Learning in social movements

Experiences in the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement

Jennifer Margaret

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Abstract

The movement of Päkehä supporting Mäori efforts for self-determination, particularly through honouring the Treaty of Waitangi, emerged in the early 1980s. An approach was established with movements of Mäori and Päkehä each working separately with their own people but in relationship with one another. This qualitative study considers learning within the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement by focusing on influences on members' learning about the practice of working with Mäori activists and how this learning is shared within the movement. As a member of this movement I used a participatory action research approach to explore these issues with members of three generations of the movement.

The research findings highlight a diverse range of influences on learning for individual members and emphasise the complexity of learning in social movements. Such learning is often informal and incidental because it is embedded in action. In considering how learning is shared within the movement, a disjuncture is revealed between individual and collective learning. A complex interplay between the micro and macro-political influences on learning is also made evident. Inquiry into the lack of sharing of learning about the practices of working with Mäori activists illuminates the dynamic, relational nature of this practice and shows that movement identities vary in relation to different practices. This leads to a more nuanced understanding of learning within social movements.

The research makes three main contributions: to capability building in the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement through deepening knowledge relating to learning; to literature in the field of learning in social movements; to an emerging body of work within development studies which focuses on facilitating learning in social change. This study demonstrates that it is possible and beneficial to generate research that is both scholarly and relevant to those engaged in social change processes.

Key words: *Social change, self-determination, intergenerational learning, participatory action research, facilitating learning in social change*

Definition of Mäori terms

There are many sources of definitions of terms and definitions are often contested. As this research is located in development studies the definitions I am using, with one exception, are from a publication written for international development organisations in New Zealand by the Treaty Resource Centre (2007, p. 78).

Aotearoa	Traditional place name of the New Zealand landmass (Aotearoa was not one country or state).
Hapü	Groups of related families; recognised by the British as sovereign bodies before signing of the Treaty; parties to the Treaty.
Iwi	Groups of related hapü; sometimes translated as 'tribe'.
Mäori	Traditionally meaning 'ordinary' or 'normal'; used by Europeans to refer to the people living in Aotearoa when Europeans arrived.
Päkehä	New Zealanders of European descent.
Tangata Tiriti	People who came to Aotearoa under the authority of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
Tangata Whenua	People of the land (in a specific geographic area).
Tauiwi	New Zealanders who are not of iwi/Mäori descent.
Tino Rangatiratanga	Full (Mäori) sovereignty, self-determination (Bargh, 2007, p. 192).

Acknowledgements

Many people have supported me as I have undertaken this research. I am grateful to:

I dedicate this work to the past, present and future generations of Tangata Tiriti and Tangata Whenua, passionately working for tino rangatiratanga.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

> Activists' ability to define and understand their situation has
> an impact on their ability to remain involved in and
> enthusiastic about a social movement, and this in turn affects
> the sustainability of their movement. (Moyer, 2001, p. 208)

The movement of Päkehä supporting Mäori efforts for self-determination, particularly through honouring the Treaty of Waitangi, emerged in the early 1980s. A model of working was established with movements of Mäori and Päkehä each working separately with their own people but in relationship with one another. I am part of the third generation of the movement of Päkehä Treaty workers[1]. In 2001 I was among a small group of people who founded a national network of young Tauiwi, working in relationship with young Mäori, to support Mäori self-determination. As the third generation of this movement we have inherited much of our knowledge about how to do this work from previous generations but we also seek to find approaches that are appropriate to our generation and socio-political environment.

This qualitative study considers adult learning within the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement. It specifically focuses on what influences movement members' learning about the practice of working with Mäori activists and how this learning is shared within the movement. The goals of this research are to contribute to: capability building in the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement through deepening knowledge relating to learning; literature in the field of learning in social movements; an emerging body of work within development studies which focuses on facilitating learning in social change.

1.1. Key concepts

There are some key concepts in this research project which require explanation: Päkehä Treaty workers' movement; working with Mäori activists; learning and practice. These concepts are all contested and complex. To provide clarity, I will give background to these concepts including why and how I am using them in this study.

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[1] This is the term used by the movement to describe people undertaking a range of efforts to support Mäori self-determination, including advocacy, education and campaigning.

1.1.1. The Päkehä Treaty workers' movement

The Treaty of Waitangi was signed voluntarily between leaders of Mäori hapü and the British Crown in 1840[2]. It allowed the British the right to govern their own people in New Zealand and it affirmed Mäori sovereignty which had been previously been recognized by the Crown in the 1835 Declaration of Independence. Subsequent to the signing, the colonial government's consistent violations of the Treaty have had major detrimental impacts on Mäori people[3]. Mäori have consistently protested about how the Treaty has been violated. Also, since 1840, a small number of Päkehä have called for the Treaty to be honoured.

This study focuses on the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement that emerged in the early 1980s in response to calls from Mäori for Päkehä to learn about their responsibilities under the Treaty[4]. In the 1970s and early 1980s some Päkehä were involved in anti-racism work. While some of this work was focused on racism against Mäori much of the focus was on other parts of the world, in particular South Africa. The 1981 Springbok Tour was a pivotal time during which Päkehä who opposed apartheid in South Africa were challenged by Mäori to consider domestic racism also. In 1984 a Conference called by Te Runanga Whakawhanaungatanga o ngä Hähi o Aotearoa (the Mäori Council of Churches) led to the challenge for Päkehä to educate themselves about the Treaty of Waitangi as a means of addressing racism. The first 'Päkehä Anti-racism Treaty Workers' National Gathering' was held in 1984 (Huygens, 2004a, p. 2). From this time a Päkehä movement developed alongside and in relationship to the Mäori Tino Rangatiratanga movement.

1.1.1.1. Naming the movement: Päkehä, Tauiwi, Tangata Tiriti

One of the common misconceptions about the Treaty is that it is understood as having established a relationship between two cultures, Mäori and Päkehä, rather than between two political groupings. In the contemporary understanding of Päkehä Treaty workers the Treaty of Waitangi, considered in the context of international treaties, is a political document signed between representatives of sovereign nations –the British Crown, who were representing the interests of Tangata Tiriti, and hapü. While at the time of signing these groups largely equated to what we now describe as the ethnic groups of Mäori and Päkehä, in both the historical and

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[2] Throughout this thesis I use Treaty of Waitangi and Treaty to refer to Te Tiriti o Waitangi; the text of the Treaty written in the Mäori language.

[3] For detailed discussion of the Treaty and related history see Orange (1989) and Walker (2004).

[4] For further details of reasons for emergence of the movement at this time see Huygens (2007, pp. 32-35).

current context the picture is more complex because Mäori are not a homogenous ethnic group and immigration and intermarriage subsequent to the Treaty have resulted in greater ethnic diversity both within and between the Mäori and Päkehä populations.

In the last five years there has been a shift within the movement away from defining ourselves as a Päkehä or Tauiwi movement to a Tangata Tiriti one. In a purpose statement drafted in 2008 by a national group of Treaty educators, the group described itself as: 'A network of Tangata Tiriti, open to all, working for a society that honours our responsibilities under te Tiriti o Waitangi' (Treaty Educators, 2008). The impetus for the change came out of a need to acknowledge the position of people within the movement who are from non-Päkehä ethnic groups (Tauiwi) and those who have mixed Mäori and Tauiwi ancestry but identify as Tangata Tiriti. It also reflects an understanding of the Treaty as having establishing a political relationship.

The relationships between Mäori, Päkehä and other Tauiwi are complex and derive from the different historical and contemporary relationships that various ethnic groups have with Mäori and the State. While the term Tangata Tiriti is more inclusive, it is also necessary to identify that Päkehä, as the descendents of the colonisers and members of the dominant culture, hold a position in relation to Mäori that differs from that of other Tauiwi.

Although use of the term Tangata Tiriti is now well established, in this research I will refer specifically to the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement because this thesis explores the experiences of Päkehä within the movement both historically (when it was described as a Päkehä movement[5]) and in the present. It also acknowledges that while the language might have changed, Päkehä as a subgroup of the Tangata Tiriti movement, are still the dominant group within the movement both numerically and culturally. Developing practice that is inclusive and equitable is an on-going concern. Referring to the movement as Päkehä in this study is not a means of perpetuating Päkehä dominance but rather of acknowledging the specific perspectives and responsibilities of Päkehä within this work. I recognise, as this discussion reflects, that the meaning of the terms I am using, Päkehä, Tangata Tiriti, Tauiwi and Mäori, are continually evolving and the definitions I have provided may be contested.

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[5] The titles of the first gatherings of the movement use the word Päkehä, later gatherings use the terms Päkehä , Tauiwi and non-Mäori to describe participants (Huygens, 2004a).

1.1.1.2. Defining Päkehä Treaty workers as a social movement

In this research I am considering Päkehä Treaty workers as a social movement; so it is important to examine my rationale for doing so. As a starting point, it is necessary to review what constitutes a social movement. This is problematic as the term is not clearly defined. Development scholars Escobar and Alvarez (1992) provide a useful account of why this is the case:

> The definition of what counts as a "social movement" involves a complex epistemological process. It is therefore not surprising that few scholars have actually ventured a definition; some even believe that the whole idea of "social movement" as a description of collective action should be abandoned. (pp. 6-7)

Despite this, many definitions do exist. Batliwala (2008) writes, 'While there are many scholarly definitions of social movements, sifting through these shows that movements can be simply defined as *an organized set of constituents pursuing a common political agenda of change through collective action'* (p. 10, original emphasis). This broad definition, taken from a review of social movements in developing countries, is a good description of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement[6]. While I recognise that there are issues with the concept of social movements, and that there might be other useful ways of framing Päkehä Treaty workers, for instance as a network or community of practice, I am using the concept of social movement to describe Päkehä Treaty workers primarily because this language reflects the way Päkehä Treaty workers have identified it themselves. This view coincides with contemporary understandings of social movements in a development studies context.

Since 1984 there have been annual or biennial national gatherings of Päkehä working for Treaty justice and Mäori self-determination. Records of these gatherings refer to the group as a movement (Huygens, 2008). In recent years a closed email list has been established to provide communication and continuity between gatherings. There are also a number of local groups throughout the country. It is the people who participate in these local groups and national gatherings who for the purpose of this research I have defined as the members of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement. This is a relatively small group with an average of fifty people attending national gatherings. There are, of course, numerous Päkehä working for Mäori self-determination and Treaty justice who would not identify as part of this movement, and there may

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[6] This definition does not however specify the nature of the change which is being pursued. In this study I use the terms social change and social movements to describe changes and movements which progress social justice.

be others who identify with the movement but do not fit the definition I am using. My focus is on people who regard themselves, and are also regarded by others, as part of the movement.

1.1.2. Working with Mäori activists

The Päkehä Treaty workers' movement focuses on shifting Päkehä society towards social justice for Mäori and aims to neutralise resistance to Mäori efforts for self-determination. Members share a broad political vision of tino rangatiratanga and undertake a range of practices to achieve this, a key focus being education, particularly for adults, about the Treaty and the impact of colonisation on Mäori. Being in relationship with Mäori activists is a dimension of this work.

In this study I discuss Päkehä Treaty workers' relationships with Mäori activists who are part of the Mäori movement for self-determination. This movement is also referred to by a range of names. In this study I use the expression Tino Rangatiratanga movement which is the name used by my Mäori contemporaries who are members of it[7]. I am using the term 'activist' to distinguish between Mäori who are active in working with others as part of a movement to achieve tino rangatiratanga, and Mäori who may or may not support tino rangatiratanga but in either case are not involved in action to achieve this aspiration. Focussing on how we work with Mäori activists rather than with all Mäori is a means of narrowing the discussion. However I recognise this is a contested term and that those I am referring to as activists may not use or identify with this term.

1.1.3. Learning and practice

It has been a challenge to determine the language best suited to the focus of this research project. I initially entitled my research 'Knowledge building in social movements'. However engagement with the literature and discussions with research participants led me to regard 'learning' as more accurately reflecting the emerging and on-going process which I was studying.

My understanding of learning and the relationship between learning and practice is influenced by the work of two theorists. Social learning theorist Wenger (1998) defines learning as being embedded in the process of participating in and developing practice. The adult educationalist Foley (1999), regards learning as embedded in social action. According to Wenger it is easier

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[7] When describing the Tino Rangatiratanga and Päkehä Treaty workers' movement collectively I refer to them as the movements for Mäori self-determination.

for people to articulate practice than learning. Therefore in the research interviews I asked participants to reflect on the influences that had shaped their understandings of practice. In my analysis I describe this as learning. Participants described sharing their understandings of practice with others in the movement as "passing on learning". To reflect this, I use the expression 'sharing of learning' to describe the process of sharing by members within the movement. I have found this approach useful to understanding learning in social movements. I outline it here both to provide clarity regarding the concepts and because it is of relevance to development studies work on learning in social change.

1.2. Background to the thesis topic

The motivation for undertaking this research comes both from my participation in the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement and my involvement in an international development initiative focussing on learning in social change. These dimensions of my experience have been central to shaping this research project.

1.2.1. My place in the movement

I am Päkehä, raised in the South Island rural farming community where my ancestors settled as migrants from the United Kingdom in the 1850s. I first learned about the Treaty of Waitangi in a university post-graduate course in the mid-1990s. At the time I was outraged that I had never been taught about this critical piece of New Zealand history during my many years in formal education. There was a lot of negativity in the media and amongst the Päkehä public towards Mäori and the Treaty, particularly in relation to the process of settling claims relating to Treaty violations. I felt that if only more Päkehä understood the history relating to the Treaty, and the subsequent violations of the Treaty by the settler government, there would be better understanding of the need for redress. This led me to developing and facilitating educational workshops for adults on the Treaty of Waitangi.

My introduction to the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement came in 2000 when I presented at a major conference organised by the movement and subsequently attended a Treaty Educators' course at Manukau Institute of Technology. From 2001 I became active in the movement in Auckland through attending meetings of Tämaki Treaty Workers, a network of Auckland based Tauiwi Treaty workers. It was through my involvement in the peace movement, organising events for the United Nations Asia Pacific Disarmament Conference, that I actively developed relationships with my Mäori contemporaries in the self-determination movement. This was the

first United Nations conference to be held in New Zealand and the first time that youth had been invited to present their perspectives in this type of forum. In 2001, I attended Waitangi celebrations at Waitangi for the first time to meet young Mäori and discuss their involvement in the United Nations conference. The relationships developed during the United Nations events led to an invitation for a number of young Päkehä to attend a decolonisation workshop at Waitangi in 2002. Both the United Nations conference and Waitangi 2002 were significant events for my generation within the movement. We formed enduring relationships with our Mäori contemporaries who we have continued to work with and alongside since this time.

1.2.2. Relationships between and within generations of the movement

As a third generation Päkehä Treaty worker I have benefited from the guidance that elders in the movement have provided[8]. They paved the way in terms of building relationships with Mäori and introduced us to the Mäori of our own generation with whom we now work. In my early years of involvement in this work I felt that my reputation was derived in part from the elders I was associated with and that in turn, my actions reflected back on them. Because of this I have seen it as important to respect the knowledge and wisdom of my elders. On reflection, I realised that in practice I have tended to assume that respecting their wisdom means I should use the same approaches as they have to this work. I felt that it was important to examine this assumption as it has a significant impact on practice.

In my own experience of leading a group of my own generation of Treaty workers, tensions arose when people within the group took different approaches to the work. These different approaches had the potential to undermine relationships with Mäori activists that we had worked hard to develop. This made me question whether we had ever explicitly discussed our approach and the rationale for it within the group. It made me wonder whether doing so might have been beneficial to the relationships within the movement and the efficacy of our work. It raised questions of: 'Do we consciously pass on knowledge to newcomers in the movement? If so, how do we do this? If not, why not?'; 'How have we learned and how do we expect others to learn?'; and, 'How do we learn / respect the work of those who've gone before but allow our own processes to emerge?'

In my perspective the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement is small, and collectively we have limited energy therefore we cannot afford to be factionalised. I also have concerns that we are

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[8] I am defining these generations according to the chronology of the movement.

not working strategically or effectively. While there have been gains made towards achieving the change we want, in the last few years there have also been major setbacks[9]. These setbacks have had a negative impact on the energy of my generation of the movement and have motivated me to consider how we might work more effectively and sustainably as a social movement.

These are issues that I have been considering for several years. In 2008 they came to the fore as I worked with another Päkehä and two Mäori colleagues on preparing a presentation for the The Power of Movements, the 11th Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) Forum. The questions we collectively considered in our presentation were 'What are the diverse needs and contributions of different generations of women and how can we draw upon them to create stronger and more sustainable movements? How do we create more sustainable models of activism? How do we renew and sustain our movements and ourselves (and each other)?' (Association for Women's Rights in Development, 2008, para. 6). Our presentation entitled 'The complexities of movement building between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in a colonised country', explored issues of intergenerational relationships, working cross-culturally, and the gender dimensions of movement building, both within and between the Päkehä and Mäori movements. The presentation was developed with the intention of strengthening our own work, as well as the movements and organisations we work within and as an opportunity for valuable analysis and reflection.

1.2.3. Involvement in international development fora

This research project has grown from both my involvement in the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement and my involvement in a range of social justice work and international development initiatives. As a Treaty worker I first became aware of the intersections and relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi to international development practitioners in New Zealand when I undertook research on Treaty application with member organisations of the Council of International Development (Treaty Resource Centre, 2007). My paid work has been in the fields of adult education and community development and I have been active in feminist and peace movements. These involvements and my interest in the intersection between local and international social justice issues have led me to attending a range of international fora, including World Social

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[9] Apparent gains include the settlement of a number of claims relating to Treaty violations and at a community level an increase in the number of organisations working towards applying the Treaty. A key example of a setback is legislation passed in 2004 which removed Mäori customary title to the foreshore and seabed. Many opponents of the legislation regarded it as the most significant confiscation of Mäori land since the late 1800s. Another example was the use of anti-terrorism legislation, in October 2007, to arrest 16 activists the majority of whom are active supporters of Mäori self-determination.

Forums in Mumbai (2004) and Nairobi (2007) and the International Council of Adult Education World Assembly (Nairobi, 2007). My first engagement with the Institute of Development Studies (IDS), University of Sussex, occurred in 2005 when I was invited, because of my involvement in education for social justice, to join a group of thirty participants in an international workshop on Learning and Teaching for Transformation[10]. Subsequently, since late 2007, I have been a member of a nine person core group for an initiative called the Facilitating Learning in Action for Social Change (FLASC), led by the Power, Participation and Social Change team at IDS.

The FLASC initiative is an attempt to improve the efficacy of progressive social change work through exploring ways of facilitating processes that enhance knowledge development and learning in social change processes. It is a response to a concern about the current lack of attention paid to facilitating learning in social change.

> In contexts of social change, we are faced with a fundamental problem that although knowledge is being generated continually, the ways in which this knowledge contributes to further change, through reflection and action, is not well understood...We need to understand why and how we know and learn, and to use these processes and capacities critically and reflectively if a real contribution is to be made to social change. (Taylor, 2007, p. 1)

As a contributor to the FLASC initiative I was required to articulate my theory of social change and to undertake a personal inquiry outlining how my theory informs my practice. In looking at a specific change process we were engaged with we were asked to consider a range of questions including: 'Is learning being clearly articulated? How is that learning being created? What facilitation processes are supporting the emergence of learning? How is the dialogue/communication between social actors influencing the learning processes?' Central to the FLASC initiative is a focus on sharing learning across different social change contexts. Participation in the initiative involved sharing my inquiry with development practitioners working in a range of locations and contexts.

I focused my inquiry on learning in the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement. The challenge I found in articulating my theory of social change highlighted for me the inherited nature of my approach. This led me to want to understand this approach better and to engage in a process that

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[10] For more on this initiative see Stackpool-Moore, Taylor, Pettit & Millican (2006) and Taylor & Boser (2006).

would encourage others in the movement to consider how learning was happening in the movement and what implications this might have for our practice. Initial workshops in which I asked Pākehā Treaty workers the question, 'What informs our approaches to progressing Māori self-determination? or 'Why do we do it the way we do?' led to a range of responses. People from the first and second generations of the movement responded through considering sources of learning and methods of gaining knowledge while people from the third generation of the movement focused more on individual experiences that motivated involvement in action for Māori self-determination. In both groups people commented on how we rarely allow time for such discussions despite them being valuable opportunities to learn more about each other and our individual and collective practice. This feedback, plus the realisation that the questions I was asking were very broad, led me to consider how I could shape the questions for this research. In refining my questions to form the topic for my thesis I discussed possibilities with other contributors to the FLASC initiative. Many felt that the area of intergenerational learning in social movements was under-theorised and would be beneficial to explore as it might generate useful understandings about knowledge transmission and learning processes in social movements.

1.3. Research focus and questions

In this study I address some of my questions alongside those raised in the FLASC initiative. The motivations for my research, along with engagement with the literature, led to the formulation of the following research questions:

- What influences learning for members of the Pākehā Treaty workers' movement?

- What impacts on the sharing of learning between movement members?

- What are the implications of this study for future practice and research in this and other social justice movements?

While these questions apply to various aspects of Pākehā Treaty work, including approaches to campaigning or education, my focus is on learning in relation to our approach to working with Māori activists in the Tino Rangatiratanga movement. I do this for a number of reasons.

Firstly, my reflection from the workshops where people responded to the question of 'What informs the actions / determines the approach we take to progress Māori self-determination?/ Why do we do it the way we do?' was that this question was too broad and could be interpreted

in many divergent ways so that the responses had no common focus. I felt that the question needed to be narrower in order to generate a more coherent response.

Secondly, how we collectively work with Mäori activists is pivotal to Päkehä Treaty work because the work is about endeavouring to address injustice experienced by Mäori. We do not, therefore, want our approach to reinforce existing injustice or create new forms of injustice. We need to have appropriate working relationships with Mäori to try to ensure this does not happen. In our work there is a strong focus on advocating for Tangata Tiriti to develop honourable relationships with Mäori. We need to model these in our own work: we need to 'walk the talk'.

Thirdly, as a third generation Päkehä Treaty worker I want to understand better how the work has developed and to interrogate inherited approaches to practice in order to inform changes to practices. Because of my experiences in the movement, I am particularly interested in changing approaches to working with Mäori activists.

Finally, participation in international development fora has made me aware that our approach to working with Mäori activists, which is guided by our understandings of and commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi, has usefulness and applicability to international development practice where members of dominant groups are working to support the aspirations of marginalised groups. While this thesis does not aim to thoroughly detail this practice it has allowed for discussion and documentation of aspects of the approach.

1.4. Thesis structure

In this introductory chapter I have provided an overview of my thesis, clarified my use of key concepts, outlined my positioning in relation to the topic and my motivations for the research. I have also given background to how my research questions have developed. The structure of the rest of my thesis is as follows.

Chapter Two is a literature review in two sections. In Section One I outline the process and findings of my literature search. I also discuss the challenges of inconsistent terminology and the scarcity of published literature related to my topic. In Section Two I critically discuss the work of the adult educationalist, Foley (1999) and explain how his work informs my research questions and methodology.

In Chapter Three I outline my approach to generating a research process that is both relevant to the movement and scholarly. I detail my methodology which is informed by the paradigms of

social constructivism and critical theory, and also my method which is based on participatory action research and narrative approaches. I discuss how these influences shaped my research and provide a detailed description of the research process.

In Chapter Four I discuss influences on learning for members of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement. I use a framework developed by Foley (1999) to examine the range of influences on learning for individual members of the movement. After considering each influence separately I discuss their relative significance and the importance of recognising the relationships between them. I discuss the characteristics of learning in social movements that emerge in this part of the study.

Chapter Five moves from a focus on the learning experiences of movement members to consider sharing of learning about the practice of working with Mäori activists within the movement. Foley's framework continues to inform my analysis as I explore the micro and macro-political influences that impact on sharing of learning about all movement practices. I then consider why there is little sharing about the particular practice of working with Mäori activists compared with other movement practices.

In Chapter Six, as part of my commitment to generating a process that is useful to the movement I give attention to the implications of this research for future practice. I outline ideas put forward by the research participants to address inhibitors to the sharing of learning within the movement. I suggest the need to also understand macro-political influences on the movement and recommend approaches to sharing which are relevant to the dynamic practice of working with Mäori activists.

Finally in Chapter Seven I conclude with a discussion on understanding learning in social movements. In undertaking this study of a specific practice of a social movement in the context of Aotearoa/New Zealand I aim to contribute to the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement, the field of social movement learning and to the emerging field within development studies of learning in social change. I conclude by considering the contribution of the findings and research method to these three areas and making recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2. Literature review

This research is motivated by overarching concerns about the efficacy and sustainability of the social justice movement to which I belong. Specifically, this study focuses on learning and sharing of learning regarding the practice of how Päkehä Treaty workers work with Mäori activists. I am particularly interested in how learning is shared between generations within the movement and the implications of this for both the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement and other social movements locally and internationally.

Given the various dimensions of my research question there were a number of fields to be explored for relevant literature. My literature search focused on: learning in social movements; development studies literature on learning in social change; understandings of development practice; intergenerational learning in social movements; social learning theory; and, existing theory on Päkehä Treaty work.

This literature review is in two sections; in the first section I provide an overview of the relevant contributions and limitations of each of the areas covered in my literature search. This section includes discussion of the challenges I encountered particularly in relation to lack of consistent terminology and scarcity of literature. In Section Two I critically discuss Foley's (1999) framework for understanding learning in social action and explain how his work informs my research questions and method.

2.1. Overview of literature search

2.1.1. Learning in social movements

I began my literature search by scanning general social movement literature in English and despite there being a large amount written on social movements, I found very few references to learning in movements. I was initially concerned that I was not using the right search terms however social movement theorists Hall and Turay (2006) confirmed the lack of literature in this field. Their recent work 'State of the field report: Social movement learning' was central to my literature search.

The report was undertaken by a team of Canadian scholar-activists and is comprehensive in its scope. It provides a valuable overview of this topic and an extensive list of resources. It begins with the rationale for the study and its limitations, definitions of social movement learning and an outline of the major theoretical contributions to the field. It provides a review of the data and

discusses the generalisations that can be made, the gaps which exist and suggests areas for future research. Appendices provide bibliographies of social movement theory and social movement learning theory; summaries of case studies and research; information on the data sources, databases, journals and conferences used in the report; details of academic programmes, research centres and institutes; and, information on funding sources.

Hall and Turay use a definition in which 'social movement learning' is regarded as a broad field referring to:

> a) learning by persons who are part of any social movement; and
> b) learning by persons outside of a social movement as a result of the actions taken or simply by the existence of social movements.
> (Hall and Clover, as cited in Hall & Turay, 2006, p. 6)

The first part of this definition aligns with my research topic. The report is also significant because according to Hall and Turay, it is the first such report to be produced. As they comment,

> While there is a vast literature both in Canada and around the world on social movements themselves ...as far as we can determine, a definitive or even preliminary study on the state of field of a discourse called social movement learning has never before been attempted. (p. 6)

Hall and Turay regard the bibliography as the 'strongest contribution' of the report (p. 5). They acknowledge however that it is limited to writing in English and there is a bias towards Canadian sources that reflects the location of the writers. Another limitation of the bibliography is the lack of distinction in the references between the two areas of social movement learning identified in their definition – learning by members within movements and learning by people external to the movement. This distinction would be of particular value to studies such as mine, which focus on one aspect of the definition.

In addition to bibliographic details for specific works. Hall and Turay's discussion of theory and their general conclusions are useful. They position social movement learning in an adult education context and discuss the relationship between adult education and social justice movements by outlining both the engagement of adult educators in social movements and the key role of learning in these movements. They comment that the majority of work in the field is

descriptive and that theoretical traditions are limited. The majority of the theory on learning in social movements has come from adult educators. The particular contributions of Finger (1989), Welton (1993), Livingstone (2004), Holford (1995), Foley (1999), Walters (2005), Holst (2002) and Hall, Clover, O'Sulivan, Viezzer (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1994) are outlined[11]. Very few social movement theorists are identified as contributing to an understanding of learning in social movements. Eyerman and Jamison (1991) are cited as making the most significant contribution. They view social movements as being generators of new knowledge and alternative world-views and term this the 'cognitive praxis' of a movement. Their focus is on the construction of and contribution of social movement knowledge to society beyond the movement rather than how knowledge is shared within movements. Hall and Turay (2006) also regard the social movement theorists Melluci (1988) and Della Porta and Diani (1999) as contributing concepts, such as understandings of power and interpretative frames, which may be useful to understanding learning in social movements.

Hall and Turay (2006) demonstrate that relatively little attention has been given to social movement learning; '…in-depth empirical studies of learning in and because of social movements are scarce' (p. 6). Furthermore within the limited studies that have been undertaken they identify that, 'most of the scholarship in SML is linked to community development, the women's movement, the environmental movements, the labour movement and the anti-globalisation movements. Aboriginal self-determination, Gay and Lesbian movements, Peace movements and Anti-racism movements have little work done from a SML perspective' (p. 20). The Päkehä Treaty workers' movement is most closely aligned with these under theorised movements.

Hall and Turay's work was of particular value as it supported my initial findings with regard to key theorists contributing to this field. It also confirmed that there is a scarcity of relevant literature, particularly with regard to learning within social movements. Hall and Turay do not reference any work specifically addressing the issue of sharing of learning within social movements. Because of this I also explored the field of communication for social change for relevant literature. However, I did not find any sources relevant to this study as the literature relating to social movements within this field is focused on communication of movement messages to the general public rather than the development and sharing of ideas within a movement (Gumucio Dagron & Tufte, 2006).

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[11] These are select references for the work of these theorists. See Hall and Turay (2006) for further bibliographic information.

2.1.2. Development studies literature: Learning in social change

The motivation for undertaking this thesis within development studies was my participation in initiatives led by the Institute of Development Studies and in international fora such as World Social Forums, the AWID Forum and the International Council of Adult Education World Assembly. Within development studies there is a growing focus on learning, in particular on organisational learning in the development non-governmental organisation (NGO) context (Eade, 2002; Hailey & James, 2002; Ramalingam, 2005, 2006; Roper & Pettit, 2002). As Vincent and Byrne (2006) state,

> A learning agenda has long been at the heart of progressive development practice, implicitly or explicitly. Historically, learning has underlain much community development work as well as adult and non-formal education, drawing particularly on the work of Paulo Freire.... Today, learning is increasingly recognised as an active and life-long endeavour that is essential to any development process. This is reflected in the shift over several years from training to capacity development, which signifies a greater appreciation of the need for deeper and wider processes of ongoing learning and support. (pp. 385-386)

Within this literature there are elements that could be usefully applied to the social movement context, for example the identification of factors that inhibit learning, the focus on relationship dynamics which impact on learning (Vincent & Byrne, 2006) and discussion of organisational learning and learning organisations in the development context (Roper & Pettit, 2002). There has also been a critique of the focus on learning in development with it being defined as a 'borrowed tool-box' from the corporate sector (Kelleher, 2002). This critique aligns with the limitations I found in the literature. Ramalingam (2005) discusses how the concepts and approaches to learning and knowledge management that come from the private sector need to be adapted to the specific context and focus of the development sector. Likewise, the discussion in the development sector needs to be adapted to the context of social movements. The focus of the literature in the development sector is on learning in formal, structured, NGO environments. These environments differ considerably from that of most social movements, including the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement, which are informal, voluntary and loosely structured. The degree to which the concepts in this literature can be usefully applied to the social movement context is limited.

An exception to this is Reeler's (2005) work on horizontal or peer learning as a method and strategy in development practice. Reeler challenges paradigms of development that emphasise expert-led training and while his work is from a different context to that of learning in social movements, I draw on his discussion of relationships and power in my analysis.

The lack of relevant literature in this field was not surprising as the lack of attention to learning in social change processes is a rationale for the FLASC initiative. The learning emerging from the FLASC initiative itself has informed this thesis. In the first phase of the initiative a conceptual model was developed which emphasises the need to examine relationships between personal, conceptual, methodological and structural dimensions when facilitating learning in social change (Taylor, Deak, Pettit, & Vogel, 2006). Participants in the second phase of FLASC[12] saw the potential usefulness of the model but highlighted the need for further development and clarification of the terminology. I considered using this model but felt that it was too general and formative to be usefully applied. Another output from FLASC has been the development of questions as prompts for understanding how learning is happening in change processes (see Appendix One). As discussed, these questions were valuable in motivating me to undertake this research and informed my research questions. Also, the literature reviews produced as a part of the initiative, though not as extensive as Hall and Turay's (2006) report, were useful to scan for sources.

2.1.3. Understandings of development practice

My engagement in the World Social Forums and the FLASC initiative have exposed me to ideas from development practice that, while not specific to learning in social movements, are influential in this study, in particular the work of de Sousa Santos (2005, 2007) and the Community Development Resource Association (CDRA) (Community Development Resource Association, 2007; Kaplan, 2002; Reeler, 2001, 2005).

A central challenge in the World Social Forum process is how diverse movements might act collectively. De Sousa Santos (2005) describes the process of cultural translation which he sees as necessary for movements to act collectively whilst valuing diversity.

> The exercise of translation aims to identify and reinforce what is common in the diversity of counter-hegemonic drive. Canceling out what separates is out of the question. The

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[12] Jenny Pearson, Peter Taylor, Irene Guijit, Vera Schattan Coelho, Ashish Shah, Peter Clarke, Anna Downie, Sam Joseph, Jethro Pettit, Anindita Adhikari and myself.

goal is to have host-difference replace fortress-difference. Through translation work, diversity is celebrated, not as a factor of fragmentation and isolationism, but rather as a condition of sharing and solidarity. (p. 17)

While de Sousa Santos has developed this theory in order to understand relationships between social movements, it also has applicability within social movements.

CDRA is an organisation which aims 'to help bring about and support authentic and coherent development practice amongst people, organisations and institutions working towards those forms of social transformation that most benefit the poor and marginalised' (Community Development Resource Association, 2008, para. 3). The approach that CDRA takes to their work is informed by their experience working with development organisations and by understandings from living systems theory. They view development as, 'a complex, continuing and innate life process, towards realising the full potential in all life forms' (ibid., para. 11). This conceptualisation of development practice is useful for understanding the practice of Päkehä Treaty workers working with Mäori activists thus I draw on writing from CDRA (2007) and from Kaplan (2002) and Reeler (2001, 2005) who are development practitioners associated with CDRA.

2.1.4. Intergenerational learning in social movements

Within the context of this research I use the term intergenerational to refer to the interactions between the different generations of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement based on the chronology of the movement rather than the age of the people involved[13]. My focus on learning in the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement need not be specific to intergenerational relationships; however, I have incorporated a generational dimension as a means of considering changing practices over time and as a reflection of my interest in intergenerational relationships within the movement.

Because of this interest in sharing learning between different 'generations' in the movement I searched for literature on intergenerational relationships in social justice movements. While it

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[13] I am using the term 'generations' rather than 'waves' because generations reflect internal movement relationships to a greater extent than waves which are generally constructed in response to political and social changes outside the movement.

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appears that some movements are giving consideration to this issue[14] it seems this is happening primarily in applied contexts such as workshops and intergenerational dialogues and there is little recorded theory relating to this issue.

The most extensive discussion I found of the need to consider intergenerational dynamics was within the feminist movement. Antrobus (2004) in her book on the global women's movement briefly discusses the challenge of including new generations of women without losing the experience of previous and current generations. She stresses the need to build on and retain understanding of existing work while allowing for new agendas for each generation and suggests intergenerational dialogue as an approach to communication between the generations.

Further, Wilson (2005) discusses the need to build a multigenerational feminist movement and articulates the challenge for young women as one of 'finding ways to create a bridge between our own lives and past feminist action' (p. 230):

> Young women today are born into a reality where the gains made by the earlier generation are a reality, if no one talks to us about the struggle and history of achieving those rights, we take them for granted and assume that they were always there. As young women, we acknowledge the wisdom and experience of our predecessors. At the same time, we want to find ways of creating interactions of exchange and learning where we can gain this knowledge, but also where we can share our 'knowledge' as well. (Rosas and Wilson, cited in Wilson, 2005, p. 230)

While Antrobus (2004) and Wilson's (2005) clear articulation of the need for intergenerational communication resonates with me, their potential to contribute to this study is limited for two reasons. Firstly, they name but do not describe the intergenerational dialogue process through which communication and potential learning might occur. They do not focus on how learning might happen between generations. Secondly, they both define generations in relation to biological age and emphasise the conflict between younger and older people in a movement.

Mudaliar (2008) usefully challenges these binaries and argues that a multi-generational feminist movement needs to be built on intergenerational solidarity. In order to do this, it is necessary to challenge assumptions based on age, particularly equating age with experience, as these assumptions can limit people's potential to contribute.

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[14] For example the Highlander Threads Project (Highlander Research and Education Center, 2008), War Resisters League (War Resisters League, 2006) and the feminist movement (Alpizar & Wilson, 2005; Antrobus, 2004; Mudaliar, 2008; Wilson, 2005).

Andrews' (2002) work on generational consciousness contributes to an understanding of some of the tensions and limitations in the literature with regard to defining generations in social movements. Defining generations based on the chronology of the movement means that while there is some correlation between the ages of people and the generation of the movement they are within, there are also exceptions, particularly in more recent generations. For example the third generation of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement incorporates people in their twenties to people in their sixties. Generations within social movements are generally correlated solely to biological age (Alpizar & Wilson, 2005; Antrobus, 2004; Bowles, 2007; Wilson, 2005). Andrews (2002) suggests a definition which includes non-age related generations, however she does not discuss how these might be understood.

While Mudaliar (2008) and Andrews (2002) highlight some of the complexities of conceptualising generations within social movements and the inadequacies of language in usefully defining generations, neither provides a framework for analysing intergenerational learning. Given the limitations of the literature, I utilised an intergenerational approach to data collection and reflected on generational experiences and awareness of generational positioning in my discussion but did not make this a central focus of the thesis.

2.1.5. Social learning theory

Conversations with people in the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement, as part of my FLASC inquiry, revealed that people generally are not used to responding to questions regarding their process of learning and find it difficult to articulate how an approach has been learnt. Questions such as 'How did you know how to do it that way?' tended to generate limited responses such as 'We just did it'. Wenger's (1998) concept of a social theory of learning in which learning occurs through engagement in 'communities of practice' provides useful language to address this issue.

Wenger found in his study of workers in insurance claims processing that people seldom discussed learning. He identified that this was because their learning happens in and through their engagement in practice, while doing their job. 'What they learn is not a static subject matter but the very process of being engaged in, and participating in developing, an on-going practice' (p. 95).

I agree with Cooper (2006) and Crowther (2006a) who critique Wenger (1998) for paying insufficient attention to power dynamics and 'the messy dimension of conflict, action and reaction amongst groups in struggle with differential resources of power' (Crowther, 2006a, p.

173). While I have not tried to build an understanding of communities of practice into my analysis, Wenger's (1998) work, as discussed in Chapter One, has specifically influenced the language I used in this study. In my interview questions I asked participants to discuss their practice rather than articulating learning. The use of this language reflects an understanding of learning being embedded in practice.

2.1.6. Existing theory on Päkehä Treaty work

Päkehä efforts to honour the Treaty of Waitangi have been discussed within key works by Mäori on Mäori efforts for tino rangatiratanga, for example Harris (2004) and Walker (2004). In 2002 I produced an annotated bibliography of material in which Päkehä Treaty workers reflect on their practice (Margaret, 2002). The bibliography was produced with input from Päkehä Treaty workers throughout New Zealand. It has 94 entries, from published and unpublished sources including books, journal articles, newsletters, reports, conference papers, lectures and discussion papers. The research for the bibliography revealed the limited recording of reflection on practice within the movement. None of the works in the bibliography specifically address the topic of this study.

The Treaty Resource Centre (2008b) has produced a one-page discussion document on the evolving relationship between Mäori and Päkehä Treaty workers in Auckland. Though very brief, this document provides a valuable outline of the changing practice of the generations of the movement and is a useful reference for this study. Treaty Resource Centre's (2007) resource written for international development organisations on approaches to applying the Treaty contains a useful means of conceptualising of practice which is included in Chapter Six.

A recent and very significant contribution to Päkehä theorising has been Huygens' (2007) Doctoral thesis entitled 'Processes of Päkehä change in response to the Treaty of Waitangi'. Huygens' study investigates dominant group change through consideration of how Päkehä Treaty workers theorise their change processes in response to learning about the Treaty. Through focussing on relationships with Mäori my research picks up on her call for further theory building on 'practising of mutually agreed relationships with indigenous peoples by dominant/coloniser groups' (p. iv). Her discussion of the history of Päkehä Treaty work and of Päkehä Treaty workers' co-intentional relationships with Mäori provide useful starting points for my research. As part of her study, Huygens conducted focus groups with Päkehä Treaty workers throughout the country. The discussions of the Auckland focus group (Tämaki Treaty Workers) were specifically on relationships with Mäori and contain references to intergenerational issues.

The record of these discussions (Huygens, 2004b) provided valuable background to my study. In addition, the methodology and method I have used in this study is strongly influenced by Huygens' (2007) work.

2.1.7. Challenges of the literature

In addition to the limitations of each field as outlined, there were two key challenges I encountered in this literature search. The first was the range and lack of consistency in terms used to describe potentially relevant work, for example, learning in social change (Taylor et al., 2006), learning in social action (Foley, 1999; Newman, 1994), transformative learning (Mezirow, 2006), and learning for radical action (Jesson & Newman, 2004). Hall and Turay (2006) discuss this issue,

> It is also the case that the specific construct of "social movement learning" is not yet a common way to describe the universe of adult education and social movements. Readers will note from our list of key words that we have had to cast our nets exceedingly wide to be able to pull in some fish that we label "social movement learning. (p. 10)[15]

This makes it difficult to conduct an exhaustive search of the field. However Hall and Turay's work along with the FLASC literature review and discussions with activist / scholars in the field[16] suggested I had sourced the key work of relevance.

The second key challenge was the scarcity of literature that specifically addresses my topic. There are a number of reasons for this. It can be seen in part as a result of the nature of the learning in social movements, as Foley (1999) describes, 'Within the study of social movements, there is often implicit acknowledgement that social movements are sites of profound learning within civil society' (p. 3). However, according to Foley, the informal and incidental nature of this learning means it is often not identified as learning.

The lack of literature can also be attributed to the tradition of oral transmission of history and culture in social movements as Jesson and Newman (2004) state, 'The history and culture of radical education has largely been an oral one, learned through stories passed on from one generation of activists to another' (p. 251).

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[15] Hall and Turay (2006) list 53 terms that they paired with "Adult Education" Or "Popular Education" Or "Social Movements" for their keyword search.

[16] Marion Bowl (personal communication, August 11, 2008), Budd Hall (personal communication, September 22, 2008), Christine Herzog (personal communication, July 23, 2008), Ingrid Huygens (personal communication, August 5, 2008) and James Whelan (personal communication, August 21, 2008).

Attitudes to learning in social movements may also explain the lack of literature. Some of the factors Vincent and Byrne (2006) identify as impacting on learning in development organisations are pertinent to learning in social movements; '...aspects of organisational culture that predominate and affect learning include an activist tradition which relegates learning to a secondary role (albeit often unconsciously); heavy workloads and assumed priorities; perceptions of learning as an unnecessary luxury' (p. 394).

Finally, as the work of Hall and Turay (2006) demonstrates, there is limited recording of learning in social movements in general and very little within the academia. As they comment, 'We ...know that much of the knowledge about learning in social movements does not exist within the academic realm. It exists within the movements themselves or is captured in other forms' (p. 10). My own research (Margaret, 2002) confirmed this in relation to the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement. Huygens (2007) also experienced this when searching for literature relevant to her study.

> In considering how a dominant colonial group may participate in decolonisation, a possible approach would have been to look to social movements around the world, such as the movement of men against patriarchal violence or white antiracism work in many countries. However, as I conducted preliminary searches of international databases, it became clear that reflections on practice in social change movements were seldom published in scholarly literature, and that such reflections would be extremely time consuming to source and gather from activist and educational centres overseas. (p. 13)

While the literature review highlighted that there was no literature that specifically addressed my topic, it brought to the surface a number of useful theoretical contributions. In seeking an analytical framework to provide structure to this research, I looked for theory which provided conceptual clarification and a methodology aligned with my topic. The most substantive contribution to this study was Foley's (1999) framework for understanding learning in social action[17].

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[17] Learning in social action is a broad term and not clearly defined (Purcell, 2006). It can be applied widely to learning that 'takes place in the community with the expressed purpose of creating change' (p. 206). This term encompasses learning in social movements as Foley's (1999) case studies illustrate.

2.2. Foley: a framework for understanding learning in social action

Foley's interest is in the contribution an understanding of learning in emancipatory struggle[18] can make to adult education, particularly informal education. Foley understands adult learning and education as complex and contested social activities. His theory is underpinned by the assumption that domination and resistance are universal. This reflects his positioning as a socialist adult educator who believes that a 'critique of capitalism must be at the heart of emancipatory adult education theory and practice' (p. 6). He presents this perspective in contrast to the dominant positivist paradigm of the English-speaking world, which centres on the individual learners and their engagement in value-neutral, formal education. He challenges this paradigm through his broad conception of education and learning which draws attention particularly to the incidental[19] and informal learning that occur in emancipatory struggles. He defines informal education and learning as that in which 'people teach and learn from each other naturally and socially in workplaces, families, community organisations and social action' (p. 7). Foley regards the learning in most social action as informal and incidental, '...it is tacit, embedded in action and is often not recognised as learning' (p. 3). His emphasis on the complex, contradictory and ambiguous nature of learning in struggle is also a challenge to the dominant paradigm.

Foley draws on an approach used by Alvarez (1990) in her study of women's movements in Brazil. In her work, Alvarez considers the connections between macro-economic and micro-political factors and changes in women's political consciousness and action. Foley (1999) explains the value of Alvarez's approach to understanding and highlighting learning in social struggle,

> Alvarez's focus on ideology and discourse provides a bridge between a rich contextualised analysis of social movement activity and an analysis of adult learning because the process of engaging with hegemonic and oppositional ideologies and discourses is a learning process. (p. 9)

Foley argues that 'satisfactory accounts of learning in struggle make connections between learning and education on the one hand, and analysis of political economy, micro-politics,

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[18] Foley uses the terms emancipatory and popular struggle interchangeably 'both refer to social struggles in which people are trying to build more democratic and sustainable relationships' (p. 13).

[19] He defines incidental learning as occurring 'as people live, work and engage in social action' (p. 6).

ideology and discourse (or 'discursive practices') on the other' (ibid.). He represents these ideas in the following framework.
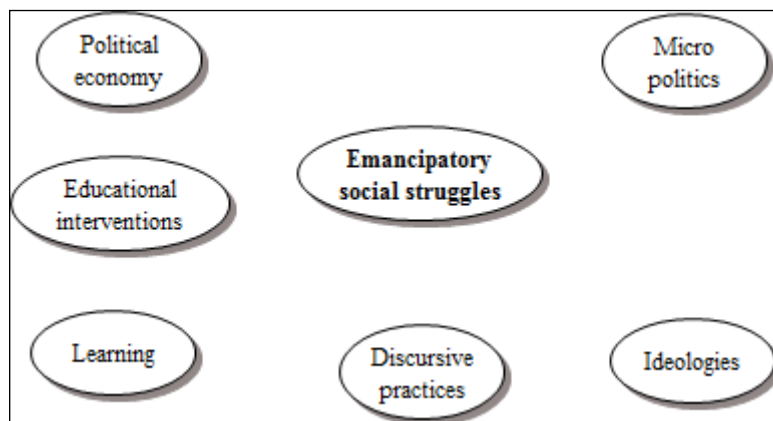
Figure 1: Foley's framework for understanding learning in social action
Source: Foley (1999, p. 9)

Though his depiction of the framework does not show the connections between the dimensions Foley does make these links in his discussion. In seeking to understand learning in specific struggles for social change he suggests one should try to understand the forms and expressions of social action, the micro-politics of the situation, and how social action is shaped by the political and economic context. Furthermore, it is important to understand the ideological and discursive practices and struggles of social movement actors and their opponents and how these support or inhibit emancipatory learning and action. Finally, it is necessary to consider the implications of this for educational interventions. This suggests the following relationships between the dimensions of the framework:
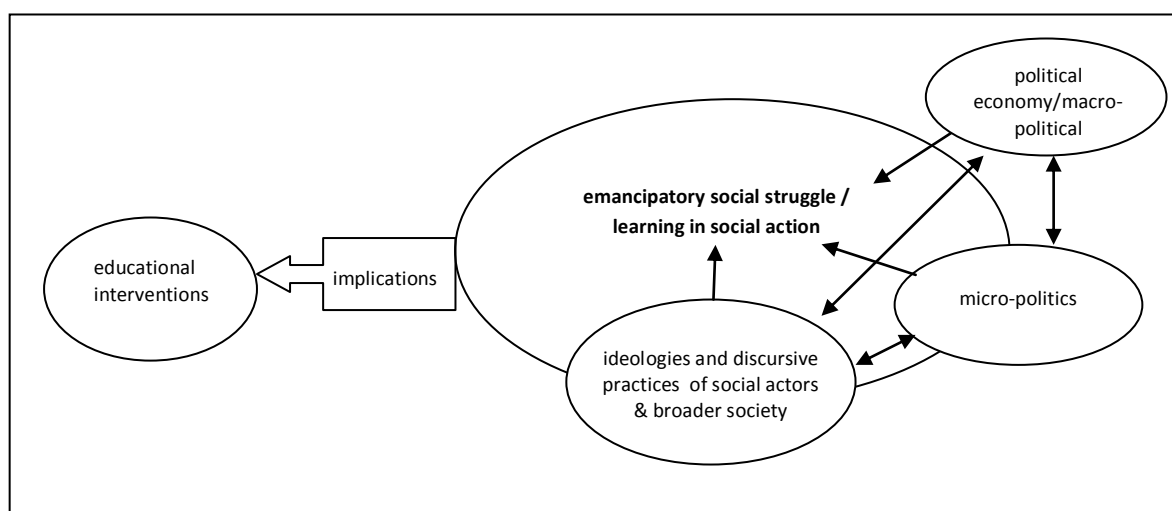
Figure 2: Connections between the dimensions of Foley's framework

Foley (1999) applies his framework to case studies from a range of social justice struggles, including environmental, feminist, indigenous, workers, in a range of locations including Brazil, Australia and Zimbabwe. He sees involvement in these local struggles as leading to people 'both unlearning dominant and oppressive cultural norms and developing more critical awareness of themselves, their community and wider social structures of inequality' (Purcell, 2006, p. 208). Through these case studies Foley (1999) illustrates different dimensions of the theoretical framework. His approach is to describe a specific struggle through locating it in its historical and political context and then discuss the actions of participants in light of this context. His discussion focuses on the evolving ideologies and discourses of those engaged in the struggle. He both draws out and 'reads in' (p. 88) the learning dimension within the struggle, particularly the way this is reflected in changing ideology and discourse.

Contribution to this study

Foley's work makes a contribution both to the conceptual framing and to the methodology of my study. There is alignment between Foley's sources of inspiration which include Thompson, Horton, liberation theology, popular education and critical pedagogy (Newman, 1994, p. 80), and those of Päkehä Treaty workers. There is also an alignment between my own background in adult education and work for Mäori self-determination and Foley's positioning as an adult educator supporting Aboriginal communities. In his work Foley clearly aims to contribute to an understanding of movements in order to strengthen their work for social justice, which is also my intention here.

Foley's (1999) attempt to understand learning in social action through the use of case studies of local struggles supports my approach. My experience in the FLASC initiative where we shared case studies highlighted, as Foley does, both the value and limitations of their use to learning across different social change contexts. Foley regards the case studies he presents as worth telling; however he problematises their use by describing them as 'examples of 'universalising academic discourse' (p. 13). He describes his attempts to address the risk of them being read as 'a single agreed account of social reality' by interrupting the studies and drawing attention to how 'partial, constructed and unrepresentative' they might be.

In his conclusion Foley points to the need for further research on learning in social movements. 'Much remains to be discovered about the characteristics, determinants, dynamics and effects of learning in popular movements and struggles. The potential field of study is huge and almost untouched' (p. 140). This study responds to this need. Through a case study of learning within

the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement I am contributing to understanding of learning within social movements.

Issues

While Foley's work is influential there are also some key areas where we differ. I will now contrast our approaches and explain how I intend to address these issues.

Foley's definition and framework for learning in social action emphasises social action as being a means of transforming one's own quality of life (Purcell, 2006, p. 208). This reflects the influence of Freire (1970) whose work emphasised the liberation of the oppressed by the oppressed themselves. These definitions do not explicitly address work done by the oppressor to improve the quality of life of the oppressed. Päkehä Treaty workers are members of a dominant culture group who support the struggle of a marginalised group by working to shift dominant society towards social justice. We are allies to the struggle of Mäori people. Internationally there is very little scholarly work that focuses on the role of allies in emancipatory struggles (Huygens, 2007). In using Foley's (1999) framework for this study I am aware of how the experiences of Päkehä Treaty workers may differ from those of the marginalised groups for whom the framework was generated and will discuss whether it is necessary to adapt the existing framework to reflect these different experiences.

Foley's strong historical materialist positioning clearly shapes his work. A critique of capitalism is central to his work. He is not exclusive in his focus however, and considers the intersections of class with gender, anti-racist, environmental struggles (Mayo, 2001). While his analysis of the macro-political influences on learning focuses on the political economy he defines this concept broadly in the context of the case studies. This broad interpretation allows for my own positioning and the work of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement which places more emphasis on socio-historical influences. In my analysis I refer to this aspect of the framework as 'broader societal influences'.

Foley is writing as an adult educator with an interest in contributing to his field. Describing education as an intervention and the educator as an outsider contrasts with the context of my research in which movement members are both learners and educators. Foley reflects on what learning in social struggle might mean for adult educators while my interest is what it might mean for members of a social movement. Consequently while Foley considers what the

implications of his theory are for educational interventions, I consider the implications for social movement practice.

Foley draws from his framework specific questions, listed in Figure Three, which he uses to guide his inquiry into learning in particular struggles for social change.

What forms do education and learning take?

What are the crucial features of the political and economic context? How do these shape education and learning?

What are the micro-politics of the situation?

What are the ideological and discursive struggles of social movement actors and their opponents? To what extent do these practices and struggles facilitate or hinder emancipatory learning and action?

What does all this mean for education? What interventions are possible and helpful?

Figure 3: Foley's questions for understanding learning in social action
Source: Foley (1999, p. 10)

There are several issues with the wording and application of these questions. The questions differ in different publications (Foley, 1999, 2000). In the earlier publication they are worded in relation to education and learning while in the later publication they are worded in relation to social action. It is difficult to determine whether this reflects his evolving thought, intentional flexibility in the questions, or a lack of consistency. I have taken this to mean that the framework is a developing model and have used it as such. The wording of some of the questions is also cumbersome and does not clearly reflect the analytical framework. In light of these issues I use Foley's (1999) questions as a base to prompt my own interview and research questions and have adapted them to reflect the way I am using the framework. Finally the questions are broad and it is difficult to give equal emphasis to each of them within a case study. Foley responds to this by giving prominence to different aspects of the framework in different case studies. Because of this challenge and my interest in seeing what dimensions of Foley's model were most applicable to the learning of allies in a struggle, I asked participants an open question about influences on learning and used the dimensions of Foley's framework as prompts.

Finally, Foley focuses on learning within social action but does not explicitly discuss the sharing of learning between people engaged in social action, for example between different social movements, or in the case of this study, between members of different generations of a social movement. However, in the absence of other relevant literature and because I felt it might

provide useful insights, I have used his framework to inform my analysis of this aspect of my study and will discuss the limitations of this in my conclusion.

2.3. Summary

While there is considerable amount of literature on social movements there is a relative scarcity of literature relating to learning in social movements. Furthermore, in relation to this research Hall and Turay's (2006) work, which provides a comprehensive overview of the literature in English in the field of social movement learning, does not contain any references to literature on learning between generations in a social movement. Within the field of development studies literature on learning in social change focuses primarily on learning in structured organisational environments and does not align well to the informal, voluntary nature of social movements. Engagement with literature on intergenerational relationships in social movements presents challenges with how the notion of generations is conceptualised and highlights a lack of published work that engages with the learning dimension of these relationships.

My response to these limitations is to use Foley's (1999) work as a base as it provides an analytical framework I could adapt for this study. I add to this by drawing on relevant insights from other literature, in particular the work on development practice from de Sousa Santos (2005, 2007) and CDRA (2007, Kaplan, 2005, Reeler 2001, 2005) and existing theory on Päkehä Treaty work, especially the recent work of Huygens (2007). In the next chapter I introduce the research methodology, theoretical framework and method for this study.

Chapter 3. Methodology and methods

> Insider research has to be as ethical and respectful, as reflexive and critical, as outsider research. It also needs to be humble. It needs to be humble because the researcher belongs to the community as a member with a different set of roles and relationships, status and position. (Smith, 1999, p. 139)

My research questions reflect my experiences as a member of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement and of the FLASC initiative and in international development contexts. Through engagement with the literature I further refined and shaped these questions. In this chapter I describe the key considerations I sought to attend to in my research process: generating a productive process which was relevant and scholarly, and about the process I followed to address these considerations. My methodology reflects approaches relevant to the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement (Bevington & Dixon, 2005; Huygens, 2007), my previous experience of instigating research within a community as a member (Greenaway, Margaret, & Allpress, 2007), and the influence of theory related to this study. I drew on two bodies of data to address my research questions. The first was an analysis of the textual material from three research interviews and one workshop. The second was a nuanced description of the research process. I conclude this chapter with a description of the methods used to gather and report on both bodies of data.

3.1. Research considerations

As a member the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement with a passionate interest in its efficacy and sustainability there were three key issues I felt I needed to address in undertaking this study. The first was ensuring the research process was appropriate and would not be detrimental to relationships within the community. I intend to belong to the movement for many years to come therefore I was mindful of the potential implications of instigating a process that would encourage us to consider and critique our practice. I was aware that this might generate or surface tensions and discomfort, if participants held competing views or were reflecting on conflict within the movement. I wanted the process to be beneficial to the movement and not to undermine current relationships between movement members in a way which would impact detrimentally on the future work of the movement. However, this does not mean that I would avoid analysis of difficult issues that might arise in the research.

Secondly, I wanted the research process and outcomes to be relevant and useful to the research participants, more broadly to the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement, and to other social change movements. It also responds to the issue expressed in literature regarding the lack of writing on learning in social movements by movement members (Bevington & Dixon, 2005; Hall & Turay, 2006; Whelan, 2005). I wanted this research to have positive implications for Päkehä Treaty workers' practice and to instigate discussions that would continue to inform our practice beyond the limited duration of this project. As I was interested in sharing this study with colleagues in other parts of the world I needed to consider how to present the work for an international audience.

Finally, because I wanted my work to contribute to scholarship on learning in social movements I needed to ensure my research process was based on sound principles of knowledge creation. Previous scholarly work by Päkehä Treaty workers and other activist researchers made me aware that while tensions might arise between movement and academic expectations it is possible to manage these different positions. In seeking a methodology and methods to respond to these considerations I was particularly influenced by the recent work undertaken within the movement by Huygens (2007). Most of my participants were familiar with her research, and the majority, myself included, had participated in her research process. The work had been seen by participants to be a beneficial process and a positive contribution to the movement (Huygens, 2007). While our research focus differed, our intent and positioning were very similar. Huygens had already negotiated a number of key issues with movement members in the process of her research creating foundations that I could build upon.

Having outlined my key considerations in undertaking this study I will now outline how I sought to attend to these.

3.2. Interpretive frameworks: social constructivism and critical theory paradigms

My understanding of knowledge creation is based on the interpretative frameworks of social constructivism and critical theory. 'Constructivism means that human beings do not find or discover knowledge so much as we construct or make it' (Schwandt, 2005, p. 197). This construction is a social process 'We do not construct our interpretations in isolation but against a backdrop of shared understandings, practices, language, and so forth' (ibid.). Knowledge is 'ideological, political, and permeated with values' (Rouse cited in Schwandt, 2005, p. 198).

Denzin and Lincoln (2000) characterise the constructivist and critical theory paradigms as follows,

> The constructivist paradigm assumes a relativist ontology (there are multiple realities), a subjectivist epistemology (knower and respondent cocreate understandings), and a naturalistic (in the natural world) set of methodological procedures'... 'Critical theory privileges 'a materialist-realist ontology; that is, the real world makes a difference in terms of race, class and gender. Subjectivist epistemologies and naturalistic methodologies (usually ethnographies) are also employed. Empirical materials and theoretical arguments are evaluated in terms of their emancipatory implications. Criteria from gender and racial communities (e.g., African American) may be applied (emotionality and feeling, caring, personal accountability, dialogue). (p. 21)

What distinguishes critical theory from social constructivism is the 'call to action' (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). The call to action is a strong component of this research as I seek to contribute to the effectiveness of Päkehä Treaty work through considering the role of learning in this movement.

Huygens (2007) draws from both the critical theory and constructivist paradigms in her study as, 'both critical and constructivist inquiry support the legitimacy of interactive knowledge, co-constructed between the researcher and their community of participants'(p. 174). Together they support questions which seek to understand the social realities people construct together and how they construct these realities.

Foley (1999), in his work on learning in social action, also draws on both paradigms. He describes the impact of constructivism on his work drawing on Ellsworth (1989) noting that he is 'heartened by the contemporary tendency to emphasise the socially constructed nature of research and the importance of texts drawing attention to their construction. All analyses are partial and partisan, and they must be made transparent and problematic' (Foley, 1999, p. 11). Foley's response to this is to be explicit about his theoretical and value assumptions.

While there are distinctive elements in each paradigm, this diverse range of scholars, Lincoln and Guba (2000), Huygens (2007) and Foley (1999), all attest to the confluence of critical and constructivist epistemologies and the alignment of these with a participatory action research approach.

3.3. Research approaches: Participatory action research and narrative process

3.3.1. Participatory action research

While social constructivist and critical theory understandings underpin my understanding of knowledge creation, my research method is primarily informed by participatory action research. Reason and Bradbury (2008) describe action research 'not so much a *methodology* as an *orientation to inquiry'* (p. 1). Action research is 'a set of practices that responds to people's desire to act creatively in the face of practical and often pressing issues in their lives in organizations and communities; calls for engagement *with* people in collaborative relationships;…draws on many ways of knowing;... is values oriented;... and is a living emergent process' (pp. 3-4). It is a participatory process. Action research builds on the social constructivist paradigm by asking us to consider 'how we can act in intelligent and informed ways in a socially constructed world' (p. 5).

Reason and Bradbury argue for validity of action research and acknowledge the tensions between this and conventional academic research.

> We see action research as a practice for the systematic development of knowing and knowledge, but based in a rather different paradigm from conventional academic research – because it has different purposes, is based in different relationships, has different ways of conceiving knowledge and its relation to practice. (p. 4)

Their intention is to contribute to 'new thinking about validity and quality in research, to show that good knowing rests on collaborative relationships, on a wide variety of ways of knowing, and an understanding of value and purpose, as well as more traditional forms of intellectual and empirical rigour' (p. 8).

Participatory action research has been a central aspect of participatory approaches in development practice (Brock & Pettit, 2007; Chambers, 2007; Kindon, Pain, & Kesby, 2007b; Lilja & Dixon, 2008). Kindon, Pain, and Kesby (2007a) argue that the distinction between action research and participatory action research is that in participatory action research marginalised and vulnerable people are directly engaged in the research process. Cameron (2007) suggests that participatory action research can take different forms and can involve direct transformation of people's lives through their involvement in the research process and indirect transformation through changing practices of institutions which impact on marginalised people's

lives. This argument creates a wider understanding of participatory action research and might usefully be extended to encompass the use of participatory action research approaches by people who work as allies to the struggles of marginalised people. My research approach aligns with the key tenets of participatory action research (Kindon et al., 2007a) with the exception that Mäori as the marginalised group towards whom social change efforts are directed are not included in the research. This is a reflection of how the work to affect social transformation for Mäori is structured. Päkehä Treaty workers' aim to address injustice experienced by Mäori by generating change within the dominant Päkehä society. If the efficacy of this work is improved through this research, it is hoped that there will be indirect benefits for Mäori.

Like action research, participatory action research is characterised by a repeating cycle of action, reflection and further action (Kindon et al., 2007a). Rather than undertaking the full cycle, in this research I have created a reflective space within the existing on-going action of the movement to which I belong. The reflection from this space will inform future action beyond the duration of this specific research project.

Participatory action research is characterised by a diversity of approaches. Given the range of choices available to the researcher, Reason and Bradbury (2008) argue that 'a key dimension of quality is to be aware of one's choices, and to make those choices clear, transparent, articulate, to yourselves, to your inquiry partners, and, when you start writing and presenting, to the wider world' (p. 7). A starting point for this is to be reflexive throughout the research process. 'Reflexivity is associated with the idea of critical or discursive consciousness – that ability to step out of your identity and interrogate how that identity shapes your understanding of what is possible, in other words what is power' (Eyben, Harris, & Pettit, 2006, p. 5). Etherington (2004) discusses how we might be reflexive,

> To be reflexive we need to be aware of our personal responses and to be able to make choices about how to use them. We also need to be aware of the personal, social and cultural contexts in which we live and work and to understand how these impact on the ways we interpret our world. (p. 19)

3.3.2. Narrative process

A narrative approach aligns with social constructivist and participatory approaches. As Etherington (2004) says, 'Embedded in people's stories we hear their feelings, thoughts and

attitudes, and the richness of the narrative helps us to understand how they understand themselves, their strategies for living and how they make theoretical sense of their lives' (p. 75).

Etherington's description of why she values using a narrative approach resonated strongly with my aspirations for this research,

> In telling their stories, participants (and researchers) may also gain something for themselves. It seems to me that the very best possible outcome of research is that it provides an opportunity for growth and learning for both researcher and researched as well as for the wider community. (p. 78)

In this research project the interviews and workshop were structured around particular questions and the participants responded in the main through telling stories which related to the questions. During the process each individual told part of their story of involvement in the movement. The three small group interviews and the collective workshop form a part of the story of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement.

As stories are socially constructed they are constantly being reformed in light of the context in which they are being told. They reflect the purpose of the telling and the relationships between the teller and the listener (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Etherington, 2004). Participants in Huygens' study discussed a risk of the research reflecting a static approach (Huygens, 2007). In using a narrative approach in this study I acknowledge that these stories reflect 'a snapshot in time' (Etherington, 2004, p. 77). They are also just one part of a bigger story or stories of the research participants and of the movement.

Andrews (2002) argues that generational consciousness is built through dialogue, specifically story-telling. According to Andrews, generations learn about themselves and others through the listening to and telling of stories. Stories generate awareness of the continuities and discontinuities between generations. It is the process of sharing stories across generations that builds awareness of the specific conditions experienced by a generation and of how to act to create change.

> Stories pass between generations; they are the stuff of cultural identity, and it is this which we inherit from preceding generations and bequeath to the next. It is through stories that individuals as members of a generation, locate themselves in the historical process, and in so doing, create a framework which optimizes the possibility of realizing their own ability to effect real change. (p. 85)

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The connections made by Andrews between generational consciousness, story-telling and social change further encouraged me to use a narrative method in this research.

The interpretative frameworks and research approaches outlined influenced both the concerns I sought to address in my research process and my responses to these concerns. My motivations, aspirations and positioning in this study have been discussed earlier so I will now describe more fully how I positioned myself as a researcher. I will then outline the issues that were at the forefront in shaping the research method, prior to describing the method in detail. In doing so I hope to be transparent about the choices I have made throughout this process.

3.3.3. Positionality – scholar in a movement

In the field of qualitative research and within development studies there is considerable discussion of the benefits and tensions of being an 'insider' researcher (Aguilar, 1981; Caine, Solomons, & Simmons, 2007; Huygens, 2007; Ritchie, Zwi, Blignault, Bunde-Birouste, & Silove, 2009; Smith, 1999). I am wary of the insider / outsider distinction as it carries the risk of being a rather simplistic dualism when the experience of these positions is more fluid and complex. This wariness reflects my experience of working for many years within a community and considering myself an 'outsider' only to discover that for some time 'the community' had regarded me as an 'insider'. In undertaking this research as a member of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement I might be defined as an 'insider' researcher. However, different members of that movement, and I myself at different times, might hold varying perspectives on the degree to which my actions as a researcher are 'inside' or 'outside'. For these reasons I see the insider / outsider categories as problematic; however I will use this distinction in my discussion as it is prevalent in the literature and provides short-hand terminology for more complex descriptions such as 'a member of the movement who is undertaking research on the movement'.

While the position of 'interested insider' is seen to be beneficial in many ways it also has certain risks: 'while a foreign researcher runs the risk of being culture blind, an indigenous researcher runs the risk of being blinded by the familiar' (Bolak, as cited in Huygens, 2007, p. 96). Smith (1999) also discusses the challenge of testing the familiar. 'One of the difficult risks insider researchers take is to 'test' their own taken-for-granted views about their community. It is a risk because it can unsettle beliefs, values, relationships and the knowledge of different histories' (p 139).

There are benefits to insider positioning. These include access to the community as 'activists are generally most willing to cooperate with researchers who share their broad political goals and who can help them to understand their situations more clearly and act on them more effectively' (Foley, 1999, pp. 140-141). Also the insider researcher potentially has a greater awareness of the complexity within the community than an 'outsider' researcher (Huygens, 2007).

Huygens describes her insider researcher positioning as being a scholar in the movement. She uses Elias's (1994) concept of 'praxis explicator' to describe her practice. As a praxis explicator,

> The researcher 'gives back' to practitioners their own best work, in the interests of forging a continuous link from theory to action. The intention is to develop theoretical principles derived from extensively capturing excellent, context-sensitive practice and linking it to theory. In this manner, Elias (1994) considers that a researcher working from the praxis explicator position is able 'to create maps of patterns of change, markers for shifts in terrain, realistic guideposts' for merging theory, research and practice in particular contexts of inquiry. (Huygens, 2007, p. 102)

Huygens explains that this positioning led her to consider herself as a 'co-theoriser alongside the research participants in our mutual quest for understanding' (p.103) and that this generated reciprocity in the research relationships.

Aligned with this positioning is Huygens' use of the constructivist 'passionate participant' voice, as she describes;

> I set out in the study of contemporary Päkehä theorising to passionately articulate our praxis in collaboration with my colleagues. I speak as a committed participant, a facilitator of "multi-voice" reconstruction of participant's constructions as well as my own (in Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p.115), creating what may be termed an 'internalist' account. (Huygens, 2007, p. 113)

In my research I adhere to this approach as it is a tested method fitting with my aim of generating a productive, relevant, scholarly process and aligns with my understandings of knowledge creation. I will detail what this means in practice in my description of the research method.

3.3.4. Ethical considerations

In undertaking this study I had an interest in ensuring that the research was not detrimental to relationships within the movement and I was hopeful that it might even enhance relationships. I was influenced by my previous experience of instigating a research process within a community that I was a part of, which was wary of research. As a member of a community committee, the Otara Network Action Committee (ONAC), I became a co-researcher of ONAC's processes. In this research one of the ways in which we attended to the fear and suspicion of research was by adhering to the community's own principles. In the ONAC research our ethical approach was guided by the Otara Principles (Greenaway et al., 2007). In this study I have been guided by the principles of the movement which were articulated by participants in Huygens' (2007) research process:

> Key ethics and traditions included:
> - an ethic of Päkehä taking responsibility for our institutions and culture and their outcomes (the kawanatanga article of the Treaty)
> - an ethic of respecting the Mäori world as a self-determined and self-legitimated entity (the tino rangatiratanga articles of the Treaty)
> - responsiveness and accountability in our work with the Treaty to Mäori collectives and their aspirations
> - processes for accountability to and support for each other as non-Mäori working with the Treaty
> - respecting our own local experience and local dynamics with Mäori collectives as a source of knowledge
> - a tradition of recording our group brainstorms as collective knowledge
> - an ethic that researchers show respect for and acknowledge collective authorship in presenting knowledge generated through Treaty work
> - attending to our holistic needs such as food, rest and emotional support in our gatherings. (p. 99)

I was mindful of these principles throughout the research process and sought to adhere to them within the constraints, particularly time, of this project.

Like Huygens, I experienced a disjuncture between the some of the ethical expectations of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement and those of the university. For instance, the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee (UAHPEC) works on the premise that records are solely for academic research purposes and should be destroyed on completion of the research. Within the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement there is an interest in recording our

history; so it was important to have an arrangement where audio and written research records could be transferred to an appropriate organisation (in this case the Treaty Resource Centre) where they could be made publicly available. The UAHPEC requires special documentation if data is to be transferred to a public repository; so I had to get the Committee's approval for an additional participant consent form to allow for the information to be transferred. The university also emphasises the importance of protecting the anonymity of research participants. In a small movement this is difficult, and in fact it may not be what participants desire. My response to these issues was to negotiate conditions that were acceptable to the research participants throughout the process. For example, participants were asked to consent to the transfer of the record of the interview and workshop after they had had an opportunity to read and edit the record and they could specify if they wanted sensitive material to be deleted from the audio recording.

3.3.5. A productive, relevant process

Smith (1999) suggests because insider researchers 'have to live with the consequences of their processes on a day-to-day basis for ever more, and so do their families and communities', they 'need to build particular sorts of research-based support systems and relationships with their communities' (p. 137). For this research I established an informal support group consisting of three members of the movement; two of the three were also participants in the research. We met regularly, particularly in the early period of the research, from the time of acceptance of my proposal by the university, through to the time of writing the findings chapters. They provided feedback and guidance in shaping and developing the research. This included help with refining initial ideas, suggestions of relevant literature and technical support. Throughout the research process I also discussed issues with other members of this movement particularly those who had previous research experience and other colleagues working in the fields of international development and adult learning and social change. I also gave feedback on the progress of the research to the local network of Treaty workers at regular monthly meetings. These relationships helped me ensure that I was working in a way aligned with the ethics of the movement and was maintaining a focus that was relevant to the field to which I wanted to contribute.

My supervisors also made a significant contribution to the process. I was fortunate to have supervisors with complementary experiences to guide me. Yvonne Underhill-Sem is the Head of the Centre for Development Studies at University of Auckland and was familiar with my

experiences in this field. She was able to guide me in locating this work appropriately in the international development context. David Williams contributed from his experience of involvement in and support of the anti-racism and Päkehä Treaty workers' movements and his significant knowledge of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Bevington and Dixon (2005) in their discussion of the need for research relevant to social movements make the point, 'that some of the most helpful research challenges the assumptions upon which movements are developing strategies' (p. 199). This means that the research may be criticised particularly by people who have an interest in maintaining the status quo in the movement. I was mindful that both the dynamics of the research process and the information that surfaced in the process might be unsettling to both the participants and to me. Indeed what I found unsettling might not be unsettling to others and vice versa. Positioning myself as a co-theoriser meant that I was one voice amongst many in the process however, as the instigator of the research process I also held particular responsibilities. The support networks of movement members and colleagues that I established were an important means of structuring the research as a shared endeavour and played a valuable role in generating responses to these tensions that would not undermine the movement.

Another issue with regard to generating a relevant and productive process related to locating my work in an international context. According to Bevington and Dixon (2005), 'there is little doubt that social movement histories and case studies can help inform other social movements ... They offer valuable lessons that can then be translated by activists into their own movements' (p. 191). Sharing learning across different social change contexts is a focus of the FLASC initiative. My own experience and that of other participants in the initiative was that we gained valuable learning through hearing stories of social change processes in different contexts and reflecting on the relevance of these to our own context. Engagement in this process encouraged me to continue to find ways to share the work of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement in an international development context. Engagement in international development initiatives such as the FLASC initiative and the 11th AWID Forum in Cape Town required me to be constantly aware of making the language and concepts I was using accessible to an international audience. My involvement in these projects was concurrent with writing my thesis, and this helped me with this aspect of the research.

3.4. Research method

There are many complexities in data collection. In keeping with my aim to be transparent about the choices I have made in this research I will now detail my approach to the collection, management and analysis of the textual material from the interviews and workshop and comment on my method for generating a nuanced description of the research process.

3.4.1. Textual data – interviews and workshop

3.4.1.1. Research participants

In this research I conducted semi-structured interviews, with small groups of two to three people, from each of the first three generations of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement active in the Auckland region. Generation One participants were involved in anti-racism work that preceded Treaty work and had been involved in the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement since its inception in the early 1980s. Generation Two participants joined the movement from the mid 1980s to mid 1990s and Generation Three participants joined in the period from the late 1990s to early 2000s. All identified themselves and were identified by others as active movement members. All organise and support initiatives and participate in gatherings.

The participants are all key people in the movement. They have weathered the challenges of this work over time and have remained active in and committed to the movement. They brought a rich depth and range of experience to the research. Much could also be learned from people who have been involved in the movement in the past and for a range of reasons no longer are, however this would have introduced a further dimension to the study. My intention was to understand the learning of those with a continuing involvement therefore I limited participants to those still active in the movement.

The participants were all people who live in Auckland and have undertaken their Treaty work primarily in Auckland. This geographic limitation was intentional and reflects that transmission of ideas is most likely to happen locally, and that there are regional variations in Päkehä Treaty workers' relations with Mäori activists.

Participants were identified initially through my own knowledge which I then checked with key members of the first and second generations of the movement. Availability throughout the duration of the research also determined participation. In order to clarify the generations,

participants were asked to date when they first regarded themselves as a Treaty worker and aligned themselves with the movement.

I first approached the participants by telephone to outline the research process and ask if they were willing to participate. This seemed the most appropriate approach as all of the participants were well-known to me. A number of people expressed support for the research but were unable to participate. This was generally due constraints on their own time and the timeframe of the research.

Time constraints, the size of the movement as a whole, restriction to the Auckland area, and an interest in having the three small groups of approximately the same size, resulted in seven people participating in the research interviews. Two of these participants were from Generation One, two from Generation Two and three from Generation Three[20]. Six people participated in the workshop; one person from Generation Three was overseas at the scheduled time.

Five of the seven participants were women. This reflects the gender representation in the broader movement. The two men who participated are both members of Generation Three. Three of the participants came into Päkehä Treaty work through their involvement in the church; all three had been employed by the church in social justice positions.

3.4.1.2. Data collection - interviews and workshop

In keeping with the ethics of the movement, I used a collective process for the data collection. While it may have been logistically easier to arrange individual interviews with participants, I organised group interviews in order to respect and encourage the collective ethic of the movement and to allow for collective theorising. Recognising that similarities and differences existed in the stories of people within each generation, the first stage of the process comprised three small group interviews; one with each of three generations. I was also interested in collective discussions to see whether there was a shared story from each generation; so there was one larger workshop to which all participants were invited.

The interviews were held at times and locations which suited the participants. Two of the interviews were in participants' homes and one was at a participant's workplace. The workshop was held in a community venue. Though the number of people in each group was small it was still a challenge to find suitable meeting times in peoples' busy schedules. Participants were

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[20] This represents approximately ten percent of those active in the movement nationally.

asked to come for a three hour period which allowed time for us to share the food I provided. I emailed the questions to participants a week before the interview and workshop for consideration prior to our meeting.

To keep the quantity of data manageable and to address the issue of each generation being involved for different lengths of time in the work, participants in each group were asked to recall their understandings of how to work with Māori activists during the first five years of their involvement in the Pākehā Treaty workers' movement. This approach meant that there was a similar amount of data from each of the three generations. They were then asked to outline how their practice had changed over time and what had influenced those changes. Prompts were based on Foley's framework[21]. As I wanted to compare responses between the three generations I asked the same questions of each group and endeavoured to have a consistent approach for each interview.

Prior to the combined group workshop the records of the three small group interviews were sent to all participants with a request to read them before the workshop and to record their responses on a worksheet provided. The combined workshop had two parts. In the first part the participants responded to the data and collectively drew out themes from the three interviews. The participants responded to what they had learned from the interview data, what surprised them, and what confirmed what they already knew. In the second part, participants discussed their learning from participation in the research process and the implications of this for the movement beyond the research.

3.4.1.3. Data management – records of interviews and digital recordings

During the interviews and the workshop I took notes and made a digital audio recording. Within three days of each interview I circulated a written record to the participants for editing and additions. I was aware that in creating these records I had already made many choices about what to include. It was important for me to have participants' feedback on whether the record captured the important aspects of what they had shared. Participants were asked to read the record and to make changes. They were invited to correct the text to make sure my record accurately represented the discussion, and to delete information they did not want included in the final record. They were also invited to add ideas that had occurred to them after the interview.

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[21] As outlined in Chapter Four.

This approach was in keeping with the accountability and collectivity ethics of the movement and my positioning as a co-theoriser[22].

My original intention was to produce a summary of findings rather than a full transcript of the interviews because of the time required to read the documents before the workshop. I did not want to overwhelm participants with too much reading. However, as I started the process of creating the summaries I realised that I wanted to retain the voices of the participants and did not want to do too much editing. Also the answers to the questions were not always as direct as I had anticipated, and I did not want to remove comments on the grounds that they did not fit with my interpretation of the question. I also had two intended purposes for the records: one was to provide data for this research; the other was to form part of the recorded history of the movement. I endeavoured to produce records that would work for both purposes; this resulted in me producing edited transcripts.

3.4.1.4. Data analysis

I did a thematic analysis of the data, based on the research questions. I read for semantic and latent themes following clear guidelines set out by Braun and Clarke (2006). I initially coded the three interviews and the workshop records and then searched for themes across the codes. In order to gather the relevant data in relation to each theme, I made multiple copies of each record on differently coloured paper. I then wrote the themes onto envelopes and cut out the data relating to each theme from the record and placed it in the relevant envelope. Having multiple copies of the record allowed me to position data relating to more than one theme. This colour coding of the records made it easy to see whether there was variance in the number of responses from different generations in relation to a particular theme. This process also allowed me to arrange and rearrange the themes by moving the envelopes. Having done the initial positioning of data in relation to the themes, I then reread the contents of each envelope and reviewed and relocated data as required. I also reviewed for relevance the themes that had little data to support them. Twice during this process I checked the emerging themes and my ordering of themes with a member of my peer supervision group who was also a research participant. I then ordered the themes in relation to the research questions thus forming the structure for my findings chapters.

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[22] While arguing for the need for care in attending to representation through transcripts Etherington (2004) usefully comments that, 'it is important to acknowledge that transcripts are social constructions; they are re-tellings and re-creations of stories that have already happened and not a faithful copy of a static world' (p. 80).

The research workshop also provided an opportunity for research participants to comment on themes they identified in the three interviews. While I had begun my analysis of the interviews before the research workshop, I did not present the themes that I saw emerging at this stage because I was interested in whether or not participants had observed emerging themes. I found, not surprisingly, that the participants were not engaged with the data on the level that I was. While they commented on some of the patterns they saw, I realised that in order to get more detailed participant input it might have been more fruitful if I had presented the emerging themes for their feedback, as Huygens (2007) had in her research.

My role in researching and writing this thesis means I have a strong voice in what is presented. In the interviews and the workshop I did not engage in the substance of the discussions acting instead as a facilitator as a way of balancing my voice with those of participants. In presenting the findings I have given emphasis to participants' words and analysis and been mindful of how I am interpreting and representing their contributions. In these ways, like Huygens, I have created a '"multi-voice" reconstruction of participant's constructions as well as my own' (p. 113). As a research participant noted, this approach requires specific skills.

> *I think a potential implication is that it could only be undertaken by a researcher who has credibility in the group, who is able to do that balance of engagement and stepping back. You have to have some skills which in other methods you don't have to have. So it wouldn't work for all groups and it wouldn't work for all researchers. (Christine – Generation Two)*

The skills required are similar to those described by Community Development Resource Association (2007) as being critical to understanding development processes. 'The development practitioner needs genuine observation and listening skills, and the ability to combine an open and non-judgemental approach with enough understanding to make sense of, and draw insight out of, what one is observing' (p.73).

A concern was raised in the workshop by a participant about how their words would be represented in the final text. While participants were able to ensure that they were happy with their representation in the digital and written records, the timeframe for this project did not allow for them to consent to how they had been quoted in the final text of the thesis. My response to this concern was that I would be transparent in the text about the degree to which participants had been able to input into the process. I would also stress that while this has been a collective participatory research process the final written interpretation is my own.

This was supported by a participant who said,

I think one of the things for you Jen is, because you're part of this movement and you're the sort of person who will be very faithful to what you've heard, having the trust in yourself as you reflect on it. You might move again in a way you hadn't anticipated and not being held down unduly by feeling you have to be faithful to us. Because you will be anyway. But we just need to say we trust you and encourage you to have that faith in yourself. (Susan – Generation Two)

3.4.2. Description of the research process

The attention paid to describing my research process in itself forms part of the data of this research. I have been guided by the ethics of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement and have aimed to be transparent about my process. Reflexivity was also important. I used a research journal to record my reflections on the interviews and the workshop immediately after each had occurred, in each case while in the car parked on the side of the road. I also added thoughts and reflections later. This enabled me to capture ideas related to the process overall that were not discussed specifically in the interviews. In order to include participants' reflections on the research process as well I asked them at the end of the interviews to reflect on how they had found answering the questions. In the workshop further attention was paid to this when I asked participants to comment on the benefits and limitations of the research process, and what aspects of the process might be useful to the movement in the future.

3.5. Summary

As a member of the movement being investigated it was important that my research methodology and methods were appropriate for the participants. They also needed to be able to contribute to the body of knowledge of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement and to the field of learning in action for social change within development studies. An interpretative framework of social constructivism and critical theory was chosen because it would encourage the construction of knowledge leading to action for social change. My approach was informed by participatory action research. Semi-structured interviews were used to gather information. Research questions were designed to encourage story-telling and reflecting on each others' stories, a narrative approach that aligns with social constructivist and participatory methodologies. Wider ethical considerations were based on those of the movement itself and these needed to be balanced with the ethical requirements of the university. Principally I sought to ensure that all stages of the

process from contacting the participants to analysing the data were relevant and scholarly, ultimately beneficial to the participants and to the wider movement. I now turn to presenting my research findings. In each of the following three chapters I address a separate research question, outlining my analysis of the findings from the research interviews and the workshop and from my reflective journaling throughout the process.

Chapter 4. Influences on learning for movement members.

I begin my analysis of learning in the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement by considering the influences on learning for individual members of the movement. Potential influences are based on Foley's (1999) categories which are contextualised to reflect the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement as follows: relationships with Mäori and relationships with Päkehä reflect micro-politics; a focus on existing ideas of practice is used to reveal ideological and discursive struggles, and broader societal influences reflect macro-politics. In addition, in the interviews, praxis emerged as an influence not included within Foley's (1999) framework. Figure Four depicts how I have contextualised the framework.
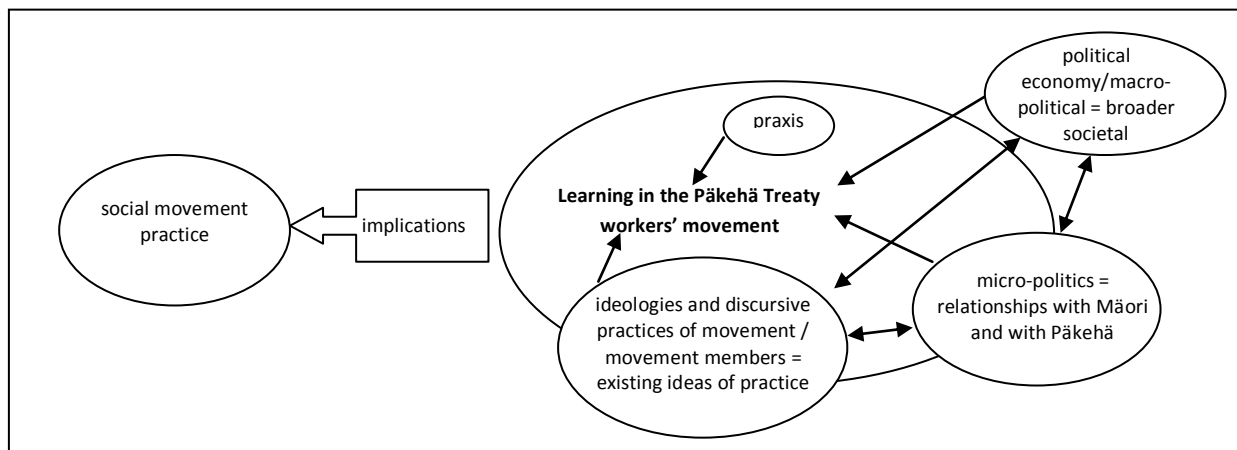
Figure 4: Foley's framework contextualised

Use of these categories highlighted the range and significance of different influences on the learning of members of the movement. While initially presented separately, there is a complex interplay amongst these categories. The first part of this chapter details deductive data analysis based on categories in Foley's framework. The findings are grouped in relation to these categories and discussed in order of significance to participants from most, to least, significant. I provide initial reflections on the usefulness of Foley's framework to understanding influences on learning for members of social movements. The second part of the chapter is based on an analysis of participant discussions which revealed a number of characteristics of learning in social movements: that learning is embedded in action and is complex and that it involves a process of integrating learning into practice.

In the interviews participants were asked to outline their understandings of practice as a background to discussing what influenced these understandings. The particular elements of practice identified by participants are included as Appendix Four. Participants initially

discussed early influences on their understandings of practice defined as those within the first five years of their involvement in the movement. They were then asked to discuss influences on changes in their practice over time, in the period after the first five years and up to the present day, as a way of determining on-going learning. This approach aimed to highlight whether there are different influences on learning when one is new to the work (emerging learning) compared to learning when one has been in the movement for an extended period (on-going learning).

The research question focuses on learning by members of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement in relation to the practice of working with Mäori activists. Though I reminded participants of this throughout the interviews, participants' discussion was often broader than the specific question. They talked about the movement in general, learning in general, and learning in the movement, as well as the specific focus question. This reflects the interrelated nature of these elements in practice.

4.1. Influences on learning

4.1.1. Learning from Mäori

Learning about how to work with Mäori activists in the Tino Rangatiratanga movement was not solely from Mäori within that movement. Participants learned from Mäori in a range of contexts: at university, in the workplace, through the church, in other social movements, from Mäori workshop participants and for one participant, from Mäori within his family. Learning was from both Mäori groups and individuals. Perspectives on working with Mäori came from a range of Mäori.

> *At university there were lecturers like Ranginui Walker and Patrick Hohepa at one level, but then the Mäori students I learnt so much from them as well. Like Christine, my contacts weren't limited to 'radical' Mäori. I was mixing with people who wouldn't be described as activists but in their hearts they felt deeply about what was happening. It was a broad Mäori influence, activists and all sorts of other Mäori. (Susan – Generation Two)*

One of the challenges was determining how to reconcile different Mäori perspectives from diverse contexts.

> *It took a while to discern whose voices to listen to because there's a whole screed of Mäori voices, whose do you listen to? (David – Generation Three)*

Learning from Mäori occurred in a number of different ways: observing, listening, direct instruction, feedback and dialogue.

> *Going back to what Mitzi said before, listening was the most important thing. That was the way I learnt. (Joan – Generation One)*
>
> *Listening not in a male debating mode but in a 'this is an authoritative voice that I take seriously'. (Mitzi – Generation One)*
>
> *There were other things. We were often told what to do if we were involved in activism... (Joan)*
>
> *By the early 1980s, certainly in ACORD [Auckland Committee on Racial Discrimination], we had moved into some kind of dialogue with some of the leadership, certainly with our Mäori consultants. (Mitzi)*

Learning happened primarily in the context of working relationships with Mäori. It was in the context of action, for example during events or while working on campaigns.

> *There were some big challenges that came up from the young people who came [to the event], over things that had happened in the past that we had no control over but were impacting there. Massive challenges from the rangatahi [Mäori youth] who said "If you don't do this we're not going to participate". So there were learnings about how you share information, who engages in those conversations and when you jump, and when you say "No, we need to work this through a different way". (Abigael – Generation Three)*

Generations Two and Three had greater opportunities to learn from Mäori in a range of contexts due to changes over time in the situation of Mäori. For each of the three generations learning from Mäori was a significant influence on practice.

4.1.2. Learning from Päkehä

Päkehä within the movement were the primary source of learning; however people also mentioned learning from Päkehä in workplaces, the church, university and other social movements.

> *I learnt a lot very quickly doing the work with Christine. At the same time I got involved with the Greens and because of where they were at trying to shift Te Tiriti to being an important part of their charter, that put me in touch with other Päkehä who were trying to shift perceptions within a middle class political movement; so I got a lot of influence from that as well. (Richard – Generation Three)*

Participants' learning was primarily through informal methods: conversations in the context of action, being told what to do, being corrected, observing, questioning and being questioned. One participant mentioned the influence of articles written by Päkehä supporters of the movement. Learning occurred in action and through reflection on action. Learning from Päkehä within the movement happened through being part of a group such as the Auckland Committee on Racial Discrimination (ACORD), Network Waitangi, or *arc*,[23] or as an individual within the movement. For Generation Three there was a greater range of opportunities to learn from other Päkehä because, in addition to informal methods, the previous two generations had generated formal learning opportunities, such as workshops and courses.

> *I came in when people were offering models and I could learn in structured ways, go to workshops, go to Kotare[24]. So whilst I think about all that learning from peers and informal learning I was also able to take up formalised learning practices. It certainly has influenced me a lot. There's always been that thing that if I don't know I can always make a phone call, I'm very aware that there's a pool of knowledge out there that I can tap into. (Abigael – Generation Three)*

The degree to which Päkehä within the movement were an influence on learning varied between the generations. The influence of learning from Päkehä elders and peers was strongest for Generation Three. As the pioneers of Treaty work Generation One could not look to elders. However, their Päkehä peers in the emerging movement were a significant influence. For Generation Two, Päkehä in the movement had become more influential in recent years but that way of learning was not the most significant during the early period of their involvement in the movement. The degree to which other Päkehä in the movement were an influence on learning changed over time, reflecting interrelationships in the movement that will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

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[23] These are Treaty workers groups which are part of the movement.

[24] Kotare is a community-based organisation which undertakes education and research for social change.

4.1.3. Existing ideas of practice

I used a category 'existing ideas of practice' to draw out the ideological and discursive dimensions of Foley's framework. The relevant responses are grouped into two areas: ideas from outside the movement and ideas from within the movement. This category overlaps with the previous two categories as learning came from Mäori and Päkehä in both of these contexts.

Ideas from outside the movement

Most respondents did not talk directly about being influenced by ideas from outside movement. They referred instead to experiences in other contexts that had led to their involvement in the movement. All participants except one came into the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement with experience from other social movements and/or the church. These movements were the anti-racism, peace, student, gay rights and feminist movements. Those involved in the church were influenced particularly by radical and liberation theology. Ideas from these movements continued to be influential once people had become involved in the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement, informing their approaches to the practice of working with Mäori.

> *Theory and existing ideas of practice, the formation around Catholic spirituality, humility was one of them. That meant shut up and listen so that was quite helpful. Also Catholic social teaching ideas around solidarity and some Freirean stuff was quite formative. (David – Generation Three).*

Most participants were active in more than one movement concurrently and were also influenced by exposure to ideas from related social movements and groups to which they did not belong.

> *I'm pre-Treaty movement because I'm in the anti-racism movement. That was where I got most of my learning. Ngä Tamatoa[25] started working on the Treaty. That was one of their first platforms. It didn't get through to people like me till about 1973. Not that I didn't know there was a Treaty but I had the usual ignorance. I had already been shaped by the Student Christian Movement especially what was happening internationally – that was the period when the SCMs amongst indigenous people were challenging the dominance of Europe. That influenced the shape of the world in my head. Then there was the Civil Rights movement, it was a strong influence of the Polynesian Panther Party and Ngä Tamatoa. That's where the first theorising came from. (Mitzi – Generation One)*

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[25] Ngä Tamatoa was a Mäori activist group which began in the early 1970s.

While some experiences in other movements positively influenced ideas of practice, other experiences provided examples that were not conducive to positive relationships with Mäori.

> *I was coming from the peace movement where there was antagonism; understandably, we used to have appalling meetings. We're still having this struggle to convince people in the peace movement that it's [Mäori independence] a peace issue. (Joan – Generation One)*

As well as other movements providing examples of practice that was detrimental, one participant also talked about his own ideas about Mäori that he needed to 'unlearn'[26]. When asked whether he was aware of issues for Mäori prior to going to a Treaty workshop, Richard responded,

> *I had been from a very patronising, colonial, Päkehä point of view of the situation, 'What can I do to help poor down trodden people?' rather than how could I influence Päkehä...So I came into the movement with a steep learning curve to get to where I am now. (Richard – Generation Three)*

One participant talked about how his existing ideas of practice aligned well with the practice of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement. For another participant experiences in other movements raised questions about the practices of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement. Talking about the Päkehä Treaty workers' movements' approach in the period from 1985-1990 she said,

> *I didn't get the message from the movement of accountability to Mäori generally. The focus was on activists...What happened for me in that time was an increasing awareness of lots of different messages and again a close reading of the Treaty said the Treaty doesn't say only Mäori activists have rangatiratanga so I started to have anxieties because I'd been involved with activists from the gay rights movement (at my university) in the States and what they wanted was diametrically opposed to what the majority of the gay community wanted but I hadn't known that until nearly too late in terms of some strategies. So I guess a lot of my other activist experiences informed my thinking. (Christine – Generation Two)*

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[26] Reeler (2001) defines unlearning as involving 'a conscious individual confrontation of the past with the future, involving paradigms or beliefs that come from the fully formed past at odds with those that come from a future, still in formation. The risk, the vulnerability of not having answers, of being in-between ideas, of acting in the face of the unknown, has to be faced as unlearning takes place' (p. 5).

Ideas within the movement

Tensions between ideas of practice also occurred within the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement. Participants discussed the conflict that arose when movement members tried to enforce a particular approach to practice and questioned the integrity of others who deviated from it. Tensions also arose when *arc*, a group of younger people within the movement, challenged the existing ideas of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement regarding identity[27]. However, these latter challenges and conflicts related to general movement practice rather than the specific practice of working with Mäori activists. Participants did not discuss their engagement with movement ideology or discourse about working with Mäori activists.

4.1.4. Other influences - Praxis

The other major influence discussed was the development of understandings of practice based on participants' own experiences. All talked about issues of confidence in their practice. Most participants discussed fear as an inhibiter of learning but many also reflected that over time confidence in their own practice grew. A participant in each of the generations talked about the process of moving from being a novice to a more competent practitioner.

> *My confidence after eight years is at a different place, I know the information to the point I'm confident so I can build from that now. I can use that as a foundation and it not the be all and end all which it was for a while. (Richard – Generation Three)*

This integration of learning and practice reflects the concept of 'praxis' popularised within adult education by Paulo Freire (1985). While this dimension is not highlighted in Foley's (1999) framework it emerged in this study as a significant influence on learning.

4.1.5. Broader societal influences

Foley advocates that learning in social movements needs to be understood within its broader political and economic context. When asked about broader societal influences on their understanding of the practice of working with Mäori activists, participants focused on how broader societal changes in the generated changes both in relationships with Mäori generally and within the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement. These changes impacted on learning in these contexts. Learning in other social movements and within the church, as discussed under existing

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[27] This and other tensions in practice are a dimension of movement dynamics which will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

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ideas of practice, could also be regarded as broader societal influences though participants did not categorise them in this way.

Social changes initiated largely through the efforts of the movements for Mäori self-determination have led to major changes in the position of Mäori within New Zealand society in the last 30 years (Harris, 2004; Huygens, 2007; Walker, 2004). As the following quotes illustrate, this has led to changes in how, where and who Päkehä Treaty workers learn from and what that learning is about.

> *The growing Mäori general movement made a huge difference particularly in the professions. In the early 1970s when we started doing workshops Mäori wouldn't caucus. They wouldn't identify as Mäori if they could help it because it was too dangerous. Through decolonisation the Mäori voice emerged, Mäori in professions became more confident. That meant Mäori to work with emerged in bigger numbers by the 1990s and there were more Mäori professional organisations. (Mitzi – Generation One)*

> *I probably related differently than say Mitzi does because of the generation I am. I'm working with a different generation of Mäori, with younger Mäori who have different experiences from their elders. My relationship is going to be different by the nature of who I am talking to. Sometimes I think there is more of a militant expectation of understanding in this generation because they are living their culture the way they want to. At the beginning of the movement, 30 years ago, the Mäori culture was coming out of a darkness where no language had been spoken and there would have been a different struggle. Whereas now we've got lots of young Mäori who are tertiary educated who are going back and leading in their hapü and working alongside them is quite different. (Richard – Generation Three)*

In addition to these changes in the status of Mäori in broader society there has also been an increase in the awareness of wider issues of racism, the impact of colonisation on Mäori, and the Treaty of Waitangi in the general Päkehä population. The members of Generation One discussed how there is a lot more interaction in general society between Mäori and Päkehä now than when they had begun the work. These changes in the broader context have impacted on the dynamics of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement.

Much learning from Mäori and other Päkehä was in the context of actions responding to issues in broader society. Each generation mentioned the Springbok Tour as an important historical moment; however, this and other broader societal events were not specifically mentioned as contributing to learning of *how* to work with Mäori. They provided the context for working with Mäori activists. The learning was from Mäori and other Päkehä who were involved in responding to these events.

4.1.6. Most significant influences

Participants were asked which of the influences on learning discussed were most significant in the early period of their involvement in the movement and whether there had been changes in influences over time. While all participants commented on the first aspect of this question, not all reflected on changes over time.

For Generation One the most important influences were learning from Mäori and from Päkehä peers within the movement. Generation Two participants were influenced most in the early period by existing ideas outside the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement and personal relationships with Mäori. The latter continues to be the strongest influence but is now more balanced with learning from Päkehä within the movement. Both discussed the importance of their increasing confidence in practice. Generation Three participants had the most varied responses. All three discussed the importance of members of the previous generations of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement. Existing theory, Päkehä peers in the movement, and Mäori in the Tino Rangatiratanga movement, church and work contexts were also influences. One participant from this generation mentioned increased confidence in his own practice and greater interaction with Mäori as the key changes that influenced his practice over time.

These findings show firstly that the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement was only one learning context and often it was not the most influential context. Secondly, the influence of the movement on practice changed over time. Generation One participants did not have existing movement practices to learn from as they were generating these with their peers. One Generation Two participant encountered struggles with movement practice, and for both participants greater learning came from outside the movement. For Generation Three, while tensions over practice continued, the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement was a greater influence on learning than it was for previous generations.

The findings reflect a relationship between the practice being discussed and the most significant influences on learning regarding that practice. Participants commented that with other Treaty work practices, such as education, the influence of Päkehä in the movement was stronger than it was in relation to this practice of working with Mäori. Though the degree of significance varied between generations, for all participants a key influence on the practice of how to work with Mäori activists was learning from Mäori in the context of actions undertaken to progress the aims of the Tino Rangatiratanga movement.

4.1.7. Interaction between influences

While I have presented these influences as distinct categories, in the interviews the interaction of influences was apparent as participants discussed multiple influences concurrently. Sometimes the influences complemented each other, for example when discussing strongest influences a Generation Three participant said,

> *What was the strongest of those? Two really, the theory that I came with and then the experience of having it reinforced by Päkehä Treaty workers. I wouldn't have hung around if what they were talking about was not connected to the theory I valued or contradicted it. (David – Generation Three)*

Another participant discussed the tensions she experienced between different influences, such as existing ideas of practice and members of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement, and between the influence of Mäori and Päkehä.

> *Somewhere in that period, 1986, I started working at MIT and that's when I started getting into deeper relationships with Mäori. So after a while, before 1990, if what Mäori colleagues were saying conflicted with Päkehä allies I took Mäori viewpoints more seriously. It wasn't very long before the influence of Päkehä allies diminished and the influence of Mäori colleagues increased. (Christine – Generation Two)*

Kaplan (2002), writing in the context of development practice advocates that it is necessary to 'read the whole rather than discrete parts of a complex social system' (pp. 118-119). Therefore while focusing on each category separately is useful for highlighting different influences on practice, it is also important to consider them collectively and to understand them as relational.

4.1.8. Usefulness of Foley's framework

Foley's (1999) framework was a useful basis for developing the questions to identify influences on the emerging and continuing learning of members of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement. Foley describes the framework as seeking 'to explain connections between three sets of variables: learning and education, local politics and ideologies, and broad social forces and changes' (p.3). This study showed an alignment between the practice participants were learning, how to work with Mäori activists, and the greatest influence on their learning, learning from Mäori.

> *I think most of the learning has come from being in the relationships [with Mäori], whether short term and specific or on-going. In some ways I'm happy to hear it because it fits with the model of where accountabilities are. (Christine – Generation Two)*

Huygens' (2007) research also supports this: 'The contemporary Treaty educator groups all volunteered theorising about the significance of the relationship between Päkehä and Mäori – Mäori as challengers and stimulators of change; as supportive of learning and practising new arrangements; and as changing concurrently' (p. 239).

My study also showed that broader social forces and changes did not consciously inform understandings of practice. This is not surprising as there is very little discourse in broader society about how to build constructive relationships between Mäori and Päkehä, based on the commitments made in the Treaty[28]. Huygens' (2007) research demonstrated how 'antiracism/Treaty workers created new social constructions of the Mäori Päkehä relationship' (p. 145) which she describes as 'counter-hegemonic' (p. 139). In her study 'Treaty educators agreed that: "The culture around us keeps making these different relationships [between Mäori and Päkehä] invisible, and it is very difficult getting recognition of it"' (p.200).

Although research participants did not articulate this, the relationship between broader societal forces, micro-politics and learning is important because the broader societal forces form the context that either provides or inhibits opportunities for learning at the micro-political level. For example, changes in broader society over time meant that members of the third generation of the movement had a greater range of ways and wider range of contexts in which they could learn about working with Mäori activists than the previous generations.

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[28] The work of the Community and Voluntary Sector Taskforce and the Treaty Resource Centre are notable exceptions to this.

The dynamics of relationships between Mäori and Päkehä working in movements for Mäori self-determination change as both respond to changes in the broader political context. In addition to comments made by research participants, this has been articulated by Tuiono (2007) in his discussion of the need for new models of working to respond to issues of neo-colonialism faced in the 2000s. 'The binary or bi-cultural model of organising Mäori activism is outdated and there are other ways of organising that still retain the independent and autonomous indigenous voice' (p. 126). Similarly, Network Waitangi (cited in Huygens, 2007) has described, 'the second wave of colonisation by international capital as a continuation of the processes of colonisation. They observed that in response, "alliances being forged between various sectors of the broader progressive movement, and between Päkehä and Mäori activists on the basis of a Tiriti analysis" were particularly germane to a critical approach to corporate globalisation: "we are aware of some Tauiwi reflecting and acting against the impact of global capitalism, who see implementing the Tiriti as the only hope for our future…" (p. 197). These quotes demonstrate how societal changes impact on the contexts and content of learning about practices of working with Mäori activists.

While the integration of influences is important, considering them separately highlighted issues specific to each. For instance, consideration of existing ideas of practice emphasised participants' involvement in multiple social movements. This reflects Wenger's concept of 'boundary practices – where people traverse different communities of practice and introduce elements of practice from one community to another' (Cooper, 2006, p. 28). Consideration of the micro-political dimension of learning from Mäori and Päkehä revealed complexities in how the movements are conceptualised and described. These are relevant both to learning and to the work of the movement in general[29].

Foley (1999) states that the 'framework is intended to contextualise learning and to help understand the complexity of learning in struggle' (p. 9). In this study considering the range of influences on learning was a generative way of examining the learning of individual movement members. It provided the overarching context to locate discussion of the sharing of this learning within the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement (the focus of Chapter Five) and in so doing enhanced the understanding of this dimension. Using the framework also brought to the surface many aspects of the complexity of learning that are discussed throughout these findings chapters.

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[29] This will be discussed in more depth in Chapter Five.

Modifications to the framework

In Chapter Two I noted that my reading of Foley's work allowed me to regard it as a framework in development and open to adaptation for use in different contexts. I identified a limitation of the framework for my study in that it was based on learning for members of the marginalised group. However I was able to adapt it to be relevant to understanding the learning of allies to the marginalised group. Key to this was modifying the language of certain categories, for example using existing ideas of practice rather than ideological struggles. Also important was specifying aspects of the micro-political dimension, that is, learning from Māori and learning from Pākehā. My understanding of the Pākehā Treaty workers' movement allowed me to find ways of changing the language so that it was more relevant and accessible to the research participants. It allowed the framework to be more accessible by modifying the language to understand the learning of allies. It also enabled its use as a participatory tool for people engaged in social movements to understand their own learning. Another important modification was including the category of other influences as this gave rise to factors that did not fit within the pre-determined categories.

Modified to the context of this study, Foley's framework enabled valuable insights into learning for members of the Pākehā Treaty workers' movement. In addition during the research interviews and workshop a number of issues related to the nature of learning came to the fore.

4.2. The nature of learning in social movements

The discussion of learning in the interviews confirmed two key characteristics described by Foley (1999, 2001) and others (Cooper, 2006; Crowther, 2006a, 2006b; Hall, 2008; Hall & Turay, 2006; McGivney, 2006), which contribute to our understanding of the nature of learning in social movements: namely that learning in social movements is embedded in action and is complex. Another contribution to our understanding of learning in social movements that emerged is the role of praxis in movement members' learning.

4.2.1. Learning is embedded in action

For participants in this study learning was primarily informal and experiential. Learning happened in a range of ways, from direct instruction to listening and osmosis, and occurred primarily in the context of reflection on action within the Pākehā Treaty workers' movement and elsewhere. McGivney (2006) discusses one of the difficulties of researching informal learning as being that 'learning is often not the primary motive for engaging in activity; the motive is the

activity itself' (p. 13). This applies to social movements where learning happens in the context of action.

> *I think of conversations in arc about power and relationships being held by people rather than the group and they weren't conversations for learning's sake but there was learning in them. (Abigael – Generation Three)*

> *I think we've learnt more about supporting and supervising one another. I learnt supervision from Tanya Cumberland when she asked me to be her supervisor and I said what's a supervisor?! (laughter). I think just being there when people are thinking out loud and talking through a problem, you can't help learning a lot. (Mitzi – Generation One)*

Often the learning that happens in action is unintentional and incidental as the following quote illustrates,

> *The first year [at university] I went to the Mäori Club and Mäori Society. In the second year I arrived at a Mäori Society meeting during a discussion of whether Päkehä should come. I said I didn't want people to be embarrassed and I left and I didn't go after that. It was clarifying about there being places to belong but there are places where it's not appropriate to be. All of that is part of that learning process. (Susan – Generation Two)*

Because learning is unintentional and incidental it is may not be regarded as learning (Foley, 1999; McGivney, 2006). McGivney highlights the issues of the term learning being more closely associated with the formal education system than with informal everyday learning. She sees a major issue in researching informal learning as being 'the narrow conception many of us have of 'learning'; and an associated lack of awareness of much of the learning we actually do' (p. 14). While participants in this study identified a range of formal and informal learning experiences, comments by two participants indicated that there may have been further examples that they did not articulate because they did not regard them as learning.

> *So there's things going back and forward but I don't think the learning is intentional. I think in any movement that generational learning happens up and down because the people attracted to movements of social change are open to ideas. Well, some aren't. (laughter from all). I've seen in the movement from what is discussed that it is a two way street and when I said I didn't have anything to offer, this [the research question] comes across as being formal learning; there's little formal learning. Lots of informal sharing*

of skills and ideas and thoughts which works both ways and has to for any movement to
survive and be invigorated. (Richard – Generation Three)

As it is embedded in action and not clearly defined, learning can be difficult to identify and describe. It is also difficult to specify learning about a particular practice in isolation because in context practices overlap and are concurrent. Participants explained their learning through stories of their experiences. In these stories practice, learning and action were intertwined.

The process of learning has been so organic as opposed to formal, that I find this all
quite difficult to put it into words. It's not even as simple as one thing led to another.
(Mitzi – Generation One)

Things were happening at the same time. (Joan – Generation One)

Hall (2008) suggests the 'most expansive and least acknowledged learning is that which happens informally simply by being part of a movement trying to make sense out of what is being said and done' (p. 19).

It was learning from Māori and each other. Trying to work out what the words mean,
what silences mean, what what you did meant. (Mitzi – Generation One)

4.2.2. Learning is complex

As these findings show, learning in social movements is complex because it is informal, contextual, organic, non-sequential and is often difficult to define. The discussion of the existing ideas of practice and the interaction of influences indicated how complex it was for participants to negotiate tensions between conflicting ideas from within and outside the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement.

In addition to these factors, another example of complexity of learning which a number of participants talked about was the learning that came from observing or experiencing behaviour that they did not want to replicate. This can simply be described as learning what not to do. When discussing the lack of elders for Generation One, Mitzi commented that,

When you think of the people who might have been seen as leaders because they had
closer relationships with Māori, say Sir Norman Perry or Jim Ritchie, there are all sorts
of question marks over how they operated. I don't deny them as pioneering leaders but I
also think they were carrying their colonial identity, white male identity for a long time

in many ways. So while they were leaders in some ways in other ways they were also showing me how do something I didn't particularly want to do. Their assumptions were ones I questioned, that I didn't share. So we learnt more from our peers than our elders. (Mitzi, Generation One).

Participants also talked about being told what not to do by Mäori and other Päkehä movement members who instructed them to correct their behaviour.

Finally, this study showed that learning may be complex because the practice that is being learned is in itself complex. The practice of working with Mäori activists is an example of this. One aspect of this complexity is that the learning is about relationships and is primarily happening in the context of relationships. These relationships are dynamic so the practice being learnt is not fixed.

It's the first time I think I'm working alongside Mäori in a shared way. Knowing how to do that is an on-going learning curve, everyone is different, different Mäori react in different ways to different things. (Richard – Generation Three)

This complexity applies to learning with regard to all relationship-based work, such as the work of development practitioners, and its implications will be discussed further in following chapters.

4.2.3. Praxis

Dickie (1999) has commented that because of the informal nature of learning in social movements it may not be integrated into on-going action. While this might be true of collective movement learning, for individuals in this study integrating learning into practice was an on-going process which Freire (1970) named as praxis. Praxis in Freire's view, 'is a synthesis of theory and practice in which each informs the other; a common paraphrasing of his work in this area is that 'action without reflection is blind, reflection without action is impotent'' (Treaty Resource Centre, 2008a, p. 1).

Praxis is commonly represented simply as a linear spiral as shown in Figure Five.

A = acting; L = learning; R = reflecting
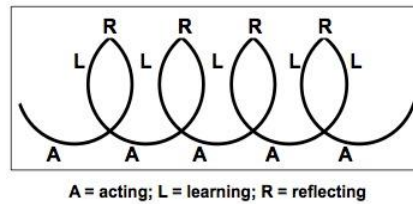
Figure 5: Action reflection model
Source: (Treaty Resource Centre, 2008a, p. 1)

Research participants suggested that this model does not capture a deepening of learning or the related progression in the actions taken to generate social change. They experienced a development in their ideas and related actions over time and described this as a growing confidence in their own practice. Figure Six depicts this.

A = acting; L = learning; R = reflecting
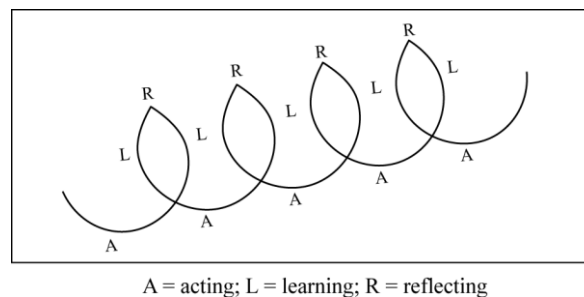
Figure 6: Action reflection model demonstrating progression

Participants felt that they shifted over time from a reliance on existing ideas of practice to their own understandings. As Christine explains,

> *I relied most on my existing ideas about practice from political work in the States. I wouldn't say it's less influential now; I've just woven it into my practice so don't think about it as often. I'm interested in a model that suggests when you start something new you have to rely on the rules as you've got nothing else to rely on. Over time, as you get more experience, you rely less and less on the rules and have more confidence in your own judgements about things and eventually you forget the rules and feel confident what you're doing is right. It can be called intuition, I call it unarticulated knowledge. (Christine – Generation Three)*

The following diagram reflects the model suggested by Christine.

reliance on rules

reliance on personal
professional knowledge

*new
practitioner*   time →   *experienced
practitioner*
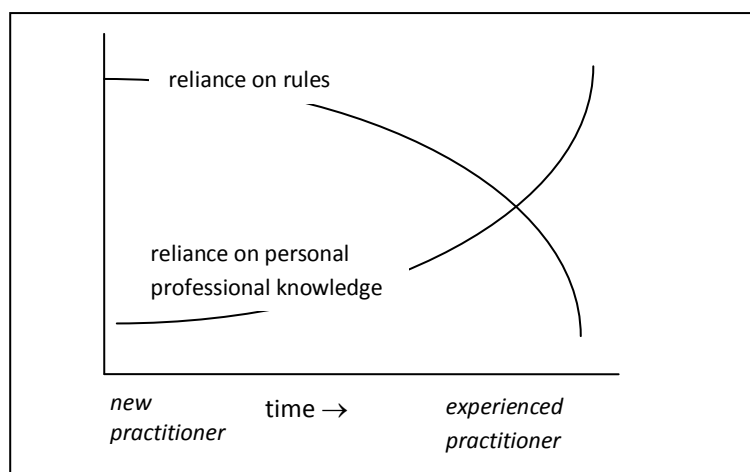
Figure 7: New to experienced practitioner
Source: (Treaty Resource Centre, 2008a, p. 2)

This articulation of the learning process provides a useful contribution to understanding the emerging and continuing learning for members of social movements. Participants also talked about the inter-play between personal confidence and their relationship with the broader movement which will be explored further in the next chapter.

4.3. Summary

Using categories based on Foley's (1999) framework, I have shown that while there are a range of different influences on learning by movement members, there is a correlation between the practice being learnt (working with Māori activists) and the most significant influence on that learning (Māori). In this discussion I have also shown some of the distinctions between experiences of the different generations of the movement with regard to influences on learning. Foley's framework, when modified to the context of the social movement being studied, can provide useful insights to understanding learning in a social movement.

This study supports concepts put forward by Foley and others regarding the nature of learning in social movements; specifically that learning is embedded in action and is complex. It has also highlighted an aspect not addressed by Foley's framework: the importance of praxis to social movement members' learning.

Having gained a deeper understanding of movement members learning about the practice of working with Māori activists I will now consider the sharing of learning about this practice within the movement.

Chapter 5. Sharing of learning within the movement

Having established that individual movement members had multiple influences on their learning about the practice of working with Mäori activists, the focus will now shift to consider the sharing of learning within the movement. Motivated by my experiences of the tensions that arose when movement members had different approaches to the practice of working with Mäori activists, I wanted to explore how understandings of this practice were shared within the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement. The interviews revealed that although participants share their learning within the movement with regard to some practices, there is relatively little sharing about this specific practice. Discussion highlighted issues inhibiting general sharing. It also highlighted the reasons why, despite its importance to the work of the movement, there is limited sharing regarding the practice of working with Mäori activists. In this chapter I explore the micro and macro-politics which impact on the sharing of learning about all movement practices before considering why, compared with other movement practices, there is little sharing about the particular practice of working with Mäori activists.

As discussed in Chapter Two, there was an absence in the literature of theoretical frameworks that specifically address the sharing of learning within social movements. Foley's focus, like much of the literature regarding learning in social movements, is on how people learn as they struggle with oppositional forces outside their movement. However, his framework can also provide insight into sharing within movements. The Päkehä Treaty workers' movement can be equated with the micro-political dimension of Foley's framework and can be situated within the macro-political[30] context of broader New Zealand society. This enables a deeper understanding of the influences on sharing within the movement. Throughout this chapter I enhance my analysis by drawing on relevant insights from social movement theorists and development practitioners.

5.1. Micro-politics – movement dynamics

Participants identified dynamics within the movement as having a major influence on the sharing of learning. Here I consider the impacts of conflict, movement members' self-perceptions and generational positioning. To contextualise this discussion I begin by briefly outlining the ways in which sharing happens within the movement.

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[30] As mentioned in Chapter Two, I have focussed on socio-historical factors in the macro-political dimension in contrast with Foley who focuses particularly on economic factors.

5.1.1. Approaches to sharing learning

Learning is shared in a range of ways within the movement. A common approach has been for newcomers to the movement to be mentored into the work by more experienced movement members.

> *In the Programme on Racism I could invite people to work with me or had volunteers or students on placement. I'd take them along with me and give a commentary and answer questions on what I was doing or why. You pass on a lot of stuff that way. (Mitzi - Generation One)*

> *It was similar in Project Waitangi. We took the less experienced along as an assistant. (Joan - Generation One)*

National Treaty workers' gatherings, held annually or biennially, and monthly meetings of the Auckland group Tāmaki Treaty Workers are important spaces for sharing learning. Members of Generation Three also had the opportunity to participate in more formal learning through a tertiary education course for Treaty educators established by a Generation Two movement member.

While there are opportunities for people to learn and share collectively about movement practice, much sharing of learning is through one-to-one conversations between movement members, as the following quote illustrates.

> *There probably isn't a time that I've had a conversation with Christine over the last 8 years that hasn't had something around theory or practice. When we meet for whatever reason there's an ongoing interaction of "What have you been up to? What have you learnt?" Relationships with Māori have been part of it, who we listen to, which Māori voices... It's often about, "How do we support? Who do we listen to? How we support the kaupapa [philosophy] of tino rangatiratanga?" All you have to do is ask Joan "What have you been up to lately?" and often you've got a discourse on supporting Māori. (David – Generation Three)*

Sharing happens in the course of daily interactions between movement members. Participants commented that sharing of learning is often unintentional as people also learn through observing other movement members' practice or from listening to their experiences.

Joan has done a lot of the transmission into the third generation and Christine is the other one who has done a lot... Joan has never set out to teach it, she goes into places and makes alliances and it's part of working out 'how are we going to deal with this?' (Mitzi - Generation One)

There is a huge amount of informal sharing and osmosis. Whether it be Treaty Conference 2000 or annual gatherings or just getting together and saying 'How are you going?', saying 'I didn't have a good experience with this'. You're not intending to teach anybody but in sharing your experience, and sometimes we're in spaces where we're willing to hear each other's experience and sometimes we're not, but when we're willing to hear it there's a sharing of learning in hearing the experience. (David – Generation Three)

David's comment that there needs to be openness to hearing each others' experience in order for learning to occur suggests the centrality of relationships to learning within the movement. Whether sharing of learning is formal or informal, intended or not, all of the approaches outlined above require positive relationships between movement members in order for sharing to be optimised.

5.1.2. Interpersonal relationships

Conflict

Reeler's (2005) discussion of healthy relationships as a prerequisite for development is relevant to considering the impact of interpersonal relationships on sharing of learning within the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement.

> In healthy and free personal and interpersonal relationships people are empowered by their own and each other's humanity and are able to learn together, cooperate and provide for their needs to a much greater degree, developing willing and mutual responsibility – even to tackle outer restrictions or oppressive relationships. (p.6)

This study highlighted the major impact of the health of relationships within the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement on movement members' willingness to share and learn together. There was discussion in all the interviews of how conflict within the movement inhibited participation. It was apparent that although the movement has an external focus on social justice, movement

members do not always act justly towards each other. This is powerfully illustrated by the following quote which refers to experiences in the late 1980s:

> *I was twice hauled up, and this wasn't the language that was used, but it was a court basically and I was tried for 'improper behaviour'. There were three people on a panel. I thought I was going to a meeting but there were three people at a desk and I was on a chair at the front of the desk. The crime was breaking a rule of doing a workshop with a group that someone else had done a workshop with. I was judged guilty. It was another time I left the movement. That experience was very conducive to learning but it wasn't conducive to me thinking this was a community where I could go to get support and learn how to do it better ... Looking at who's still around from the generations I know huge numbers of people from my generation have gone because of those practices. I knew many people who were devastated by it. So there's the learning of how not to do it. (Christine – Generation Two)*

In this instance, members who had a controlling influence in the movement had a fixed approach to Päkehä Treaty work to which they expected other movement members to adhere. Movement members who knew the rules and did not follow them were reprimanded[31]. This alienated many people from the movement and though, as Christine says, it led to significant learning for individual movement members it did not promote sharing of learning within the movement.

Members of Generation Two who had experienced many different conflicts were proactive in trying to ensure Generation Three did not have the same negative experiences that they had had. However as the following comment shows, the remnants of the history of destructive relationships still had an impact:

> *I had a sense there was a history but I didn't know what it was. Conflicts that were alluded to but not actually knowing the stories and sometimes not wanting to know them because I'd fear they'd be a barrier to being there [in the movement]. (Abigael – Generation Three)*

There were also recent experiences of destructive behaviour within the movement. Speaking of his experience in 1999 as part of the Treaty Conference organising committee David commented,

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[31] The reasons for this particular approach to sharing learning being used will be discussed further below when the movement is considered in the context of broader Päkehä society.

The behaviour at times was destructive. I was there because I had another resource, another set of energisers that kept me there even amidst the mess. I think if you really want to be a movement that is on-going you need to be more conscious of behaviours and to challenge behaviours so when you come together it becomes a thing where the movement is uplifted and built and the passion is fired up again. (David – Generation Three)

This is consistent with the comments of other participants. While there has been a great deal of improvement in relationships there are still many tensions in how movement members relate to each other. Participants reflected that Treaty work entails critiquing broader Päkehä society and that this critique is often carried into interaction between movement members[32]. Because this critique is generally not balanced with affirmation the movement is regarded as not being a supportive learning environment.

Foley (2001) discusses the painful learning that can happen during struggles within movements and states that, 'Such struggles have the potential to be destructive and debilitating. But they can also lead to decisive, liberating action, which itself is full of learning for the people involved' (pp. 77-78). The experiences of members of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement in this study showed that there was powerful learning for individuals involved in the struggles within the movement. However, overall, these struggles were more debilitating than enabling in terms of enhancing learning as a movement.

Self-perceptions

As well as highlighting detrimental interpersonal relationships, participant comments also suggested that the way movement members felt about themselves had an impact on how they interacted with others.

The first time I had a disagreement with someone in the movement I walked away feeling both elated that I'd had the balls to stand up to them and terrified that I'd spoken to someone like that, that I'd challenged them. It's not just them and their experience but how you feel about yourself in any relationship, where you put yourself. As that changes your position changes. (Richard – Generation Three)

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[32] These reflections were instigated by a comment made about movement dynamics by a movement member at a Treaty Educators Gathering in 2008.

People's confidence and their perception of competence in their own practice affected their willingness to share with others in the movement. Many participants talked about their lack of confidence in relation to practice, experiencing fear, and not knowing what to do. All the participants from Generation Three expressed their lack of confidence as a newcomer to the movement. However, uncertainty over practice was not just an issue for newcomers. Participants were surprised in the workshop when Mitzi, who has been a leader in the movement since its inception, said,

> *Somebody made the point that you had to be up front way before you thought you were ready. Well I still feel that. It wasn't it until about the mid 1990s that I began to feel at all secure in my knowledge and in my competence. So I probably had about five years of feeling on top of the stuff before I was forcibly retired and up until then I was boxing on in a panic really. (Mitzi – Generation One)*

Although, as discussed previously, participants experienced a growing confidence in their practice over time this was a relative concept and uncertainty about competence was an enduring aspect of many participants' experience. CDRA's (2007) observations in relation to development practice are pertinent to the impact of this on the sharing of learning.

> No one really knows what they are doing, yet the stakes are too high to admit to anyone else, or even to yourself. So practitioners come to actively perpetuate the already established set-up of keeping practice out of the organisation, in order that their own bewilderment remains unmasked. (p. 96)

People were inhibited in sharing by their perceptions of their own competence in relation to that of others in the movement. This is illustrated in the following observation of themes emerging from the three research interviews,

> *Another pattern I saw is the pattern of being in awe of people, or afraid of people, or seeing certain people as having it all and we're not very adequate. Quite a number of us shared that in different ways ... For me it's more reflecting that it's because I'm carrying that fear of not measuring up. It's my difficulty of not having something to offer unless you're really expert at it. (Susan – Generation Two)*

As Susan observes, many participants spoke of being in awe of other people in the movement. Some also described how this inhibited them sharing their learning. Generally this manifested itself in non-participation in forums that required sharing or refraining from challenging ideas

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that they did not agree with. Explaining why he had not participated in the Treaty Resource Centre Advisory Group Richard said,

> *My reason for that was not feeling adequate. That comes back to looking at the people who'd gone before and thinking 'How can I ever be at that level? What have I got to contribute?' I don't think it's got to do with the movement, it's my own perception. No one's made me feel that in a negative way. It's just looking in awe at people's histories. (Richard – Generation Three).*

This is an example of how awareness of generational positioning affected the sharing of learning.

Generational positioning

Because of my interest in intergenerational learning, I asked participants to reflect on the extent to which their understanding of their generational positioning influenced their learning and sharing in the movement. Participants indicated that the generational notion did not come to the fore in the movement until it was raised by Generation Three people, particularly members of *arc*. The idea that there were three generations within the movement had not been clear to most participants[33].

> *I have been conscious of there being people who have been in the struggle much longer and there are some matriarchs in the movement but I wouldn't have named one, two, three as generations. (David – Generation Three).*

While they reflected on generational experiences, Generation One participants did not specifically discuss the impact of this concept. Members of Generation Two had not had a strong awareness of the concept but had consciously modified their practices in response to the arrival of Generation Three. Generation Three participants had a much stronger awareness of their identity in relation to previous generations.   Though they had all been in the movement for eight years they still referred to themselves as newcomers or 'newbees' in relation to their elders[34].

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[33] Some participants also talked about the fourth generation comprised of those who have entered the movement since the mid-2000s.

[34] While this notion was articulated by all three participants from this generation it was expressed more strongly by the two younger members.

As far as sharing learning I don't think I felt like I had anything to offer with others in the movement because I'm a newbee and I still consider myself to be a newbee. (Richard – Generation Three)

I remember the first time we went to Waitangi as arc we made a point of inviting people to be in that elder role. There were conscious decisions and efforts made there in light of 'We're the newbees in this work'. (Abigael – Generation Three)

Generation Three participants expressed respect and awe for the experiences of previous generations while at the same time recognising the inhibitions that this created.

I remember... recognising that our elders might not all be on the same page. So how do you temper those influences? What do you take on board and not? Often in those relationships because you are working with esteemed elders who have so much knowledge and experience you might not question it. (Abigael – Generation Three)

While Generation Three participants had a strong sense of being newcomers and recognised the potential limitations of this awareness, they also had a nuanced understanding of the interaction between the generations and were conscious of the contributions of each generation to the sharing of learning.

I've done lots of learning but have I shared it? In the movement we're in surely the people who are teachers are learning all the time, so by participating in learning processes hopefully the people who are facilitating your learning are also learning from you. People of our generation enrich and change those conversations by our presence. (Abigael – Generation Three)

There was always the awareness that some people had been in the movement for decades and some of us were newer but there was a variety of ways that people were doing the work. In some ways it became a more level playing field over the years because we contributed different things at different levels. (David – Generation Three)

Members of Generation Three are expressing an understanding that learning is an on-going process for all movement members regardless of their length of involvement. Alpizar and Wilson (2005) describe this process as a renegotiation of power relations which entails the need to recognise 'that at different moments, we will either give or receive inspiration/wisdom/ideas

and momentum from other members of the movement (and this is not based on any age-defined principles)' (p. 231).

This highlights ambiguity and complexity as Generation Three members hold these views concurrently with the perspective of themselves as 'newbees'. This ambiguity may reflect the interplay of awareness of generational positioning with other aspects of movement dynamics. Because of this interplay it was difficult to determine the extent to which awareness of generational positioning inhibits sharing of learning. It may be that addressing other aspects which inhibit learning in the movement, for example being in awe of others and feeling inadequate in one's own practice, or the notion that there is a one 'right' approach to the work, would diminish inhibitions attributed to generational positioning.

5.2. The interplay of macro and micro dimensions

The macro-political context in which the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement is located also requires exploration. My intention is to add another dimension to understanding the complex influences on the sharing of learning in this movement. This is not intended to be a comprehensive discussion of macro-political impacts on the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement; the focus is on the aspects that research participants identified as influencing the sharing of learning within the movement. Each aspect is worthy of deeper exploration in future research. It is also important to note that while these aspects are examined separately, they interact with each other rather than operate in isolation.

Conceptualising movements

In defining the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement I drew on movement discourse that describes separate movements of Mäori and Päkehä working alongside each other to achieve the goal of tino rangatiratanga. This generates a notion of two clearly defined groups pursuing a common political agenda of tino rangatiratanga. These act separately but in relationship with each other, as shown in Figure Eight.
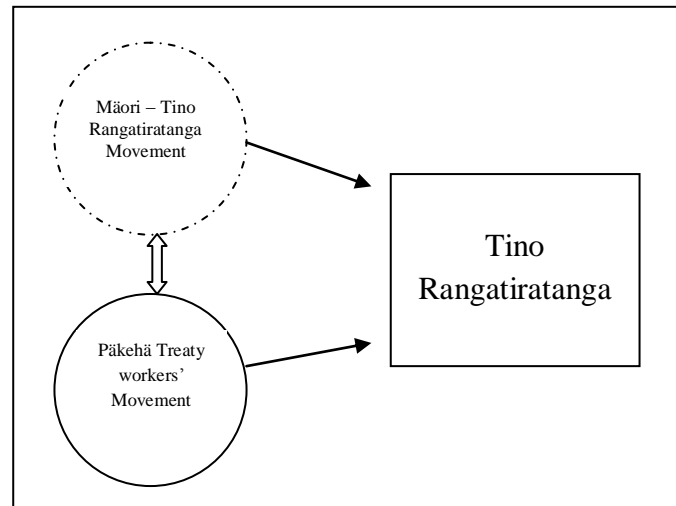
Figure 8: Separate movements working towards a common goal

In this diagram the boundaries of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement are more clearly defined than those of the Tino Rangatiratanga movement. This reflects the reality of the movements' positions within the context of a broader New Zealand society. The majority of Päkehä do not support tino rangatiratanga; Huygens (2007) rightly argues that Päkehä Treaty workers are acting counter-hegemonically within this society. Consequently Päkehä who undertake Treaty work are likely to be considered by people external to the movement as part of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement regardless of whether they identify as such. They form a distinct group in relation to broader Päkehä society.

In contrast, the boundary between Mäori within the movement and the rest of Mäori society is not as clearly defined. What constitutes working for tino rangatiratanga and consequently who is undertaking action can be broadly defined. While not all Mäori support the specific approach of the Tino Rangatiratanga movement, that movement's aspirations have comparably greater support within the broader Mäori population. The Päkehä movement does not enjoy the same level of support within broader Päkehä society.

Figure Eight portrays an image of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement as a unified entity in relation to society generally. As a portrayal of the relationship between the Päkehä Treaty workers' and Tino Rangatiratanga movements this model can be easily understood and is a useful means of explaining the movement to people who are on the outside. However, as Escobar and Alvarez (1992) argue, social movements only appear as uniform objects from an external perspective; from the inside they are more diverse and fragmented. My research findings indicate that the composition of the movements is more complex than shown in Figure Eight. Figure Nine is an attempt to portray this more complex picture.
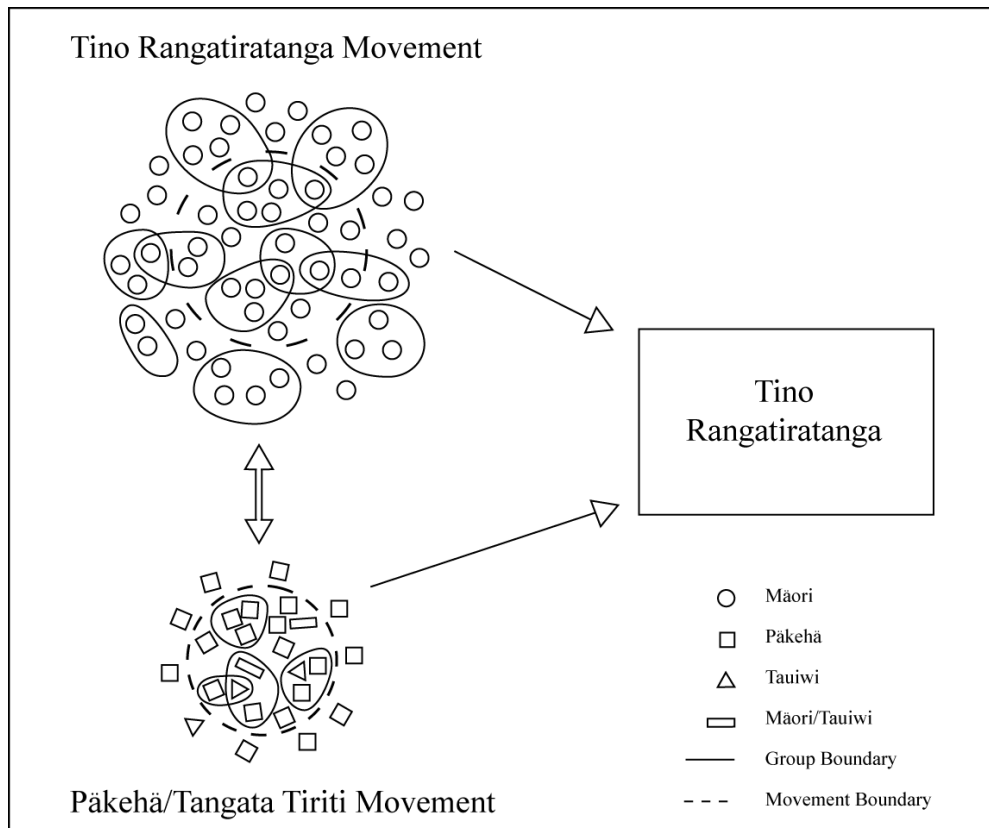
Figure 9: Diverse and complex movements[35]

As shown, the Päkehä movement is made up of individuals, some of whom are members of one or more groups which are part of the movement. These include Network Waitangi, Tämaki Treaty Workers and *arc*. In my definition, the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement is a core of people who actively participate in local and/or national groups and gatherings. Beyond this core there are Päkehä who may not identify themselves or be identified by others as part of the movement but they actively support the movement's aspirations. These include academics writing on Treaty issues, lawyers working for Mäori groups, cultural safety educators, and those providing leadership in applying the Treaty within organisations or other groups.

Boström (2004) states in his discussion of collective identities in the Swedish environmental movement, that 'a social movement expresses multiple identities, internal differentiation and tensions. A specific movement consists of many actors which all express their own subjective meanings of belonging to the movement' (pp. 74-75). It emerged that participants had different understandings of what constitutes the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement.

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[35] Note that the numbers involved in each movement are much larger than those shown here.

In the broad sense of the movement for example in workshops we are giving advice all the time about relating with Mäori. (Susan – Generation Two)

I agree, but it's the people who are in the context of workplaces trying to implement, those are the ones you're sharing with.   I have a sense of the 'movement' as being those people who are consciously in it as opposed to the social movement of all those engaged with the Treaty. (Christine – Generation Two)

Christine's definition of the movement aligns with the one chosen for this study, while Susan has a broader definition which includes people who could be described as supportive of the Treaty but do not participate in Treaty workers' gatherings and events. While, amongst those I have defined as being in it, there is general agreement that there is a movement, the boundaries of the movement are not often discussed and not clearly defined. There is a disjuncture between the notion of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement as a clearly defined entity in the macro context, as shown in Figure Eight, and the diverse understandings of movement members at the micro level. Clearly this impacts on the sharing of learning because it is difficult to define what constitutes sharing within the movement when there is not a common understanding of what the movement is.

Increasing acceptance of Treaty work within broader society

In the discussion of conflict within the movement Päkehä society's responses to Päkehä Treaty work were identified as having a significant impact on approaches to sharing learning. Participants commented that in the early days of the movement broader Päkehä society was hostile to the Treaty and by association to the work of Päkehä Treaty workers. Some members of the movement responded with an explicit ideology that they expected all movement members to follow.

Fine's (2002) description of the struggles over ideology aptly describes the experience in the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement.

> As social movements are voluntaristic organizations, many participants have elected to join because of a general, if imperfect, agreement with the goals, perspectives, or ideology of the group… Many groups have only an inchoate set of beliefs, whereas groups that have a more explicit ideology that members take seriously often find themselves torn asunder because of differing views; divisions over ideology may take the place of battles with those outside of the formal boundaries of the group. (p. 239)

Participants discussed how the ways in which dominant ideology about Päkehä Treaty work was conveyed and enforced not only inhibited learning but led many people to temporarily, and sometimes permanently, distance themselves from the movement.

> *There was a strong apprenticeship model and what we'd today call conventional professional development training. The reason I don't focus on that being so influential is because it was teaching but it wasn't learning. It was knowledge transmission. 'This is how we do it'. What was missing for me was any opportunity to say "I don't think this works". It was discouraged to question. There was a sense of stay on the tried and true path, 'we don't want to hear about any more problems, we've got enough problems as it is'. So it didn't feel like learning. That is what would cause me to hive off to other relationships to try to take it further. Sometimes I'd come back with an idea but most people weren't very interested in new ideas. (Christine – Generation Two)*

The expectation that movement members would act in the same way and would not question that way, closed off opportunities for learning as a movement.

Participants noted that, as the broader Päkehä society has become less hostile to the Treaty over time, there has been a growing acceptance within the movement of a variety of approaches to the work.

> *I remember the early days when it was us against the world. There was lots of anxiety. Now there's more acceptance in society you don't have to be so defensive as a Treaty educator, so black and white, you can talk about more complex issues. It used to be we felt threatened and took that out on others, everyone else was the enemy. I think societal change has allowed us to be more of a movement. (Christine – Generation Two)*

As broader Päkehä society has become more accepting of Päkehä Treaty workers there has been a greater openness within the movement to a diversity of approaches to the work. People are more open to sharing their learning within the movement as there is no longer the sense that there is only one right way. Accepting a diversity of approaches has allowed for contributions from a broader range of movement members. In these ways, as Christine says, societal change has allowed Päkehä Treaty workers to be more of a movement.

Melucci's (1988) work on the construction of collective identity in social movements is relevant to this discussion. Melucci argues that the construction of collective identity is an interactive and shared process '... constructed and negotiated through a repeated activation of the

relationships that link individuals' (p. 342). When a fixed approach was expected within the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement there was little interaction and sharing in generating it. Rather, it was created and imposed by a few people. Eventually however, an acceptance of a diversity of approaches to the work allowed for increased interaction and a strengthening of relationships among members.

Päkehä individualism

Another dimension of the macro-political context with an impact on the sharing of learning is the emphasis in Päkehä culture on acting individually rather than collectively. This contrasts with the emphasis in Mäori culture on the collective[36]. The issue of Päkehä individualism being a challenge to working collectively and in relationship with Mäori came to the fore in Huygens' (2007) research. 'In early challenges from Mäori activists, Päkehä were told how difficult and destructive their individualism was when working in coalition' (p. 132).

> *I think one of the themes that runs through all three [interviews] in different ways is the need for cultural change around individualism versus group identity... One of the reasons the learning doesn't work is that our group commitments don't work strongly enough for them to be identity places in that sense. If you don't have a group base for learning it's not going to gel well for Mäori who have such a strong group identity. (Mitzi – Generation One)*

As this illustrates, the Päkehä cultural disposition of individualism inhibits Päkehä Treaty workers sharing learning collectively at the micro-level because people's inclination is to act and to learn individually. This individual approach also creates tensions when working with Mäori activists who want to relate to Päkehä Treaty workers as a collective rather than individuals. Huygens discusses the awareness within the Päkehä Treaty workers' community of the importance of learning to work collectively. Her research demonstrates that Päkehä Treaty workers have consciously focused on working collectively. Comments by some participants in my study suggest that there is a need for an on-going focus on addressing the Päkehä cultural tendency to individualism in order to enhance both learning within the movement and relationships with Mäori activists.

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[36] I am aware in presenting this issue so briefly and simply it may appear essentialist. This discussion does not aim to capture the complexity of cultural dispositions but rather to introduce this issue for consideration in light of the impacts on learning in the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement.

The gendered nature of the movement

Another aspect of the macro-political context that came to the fore in this study is the gendered nature of the movement. The two men involved in this study were both part of Generation Three. While there are more men in Generation Three than in earlier generations women still outnumber men. Women lead the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement. The lack of men in the movement was regarded by participants as a response to experiences outside the movement. It was also attributed to the fact that men had more opportunities in workplaces to act in relation to the Treaty.

> *It's one of the historical quirks that Päkehä women came into the movement having been absolutely pissed off with the anti-apartheid movement and peace movement and everything else that was full of male games and processes. The positive and the negative was that the women weren't going to put up with that crap again so that any men who were going to stay in the anti-racism movement had to accommodate and adapt. (Mitzi – Generation One)*

> *I think the men in that generation got caught as well. The men who we'd want to be there ... didn't want to dominate. Their awareness of the gender issues kept them away. (Christine – Generation Two)*

Feminist politics[37] affected the movement. Many members of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement are also active in feminist movements. As the quote suggests, understandings from feminism have impacted on *whether* men engage with the movement. Comments from the men in this study also showed that their understanding of gender relations influenced *how* they engaged in the movement. The male participants in this study referred to some of the tensions they experienced as part of a movement of women they described as 'strong' and 'formidable'. They reflected that these perceptions and their understanding of gender dynamics at times inhibited them from sharing or led to them tempering how they would share within the movement.

Ethnic identities and movement identities

In Figure Nine, Päkehä and Tangata Tiriti are both used to reflect the changing identity of the movement over time. The diagram incorporates Tauiwi and people of mixed Mäori/Tauiwi ancestry who identify with the Tangata Tiriti movement. Each of these groups is diverse and

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[37] I am aware that this is a generic reference to a complex, diverse field.

neither is recognised in the Figure Eight depiction of Tino Rangatiratanga and Päkehä Treaty workers' movements. Though diversity has always existed to an extent within the movement, this has only recently been reflected in the discourse. The change in naming is partially a result of struggles over discourse within the movement. It also reflects increasing movement diversity as a result of a growing interest from a range of Tauiwi communities participating in Treaty work. This in turn reflects increasing ethnic diversity within Aotearoa/New Zealand. These changes have implications for the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement.

> *Early on it was clear cut, 'Work with the dominant culture, that's where you're from' and as the arc roopu [group] developed and grew it was 'Hang on a minute we're not all Päkehä. We have different identities'. There were big challenges of how we identify ourselves and how we fit in this movement, particularly how we work in the Päkehä Treaty workers' context. Those conversations, challenges and conflicts influenced [learning]. (Abigael – Generation Three)*

As this quote illustrates, people within *arc* were not comfortable working within a movement that was named as Päkehä as this naming excluded aspects of their identity. The implications for sharing of learning are that if people feel excluded by the naming of the movement they may be uncomfortable participating in the movement; therefore potential contributions to sharing are limited. While this research project has brought this micro-political aspect to the surface, further research needs to be conducted with members of the movement who are not of Päkehä ancestry.

Activism in a neo-liberal environment

In the Generation Three interview, Richard felt he did not have a lot to share within the movement as he had not been active during what he regarded as the heyday of political protest, the 1960s and 1970s. He also suggested that the neo-liberal economic policy reforms of the 1980s have resulted in fewer people who were in their late teens and twenties in the 1980s being involved in activism than were in previous generations.

> *The people of the first and second generation, listening to them talk, the experiences they have had and the time, the 60s and 70s, all that great time of protest. It seems that people of my generation are pretty apathetic. A lot of that has to do with Rogernomics*

and having to pay for university[38]. Just listening to these first and second generation people talk, it's not comparable. It's not just the Treaty, it's people in all sorts of movements have had to fight things which now days are commonplace, the Springbok movement, the Homosexual Law Reform Bill... (Richard – Generation Three)

These perceptions have resulted in Richard feeling that his experience did not match of those in the previous generations of the movement and that consequently he has little to share within the movement.   As a member of Generation Three I have had many discussions with peers in the movement about the issues that Richard raised. In these discussions there is the feeling that we are not able to organise and work as effectively as previous generations of activists. Our energy and focus is dissipated because making a living takes precedence over our commitment to the movement. We struggle to see our work as matching the achievements of the previous generations of Treaty workers and are aware that we need to find new ways of organising in these times. While these experiences are a reflection of the macro-political environment, they also reflect the impact of self-perception and generational positioning on sharing of learning. As with other aspects identified there is interplay between influences.

This discussion has focused on issues related to the sharing of learning about all movement practices. It has highlighted that while sharing is happening, it is inhibited by interrelationships within the movement and the impact of macro-political factors. The specific practice of working with Mäori activists is affected by these issues. In addition, the characteristics of this particular practice mean that there is less sharing about it than there is of other movement practices.

5.3. The relationship between practice and sharing of learning

As outlined in Chapter One, the practice of working in relationship with Mäori activists is only one, albeit a fundamental, dimension of Päkehä Treaty work. A strong focus in Päkehä Treaty work has been on educating other Päkehä about the Treaty and the impact of colonisation on Mäori. There is considerable sharing of learning about approaches to Treaty education within the movement. For a number of years there was a tertiary education programme for Treaty educators, and it has been a theme at many Treaty workers' gatherings. In contrast there has been little sharing about the practice of working with Mäori activists. Participants could think of instances of one-to-one sharing with other movement members and sharing the practice with

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[38] Rogernomics, a portmanteau of 'Roger' and 'economics', is the term used to describe the neo-liberal economic policies implemented by the New Zealand Labour Government from 1984 when Roger Douglas was the Minister of Finance.

people outside the movement. They did not identify times when approaches to the practice of working with Mäori activists have been shared as part of a Päkehä movement discussion, for example at Treaty workers' gatherings. Some theoretical discussion is required to explain this. Also needed is discussion of the contrasting nature of the practices of Treaty education and of working with Mäori activists which leads to different levels of sharing of learning about these practices within the movement.

The discussion of influences on learning about the practice of working with Mäori activists in the previous chapter showed the significant influence of learning from Mäori. Participants were learning about the practice of working with Mäori activists from a range of Mäori in a variety of contexts and were exposed to differing Mäori perspectives.
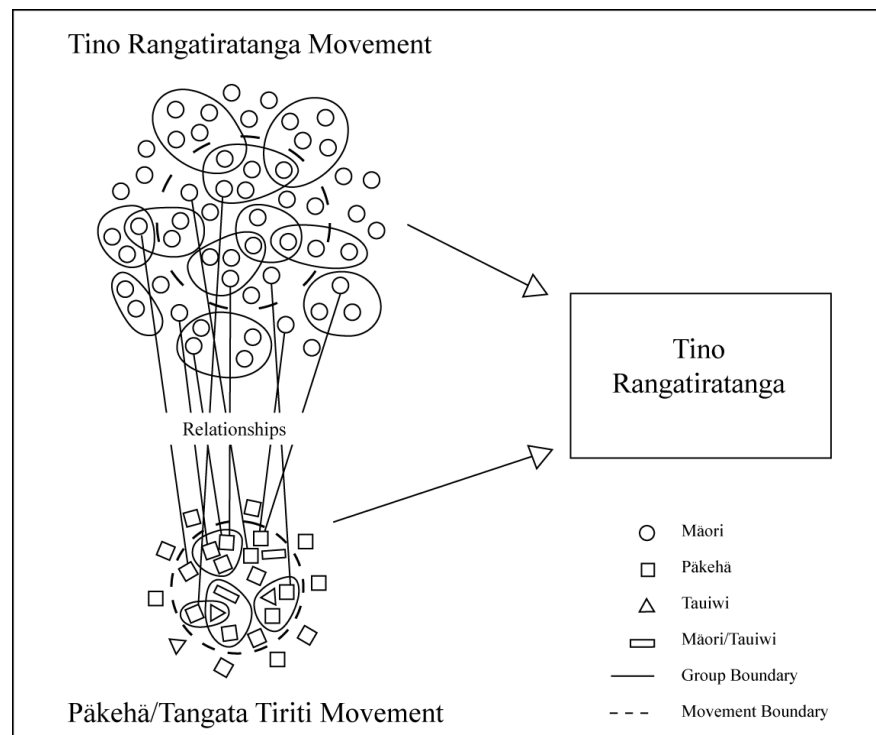
Figure 10: Diverse relationships between movements

Figure Ten depicts these relationships. Research participants learnt from a range of Mäori who actively support tino rangatiratanga but may not self-identify or be identified by others as part of the Tino Rangatiratanga movement. The arrows in the figure indicate that Päkehä Treaty workers within the movement might be relating as individuals or representatives of a group to Mäori either within or outside the Tino Rangatiratanga movement[39]. As Mitzi suggests, the

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[39] This discussion focuses on the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement and does not attempt to describe the diversity of the Tino Rangatiratanga movement. For discussion of the Tino Rangatiratanga movement see Poata-Smith (1996) and Walker (2004).

nature of the learning and diversity of these relationships mean that participants regard their knowledge of the practice as contextual and partial.

> *One reason it's [working with Mäori activists] remained a vague theory area is so many people lucked their way into it through different relationships or a particular Mäori may have taken them under their wing. So they ended up with sort of knowing how to do it. (Mitzi – Generation One)*

Participants were aware that there was a range of ideas about how to work with Mäori activists. The structure of Mäori society was one factor generating this diversity. Mitzi commented on how the differences amongst Mäori at iwi and hapü level result in different relationships in different geographic regions.

> *This means you can't have a detailed theory of working with Mäori that isn't locally earthed or organisationally. (Mitzi – Generation One)*

Generation One participants also suggested that discontinuity in activists groups resulted in changing relationships.

> *While hapü identity is stable and goes on from generation to generation Mäori action groups bloom and wither in short life cycles and are abandoned or replaced. (Mitzi – Generation One)*

> *Especially if set up for a specific purpose, for example the Fiscal Envelope[40]. Over the years there's been a lot of up and down. Intense relationships for a while then moving on to something else. (Joan – Generation One)*

These factors mean there is on-going change occurring in relationships with Mäori. This affects who Päkehä Treaty workers are learning from, what they are learning and how this learning is occurring. The practice is shaped by relationships thus it is fluid and cannot be easily specified. This makes it difficult to share. Participants expressed uncertainty about communicating the specifics of their own practice as they felt their knowledge may not be relevant to others who have different relationships in different areas. Mitzi articulated this clearly, saying,

> *I'm hesitant to tell others this is how to do it because they know what their circumstances actually are better than me. Mäori are changing all the time and Päkehä are too; so the*

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[40] This refers to the Crown proposal in 1994 which included setting a cap of $1 billion on the amount spent on settling Treaty of Waitangi claims.

> *next generation has different starting points for their relationships. I will still contend*
> *that respect and listening is a good starting place. (Mitzi – Generation One)*

In reflecting on their experiences of working with Mäori activists, some of the participants discussed how these relationships can at times be tense and uneasy. The challenges of working cross-culturally plus the implications of colonial history for relationships between Mäori and Päkehä make these relationships potentially difficult. While participants did not discuss how this might impact on the sharing of learning, it can lead to the feeling that the relationships are fragile and so a tendency to be protective of them develops. Therefore, another reason that movement members may be hesitant about sharing this practice is concern that disclosure about the challenges of these relationships may have a detrimental impact on relationships with Mäori activists.

In responding to the question about the sharing of learning most participants' immediate response was to discuss sharing they had done regarding running Treaty education workshops. This was regarded as a more technical practice that is easier to specify.

> *With house painting I'd be more confident to tell a novice 'This is the best way to do it'*
> *but in Treaty work I have accumulated a lot of knowledge but I don't feel it's necessarily*
> *the most useful knowledge to pass on. (Christine – Generation Two)*

In Treaty education the focus is on working with 'our own people' - Päkehä / Tauiwi. Päkehä Treaty workers create this practice which is relatively specific, defined and easy to share. Other Päkehä Treaty workers are a key influence on learning about this practice. In Treaty education there is a sense of a collective action undertaken. In contrast, the practice of working with Mäori activists involves members of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement working in diverse relationships with Mäori activists. Mäori are a greater influence on learning about this practice than other members of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement. The practice itself is dynamic and relational and is difficult to share. There is not one common practice or a collective approach. As a result there is a stronger sense of a movement in relation to the practice of Treaty education than there is in relation to the practice of working with Mäori activists.

Given that acting collectively is a defining characteristic of social movements (Batliwala, 2008) it might be argued that Päkehä Treaty workersare not a social movement with regard to the practice of working with Mäori activists. However it seems more useful to understand that within a social movement the sense of movement identity can differ in relation to specific

practices. Collective identities are relational (Alvarez & Escobar, 1992) and can be understood 'as a play of mirrors, through which the grass-roots groups construct their self-image so that it reflects their dialogue with different interlocutors' (Cardoso, 1992, p. 292). For the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement, the interaction on which the movement is based differs in relation to different practices. Thus people's identification with the movement, and by implication the identity of the movement constructed by these individuals, changes in relation to specific practices. This awareness contributes another dimension to the understanding of social movements as diverse and fragmented (Escobar & Alvarez, 1992; Melucci, 1988) and allows for a deeper and more nuanced understanding of sharing of learning within social movements.

5.4. Summary

Focusing on sharing of learning within the movement has shown that while sharing is happening there are many ways in which it is inhibited. Relationships between movement members are central to sharing of learning. Conflict, movement members' self-perceptions and generational positioning have an impact on sharing within the movement. In addition to these micro-level dynamics, consideration of aspects of the macro-political context raised by participants in the research interviews allows us to expand our understanding of what is influencing the sharing of learning within the movement.

The amount of sharing occurring within the movement varies in relation to different practices. There are some specific challenges to learning collectively about the practice of working with Mäori activists and there has been less sharing of this practice than other movement practices. Understanding the practice of working with Mäori activists as a complex practice in a complex context allows us to recognise and appreciate the challenge we face in learning and sharing about this practice. In the next chapter I will consider how this might inform the future practice of the movement.

Chapter 6. Implications for practice

I came into this project with quite a sense about how are we going to be more effective about sharing the knowledge, passing it on, bringing new people in, all that kind of stuff, in my very analytical 'we'll answer this question and then we'll do it' way. The surprise for me was it doesn't feel like that will be doable...it seems like a lot of the learning we do is incidental and contextual.

The surprise for me is that I think I have shifted a lot in this very short time around to what extent we can 'package' this... I was assuming that some things would come out of this, we have these patterns and we'd say 'In the future what we must remember to do with new people is blah, blah' ... But now it doesn't seem like the way it's going to be. (Christine – Generation Two)

With regard to the cycle of action research, this study has provided a reflective space amidst the on-going action of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement. I wanted to generate a process that was useful and relevant to movement members therefore I focused not only on reflection but also on the action that might result from this reflection. It became clear through the research process that individual movement members are engaged in on-going learning about the practice of working with Mäori activists. However very little sharing of learning about this practice is evident within the movement. While there are issues with the sharing of learning generally, the characteristics of this particular practice result in it being shared less than other practices of the movement. My third research question sought to consider the implications of these findings for the movement using the research workshop to gather data from participants on this issue. In the workshop participants considered the implications of the discussions on sharing of learning for future practice. This included discussion of the benefits and limitations of this research process as a means of enhancing sharing of learning in the movement[41].

In this chapter I outline participants' suggestions for future practice and analyse the extent to which they will address the issues identified in Chapter Five as inhibiting sharing of learning. I suggest further actions which might improve the sharing of learning generally and sharing about practice of working with Mäori activists specifically. Throughout this discussion I draw on the work of international development practitioners to assist understandings of practice within the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement. Finally I discuss how this research process has itself

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[41] See Appendix Three for workshop questions.

contributed to learning within the movement. While the focus is on implications for the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement, it is also intended to provide insights of relevance to other social justice movements and to facilitating learning in action for social change.

6.1. Implications for movement practice

Participants saw that in order to encourage sharing within the movement a more supportive and affirming environment needs to be created. They suggested a number of specific ways of achieving this. National Treaty workers' gatherings and Tämaki Treaty Workers' meetings were seen as places where many of these ideas could be enacted.

It was recognised that given the history of conflict in the movement there was a crucial need,

> *... to look at how we build bridges and reconnect people. (David – Generation Three)*

Discussion focused on the need to acknowledge that many people had had difficult experiences in the movement. As a means of moving beyond this, it was suggested that movement members give greater attention to building positive relationships with one another and endeavour to engage with each other in positive and affirming ways. Developing constructive ways of dealing with conflict within the movement is regarded as important. It is also seen as necessary to acknowledge the impact of Päkehä individualism on how movement members interact and to attempt to address this through intentional efforts to work collectively.

Acknowledging and valuing a diversity of approaches to the work was seen as critical to enhancing sharing within the movement. Mitzi suggested making a distinction between tactics and goals as a way of embracing diversity.

> *When you talk to Mäori, while there is widespread agreement about what the problems are there are wide divergences about how to tackle it. There is a wide range of what you can do about it and you tend to form alliances in ways that are compatible. You can be in coalition with someone who you don't agree with all their tactics so long as they are not agreed to be the tactics of the coalition. So long as there is room for a variety of tactics but agreement about goals and the position of the coalition, you can be in alliance with some people who you disagree with on the details quite profoundly I think. (Mitzi – Generation One)*

Mitzi's insight resonates with de Sousa Santos's (2005) writing on acting collectively whilst valuing diversity in the context of the 'movement of movements'[42]. De Sousa Santos uses the term 'cultural translation' to describe the process that facilitates engagement with diverse positions. He suggests that cultural translation 'presupposes both a non-conformist attitude *vis-á-vis* the limits of one's knowledge and practice and the readiness to be surprised and learn with the other's knowledge and practice' (p. 20). This approach requires movement members to have an attitude of openness and the willingness to share and learn from each other's contributions.

De Sousa Santos (2007) regards all knowledge as partial and describes an 'ecology of knowledges' in which knowledges co-exist in a non- hierarchical relationship[43]. This idea challenges the notion of there being a 'right' way of doing things. Participants saw this co-existence as central to a productive learning environment.

> *I think one of the things I'm afraid of, and I think a lot of us are, is getting a bottleneck where this is what you've got to do for it to be right and actually even if it were right it would only stay right for about six weeks. Also if you want a mass movement, which is really what we want, you must let people be allowed to do it wrong. There's heaps of ways of doing these things. (Mitzi – Generation One)*

Allowing for diversity and valuing a range of contributions were regarded as critical to enhancing sharing of learning within the movement. As discussed in Chapter Five, while social movements are formed as a collective unity in relation to the outside world they need to allow for a diversity of approaches internally in order to flourish. Being open to a diversity of approaches may be critical but it also presents challenges. It raises issues such as how we respond if we think that a movement member's practice is detrimental to Mäori and / or to the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement. This requires us to consider how we constructively critique and challenge each other's practice. This highlights the tension between the individual and the group as Taylor et. al. (2006) describe,

> There will always be a certain tension between striving toward an articulation of shared values (or group identity) - essential for an organisation to be effective - and the need to have a culture of respect for different values (individual identities). There is a need for some overlap, convergence and alignment, as well as for diversity. Organisations need to

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[42] This term was coined by Klein (2004) to describe what is variously called the anti-globalization, anti-corporate, anti-capitalist, anti-free-trade, or anti-imperialist movement.

[43] Feminist philosophers such as Harding (1992) and Haraway (1991) also share this perspective.

reflect on the optimal level of group identity vs. individual identities; diversity and homogeneity. (p. 32)

Attention needs to be paid to these issues so that diversity in the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement might be productively embraced.

Participants also noted that meeting structures can inhibit newcomers contributing to discussion. The focus in meetings on specific issues privileged those who felt confident to speak on a particular issue. Drawing on her experience in another social justice group Susan suggested,

> *One thing could be to have the first part of a Tämaki Treaty Workers' meeting as a time for anyone to report back about what we've been doing. Because we talk about issues those who are the most confident talk up. We've had new faces over the last few months so we could set a time for people to share what they've done over the last month, the old and the new people. They don't have to but it's about making space for everyone to share. (Susan – Generation Two)*

This idea is echoes Mudaliar's (2008) description of intergenerational solidarity as 'ensuring a diversity of voices in the room and listening to and validating each others' perspectives in all that we do'.

Participants suggested that sub-groups might be established for peer supervision, mentoring and reflection on specific issues. The observation made in the interviews was reiterated that they tend to offer this type of support more often to people outside the movement than to those within. This led to discussion of ways to enable people to feel confident to ask for this support. Members, particularly those who have been in a movement for a long time and are regarded by others as highly competent, need to be aware of how they might be perceived by others. It was suggested that they should highlight their fallibility by sharing not only their successful practice but also the mistakes they have made[44].

> *It's hard once you've been in for a while to remember how it appears. I take it for-granted that everyone knows that everyone is nervous, I forget to say it. So somehow to make that more transparent, that it's all about the journey, that we're all journeying. Some of us have made more mistakes because we've been on the path longer. (Christine – Generation Two)*

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[44] There was the specific suggestion that there could be the sharing of 'out-takes', examples of times when people felt they had not acted appropriately.

Though it was not named explicitly by participants, power exists in movement relationships and has an impact on interaction. Reeler's (2005) discussion of power in the context of learning and development is pertinent to understanding power within social movements.

> Power is held in relationships, whether it is the struggle we have with ourselves to claim our inner power, or the power we have over others or the power we hold with others, or the power the State wields in relation to its citizens – without relationship power means little, it has no force, for bad or for good. If we want to shift power, we have to shift relationships. (p. 6)

Considering the operation of power in the movement may provide useful insights into how we understand learning. However, explicit discussion of power *within* the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement is generally avoided. Pettit (2006) suggests that in development practice, the tendency is to 'examine how power functions 'out there' in wider society, politics and organisations, often in cultures or communities other than our own' (p. 71). Similarly, the focus of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement is on shifting power relationships in broader Päkehä society. Power is perceived as a negative force. Discussing concepts of power and finding constructive frameworks within which to discuss its exercise within the movement could be of value.

These suggestions for ways to improve sharing are focused on changes within the movement over which participants can exercise some control. Implementation of these ideas would be beneficial as they would enhance movement relationships generally and address issues which are currently inhibiting sharing of learning. The research findings show that there are also broader societal influences to be considered that affect the sharing of learning within the movement.

6.2. Looking beyond the micro

Aside from identifying the need to address Päkehä individualism, suggestions provided by participants in the research workshop focused on addressing micro-level issues. While enacting them could be beneficial this will not necessarily address all the inhibitors to sharing of learning in the movement. We could build a more affirming and supportive environment and still find the sharing of learning is inhibited in many ways. An increased understanding of macro-level influences is also needed. At the macro level, the broader societal context influences how members conceptualise and identify with the movement. This affects participation and engagement in sharing. Broader society's changing attitudes to the Treaty have also had an

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impact on approaches to sharing. Päkehä individualism, gender and ethnicity also affect participation and sharing. Neo-liberal reforms, including user-pays tertiary education, were perceived as having an impact on participation in activism generally. Discussion within the movement of these issues could provide a starting point for a more nuanced understanding of the influences on sharing of learning. While these issues are yet to be explored in depth, bringing an awareness of macro-political influences to discussions of learning could be an initial step. My intention is to present these findings to Päkehä Treaty workers as a means of building a wider understanding of the interplay of micro and macro-political influences on learning and promoting discussion of how the movement might respond to these influences.

Foley (1999) states that 'we need to recognise the complex, ambiguous and contradictory character of particular movements and struggles. Analyses of these complexities provide a necessary basis for future strategies' (p. 143). Recognition of the complexity of the learning environment can help us understand the nature of sharing within the movement. Social movements themselves are inherently complex and it would be helpful to make this more explicit. The Päkehä Treaty workers' movement is like the 'movement of movements' as described by Bullard (2005). 'The 'shape' of the movement is nonlinear: it is intuitive and personal, based on commitments, relationships, networks and empathies. It is a plastic, dynamic, intergrative and disintergrative [*sic*] process' (p. 5). Similarly Conway (2006) describes the social movement she researches as 'a complex and contradictory ensemble of practices, discourse and identities that were constantly emergent, always in process, always in the making' (p. 13).

In addition to identifying influences on the sharing of learning at the micro and macro-political levels, research findings highlighted the fundamental nature of the practice itself as a key determinant of the extent to which learning about practice might be shared. Understanding that learning does not happen in the same way for all practices and exploring appropriate approaches for sharing learning about different practices could be an important next step for the movement.

6.3. Approaches to sharing practice

While participants' suggestions for future practice focused predominantly on enhancing learning generally in the movement, the need to share learning about the specific practice of working with Mäori activists was also noted. It was felt that greater sharing could help develop this practice. Treaty conferences were considered an important site for movement learning, and one

participant suggested that this topic be the key theme at an up-coming Treaty conference to be organised by Tämaki Treaty Workers.

The quote which opens this chapter captures how one participant's understanding of the relationship between the nature of the practice and how it might be shared changed over the course of the research. Her understanding is articulated by Kaplan (2002) in his discussion of the work of development practitioners.

> ...we are always in search of the shortcut, the technique or tool which we can apply to a situation without thinking. This is the danger which lies at the heart of the analytic way of thinking – we want to reduce, to simplify, to set out an argument in the form of a table, or a listing of bullet points. But the social is not amenable to such treatment...There is ambiguity and uncertainty always; just as there is always movement and change, and the answer itself will change the circumstances which gave rise to it. (p. 200)

The research findings suggest that the practice of working with Mäori activists is complex and contextual and as such is difficult to share. The usefulness of sharing understandings of this practice was questioned. Yet ways of approaching sharing appropriate to this type of practice do exist.

Within the FLASC initiative I learned a great deal from hearing stories from very different social change contexts. This suggests that we could, in fact, learn from sharing our practice of working with Mäori activists even though we operate in diverse contexts. It would be useful to make clear that the aim of sharing is not to generate a collective practice but to strengthen the practice of the collective through learning from one another's diverse experiences. This allows us to be open to listening in these conversations for the similarities and differences in experiences which can enrich our understanding of our own and others' practice.

Participants highlighted the need to develop language to talk about relationships with Mäori activists.

> *...we don't even have language to talk about the different approaches to being in relationship which shows how far back we are. We're starting to get language for Treaty application models but how can we even talk about ways to be in relationship if we don't have the terms for it? How can you teach it, share it or learn it when you don't have the language for it? (Christine – Generation Two)*

The need to develop language may provide a starting point for movement discussions. Members will need to be mindful of the contested and changing nature of the practice we are describing and recognise that it may be difficult to develop a shared language as there is not a collective practice. With this awareness, engaging in a process of generating language may provide an opportunity for sharing about understandings of practice.

The Treaty Resource Centre (2007) makes a useful contribution to conceptualising practice based on relationships. Writing in the context of organisational Treaty application, the metaphor of a journey is used:

> ...to represent ideas about how organisations are moving along various paths towards achieving relationships based on the Treaty's intentions. The emphasis is on travelling together rather than reaching a pre-set destination.... The course of the journey is to be mapped through dialogue and negotiation between the parties in the relationship. (p. 6)

The metaphor of a journey acknowledges both on-going process and the potential of many different routes. It could be fruitful as a way of framing discussions in the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement about the practice of working with Mäori activists.

There are parallels between the complex, contextual nature of the practice of working with Mäori activists and development practice described in the work of Community Development Resource Association (CDRA) (2007). CDRA regard relationships as central to development practice and see development practitioners working in 'a world of systems, of relationships, of connections; ambiguous, shifting and changing, developing, interweaving, continually being formed and continually changing into something else. In a word dynamic' (p. 86). They describe the process of 'apprehending the particular dynamic of an individual's or grouping's development trajectory or process' as 'reading development' and suggest that 'A reading of development must remain supple, subtle and nuanced; it must be iterative and gradual; it must be reflective and reflexive' (p. 73). Understanding the dynamic nature of the practice of working with Mäori activists and cultivating an approach of 'reading' this type of practice could enable its sharing within the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement.

6.4. The contribution of research to learning

Participants also identified research as an important way of enhancing individual and collective learning in the movement. It has the potential to promote praxis and to prompt conversations that

otherwise might not happen. The method used in this research context did enhance learning amongst movement members who participated.

The methodology and method adopted for this research were strongly influenced by the work of Huygens (2007), who had recently undertaken research as a committed participant within the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement. Participants commented on my use of Huygens' work as a strength of this study as I have continued to develop an approach to research that is relevant to the movement.

> *I think a benefit is that it is building on what Ingrid did in terms of a research process. It feels like it's developing a process, it might not be the only one, but it is a process that has integrity, effectiveness, two way contribution, which is nice to have so that people in our movement feel like 'Research, yay'. (Christine – Generation Two)*

Participants were willing to engage in this research because they valued a collective approach that they felt would enhance the effectiveness of the movement.

In the workshop there were a number of comments on the contribution of the research to building the movement. Participants valued learning more about each other's stories and were surprised by the realisation that although they had entered the movement at different times and had different backgrounds their journeys, once they were a part of the movement, were similar. Participants identified personal and collective benefits in being able to see connections between their experiences.

> *My personal benefit is I'm humbled and inspired by the stories and feel more confident as a Treaty worker seeing the similarities in the stories and that my journey is not that different. (Richard – Generation Three)*

> *It's taking time out to reflect. It's reinforcing that model of action reflection and because of hearing the stories of a group of us who've been involved for different periods of time, it's deepening our knowledge of each other and therefore by implication that's deepening the movement. So you've contributed to the movement itself. (David – Generation Three)*

The research process strengthened individual's connections to one another. Learning more about each other in this research process sparked an interest in continuing and expanding the

process of sharing the personal stories of movement members. It was suggested that it is time for a documentary or book about the movement.

According to Reeler (2005), 'In peer settings, stories and their telling of the past, present and future, can become powerful processes for community consciousness and transformation' (p. 9). The process of each generation reflecting on its story and these being collectively discussed by the research participants at the workshop facilitated greater understanding and insight into movement relationships and generated ideas for actions to enhance learning and sharing of learning. Participants noted that the focus on the effectiveness of the movement's work and the implications for future practice was critical to this research being seen as useful and relevant to the movement.

Presenting at the 11th AWID Forum involved working closely with activists from the Tino Rangatiratanga movement who are my contemporaries. The process of creating our presentation on 'The complexities of movement building between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in a colonised country' and travelling to Cape Town together to participate in the Forum meant that I was very engaged in working relationships with Mäori in the Tino Rangatiratanga movement while undertaking this research. Mitzi commented that this grounded the research.

> *One of the good things about this research is the process of presentation at the conference and the work with Mäori colleagues at that fundamental level which really earths it in its own topic, in its own substance. (Mitzi – Generation One)*

Pain, Kesby, & Kindon (2007) in their work on participatory action research suggest,

> It is the connectedness and relationality of people, places and processes of participation that provide one of the most invigorating aspects of PAR's ability to effect meaningful change and political transformation. Yet all too often our efforts get focused and contained at the scale of the local and the deeper or wider-scale impacts remain unactioned. (pp. 226-227)

As well as grounding the research, my simultaneous engagement in the AWID conference and involvement in the FLASC initiative enabled me to maintain a focus on the relevance of this study beyond the local. The research process was enriched by my learning in these wider contexts and in turn it informed my contributions to these international development fora.

As outlined in Chapters One and Two, one of my intentions in this study was to better understand the experiences of the different generations of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement. I defined generations based on the chronology of the movement rather than the age of participants. This highlighted the complexity of notions of generations. In Generation One and Two of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement there is a correlation between age and membership of a particular generation. In Generation Three, where there is no such correlation, the younger participants discussed their assumption, based on age, that the older member of the group had been involved with the movement for a long time. Challenging these assumptions and moving beyond the tensions created by equating age with experience is necessary to building a strong multi-generational movement according to Mudaliar (2008)[45].

> It's time we stop equating age with experience...Not all young people are newcomers which leaves the question, 'What are we doing for newcomers to our movement who aren't young?' 'How are we supporting them and how are we ensuring that they too can become strong activists in our movement?'...When we've achieved intergenerational solidarity we won't come to the discussion labelled as the older activist or the youth representative, we will be there as allies ready to give, listen or act based on our own abilities.

The definition of social movement generations based on the chronology of the movement rather than the age of its members was a useful outcome of this research process. It generated learning for participants about the distinctions between generations. Some participants also became aware of their assumptions about other movement members based on their age. It also created awareness of differences and a sense of continuity in the experiences of each generation within the movement. This study has highlighted a need to continue to explore the implications of such intergenerational awareness.

Undertaking this research as an academic project meant engaging with literature and analytical frameworks which provided insights and awareness with the potential to inform the future practice of the movement. The requirements of the academic project also created constraints on the research process which I will discuss in the next chapter.

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[45] Alpizar and Wilson (2005, p. 5) also emphasise this point.

6.5. Summary

This research project provided an effective vehicle for facilitating reflection, the analysis of which has generated ideas for future action within the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement. Explicitly focusing on the implications of this research for future practice allowed participants to consider collectively what they had learned in the process and how this learning might inform future practice. Participants discussed practical approaches to enhance sharing of learning within the movement. Participation deepened individuals' understanding of their own learning and of learning within the movement. It also acted to strengthen relationships. Considering these suggestions in light of the analysis of macro-political influences identified in Chapter Five has allowed for further suggestions to extend understanding of sharing of learning. The research process provided an enhanced understanding of the complex and contextual nature of the practice of working with Mäori activists and suggested approaches for how this practice could be shared. In this way this research has provided opportunities for growth and learning for myself, the participants and the broader community which is, as Etherington (2004) describes, 'the best possible outcome for research' (p. 78).

Chapter 7. Understanding learning in social movements

We learn as we act, and our learning is both tacit and explicit. This is indeed a complex tapestry, difficult to unpick. But just to know that it is complex and needs to be unpicked is important for those of us concerned with understanding and facilitating critical and emancipatory learning. (Foley, 1999, p. 86)

The aims in this study were threefold. I wanted to contribute to the efficacy of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement through deepening knowledge of learning. I wanted to increase the understanding of learning in social movements generally. It was also important to contribute to the emerging body of work in development studies on facilitating learning in social change. I return to these original aims and consider to what extent these have been achieved through this research. I do this by discussing the value of the findings and research method to understanding learning within and beyond the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement. I close with suggestions for future research which would build on the contributions I have made in this study.

7.1. Contribution of the findings

In this research I have addressed a number of questions about learning in the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement derived from my experience as a member and also my engagement in the FLASC initiative. I have focused on learning in relation to the practice of working with Mäori activists in recognition of the importance of this practice and as a means of refining the topic. I have used an analytical framework developed by Foley (1999) as the basis for exploring learning for individual movement members and the sharing of learning within the movement.

Focusing on the influences on learning for individual movement members shows that the influences on their learning are diverse. Learning from Mäori is significant. While the focus of the practice is Mäori activists, learning is influenced by a range of Mäori who may or may not be part of the Tino Rangatiratanga movement. The influence of other members of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement is one among a number other influences and its significance varies for the different generations of the movement. Learning in social movements is complex and this learning is often informal and incidental because it is embedded in action.

The focus on sharing of learning within the movement about the practice of working with Mäori activists highlighted a disjuncture: while individual movement members are doing a significant amount of learning, there is very little sharing of learning about this particular practice within the movement. There is, however, sharing of other practices, though this is inhibited by conflict

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within the movement, members' self-perceptions and, to some extent, the awareness of generational positioning. The focus of movement members on critiquing broader society can impact negatively on the ways they interact within the movement. This finding is of particular relevance to other social movements. In addition to these issues at the micro-political level, consideration of the movement within the macro-political context of broader society brings to the surface additional elements that affect sharing. How members conceptualise and identify with the movement is a factor. Broader Päkehä society's attitudes towards the Treaty, Päkehä individualism, neo-liberalism, and issues relating to gender and ethnicity all influence the sharing of learning within the movement. A complex interplay between the micro and macro-political levels is also evident, which supports Foley's (1999) analysis.

Inquiring into the lack of sharing of learning about the practice of working with Mäori activists has revealed that the dynamic, relational nature of this practice makes it difficult to share. Comparisons with other practices, in particular Treaty education, showed that the sense of identity as a movement can vary in relation to different practices. Recognising this, and considering the different ways in which social movements are conceptualised allows for a more nuanced understanding of learning within social movements.

In discussing the value of making research findings relevant to different contexts Cahill and Torre (2007) ask, 'Where might the research incite the possibility for change – in the local space where the research was produced or in locations further afield?' (p.205). The findings of this research have incited the possibility for change in both. Within the local space they significantly enhance understanding of learning within the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement. My experiences in different social change contexts, particularly the FLASC initiative and the 11th AWID Forum, have confirmed that while my work focuses on one practice in a specific movement in the local context of a neo-liberal country with a history of British colonisation, these findings are of interest and relevance to people working in 'locations further afield' as well.

7.2. Contribution of the research method

My engagement in the work led by the Institute of Development Studies (IDS), at the University of Sussex, led to my locating this study within the discipline of development studies. The aim of the IDS' FLASC initiative is to increase effectiveness of social change work by focusing on learning in social change processes and considering how as development practitioners we might facilitate learning in action for social change. It was important to detail my research method so

that it might be used by others with an interest in researching social movements and learning in action for social change. I will now reflect on how this research method, particularly the use of Foley's (1999) framework for understanding learning in social action and my commitment as a member of the movement to a participatory action research approach, contributes to deepening understanding of learning in social change processes.

Foley's framework

Foley's (1999) framework aims to make connections between learning in emancipatory social struggles, macro and micro-politics, ideology and discourse, and educational interventions. Foley developed his framework as a means of enhancing understanding of learning that occurs for marginalised people as they struggle against oppression. This study has shown that the framework can also be useful when applied to understanding the learning of allies to a struggle by marginalised people. Key to using the framework in this different context was regarding it as a flexible structure which could be adapted. I was mindful of Foley's interpretations of the dimensions of the framework but modified the language to reflect the specific social change context. Being open to other dimensions to the framework not included by Foley was vital. This allowed for the emergence of praxis as an influence on learning for individual movement members. Praxis, as the development of practice through processes of action and reflection, would be a useful addition to Foley's framework.

Using the categories of Foley's framework as a base for considering influences on learning for individual movement members usefully allowed for analysis of the relative significance of different influences. Initially examining the influences separately allowed for increased insight into how these influences interact in people's daily experience. It also showed the connection between the specific practice being learned and the key influences on learning about that practice. While this connection may seem self-evident, it cannot be assumed.

Though the framework is designed to help understand learning through engaging with external oppression, the framework was also relevant to understanding influences on the sharing of learning about practice *within* the movement. Applying the framework was useful for drawing attention to aspects of the macro-political context which impact on sharing at the micro-political level. However in comparison with Foley's (1999) case studies, I have made little mention of the connections between the macro and micro dimensions of the framework and the other dimensions of discourse and ideology. This is because, as the research revealed, there is not a shared ideology or discourse about the practice of working with Mäori activists within the

Päkehä Treaty workers' movement. When using Foley's framework it emerged that the dimensions of ideology and discourse did not have the same relevance as they might have if the study was focused on a different practice or on learning from the external context in which the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement is located. Also, rather than considering educational interventions, which reflects Foley's interest as an adult educator, in my analysis I have considered the implications for social movement practice.

While Foley's framework provided some useful insights, it was limited in the extent to which it provided for a comprehensive understanding of the sharing of learning within the movement. Aspects that emerged as central to this understanding are analysis of the relationship between individuals and the movement and of the workings of power within the movement, neither of which were directly addressed by Foley. Thus while Foley's framework can provide a general understanding of the complexity of learning in social movements, further theoretical development is needed to guide more detailed and deeper analysis.

By using Foley's framework to guide my inquiry and by modifying it to the context of a specific social movement I have modelled how it might be used in other studies of learning for social change. I have also highlighted areas that require further development.

Participatory action research by a scholar in a movement

As a scholar in the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement I was challenged to generate a process relevant and useful to the movement while also fulfilling the academic requirements of a Master of Arts thesis. I focused on a specific practice of the movement in order to limit the boundaries of the project so that it could be managed within the time available. Yet practices within the movement are interrelated. It was not easy, and sometimes it was not possible, for participants to delineate between practices in the way that I had hoped; at times I felt that I had generated boundaries that did not fit with movement members' experiences. Despite this tension, as the findings show, focusing on one specific practice was beneficial because it showed that sharing in relation to practices is not uniform. Gaining a better understanding of the nature of this practice generated awareness of why it has not been shared up until now. The specific focus also enabled suggestions for more effective approaches to sharing generally. The contrast that emerged between the learning and sharing of this and other movement practices was a useful insight. This might inform future discussion of sharing of practices, not considered in this study, such as campaigning.

The time constraints imposed by undertaking this research as part of a Masters of Arts mean that a limited number of people participated in the research over a short period of time. Engaging peers in the movement to provide supervision throughout the research process proved a valuable way of ensuring involvement of movement members beyond the data collection phase and ensured that I have maintained a focus on the relevance of the project to the movement. To maximise the usefulness of this research to members I need to share the findings with the broader movement and bring these understandings to my on-going involvement in it. My commitment to the movement continues beyond the requirements of the academic project.

> 'Research' participatory or otherwise, is not just about acquisition, cataloguing, ordering and publishing of information on groups to help them. It is about jointly producing knowledge with others to produce critical interpretations and readings of the world, which are accessible, understandable to all those involved, and actionable. (Chatterton, Fuller, & Routledge, 2007, p. 218)

In presenting this research I have endeavoured to balance the generating of a piece of work to fulfil the academic requirements with the providing of resources useful within the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement and to others working in different social change contexts. Part of my commitment to engaging with movement members in a participatory action research process has been generating information from the research in a range of forms for a variety of audiences. These include contributing resources to the FLASC initiative website, making records of the interviews and workshop publicly available through the Treaty Resource Centre, and making presentations at Treaty workers' and other relevant gatherings and conferences. In these ways I intend to make the learning from this research accessible, understandable and actionable.

As a scholar in this movement my knowledge of the research participants and the movement made me aware that a commitment to action was a critical aspect of the research. The participants valued the opportunity provided by the project to reflect on practice and to collectively discuss possibilities for future action. The research project generated ideas for changes that could improve learning within the movement. It emphasised the importance of collective reflection to enhancing action within a movement. The process itself not only facilitated learning about learning in the movement but also contributed to movement building by strengthening the connections between the movement members who participated in the research. The requirements of the academic project meant engaging with literature and undertaking analysis at a new and different level. Sharing the insights gained through this

analysis contributes to the efficacy of our practice within the movement. Through this study I have demonstrated that, despite its challenging nature, it is possible and beneficial to generate research that is both scholarly and relevant and useful to those engaged in social change processes.

7.3. Future research

Undertaking this study has highlighted how the understanding of learning in social movements might be developed in future research. The focus here was on the experiences of people who are currently active in the movement. Discussion of conflict in the movement highlighted that because of the difficult experiences in the movement, many people have left. Interviewing those people about their experiences could contribute another dimension to understanding about learning in this movement. Furthermore, the participants in this research were from one geographical region. Given the diversity of relationships with Mäori throughout Aotearoa, a comparative study of experiences of Päkehä Treaty workers in other parts of the country could provide interesting and productive learning for the movement nationally.

More broadly, there is a need for the development of theory to support research into learning in social movements. My approach using Foley's (1999) framework as a basis and then drawing in work from a range of development and social movement theorists has felt somewhat fragmented. The development of frameworks which more effectively integrate a range of concepts and allow for more detailed analysis would enhance future research. In particular analysis could be enriched by the inclusion of theoretical understandings of power and of the relationships between individuals and the collective.

Using a generational approach in this study was useful for creating awareness of the different experiences of the generations in the movement. It stimulated discussion on the notion of generations and raised the question of whether an increased awareness of generational positioning might inhibit learning within the movement. However, this study also highlighted the limitations of existing language and concepts for analysing the influence of generational positioning in social movements. The development of consistent language and theoretical frameworks that provide insight into generational positioning is needed in order to advance future discussions and research on intergenerational learning in social movements.

Päkehä Treaty workers are allies to Mäori who are working for tino rangatiratanga. As such our position parallels that of people in countries with similar colonial histories and that of

development practitioners who are supporting social change for marginalised groups but are not themselves a member of that group. Central to Päkehä Treaty workers' approach to social change is focusing on shifting the dominant culture, 'our own people'. This research has raised this but not explored it in depth. Further research into how Päkehä Treaty workers act as allies would be useful both within and beyond the movement. Specific consideration of the learning experiences of allies, for instance research into whether the categories of Foley's framework have different degrees of significance for allies and for members of marginalised groups, may increase understanding of the practice of allies.

In addition to these areas of specific focus I support Foley (1999) and Hall and Turay's (2006) call for more attention to be paid to learning in social movements. As Hall (2008) argues,

> The catalytic power of learning and its sister activity knowledge creation have been undervalued and under-theorized in the discourses of social movements. Indeed without an understanding of the role of learning and knowledge creation, I contend that it is very difficult indeed to explain the power and potential, which social movements represent. (p. 1)

This study responds to this call. The findings enhance our understanding of learning within the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement and are relevant beyond this movement. The research process allows us to gain this understanding while simultaneously building the movement being studied. It is an effective method for facilitating learning in action for social change. As such, this research project makes a valuable contribution to the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement, the broader field of social movement learning and to work within development studies on learning in action for social change.

Appendix One: FLASC inquiry questions

Assumptions / understandings of social change

- *How do you understand social change to take place? What do you see as the general forces that lead to or create social change – any source or dimension? What do you see as the general forces blocking change?*
- *What kind of intervention can provoke, influence or enhance helpful forces and overcome blocking forces?*
- *How does your own practice relate to this?*
- *What theories, concepts, schools of thought contribute to your overall framework for social change?*
- *What specific methods or methodological literature do you find useful?*
- *What are your general thoughts about the role of knowledge in social change processes?*

Specific social change process

- *What is the specific change process?*
- *What is the broader social change process within which this specific process sits?*
- *What systemic relationships and interactions link the specific change process to the broader context?*
- *What other key processes contribute to this broader change?*
- *What are the main contextual challenges or obstacles to this broader change?*
- *What are the main contextual facilitators of broader change?*
- *What is your own role in (facilitating) this specific process? Are there particular challenges in relation to this?*
- *Who are the key actors (individual, institutional)? What are their roles and relations?*
- *What are the main contextual opportunities for the specific process?*
- *What are the main contextual challenges/obstacles to the specific process?*
- *What is your analysis of the power relations at the level of your intervention? How are the choices of key actors being constrained and/or enabled by power issues/structures?*

Facilitating learning in social change

- *What key choices are being made by key actors, in this context, when developing strategies for action?*
- *Are there corresponding choices you face as facilitator, or ways in which the facilitation process influences the choices available to the other key actors?*
- *How is the dialogue/communication between key actors being enabled or otherwise influenced by your facilitation process?*
- *How is the learning component defined and understood by the key actors in this process?*
- *Is learning being clearly articulated? By whom, in what form?*
- *How is that learning being created?*
- *What facilitation processes are supporting the emergence of learning?*
- *How is the dialogue/communication between social actors influencing the learning processes?*
- *Are specific kinds of knowledge being mobilized by key actors in the change context, and are there some others that could be useful?*
- *Can you imagine ways in which some of the kinds of knowledge, constructed in this context, might be useful in other change processes?*

Appendix Two: Interview guide for participants

Kia ora *(names of participants)*

Thank you for making the time to be part of this project looking at the role of learning in the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement.

Our initial meeting will be at *(venue)* from *(time)* on *(date)*. I'll bring some food for our *dinner / lunch*.

Below is a list of questions for our discussion. I'm sending these to you now so you can think about your answers before we meet.

1) For the early period (first five years) of your involvement in the movement what was your understanding of the way you should work with Mäori who were active in the Mäori self-determination movement?

(Note: this is a background question to focus our discussion; more attention will be given to the following questions)

2) How did you come to that understanding? / What were the influences on your understanding?

    a) Broader societal influences?
    b) Existing ideas of practice?
    c) Relationships with Mäori allies/activists?
    d) Relationships with others in the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement?
    e) Other influences?
    Which of these had the strongest influence?

3) Thinking about how practices have changed over your time in the movement what has influenced these changes?

    a) Broader societal influences?
    b) Struggles about ideas of practice?
    c) Relationships with Mäori allies/activists?
    d) Relationships with others in the PTW mvt?
    e) Other influences?
    Which of these had the strongest influence?

4) Now focusing on the sharing of learning within the movement:

    a. To what extent did you share your learning with others in the movement? Why / why not?
    b. What approaches did you take to sharing learning? Why did you use these approaches?

5) You are positioned as a member of the *(first/second/third)* generation of the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement. To what extent did/ does your understanding of this position influence your learning of the practice of how to work with Mäori in the self-determination movement and your sharing of that practice?

If you have any questions, the contact details for me and for my supervisor are below. I'm really looking forward to our discussion, so thanks again for being part of this.

Best wishes

Jen

Appendix Three: Workshop questions

Learning in social movements: the development and sharing of practices of working with Mäori allies/activists within the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement ***I'm aware that this language is a bit confusing as we call ourselves allies – I'm using it here as shorthand for Mäori who are active in the struggle for tino rangatiratanga.**

RESEARCH WORKSHOP

MONDAY 1 DECEMBER   Workshop from 5pm -7.30pm

Auckland Women's Centre   Cup of tea 4.45pm

4 Warnock St, Grey Lynn   Dinner at 7.30pm

Workshop focus:

The workshop will have two parts:

- discussion of learning from the content of the interviews
- discussion of learning from the process of the interviews

For each we will consider what the implications are for the movement.

Before you come:

In preparation for the workshop please read the attached interview records. I suggest that as well as reading the interviews of the other two generations you reread the one you were part of. **As you read the interviews please record your responses.** Your responses will form the basis for our discussion in the workshop.

INTERVIEW CONTENT

What did you learn / observe when reading these records?

a) Confirmations (things you already knew)

b) Surprises (things that you didn't know or were surprised by)

c) Patterns / connections / themes within and between the accounts

d) Similarities and differences between the generations

e) Other responses / thoughts

RESEARCH PROCESS

a) What do you see as the benefits of this research process?
- for you personally
- for the Päkehä Treaty workers' movement

b) What are the limitations of the research process?

c) Are there any aspects of this process that might have on-going usefulness for the movement?

Appendix Four: Elements of practice

As noted in Chapter Four, the specific aspects of practice when working with Mäori activists in the Tino Rangatiratanga movement are not the focus of the thesis; however, participants reflected on their ideas about practice as an introduction to discussing how these ideas were learned and shared. The following ideas that recurred in the research interviews suggest an approach to practice, the specifics of which are negotiated in the context of the relationship.

- learning through listening

- respecting Mäori (not about 'helping' Mäori)

- working with our own people, i.e. with Tangata Tiriti rather than with Mäori

- working separately but alongside and towards a shared goal

- being responsible for own work

- working collectively as Päkehä

- acting as a go-between e.g. between Crown agencies and hapü

- resourcing Mäori involvement / action

- contributing other resources that support the work

- being aware of how Päkehä cultural identity impacts on ways of working and seeking to mitigate the negative effects of this when working with Mäori

- learning to adapt cultural practices / work cross-culturally while being careful not to appropriate Mäori culture

Qualities that were seen as important to undertaking this practice were:

- maintaining one's own integrity, not being subservient

- humility

- flexibility

For more detailed consideration of this practice refer to Huygens' (2007, pp. 132-134) discussion of co-intentional relationships with Mäori.

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