and what you think or feel about this topic.

This interview will be recorded. As per the consent and information forms you have been given, do you wish to participate in this research?

Consent was/was not obtained from the participant (circle one)

2. Introductory warm up questions

Invite the interviewee to tell me about themselves, including

exploratory questions about their previous employment prior to joining the Department, and what their motivation was for this career path.

3. **Perception of the research**
Tell me about your experience completing the survey? What have been your thoughts about this research since completing the survey? What was your interest in being interviewed as part of this research?

4. Awareness of Self

Tell me about your experiences engaging with a Māori world view?

What factors have influenced you to make it a positive/negative experience?

How confident do you feel engaging with Māori (either in or out of the workplace)? Tell me more about what is on your mind when you have these interactions?

5. Cultural Knowledge & Skills Development
What are the challenges you face in being confident working with Māori offenders in this role? What support do you need to be successful in this regard? How do you feel about improving your cultural knowledge?

6. Application of skills in context
How do you expect Corrections to support you with developing your cultural competence? To what degree do you feel a 'duty' or a sense that you are 'supposed to' engage with Māori as an aspect of your role as a Corrections Officer?

Appendix 8: Survey Template

Introduction

Thank you for your interest in my research.

This survey is the first part of a research project exploring the individual perspectives of frontline staff at the Department of Corrections in terms of their comfort and confidence working with Māori offenders. I'm interested in learning more about how important it is to you that you are supported to work with Māori effectively in your role as a Corrections Officer.

Your response is a valuable contribution to helping us understand more about how to support staff to develop their competence in working with Māori in frontline public sector organisations.

This research is part of my thesis, which will complete my Masters in Business Studies through Massey University.

The survey should only take 10 minutes at most, and your responses are completely anonymous. They will not be shared with any one at Corrections and have no bearing on your employment whatsoever. Any identifying information will be changed to protect your anonymity. The views of the researcher do not reflect those of the Department in any way.

You can only take the survey once. You are not required to answer any questions that make you uncomfortable and you can withdraw your initial survey responses up until 1st March 2019 if you no longer want to participate.

If you have any questions about the survey, please email me: Steph.Rakuraku.1@uni.massey.ac.nz

I really appreciate your time and input in this work - thank you!

Working with Māori offenders

I think its important to consider the cultural backgrounds of the offenders I work with

Extremely important | Very important | Important | Somewhat important | Not at all important | Don't know

I feel comfortable participating in tikanga (Māori customs) and using te reo (Māori language) in the workplace

Extremely comfortable | Somewhat comfortable | Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable | Somewhat uncomfortable | Extremely uncomfortable | Don't know

Working effectively with Māori is a key skill I would like to develop further in my role

Strongly agree | Somewhat agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Somewhat disagree | Strongly disagree | Don't know

I am confident in my ability to effectively work with Māori offenders

Extremely easy | Somewhat easy | Neither easy nor difficult | Somewhat difficult | Extremely difficult | Don't know

Corrections context

I see Corrections as being successful in working with Māori offenders

Extremely successful | Very successful | Neither successful nor unsuccessful | Not very successful | Very unsuccessful | Don't know

As a Corrections Officer, I feel it is my duty to effectively work with Māori offenders

Strongly agree | Somewhat agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Somewhat disagree | Strongly disagree | Don't know

The training I have received has prepared me for working with Māori offenders

Strongly agree | Somewhat agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Somewhat disagree | Strongly disagree | Don't know

Demographic Info

How old are you?

- 18 - 24
- 25 - 34
- 35 - 44
- 45 - 54
- 55 - 64
- 65+

What is your ethnicity?

- European
- Maori
- Pacific Islander
- Asian
- Middle Eastern/Latin American/African
- Other (please name)

What is your gender identity?

- Male
- Female
- Non - Binary
- Prefer not to say

End of Survey

If you are interested in being interviewed in the second stage of this research, please provide the best email address and phone number to contact you on:

(Please note that only a couple of people will be selected for interview so do not be concerned if you are not contacted!)

Would you like to receive a copy of the summary findings of this research?

- Yes
- No

Appendix 9: Consent Form

Massey Business School, Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North, 4442, New Zealand

Cultural Competence at the Department of Corrections – an investigation into the perspectives of Frontline Staff

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM - INDIVIDUAL

I have read, or have had read to me in my first language, and I understand the Information Sheet attached as Appendix I. I have had the details of the study explained to me, any questions I had have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time. I have been given sufficient time to consider whether to participate in this study and I understand participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw from the study at any time.

1. I agree/do not agree to the interview being sound recorded.
2. I wish/do not wish to have my recordings returned to me.
3. I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Declaration by Participant:

I _____ [print full name]_____ hereby consent to take part in this study.

Signature: _____ Date: _____