

It's a Partnership: Yeah, right!

An Analysis of Discourses of Partnership between Government
and Community Organisations in New Zealand (1999-2008)

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work, and that to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously written or published by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

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Abstract

This study explored the discourses of partnership between government and community organisations during the term of the fifth Labour-led Government (1999-2008). This government came to power with a policy of building partnerships with community organisations and others, presenting partnership as a rejection of the contractual models of the previous administration. I drew on Foucauldian notions of discourse and governmentality and Gramsci's theories of hegemony, together with poststructuralism and critical social theory for my theoretical and philosophical frameworks.

Applying Fairclough's (1992) critical discourse analytic approach as a research methodology, I examined the historical, social and political contexts that frame the discourse of partnership, and analysed three sets of texts from the period under review. Two dominant partnership discourses emerged. The first was a community development discourse that can be traced to the 1970s, and which re-emerged in the 1990s as a resistance to the then dominant contractualist discourses of relationship between government and community organisations. The second was a modification of contractualism that drew from third-way discourses out of the United Kingdom, and in which government projects and programmes that involve community organisations were reframed as partnerships while retaining contractual mechanisms and ways of thinking.

Drawing on governmentality theory, I suggested that the language of partnership may mask a process in which community organisations were co-opted to take on roles and responsibilities that are ultimately determined by, and in the interests of the government agenda. The research also identified characteristics of genuine partnerships between government and community organisations. Such partnerships were generally framed within a community development discourse and were more resistant to co-optation than partnerships that followed a contractualist approach. This research provides tools and strategies to enable both community organisations and government officials develop and maintain effective working relationships.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This research explores the question ‘*What were the discourses of partnership between government and community organisations during the term of the fifth Labour-led Government in New Zealand (1999-2008)?*’ This study was prompted by my personal and professional experience as a community development worker and administrator within both community and government organisations over the past thirty years. Over this period I have seen major developments in the structure and functions of community organisations, and in the relationships between community and government. This research is a partial account of these changing relationships. At various stages, the relationship has been described as a partnership with the two parties working together; at other times it has been more acrimonious. The Labour-Alliance government came to power in 1999 with a commitment to improve the government’s relationship with the community and voluntary sector. Following the lead of the third way policies of the British Labour government, they promised partnerships with community organisations instead of funding community organisations under quasi-commercial contracts to provide a range of community and social services. In this research I explore what this notion of partnership may mean, employing a critical discourse analytic methodology to examine a range of texts. I identify two distinct, but interlinked discourses of partnership: one based on a community development approach and the second on a modified contractual approach.

I commence this chapter by telling some of my personal and professional story as it links with the research undertaken. I then introduce the overall aims of the research and provide working definitions of some key concepts that I use in the research. The chapter concludes with an outline of the structure of the thesis.

The Researcher in the Research: A Personal and Professional Story

1980s: Doing Community Work in New Zealand

My involvement in community work began as a volunteer with Youthline Auckland and the Otara Citizens' Advice Bureau (CAB) in 1980. Both of these community organisations still operate, and their journeys over the thirty years exemplify the changing sets of relationships with government (both central and local) and the dance between community development and neo-liberal ideologies and discourses that are the context of this research.

In 1980 Youthline was a totally voluntary organisation. Its legal entity was an incorporated society, with elected officers or co-ordinators who were directly accountable to the membership at regular plenary meetings. Funding was mainly from membership fees (members paid to join and for supervision) and grants and donations from supporters and various philanthropic trusts. It operated from a run-down building, Youthline House, provided rent free by the University of Auckland. The emphasis of the organisation seemed two-fold; to provide a telephone and face to face counselling service, and the personal and professional development of its counsellor members. This focus shifted over the next few years as first local, then central government projects, programmes and funding schemes were set up and accessed by Youthline. It shifted to the Auckland City Council sponsored Youth Resource Centre, linking in with other youth-related activity and advocacy. It employed a co-ordinator, established a community education project and ran a government-funded training scheme for unemployed young people. The organisation adapted to cope with these changes by delegating greater powers to a management committee to actually run the organisation, although this was not without its challenges. Today Youthline is a large, complex community organisation with a chief executive officer and board, with explicit statements about its governance and strategic plans, working 'in partnership' with government and also declaring its youth and community development philosophical base and volunteer network (Youthline Auckland, 2007; 2008).

In 1980 the Otara CAB operated with a pool of volunteers who elected a management committee, and was supported by the Manukau City Council who provided the services of a community development worker who was the de facto manager of the bureau, training and premises. By the mid 1980s the Council had moved away from the direct management of the CAB and other community services, devolving this to community organisations (Haigh & Dale, 2007) – but I had left by this time. The Otara CAB was, and still is affiliated to the New Zealand Association of Community Advice Bureaux, another organisation that has both maintained its community identity and autonomy while working with a range of government agencies over its history.

I was also involved in various social justice issues and movements during the 1980s, in particular anti-sexism, with Men against Sexism, and anti-racism and Treaty of Waitangi awareness raising campaigns. In these organisations we resisted joining ‘the establishment’ and refused to incorporate or assume a legal status that reflected the dominant patriarchal and Pakeha societal norms.

In the late 1980s, I shifted to Nelson, where I was employed as a community worker with Manuka Community House; another local community organisation that has survived through the changed community-government environment of the past twenty years, albeit with various adaptations. Manuka Community House was established ten years earlier with strong feminist principles, as a community centre where parents and caregivers could meet and bring their pre-school children to a safe, supported environment. The centre operated as a collective where parents, together with the co-ordinator they employed, were responsible for planning and organising activities, community education and wider community linkages. Childcare staff ensured that the children were looked after and had a range of activities to do, and parents would gather and relax, talk, play with the children, and share stories, skills, knowledge, problems and answers. In my tenure, the centre was faced with the professionalisation of childcare, and the introduction of stringent regulations controlling the management of childcare centres. Manuka Community House, situated in a comfortable old villa, did not fit the policy model as it operated with a fuzzy boundary between *playgroup* (where parents or caregivers were present) and *childcare* (where parents paid for

childcare) that allowed freedom for parents to join a craft-making session or training workshop on such topics as assertiveness for women or parenting. Government funding was conditional on registration as a childcare centre – so we registered, and as is common in community work, found ways of managing the disjunction between the worlds of policy and practice. A further change involved the (then) Department Social Welfare agreeing to provide free childcare to parents who were under stress. The funding was welcome, but the messages that constructed parents as incompetent or needy in order to receive a subsidy sat uneasily with our philosophy that believed parents were competent, as long as they had support mechanisms in place. Nevertheless, faced with the financial reality of an organisation that was marginally viable financially, we again took the money. At Manuka Community House's thirtieth birthday celebration in 2008, the Chairwoman summed up the essence of the place, saying that "the centre might not be the flashiest in town" but it had a "lot of 'love and family'". The family support worker similarly reflected that the centre was "now more formalised than when it started 30 years ago, but its vision of supporting a healthy community hadn't changed" ("House of 'Love and Family' is 30," 2008).

Early 1990s: Employed by Government; Working for Community?

In 1989 I moved to the government sector and was employed by the Department of Internal Affairs as a Community Development Advisory Officer. My role was to help develop community networks, provide support and training to community organisations, and administer a range of funding schemes. The role required the careful balancing of roles, boundaries, and accountabilities, situated as it was in the era where the role of the state was being re-defined in the terms of New Public Management with its narrow notions of accountability and perceptions of conflicts of interest if government employees also worked (or volunteered) in community organisations. Along with many of my colleagues, my primary motivation for working in the field of community development was to support the communities with whom and in which I worked, yet as a government employee, I was accountable to the government of the day. The work that I was involved in during this period informs my approach to this research, generating reflexive questions such as: *'How can government officials support community*

organisations as independent entities in an overall environment that is prone to co-opt and governmentalise community organisations?’ and ‘How can we safeguard against the inherent risk of co-optation and loss of community control that exists whenever government becomes involved with community processes?’ On the other hand, *‘How can we, as government officials, also influence ways in which government operates to be more responsive to the community?’*

I moved to Wellington in 1996 and spent a year at the national office of the Department of Internal Affairs. I struggled with the immediacy of the ministerial and bureaucratic political processes, and the distance from the communities that were impacted by these processes. After a year I left for the relative freedom of the community sector.

Late 1990s: Managing a National Community Sector Organisation

I returned to the community sector in 1997 as national co-ordinator of Te Kupenga, The National Network of Stopping Violence Services (NNSVS); a position I held for the next five years. The three main themes from my work during this period that inform my research are: first, developing respectful and productive relationships with community sector colleagues and government officials; second, strengthening and living by the kaupapa, or values of the organisation and resisting the dominance of the *service provider*’ identity; and third, developing a treaty (of Waitangi) based governance framework for the organisation.

This was a time in which the government contracting model was at its peak. NNSVS and its local member groups were trying to obtain contracts to provide programmes and services, such as those prescribed by the Domestic Violence Act (1995) for both perpetrators and victims of domestic violence. Government contracts were typically underfunded, and there was a degree of mistrust and competition between community organisations. One of my first steps was to join with a number of other people in community based violence prevention services: Women’s Refuge, Relationship Services, Rape Crisis and CAPS (now Jigsaw), to form a NGO network that could work collectively with government agencies.

This initiative received a mixed response from government officials; it was welcomed by some, and we developed trusting and effective relationships while we were all aware of the limits within which we worked¹. Others viewed the development with some suspicion; one manager threatened to complain about our activities the Commerce Commission alleging we were engaged in anti-competitive behaviour. With the change of government in 1999, the family violence NGO network worked with government officials in one of the early community-government partnerships of the period, the Family Violence Focus Group that developed *Te Rito: The New Zealand Family Violence Prevention Strategy* (Maynard & Wood, 2002; Ministry of Social Development, 2002a). The network still operates, with an expanded membership providing sector-wide input to government policy such as the Taskforce for Action on Violence within Families (Ministry of Social Development, 2009, p. 4).

The theme of building relationships is closely linked to the second theme of strengthening and operationalising the kaupapa, or values, of the network. This challenge involved the organisation revisiting its purpose as an advocate for social change, articulating and working according to these values even when to do so may not have been the most financially prudent course. Providing programmes and services were a means to an end; the ‘end’ or mission we were working to was “to enable all people in Aotearoa New Zealand to live free of all forms of violence, abuse and oppression” (NNSVS, 2006).

The third theme is a practical expression of *living our values*. In common with many community organisations in Aotearoa New Zealand, NNSVS employed a polite rhetoric of ‘recognising the Treaty of Waitangi’ in various strategic documents. The challenge we undertook was to give meaningful expression to this principle. This involved transforming the organisation to a treaty-based

¹ For example Maynard and Wood (2002) discuss the development of the *Te Rito Family Violence Prevention Strategy* (2002):

Officials are first and foremost public servants and are responsible for providing the best advice possible to their respective Ministers when decisions on particular issues need to be made at the governance level. There are a number of political sensitivities and requirements around decision-making at this level and papers to government must generally be treated with the strictest confidence. Consequently, at certain stages of the process this can limit an official’s ability to fully communicate or circulate particular papers to NGOs (p. 85).

organisation with two caucuses (Māori and tangata tiriti) of equal constitutional power forming a governing ‘partnership committee’ that held executive power in the organisation. While there was a mechanism to maintain dialogue and deal with disputes, as in most effective partnerships the structure relied on good faith and commitment of the people involved to keep it working. Almost a decade later the organisation has faced challenges but maintains its treaty based structure.

2002-2007: A Central Government Official in the Times of Partnership

After five years in a role that was a way of life, or vocation rather than a job, in 2002 I returned to work in central government for the next five years. I had three distinct roles in this period as a government official. First, I was the national coordinator of the Community Organisations Grants Scheme within the Department of Internal Affairs. Second I was employed as the Community Development Programme Manager, also within the Department of Internal Affairs, and third I was the NGO Capacity Building Programme Manager, within the Ministry of Social Development. In the last position I worked alongside, but not as part of, the SKIP team and drew on their wisdom and experience for various projects I was involved with. I also worked alongside the pathway to partnership project for a short period. Both the SKIP and pathway to partnership initiatives form part of this research.

The three roles had some general aspects that inform this research project. In each, there was a genuine desire to support and build the capacity of communities and community organisations. Each role had some notion of partnership with community, but lacked clear and consistent understanding of what this meant in practice. While in each role there were sincere relationships with communities and community organisations, in each position I also operated with the authority of the government, and in the final analysis this authority had the potential of downgrading community relationships from ‘partners’ with an equal, or significant voice, to ‘advisory groups’ whose input was appreciated but could be ignored. I was instrumental in developing various guidelines and resources for both government workers and community organisations; these were developed

with an intention of supporting community organisations, but they also serve a purpose of building a compliant community sector available to fill the service gaps left by successive government restructuring.

Summary

My personal and professional history over the past thirty years has been at the interface between government and community organisations involved in community development and social services. In this time I have worked with many wonderful, skilled and sincere people within both the community and government sectors; a number of whom, like me, have worked in both sectors. The particular employment arrangement may have constraints and obligations, but has not defined their view of the world or their desire to do their bit to improve it.

I also reflect on my personal history with a degree of embarrassment at ways in which I have acted that have inadvertently supported movements that I personally oppose. As a government official I have, with the best of intentions, helped community organisations transform themselves into managerial, community enterprises, detaching from their community constituency. I have managed community organisations, changing the way they operate in order to access government funding.

In this research I stand back from my personal story to analyse the larger historical, social and political forces that have constructed this dynamic relationship between government and community organisations. I offer the insights from the research to enable people involved in this nexus to work with greater understanding of the social, political and ideological discourses that shape the dynamic within which we work.

Aims of the Research

This research examines the discourses in the partnership between government and community organisations in New Zealand during the period of the fifth Labour led Government (1999-2008). It provides some insight into the ways in which various partnership discourses both shaped and are shaped by the way in which government and community organisations interact.

The incoming Labour-led Government in 1999 promoted the concept (or at least the rhetoric) of government working in partnership with community organisations as well as business and other sectors of the community. The focus on partnership, which followed the lead of the Labour Government of the United Kingdom (Baxter, 2002), was presented by the government as a rejection of the neo-liberal ideology and contractual arrangements preferred by the preceding administration (Clark, 1999; Maharey, 2000, various). This research draws on poststructural conceptual frameworks and a critical discourse analytic methodology. This methodology guides an exploration of the historical, political and social contexts of the relationship between government and community organisations, and an examination of texts produced during the period under review (1999-2008) to identify and analyse various discourses of partnership. I explore ways in which these partnership discourses may operate as mechanisms that domesticate or co-opt community organisations within a government agenda, and/or how they provide spaces for genuine engagement between community and government with the possibility of transforming the way government operates.

Definition of Terms

The terms ‘community and voluntary sector’, ‘government’, and ‘partnership’ that form the basis of this research are broad, ill-defined and contested. As it is beyond the scope of this research to explore their various meanings and contestations in any detail, I provide a working explanation as far as this research is concerned.

Community and Voluntary Sector

In this research I use the expression ‘Community and Voluntary Sector’ as a broad, inclusive term to refer to the “bewildering variety of groups and organisations” (Social Advisory Council, 1986, p. 8) that are neither part of the formal machinery of government, although many receive funding from and are subject to government regulation, nor commercial ‘private sector’ organisations. There are a number of terms that are also used to refer to this sector, including: ‘not-for-profit’ or ‘non-profit’ sector, non-government organisations or sector (NGO), civil society organisations (CSOs), or the ‘third sector’ (Community and Voluntary Sector Working Party, 2001; Tennant, Sanders, O’Brien & Castle, 2006; Tennant, 2007). Among community organisations in Aotearoa New Zealand the inclusive term ‘Tangata whenua, community and voluntary sector’ is sometimes preferred as it explicitly includes tangata whenua organisations and kaupapa Māori ways of organising.

Government: Government Sector

New Zealand is a constitutional monarchy or parliamentary democracy. The Queen (represented by the Governor-General) is the formal Head of State who, with the elected House of Representatives forms the Parliament that enacts and debates legislation. The Head of State appoints the Executive Government or Cabinet comprising the Prime Minister and Ministers. The executive government is responsible for the administration of the country, drawing on the resources of the bureaucracy of government ministries, departments and agencies to advise on and implement its various policies and programmes.

In this research I use the term ‘government’ to refer to both the political machinery (Parliament and the Executive or Cabinet) and the bureaucracy of government. Where it has been important to distinguish between these two aspects, I use the expression ‘government agencies’ when referring to the government bureaucracy, and I capitalize ‘Government’ when referring to a specific administration, such as ‘the third Labour Government’.

The (fifth) Labour-led Government (1999-2008)

In 1999 a Labour-Alliance coalition Government was formed following an election in which no party gained a majority. The Labour Party, under the leadership of Rt. Hon Helen Clark was the majority party of the 1999-2002 coalition government, and in the two subsequent terms, 2002-2005 and 2005-2008; both of which were minority governments in coalition with the Progressive Party. I use the expression 'Labour-led Government' when referring to the government in power in this period, 1999-2008. When I place this government in a broader historical context I use the term 'fifth Labour-led Government.'

Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is structured in seven chapters. Chapter One provides an introduction to the research and researcher. Chapter Two outlines the theoretical and philosophical positioning of the research. The two major theoretical influences in the work are post structuralism and critical social theory, and I draw on the work of Foucault, Gramsci, Freire and Sacks together with numerous critics of their work for my theoretical and philosophical frameworks. In Chapter Three, which is informed by the theoretical frameworks, I present the research methodology and methods I employ. I use a critical discourse analytic methodology to identify and analyse discourses of partnership, and the ways in which they shape and are shaped by the ideologies and identities of government and community. I largely follow Fairclough's (1992) framework for critical discourse analysis as it provides a model for analysing the social, political and historical contexts in which the research is situated, and also at the level of reading and analysing texts.

Chapters four to six comprise the actual research I undertake. Following Fairclough's critical discourse analytic methodology, I initially examine the social, historical and political context of the research: Fairclough's dimension of social practice. This is covered in Chapter Four in which I explore the historical perspectives of the relationship between government and community organisations, with an emphasis on the various discourses of partnership over this history. I also analyse the political context and ways in which government implemented or accommodated the discourse of partnership by developing 'good

practice' guides for both public servants and community organisations. In Chapter Five I explore the academic literature relating to partnership between government and community organisations in order to incorporate the ideological and academic aspects of the dimension of social practice: the context in which the research is located.

Chapter Six presents the findings from the three sets of texts that I analysed. First, I examine speeches and media releases produced by Hon Steve Maharey, Minister of Social Services and Employment in the first year of the Labour-Alliance coalition Government (1999-2000). These texts demonstrate ways in which an overall partnership discourse was established, and the chapter analyses the various partnership approaches in these texts. The second set of texts I analyse is the Strategies for Kids, Information for Parents (SKIP) initiative, developed within and administered by the Ministry of Social Development. SKIP, has a strong emphasis on working in partnership with community organisations, and incorporates an explicit community development approach. I look at the way the community development discourse of partnership is developed and maintained in these texts, and the potential of this approach to influence the way government operates. The third set of texts I examine relate to the *pathway to partnership* initiative, also developed within the Ministry of Social Development in conjunction with an advisory or steering group whose membership included people working in community organisations. This initiative was primarily framed within a modified contractualist approach to partnership: I examine how the discourse was established and maintained and ways in which community development and contractualist discourses interact in this set of texts.

In Chapter Seven, the final chapter, I discuss the overall findings of the research. I present the two main partnership discourses, which I term 'modified contractualism' and 'community development,' discourses, and the interaction between them. I discuss the way the discourses can operate to governmentalise and domesticate community organisations, and also how they may liberate or transform both government and community organisations. I conclude the thesis with a discussion on the potential value and limitations of the study, and make some suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL POSITIONING

In this chapter I outline the main theories, concepts and influences that inform my research that explores the discourses of partnership between government and community organisations. I start by introducing the broad theoretical perspectives of poststructuralism and critical social theory that, together with the concept of ‘discourse’ inform the research methodology. I then discuss key theories and theorists who have influenced me: Foucault and his concepts of governmentality, power, and discourse; Gramsci and his discussions on the development of hegemony, Freire and his notions of conscientization and Sacks’ discussions on contractual and covenantal relationships.

Post structuralism

I largely draw on the frameworks and theories of poststructuralism for the philosophical basis of this research. A poststructuralist approach enables me to explore the complexities and interactions between different ways of seeing and understanding the world. Whereas a more traditional approach to research may attempt to uncover or define some truth or meaning, usually constructed or understood in absolute terms as *the* truth or meaning in a text or event, a poststructuralist approach generally assumes that any given context is made up of the interweaving of multiple partial truths and meanings.

Poststructuralism and Postmodernism

Poststructuralist theory draws on, extends and also reacts to some of the perceived limitations of structuralism and the positivist world view of empirical scientific research. While the prefix ‘post’ may, on the surface, indicate ‘coming after’, various authorities show a much more entwined relationship between poststructuralism and forms of structuralism that precede and accompany it (Balibar, 2003; Bosteels, 2003). Grant and Giddings (2002) explain this relationship as follows:

Our view is that the post on postpositivism, postfeminism, poststructuralism and postcolonialism (etc.) signals a critical engagement with its stem concept (e.g. positivism, colonialism) rather than a rejection of it. Unlike its everyday meaning of

something being over, this meaning shows a critical awareness of the stem and a sense of its limitations, while continuing to acknowledge its importance to the present position (p. 13).

There is also a confusion between, or conflation of the terms ‘poststructuralism’ and ‘postmodernism’. While acknowledging that both postmodernism and poststructuralism are contested terms, Cheek (2000), drawing on Agger (1991), provides the following working distinction between them: “poststructuralism ... is a theory of knowledge and language, whereas postmodernism ... is a theory of society, culture, and history” (p. 40). Agger prefaces this distinction with the comment: “A brief discussion of the main ideas of poststructuralism assumes that we can cleanly separate poststructuralism from postmodernism. Unfortunately, we cannot” (p. 111). Crotty (1998) quotes Lather’s distinction of “*postmodern* to mean the larger cultural shifts of a post-industrial, post-colonial era and *poststructural* to mean the working out of those shifts within the arenas of academic theory” (p. 196). In a criticism that resonates with the novice researcher, Agger observes that a difficulty with the reading of poststructural (and postmodern) texts is that they are “incredibly, extravagantly convoluted - to the point of disastrous absurdity... One cannot help but wonder why these theorists do not write more clearly and in ways that show the empirical (political, cultural, existential) relevance of their work more directly” (p. 106). Given that the distinctions between poststructuralism and postmodernism are contested, and the underlying theoretical texts are generally dense, I do not distinguish them in my research and refer to ‘poststructuralism’ as an overall term.

Poststructuralism and Political Positionings

One of the criticisms of a poststructuralist approach is that it lacks a clear, unequivocal political perspective; Harris (2001) terms it ambiguous. I found Scott (1988) helpful in her discussion of the application of poststructuralist theory to her research on gender as “enabl[ing] us to articulate alternative ways of thinking about (and thus acting upon) gender without either simply reversing the old hierarchies or confirming them” (p. 33). She explains the possibilities of poststructuralist theory as:

a new way of analyzing constructions of meaning and relationships of power that called unitary, universal categories into question and

historicized concepts otherwise treated as natural (such as man/woman) or absolute (such as equality or justice) (pp. 33 & 34).

Scott (1988) then identifies four terms or concepts that “feminists have appropriated from poststructuralism... language, discourse, difference, and deconstruction” (p. 34). I discuss the concept of ‘difference’ and its relationship to a critical perspective in the following paragraph. I then briefly introduce the concept of deconstruction, and discuss ‘discourse’ in more depth later in this chapter. I considered it beyond the scope of this research to explore poststructuralist concepts of language, except as far as it links with notions of discourse and discourse analysis.

Difference and Categorizations

Harris (2001), in her discussion of a critical perspective to poststructuralism, notes that the use of global categories, such as class, gender, and ethnicity that are basic tools of radical and critical analysis, are problematic for many poststructuralists as they imply a shared identity between all the members of the particular category. Harris explains that poststructuralism prefers a broader (and possibly more neutral) term of ‘difference:’ “What differentiates post-structuralism in this respect is that the notion of difference provides the *starting* point of analysis rather than something which is acknowledged to exist within a prior category” (p. 342), cautioning that the starting point of ‘difference’ is not the end point, and “should not lead us to dismiss their importance or attempt to do away with them [the broad categories] altogether” (p. 343). She therefore suggests that an emerging critical poststructuralism:

acknowledge that categories such as ‘class’, ‘gender’ and ‘ethnicity’ can be used in an overly homogenising form but:

- treats the social binaries attached to these categories seriously,
- recognises the impact of policies along the lines of class, gender, ethnicity etc.,
- acknowledges the continued salience of these categories in shaping particular historical circumstances (p. 343).

I discuss critical social theory with its explicit focus on the power dynamics inherent in these categorizations, in the next section.

Deconstruction

Scott (1988) explains that the process of deconstruction “involves analyzing the operations of difference in texts, the ways in which meanings are made to work” (p.37). In this process, the hitherto ‘correct’ or dominant reading of a text is cast as just one perspective or interpretation among many alternative, subjugated readings of texts cast. Scott explains that the deconstructive process involves “the reversal and displacement of binary oppositions” (p. 37). This process exposes the dualistic ‘right/wrong’ and ‘either/or’ dynamic of making meaning of texts and common in more traditional ways of thinking, as constructed rather than natural or absolute meanings. Deconstruction thus allows for new, multiple ways of reading, or constructing meanings, in the texts. From a critical perspective, this deconstruction of the text has the effect of questioning, and perhaps undermining the taken for granted privileged positions. Consequently, previously subjugated or marginalized voices and local knowledges may also be uncovered in the texts.

Local and Subjugated Knowledges

Another theme associated with poststructural theory is rejection of a grand, or meta-narrative that prescribes, or constructs meaning in favour of multiple local knowledges. While Canagarajah (2002) explains various contestations of the term ‘local knowledge’ with “different currency in diverse domains of discourse” (p. 243); for the purposes of this research, I draw on his explanation of the term as: “knowledge that diverges from what is established or legitimized in the disciplines (see Foucault, 1972). The beliefs that do not fall within the established paradigms continue to circulate unofficially at the local level among smaller groups” (p. 243). Hartman (2000) expands on this Foucauldian understanding of subjugated and local knowledges, contrasting them against the ‘scientific’ claim of a ‘true’ knowledge. He quotes Foucault (1980):

We must entertain the claims to attention of local, discontinuous, disqualified, illegitimate knowledges against the claims of a unitary body of theory which would filter, hierarchize, and order them in the name of some true knowledge and some arbitrary idea of what constitutes a science and its objects (cited in Hartman, 2000, p. 21).

Following Hartman (2000), this means that the stories and experiences of oppressed or marginalized groups are not filtered through, or objectified within a dominant grand narrative or world view. Instead, their own truths and knowledges have begun to be validated and legitimized (p. 22). I next present the other main philosophical and theoretical influence; critical social theory, and then explain how I apply these two, related influences in my research.

Critical Social Theory

I draw on critical social theory which provides an overtly political, or critical, focus to the research. It is not novel to juxtapose poststructuralist and critical theory approaches, as with Harris's (2001) exploration of critical poststructuralism which she bases "on the premise that post-structuralism is part of the 'critical' tradition" (p. 335). Agger (1991) also suggests that they "offer related perspectives on the shortcomings of positivism as well as new ways to theorize and study contemporary societies." (p. 105). Following Agger and Harris, I consider that the underlying concepts involved in critical theory are consistent with poststructuralist approaches to research, as both provide spaces for marginalized or subjugated perspectives to be represented.

Critical social theory is generally associated with the Marxist Frankfurt School, and its leading theorists include Habermas, Horkheimer and Adorno (Agger, 1991; Weaver & Olson, 2006). Weaver and Olson (2006) describe critical social theory as being "concerned with countering oppression and redistributing power and resources" (p. 461) and, whereas a poststructuralist understanding is that 'truth(s)' are contextual and not universal, "a critical theory perspective assumes that truth exists as 'taken for granted' realities shaped by social, political, cultural, gender and economic factors that over time are considered 'real' " (p. 461). Similarly, Waller (2006) summarises critical theory as "focus[ing] on unearthing domination, self-interest, control, hegemony and issues of power" (p. 696). Research associated with critical theory has a focus on action, and the notion of *praxis* or the process of action and reflection to create change (Weaver and Olson, 2006; Hammersley, 1997). Hammersley (1997) summarises critical theory as:

In short, what is promised is some sort of comprehensive theory that will provide the basis for political action to bring about radical and

emancipatory social change. Above all, 'critical' approaches claim to unify theory and practice (p. 237).

While critical theory provides a mechanism for including an overtly political frame in the research, in contrast with post-structuralism, its limitation is a tendency to seek a meta-narrative and establish dichotomous positions. Hammersley (1997) describes this limitation:

... work in this tradition takes much for granted and adopts relatively crude positions on a variety of issues. For example, it often involves the adoption of a macro-sociological theory in which there are only two parties -- the oppressors and the oppressed -- and only one relationship between them: domination (p. 245).

This tendency to make absolute, black and white truth claims is a major limitation of critical theory. While perhaps useful for identifying and analysing dominant and subjugated discourses, it does not provide a tool for exploring and analysing the messy nuances, the degrees of grey (or colour) that confound the neo-Marxist structuralist approaches of critical theorists. In this respect, the more neutral concept of *difference* associated with poststructuralist thinking (Scott, 1988), provides a mechanism for accepting the contradictions and complexities of multiple truths – or multiple positionings of truth.

Towards an Understanding of Discourse

I introduced the concept of *discourse* as one of the concepts that Scott (1988) argued “feminists have appropriated from poststructuralism” (p. 34). *Discourse* is a widely contested term, with multiple definitions depending on which of a wide range of disciplines including linguistics, sociology, psychology, applied linguistics, law, literary studies, sociolinguistics, or philosophy the definer comes from (Gee & Green, 1998; Waller, 2006, 2008; Fairclough, 1992, 1993, 2003, 2005). Even within these various disciplines there are various ways of using the term. Waller (2008) concludes that “There are many different definitions of discourse. So many, that there are those who argue that although discourse is in vogue, it is also vague” (2008, p. 676). Having said this, drawing on Fairclough, Waller (2006) provides a useful definition of *discourse* for the purposes of my research which, like his, utilizes a critical discourse analytic methodology:

... discourse is a way of constituting knowledge about a particular topic at a historical moment through language in speech and text or ... which shape or are shaped by institutions, situations and

structures... Discourse provides an image about the reality of the subject (individual, group, institution), and how meanings are constructed in certain situations (pp. 4&5).

Fairclough (1992, 1993, 2003, 2005) also notes the broad use of the term 'discourse' in various disciplines such as linguistics and sociology, and distinguishes three ways in which he uses the term. The first of these, which Fairclough (2003) terms "discourse as a 'genre,' or ... part of the action" (p. 26), refers to different discourse 'types' that both create and conform to (constitute and are constituted by) different social practices and styles of interacting. Fairclough (1993) illustrates this aspect of 'discourse' by referring to television "chat shows that comprise the discourse types of 'performance' and 'conversation' " (p. 135). Fairclough's (2003) second distinction is the depiction of discourse as a personal style, or "way of being" (p. 36). He uses the example of the way a person may use language "including vocabulary, the 'um' and 'er' utterances and ways of speaking or writing that constitute a particular discursive style" (p. 36) to explain the discourse, along with bodily behaviour or non-verbal communication, constitutes personal or social identities. His third distinction is of 'discourse' as a way of representing a particular way of constructing a world view; of "representations of the material world, or other social practices, reflexive self-representations of the practice in question" (p. 26). Fairclough distinguishes this aspect further, with 'discourse' as an abstract noun used to signify distinct disciplinary discourses such as 'policy discourse' or 'medical discourse', and 'discourse(s)' used as 'countable nouns' signifying "particular ways of representing part of the world". He provides an example of this being "the political discourse of 'New Labour' as opposed to the political discourse of 'old Labour' " (p.36).

The research I am engaged in is particularly concerned with representational aspects of discourse; the third of Fairclough's (2003) distinctions. A representational discourse may be, or appear to be, well established as the seemingly natural or taken for granted order of things. It may also emerge in response to a crisis, event, or new way of 'imagining' the world (Fairclough, 2005, p. 42). Representational discourses may also cross over a number of 'disciplinary discourses,' and represent an often unexamined and taken for granted world-view. For example, if I understand the world from a particular cultural or religious

perspective, this will influence the lens through which I understand or construct all aspects of the world and my experience of it.

Fairclough (2005) also discusses how the field of politics generates new discourses, often to distinguish a new regime from its predecessors or to promote a particular political strategy. For example, new discourses associated with the 'third-way' governments of the United Kingdom and New Zealand include 'third way,' 'knowledge economy', and 'social development;' terms that were unknown previously, and which comprise a set of understandings or constructions of the social and political world.

Discourse as both Representational and Constitutive

I refer to discourse as a mechanism for both understanding or representing and constructing the world. Fairclough (1992) explains these *representational* and *constitutive* functions:

Discourses do not just reflect or represent social entities and relations, they construct, or 'constitute' them; different discourses constitute key identities (be they 'mental illness' citizenship' or 'literacy') in different ways, and position people in different ways as social objects (e.g. as doctors or patients), ... Another important focus is upon historical change: how different discourses combine under particular social conditions to produce a new, complex discourse (pp. 3&4, emphasis added).

Discourses do not then merely describe or represent some 'truth' or 'reality.' The discourse effectively creates the 'reality' by establishing or reinforcing concepts, ideas or ways of thinking and understanding the world so that they become taken-for-granted assumptions.

Applied example of discourse: The service provider.

I draw on a simple (and perhaps simplistic) example of the development of new discourses in the field of this research. In recent years community organisations that operate in the health and welfare area are often called *service providers*. This is the dominant terminology in government policies, programmes and contractual arrangements. It has become a taken for granted term; it is assumed that everyone uses and understands it. Yet the terminology of 'service provider' has the effect of

re-defining the relationship between many of these organisations and the communities in which they are situated, from associations of people living in and working with the community, to externalized providers of services *to* the community. The *services* are therefore just other commodities to be bought and sold. The *service provider* label neatly supports or exemplifies the neo-liberal, economic discourses of ‘the market’ and dominates alternative discourses, such as health and welfare and indigenous discourses of *manaakitanga* and *whanaungatanga*.

Theoretical Influences: Foucault, Gramsci, Freire and Sacks

Having introduced the theoretical and philosophical positions that underpin the research, I now introduce the main theorists whose work has informed my thinking in this research: Michel Foucault (1926-1984) and Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937). Both Foucault and Gramsci were concerned with the way in which governmental power is exercised or maintained, although they approach this from different political positions. Gramsci is widely known for his writings on hegemony (see Hoare & Nowell Smith, 1971), and Foucault for his exploration of more nuanced operations of power and governance in both the public and personal spheres (1975, 1977, 1978). In this research I am particularly interested in Foucault’s work on governmentality and the ways in which ‘modern’ governments exercise power indirectly. I also refer to the theoretical and practical work of Paulo Freire (1921-1997) and Jonathan Sacks (b. 1948).

Foucault: Introducing Governmentality.

Foucault introduced the concept of governmentality – the ‘mentality’ of governing (Lemke, 2001, 2002; Rose, 1996) in a series of lectures in 1977-8. Lemke (2001) explains the concept as the link between the process of governing and ways of thinking to indicate that “it is not possible to study the technologies of power without analysis of the political rationality underpinning them” (p.191). Foucault (1978) explains that by governmentality he means three things, which I repeat rather than summarise so as to retain the subtleties in his definition:

1. The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its

target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security.

2. The tendency that, over a long period and throughout the West, has steadily led to the preeminence over all other forms (sovereign, discipline, and so on) of this type of power – which may be termed “government” – resulting, on the one hand, in the formation of a whole series of specific governmental apparatuses, and, on the other, in the development of a whole complex of knowledges [*saviors*].

3. The process or, rather, the result of the process through which the state of justice in the Middle Ages transformed into the administrative state during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and gradually becomes “governmentalised” (p. 244).

Foucault traces a history, or genealogy, of the art of governing from medieval times to the present. He presents the medieval model, characterized by Machiavelli’s *The Prince* (1532) as one where governing is personal and paternalistic; power is held by the Prince to dispense arbitrary ‘justice’ and reward favours. Foucault traces the development of institutions: prisons, schools and hospitals in late 18th and 19th century Europe, and how these intermediary institutions have changed the way in which governments operate. In *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975), Foucault traces the change from a time in which punishment was by public torture and hangings, to the development of prisons based on surveillance and regulation. He uses the idea of the panopticonic gaze, based on the panopticon designed by Jeremy Bentham in the 19th century. This was a tower in a prison from which guards could observe every cell, but the prisoners wouldn’t know whether they were being watched, so would self-regulate their behaviour on the assumption that they may be seen (Bevir, 1999; Danaher, Schirato & Webb, 2000). Foucault traces the history of medicine and psychiatry and the institutionalisation of ‘madness’ and suggests that a similar process of self-regulation operates. Foucault’s final significant exploration, *The History of Sexuality Volume I* (1977) looks at the way people regulate their own behaviour, internalizing the dominant societal norms.

A common theme in Foucault’s work is the process of self-regulation at governmental, social/moral and personal levels. In the context of this research,

this explains ways that governments exercise power indirectly through a range of “techniques, practices to govern the conduct of citizens” (Bevir, 1999, p. 354). Bevir (1999) explains that disciplinary power, such as the coercive power of the police and judiciary, is complemented by what Foucault terms pastoral power which:

... has to flow through the consciousness of subjects in such a way that they internalize the relevant laws, rules and norms so as to regulate themselves in accord with them. It acts not as a direct, immediate form of domination, as does violence, but as a type of influence (p. 355).

Bevir explains this as the actions of “criminologists, psychologists, doctors, religious ministers and counselors [to] establish norms and patterns of deviancy” (p. 355). To this we can add social workers and, perhaps community social service organisations. Just as Gramsci theorized the position of civil society dominated by the norms and ideologies of elites, Foucault’s model positions these intermediary professionals as instrumental in maintaining the system of government by consent.

Foucault and Power

Foucault’s theories on the workings of power trace a similar history as his work on governmentality. In a traditional concept of power, it is vested in the centre (e.g. ‘the government’) and exercised directly or delegated through bureaucratic authorities and mechanisms to various operational units. Allen (2004) describes this “top-down and centre-out” functioning of power as follows:

Once the measure of organisational power is drawn and its capabilities known, it would seem as if power radiates out from an identifiable centre and, allowing for an element of resistance or distortion in the decision-making process, unproblematic reach across the landscape is assumed (p. 21).

While this notion may have been relevant in a Machiavellian world, Foucault argues that it is simplistic in a modern world. He conceives of a diffuse, decentred operation of power, constructed in relationships (Allen, 2004; Wickham, 1983).

Allen (2004) explains this as:

... the idea that we are under the control of a political or economic authority has less to do with the extent to which people confirm or comply with its administrative pronouncements, and rather more to do with effectiveness with which we, its subjects, internalize their meaning... *Power is thought to work through indirect techniques of*

self-regulation which make it difficult for individuals to operate in any other way (p. 23, italics added).

Power is thus seen, not as an object or quality held by a particular actor, but as being diffused in networks and relationships; “Power is everywhere and comes from everywhere” (Foucault, 1979, cited in Jessop, 2007, p. 37; McKenna, 2004, p. 13). To understand this operation of power, one must look at the instruments through which it operates; the various sets of rules, norms, procedures that govern institutions and individuals. Rather than seeing the operation of power as operating from the top down, according to Foucault power works from the bottom up (or out), and needs to be studied in this way. The workings of power must be analysed in the way it operates on populations and individuals at the extremities, rather than focusing on centralized pronouncements (Gilbert, 2003; Wickham, 1983). Gilbert (2003) explains: “This flow of power should not be seen as repressive. Rather power is productive of opportunities, social practices, identities, discourse and truth” (p. 38). A decentred notion of power includes a space for resistance. Where there is power, Foucault argues, there will be resistance, although as Powers (2007) cautions: “Resistance can also be co-opted, or absorbed, by power in any force relation. Co-optation of resistance results in the increase of power and the reduction or fracturing of the resistance” (p. 31). To give a possible example of this nexus from my research: the practice of inviting people who may be critical (or resistant) to a policy initiative, to join a project advisory group or working party may provide them with the possibility of influencing the particular policy or programme being developed. From a Foucauldian perspective it may also be a strategy of co-optation to stop them speaking out or criticising the project or policy. They are now part of the group, and bound by its rules and norms. This silencing may be explicit in that, as a member of the steering group, they are bound by codes (both written and implicit) of confidentiality, and implicitly through the operation of governmentalising forces embodied in group norms and behaviour. I discuss the ways this process may operate in Chapter Six when I consider the way the *pathway to partnership* steering group operated.

Gramsci and Hegemony

I also draw on the work of Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) and his work on hegemony, or the alliance between government and civil society. I introduce Gramsci and his work, and discuss ways that I connect his analysis of hegemony and counter hegemony with Foucault's work on power, governmentality and resistance to inform my research.

Gramsci was an Italian Marxist; the founder and leader of the Italian Communist Party. Although not part of the Frankfurt School, he shares some similar structuralist and neo-Marxist world views as the critical theorists. Gramsci was imprisoned by the fascist Italian government from 1926 until shortly before his death in 1937. While in prison he wrote the *Prison Notebooks* in which he analysed Italian history and Marxism. Much of his writing was codified to pass the prison censor; using 'the Modern Prince' for the Communist Party' and 'philosophy of praxis' as a euphemism for Marxism (Hoare & Nowell Smith, 1971; Donaldson, 2008). However, these euphemisms take on their own meanings and are central to Gramsci's thought and theorizing on power and its operation. Gramsci's theories of civil society, the operation of praxis, hegemony and the 'passive revolution' informed a generation of post-Gramscian thought, influencing strategy in decolonisation and liberation.

In my research I refer in particular to Gramsci's (1971) concepts of 'cultural hegemony' and civil society. Gramsci uses the term 'hegemony' to examine the way in which 'the masses' are co-opted into the culture and norms of the ruling elites. He explains that elites maintain their power through the dual tactics of developing social hegemony, and employing the coercive power of government. Furthermore, this power operates with the consent of the population at large.

According to Gramsci, the process of gaining consent of the population is established through the organisations of civil society, backed up by the threat of coercive force or sanctions. The discourse of hegemony explains how the cultural norms and practices of the 'elites' are supported by the 'non-elite' as being the natural order of things. Gramsci refers to this process of gaining consent of the

masses as a 'passive revolution' and suggests a role of developing "counter hegemony that would break down hegemonic power by bringing together subordinate groups and detaching them from the erstwhile hegemony, in a common vision of an alternative society, an alternative normality" (Cox, 2007, p.93).

Katz (2006) describes the way the establishment of hegemony operates through the co-optation of elements of civil society by the state, to the extent that "civil society becomes part of an extended state, utilized by the ruling class to form and maintain its hegemony by *transformismo*, or co-optation" (p. 335). This position is very similar to the Foucauldian notion of governmentality whereby citizens are recruited, or co-opted to the interests of the state "in such a way that they internalize the relevant laws, rules and norms so as to regulate themselves in accord with them" (Bevir, 1999, p. 355). Katz, in a paper discussing the role of global non-government organisations (NGOs) and neoliberalism, suggests that civil society (i.e. NGO or community) organisations' actions may either establish and maintain the dominant discourses or ideology, or form a counter-hegemonic bloc and challenge the dominant discourses or ideology.

Paulo Freire: Conscientization and a Pedagogy of the Oppressed

The neo-Marxist theoretical framework that underpins Gramsci's work also guides other significant critical theorists and practitioners such as Freire (1921-1997) whose notions of conscientization of oppressed groups were prominent in community education and liberation movements in New Zealand as well as elsewhere during the 1970s and 1980s (Benseman, 1998). In a process similar to Gramsci's development of counter-hegemony, Freire (1985) presents a dualistic positioning of 'oppressed' and 'oppressor' engaged in a struggle in which "Washing one's hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless means to side with the powerful, not to be neutral" (p. 122). His work focuses on conscientization, or raising the consciousness of 'the oppressed' to the ways in which dominant social, economic and cultural ideology and practices maintain the positions of power and privilege of 'the oppressor.' Freire introduces a 'pedagogy of the oppressed' (1970), whereby the oppressed start to tell their own stories, and

make sense of the world from their own experiences, thereby gaining (or realizing) some power in their struggle for liberation, and, in Gramscian terms, withdrawing their consent to the dominant hegemony. I discuss Freire and his influence in New Zealand in Chapter Four when I provide an historical overview of the relationships between government and community organisations.

Neo-Marxist and critical theorists such as Freire and Gramsci offer unambiguous political analyses of power that seek to expose and de-privilege the hegemonic practices of the ‘elites’, and promote the local and subjugated knowledges of the ‘oppressed.’ Freire (1993) is clear in his concerns that social theory “must be firmly grounded in human narratives of emancipation and social justice” (p. x). In the same work he also notes how his work has been linked with some poststructuralist approaches, both sharing a wariness of grand narratives, stating: “Oppression must always be understood in its multiple and contradictory instances, just as liberation must be grounded in the particularity of suffering and struggle in concrete, historical experiences without resorting to transcendental guarantees” (p. x). This explicit attention to the dynamics of oppression usefully complements and grounds the more nuanced analyses associated with Foucauldian frameworks for understanding the complexities of power and relationships.

Jonathan Sacks: Contracts and Covenants

Sacks’ (1996, 2008) discussions on contracts and covenants provide a useful framework for describing different models of relationship. Drawing on both theological and historical sources, Sacks (1996) distinguishes two “fundamentally different ways of thinking about human association” (p. 54). He refers to a social contract associated with rules and the establishment of political institutions, distinguishing this from a social covenant which he associates with family and civil society:

A social contract is maintained by the threat of external force, the Leviathan of the State. A covenant, by contrast, is maintained by an internalized sense of identity, kinship, loyalty, obligation, duty, responsibility, and reciprocity. A social contract gives rise to the instrumentalities of the State: governments, parties, and the mediated resolution of conflict. It is the basis of political society. A covenant gives rise to quite different institutions--families, communities, traditions, and voluntary associations. It is the basis of civil society.

This is one way of describing the difference between man as a political animal and man as social animal (p. 56).

Sacks (2008) further discusses the way in which we as a society have emphasised the role of contracts in both the economic and social/political spheres, and how this has limited the way in which we work together. As he puts it:

A contract is a *transaction*. A covenant is a *relationship*. Or to put it slightly differently: a contract is about interests. A covenant is about identity. It is about you and me coming together to form an 'us'. That is why contracts *benefit*, but covenants *transform* (p.3).

To provide an example of this from my research: I identify two dominant discourses of partnership in the research. One, which I term *modified contractualism* is a refinement of the contractual arrangements that have dominated the relationship between government and community for the past two decades. The modifications involve a better process for negotiating the contracts, but the contract is at the centre of the relationship. This approach reflects Sacks' discussion of contracts. The second discourse, which I term *community development*, focuses on the relationship between government and the community organisation(s) involved. There may be a high level relationship agreement or memorandum of understanding between the parties; if so, this will typically set out principles and agreed processes to maintain the relationship. The organisation may have contracts in place for particular projects, but these are subsidiary to the overall relationship. This partnership discourse fits Sacks' notion of a covenant. Sacks' presentations of covenantal relationships provide an uplifting vision of hope and the possibility of creating meaningful partnerships between the state and civil society.

Conclusion

In this chapter I outlined the main philosophical and theoretical influences that inform this research. Poststructuralism and critical social theory underpin the research methodology which I present in Chapter Three. Foucault's theories on power and governmentality, and Gramsci's analysis of hegemony inform the analysis of the discourses of partnership between government and community organisations in this research. Freire and Sacks provide further analyses of power and the nature of relationships that I use throughout the research.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

This research identifies and analyses discourses of partnership between government and community organisations during the period of the fifth Labour-led Government in New Zealand (1999-2008). In this chapter I outline the methodology and research methods I employ. I follow Crotty's (1998) conceptual structure that links the research methodology to the theoretical and philosophical positioning of the research, and to the research methods employed. Crotty's framework comprises four key, interlinked elements:

- *Methods*: the techniques or procedures used to gather and analyse data related to some research question or hypothesis.
- *Methodology*: the strategy, plan of action, process or design lying behind the choice and use of particular methods and linking the choice and use of methods to the desired outcomes.
- *Theoretical perspective*: the philosophical stance informing the methodology and thus providing a context for the process and grounding its logic and criteria.
- *Epistemology*: the theory of knowledge embedded in the theoretical perspective and thereby in the methodology (p. 3).

I briefly discuss the subjectivist and theoretical perspectives of poststructuralism and critical social theory that inform the methodology of critical discourse analysis used in the research. I then explain the critical discourse analytic approach as the methodology I employ. In the final section in this chapter, I introduce the research methods applied in the research, and conclude with a discussion on processes used to maintain the validity or reliability of the research.

Poststructuralist and Critical Theory Approaches: Research with a Subjectivist Epistemology

Crotty (1998) defines epistemology as “the theory of knowledge embedded in the theoretical framework and thereby in the methodology” (p. 3). He refers to three major epistemologies of social research: objectivism, constructivism and subjectivism. The first of these, objectivism, is associated with positivist theoretical perspectives or paradigms (Grant & Giddings, 2002) and is the research of the scientific method that assumes an objective meaning intrinsic to the research topic, and waiting to be discovered by the researcher. This is the epistemology of quantitative research and double-blind experiments that discover ‘real,’ objectively

verifiable facts typically associated with the natural sciences. Crotty's second epistemology is constructivism, in which knowledge is 'constructed' in the relationship between the researcher and the researched:

... the view that all knowledge and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context (p. 42).

Constructivism is associated with interpretivist research methodologies in which the researcher seeks to uncover and interpret the lived experiences of the research subjects.

The approach I take is consistent with Crotty's (1998) third epistemology, subjectivism, which he describes as one in which "meaning does not come out of the interplay between the subject and object ...[but] is imposed on the object by the subject. Here the object makes no contribution to the generation of meaning" (p. 9). Crotty notes that subjectivism "often appears to be what people are actually describing when they claim to be talking about constructivism" (p. 9), and distinguishes the two epistemologies as follows: "It is tempting to say that in constructivism meaning is constructed out of something (the object), where as in subjectivism meaning is created out of nothing;" qualifying this simplification: "We humans are not that creative, however.... We import meaning from somewhere else... meaning comes from anything *but* an interaction between the subject and the object to which it is ascribed" (p. 9).

The theoretical perspectives that guide the research are critical social theory and poststructuralism, discussed in Chapter Two. Poststructuralist approaches reject the concept of unitary truths or grand narratives that explain the way the world works. Research informed by this approach will seek to uncover multiple truths and perhaps explore, or deconstruct, the ways these various truths may be understood or constructed. As Foucault (cited in Hartman, 2000) explains:

We must entertain the claims to attention of local, discontinuous, disqualified, illegitimate knowledges against the claims of a unitary body of theory which would filter, hierarchize, and order them in the name of some true knowledge and some arbitrary idea of what constitutes a science and its objects (p. 21).

The other major theoretical perspective in the research is critical social theory, in which meaning is constructed from the relationship between the subject and object; between a person and their world. Unlike predominant constructivist approaches to social research, the focus of critical theory is not to merely interpret or understand the world, but to change it. Critical theorists are wary of uncritically accepting the subject's interpretations of their situation, as people's understandings of the world may be distorted by what Marxists term 'false consciousness'. Grant and Giddings (2002) explain this: "in some important respects the 'truth' of everyday experience has been mystified to its subjects through ideological mechanisms such as hegemony which work to make the interests of powerful groups in society seem natural" (p. 18). A critical research process typically involves deconstructing these taken for granted ways of seeing the world that privilege the powerful, and creating an opportunity for alternative constructions of meaning from the perspective of the less powerful; in Freire's (1992) expression; creating a pedagogy of the oppressed. A critical approach also fits within a subjectivist epistemology.

Research Methodology: Critical Discourse Analysis

Methodology: the strategy, plan of action, process or design lying behind the choice and use of particular methods and linking the choice and use of methods to the desired outcomes (Crotty, 1998, p. 3).

Consistent with its theoretical and epistemological foundations, the research uses a critical discourse analytic approach as a research methodology. In this section I note the range of approaches to discourse analysis, and explain in more depth the model, developed by Fairclough (1993, 1995) that I follow in this research.

Introducing Discourse Analysis

In Chapter Two I introduced the concept of discourse, with its multiple meanings. I explained that in this research I generally refer to discourse as 'a way of representing a particular way of constructing a world view.' The object of discourse analysis is to uncover the various discourses, or world views, and the taken-for-granted 'truths' these discourses construct. It is therefore a tool to uncover the discourses that influence the way we think and act. Discourse analysis

has been called an approach, or collection of approaches rather than a methodology (Cheek, 2004; Smith, 2007). It also draws from a range of academic disciplines, including linguistics and social psychology (Hammersley, 2003; Traynor, 2006), and has a wide variety of different approaches (Hammersley, 2003; Weatherell, 2003). In its broadest sense, discourse analysis involves research based on language and texts. Weatherell (2003) explains it as the study of “the flavour and texture of language and the way discourse and talk are constitutive of social life and work as crucial practices or functioning elements in social action in their own right” (p. 287).

There is a wide range of approaches to discourse analysis. Traynor (2006), following Taylor (2001), identifies four: first, “identifying code;” an approach particularly associated with linguistics in which analysts focus on the “properties and structure of language” with incidental attention to the social context; second, “use and interaction;” an approach that is typically associated with conversation analysis that explores “how people accomplish ‘being ordinary’ and the rules that speakers attend to in actual examples of talk,” third, studies of occupation that analyse how “individuals enact and maintain their membership of occupational groups in their talk,” and last, “societal discursive practices” which encompass studies of discourse and power, and which includes critical discourse analysis (pp. 63&64). Traynor links both Fairclough’s and Foucauldian approaches, which are followed in this research, to this fourth approach.

Critical Discourse Analysis

There are also numerous approaches to critical discourse analysis. Waller (2006), following Wodak (2002), suggests that these approaches tend to group around two different poles:

... on the one hand, there is a focus on a detailed analysis of texts – the linguistic features of texts – an approach which may be considered to be narrow. On the other hand, there is a focus on the social aspects of text production, transformation, distribution, consumption and redistribution – focusing only on discourse – an approach which may be regarded as wide (p. 8).

Arguably, Fairclough’s critical discourse analytic approach which I follow and which I discuss in the next section, traverses this polarity with its three-

dimensional analytic approach covering both the textual and social context of the discourse production.

Critical discourse analysis draws on both Foucauldian and critical theories, and seeks to introduce an overtly ‘critical’ or political aspect to the research (McKenna, 2004; O’Regan, 2006; Van Dijk, 1993; Waller, 2006, 2008). It provides a framework (rather than just a theory) for analyzing discourses and linking the text to broader socio-cultural practices. Again, there are various schools and influences of critical discourse analysis, which McKenna (2004) attempts to reconcile within an overarching theoretical and methodological framework. He introduces a critical discourse analytic approach as being “characterized by its consideration of the relationship between language and society in order to understand the relations between discourse, power, dominance, and social inequality” (p. 10). He then identifies eight characteristics of critical discourse analysis: teleology, or the importance of an explicit sociopolitical stand; a theory of discourse, mainly influenced by (neo-)Marxist, Foucauldian and feminist theories; materialism which includes the social context of the discourse; historicity whereby discourse is analysed both in the present and in terms of its genealogy; constructivism or constructionism that theorizes language is both representative (constructed by) and constitutive of ‘reality’; a theory of the subject or subject position; ideology; and power, where McKenna notes a tension between neo-Marxist and Foucauldian approaches. McKenna suggests that, whereas, the neo-Marxist approach has an explicit intent of emancipation, “although Foucaultian approaches to analysis may be critical in analyzing power, there is no commitment to social change” (p. 10). McKenna later speaks of how neo-Marxist approaches have incorporated a number of Foucauldian concepts relating to power, such as the way power operates in social networks rather than the as a coercive function of the power elites. Another Foucauldian influence on critical discourse analysis is the inclusion of an historical context; as Powers (2007) explains:

For Foucault, it followed that discourse cannot be analyzed only in the present, because the power components and the historical components create such a tangled knot of shifting meanings, definitions and interested parties over periods of time. Consequently, a discourse analysis must be seen at the same time from a genealogical perspective (p. 26).

Fairclough's critical discourse approach, which I follow in this research, incorporates the historical, as well as social and political contexts in which the research operates.

Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis Approach

The approach used in this research is mainly drawn from the work of Norman Fairclough (b. 1941). Cheek (2004), referring to discourse analysis informed by poststructuralism, notes the relationship between text and context: "There is a dynamic relationship between the text and the context in which the text is produced. Texts are both constitutive of and, in turn, constructed by their context" (p. 1144). Fairclough's (1992) model of critical discourse analysis is multi-dimensional; providing a tool for analysing both the textual minutiae and the broad sociopolitical context in which the text is produced. As such, it provides a theoretical and methodological mechanism that traverses Waller's (2006) spectrum with the micro, linguistic analysis at the one end and broad social aspects of discourse production at the other.

Fairclough's (1992) model has three dimensions, or levels that need to be considered when looking at a text (see Figure 1). First, the context in which the text is produced or the level of social practice; second the way in which the text is received or dimension of discourse practice, and finally the details of the text itself or dimension of text analysis (Fairclough, 1992, 1993; Cheek, 2006; Smith, 2007; Waller, 2008; Wilson 2001). I briefly introduce each of the three dimensions, and then outline how I apply Fairclough's approach to my research.

Dimension of social practice.

The dimension of social practice refers to the broader social, cultural and historical context in which the text is produced. Analysis at this level considers underlying ideological, socio-cultural and power structures in society, and how these are reproduced and/or resisted in the texts under consideration (Fairclough, 1992, 1993; Smith 2006; Waller 2006; Wilson 2001).

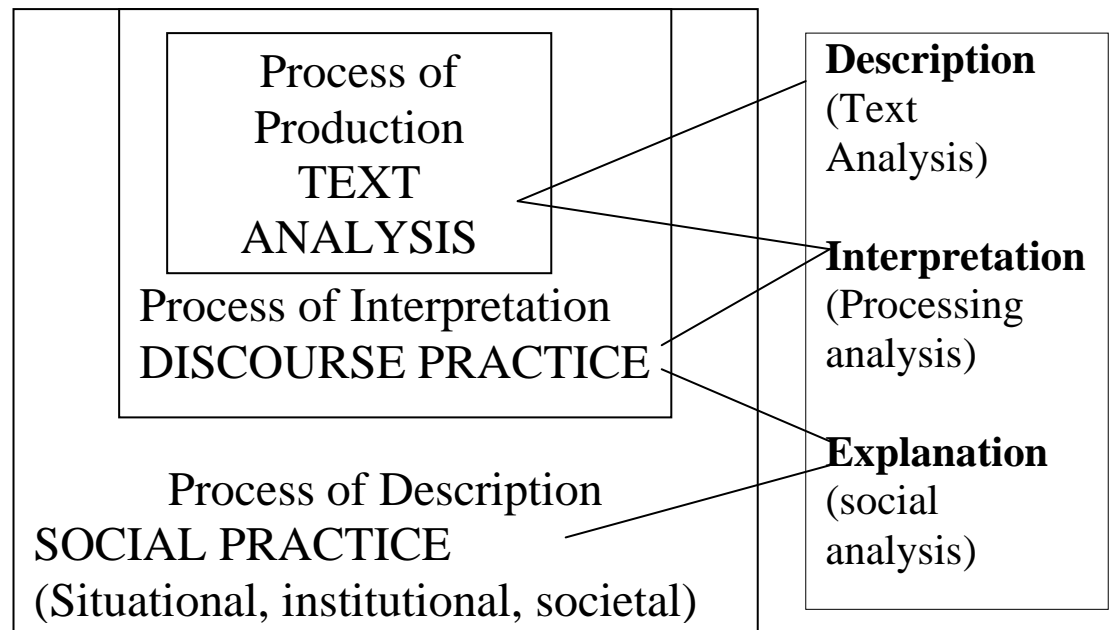


Figure 1: Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis Model

Waller (2006) refers to the level of social practice as explanatory; explaining both “the dynamics of a text and how the text is produced, distributed, transformed and consumed” and the underlying power relations that exist. Wilson (2001) explains the objective of analysis at this level is to provide “the opportunity to expose and examine the implications of the larger forces at work in the constitution of subjectivity and power relations” (p. 297).

Dimension of discourse practice.

Waller (2006) refers to the dimension of discourse practice as the interpretative dimension. It deals with the production, distribution and consumption of texts, and can be analysed at both the level of individual texts, and at the level of the wider corpus to show the relationships between the texts and the way they operate to build the discourse. Smith (2007) suggests that Fairclough was influenced by Foucault, who, she says, “described discourse practice as a system of anonymous historical rules” (p. 63). Smith explains the working of discourse practice:

For example, government policy documents, parliamentary debate, media releases or newspaper texts are shaped by historically and socially generated conventions that dictate their form, content and consumption. The evolution of individual discourse practices has created conventions, or ‘orders of discourse’ that shape the nature

of the discursive event and privilege particular identities or ideologies, thus giving them more power (pp. 62 & 63).

Fairclough (1992) also suggests that the dimension of discourse practice links the macro analysis of the social dimension with the micro analysis associated with textual analysis.

Dimension of textual analysis.

Fairclough's third dimension is that of textual analysis. This is the descriptive dimension (Waller, 2006) that deals with the micro analysis of linguistic and semiotic construction of texts. Fairclough (1992) describes the function of text analysis as "uncovering the micro-information in the texts to provide to the macro-analysis of the social practices" (p. 86). This textual analysis may, according to Smith (2007) "either be highly detailed at the semantic level, or conducted at a more thematic level, depending on the aim of the research" (p. 63).

Intertextuality.

One of the key concepts of Fairclough's approach to critical discourse analysis is intertextuality. This aspect is discussed within both the dimensions of text analysis (Waller, 2006) and discourse practice (Fairclough, 1992). Fairclough (1992) describes it as "the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged into, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth" (p. 84). This effectively means that any given text cannot be seen in isolation, but as part of a chain or network of texts and this interrelationship also needs to be analysed. The analysis will include the text's connection to others that both precede and follow it, and with other forms of texts that may have been produced to, for example, reinforce a message with a different audience thereby attempting to embed (or challenge) a taken for grantedness that would not be accepted in an isolated text. In the next section I discuss how I apply Fairclough's approach to critical discourse analysis to my research, and outline the research methods I employ.

Research Methods – The Practical Application of CDA

Crotty (1998) defines research methods as “the techniques or procedures used to gather and analyse data related to some research question or hypothesis” (p.3). I follow Fairclough’s (1992) general guidelines for engaging in critical discourse analysis. In this section I explain how I apply these guidelines in the research.

Establishing the Scope of the Research

The first of Fairclough’s guidelines is to define the scope of the research, thereby establishing the focus and limits to the research. Although my initial research proposed an analysis of the discourses of ‘relationship’ between government and community, a cursory look at the volume of material related to this topic indicated the question was too broad to be meaningfully engaged with. Consequently I narrowed the research scope to examining the discourses of *partnership* between the government and community organisations. To make the scope more manageable, I focus on both government and community organisations that operate in the community social services. The election of a National minority government in 2008 provides a useful endpoint for the research which spans the period of the fifth Labour-led Government: 1999-2008.

Selecting Texts to Analyse

Fairclough’s second step is to determine the size of the research archive, and build a research corpus, or range of texts to consider. Following Fairclough (1992), I use the term ‘archive’ to describe the broad body of texts and material in existence relating to the research topic, and the term ‘corpus’ to refer to the compilations of texts examined in the research. The corpus is limited to texts that are publicly available. The research does not generate new texts such as questionnaires or interviews, nor do I access unpublished draft material, although such drafts of policy papers for instance, may provide useful insights into the ways in which discourses are developed and maintained. The texts are drawn from two predominant sources:

1. The academic and popular literature on the research topic; not as a definitive literature review defining what is known already as in positivist research methodologies, but as a source of texts to analyse.

2. Policy papers, programme prescriptions, information circulars, application forms and evaluations, newsletters and other publications written by either government or community organisations that refer in some way to the relationships between these organisations.

I had hoped to find various articles, letters and commentaries in newspapers, magazines and media websites, to show the way the relationship between government and community is shown in the popular media. This was not the case; most media releases were initiated by government agencies, and the infrequent media articles referring to community organisations either praised or criticized a particular government policy or initiative, or publicised an event or issue in which the a particular community organisation was involved.

In the initial stages of the project I perused a large volume of material which I initially sorted into two broad groups. The first group, comprising research reports, commentaries and articles that explore or critique some aspect of the relationship between government and community organisations, provides a source of texts to analyse the historical, social and political context of the research. The analysis of this material forms the basis of chapters four and five of this study. The second group comprises material produced by government and community organisations that demonstrates or critiques some aspect of partnership or the broader relationship between them. I selected three sets of texts from this archive to analyse in more depth. I focus on the dimension of discourse practice in the analysis of these texts, which form the basis of Chapter Six of the study.

Text Selection: Historical, Social and Political Context

Chapters four and five set out the historical, social and political context of the research, conforming to Fairclough's dimension of social practice. This performs the research function of a literature review. I draw on a range of literature and secondary sources for much of this information, including academic journals, written histories, and research reports and critiques.

There was considerable research interest in the field of community-government relations during the period of the study. In New Zealand the *Local Partnerships*

and Governance Research Group produced a significant body of academic research relating to partnerships between government and community in New Zealand from 2002 to 2005 (Trotman, 2005). The *Study of the NZ Non-Profit Sector* published a series of research papers about the community and voluntary sector in New Zealand, including its history, scope, definition, role and value (Sanders, et al., 2008). I have drawn on these research studies, together with international literature, academic studies, evaluations, reports and guides developed by both government and community organisations to form the research archive for this study.

Text Selection: Partnership Exemplars

The second part of the research examines three sets of texts that demonstrate aspects of the way discourses of partnership were constructed, and how they operated in the period of the fifth Labour-led Government (1999-2008). I had hoped to find a rough balance in the volume of material produced by government agencies and that produced by community organisations. Initial sorting however showed that most of the policy and programme material was produced by government agencies, and often reproduced with little or no commentary in community organisations' newsletters as a means of disseminating the information about the particular government programme or strategy. This over-reliance on texts produced by government agencies, and relative lack of the more informal texts produced by community organisations is a limitation of the research.

Having trawled through a wide range of material, I selected three sets of texts, from within the broad archive for more detailed analysis. These are:

1. The speeches and media releases from Hon. Steve Maharey, Minister of Social Development, in the first year of the fifth Labour-led Government (1999-2000) in which he sets out the government's approach to partnership and working with the community sector.
2. Policy papers, newsletters, evaluations and other material produced by, for, or about the Strategies for Kids, Information for Parents (SKIP) programme. I selected this set of texts as an example of a government-led initiative with a well articulated philosophy and practice of working in partnership with

community organisations. This initiative was developed in the course of the period under study, and is still operating.

3. Policy and Programme material, Cabinet papers, media releases, articles and commentaries on the government's *pathway to partnership* programme administered by the Ministry of Social Development in 2006 to 2008, the final years of the fifth Labour-led Government. I selected this set of texts as an example of a government-led initiative with rhetoric of partnership. This set of texts provides the data to explore contested discourses of partnership and power relations.

The selection of these three sets of texts is not designed to be representative, but each set is selected to illustrate different aspects of partnership discourse and discourse production.

I list the texts that are referred to in each of these sets in appendices A to C, giving each text a unique identifying code which I use when referring to them in the research. For example, Maharey's speech entitled 'Partnership, Politics and the Social Democratic Project' given to a regional Labour Party conference in March 2000, is coded 'S7'. When referred to within Chapter Six (which covers the analysis of Maharey's speeches) it is just referred to as 'S7'. Elsewhere in the research it is referenced as 'Maharey, 2000; S7'.

Data Analysis

Having gathered the material to work with; the next step is to analyse it. Discourse analysis and the coding and interpretation of data can be fraught with methodological tensions within poststructural and critical theory frameworks. As Lather (1991) notes: "to put into categories is an act of power" (p. 125). Various writers have outlined ways of analysing discourses (Fairclough, 1992; Kendall & Wickham, 1999; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Redwood 1999; Wetherell, 2003; Willig, 2001). In practical terms, data analysis starts with ordering the raw texts; a process to "squeeze an unwieldy body of discourse into manageable chunks" (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 167); broad themes that relate to the research field of interest and may on further analysis correspond to the overall discourses in the text. Potter and Wetherell (1987) explain that this ordering, or 'chunking' phase is

pragmatic rather than analytical. It was during this initial ‘chunking’ of the material that I realized the limitations of my initial plan to analyse the ‘ordinary’ media, and developed the two-part analytic model: analysing the broad contextual material on the one hand, and selecting three particular examples for closer analysis of the discourse practice and textual analysis.

Data Analysis: Historical, Social and Political Context

Chapters four and five generally correspond to the social practice dimension of the discourse analysis in Fairclough’s approach. Chapter Four examines the broader historical context surrounding the discourse of partnership, and the political context of its promotion by government. Chapter Five explores academic and research literature surrounding the discourses of partnership; thereby enhancing the understanding of the research context and functioning as a literature review, summarizing what others are saying on the subject. Following Fairclough (1992) as a guide, I asked the following sort of questions of the texts in order to construct the socio-political and historical contexts of the research.

- What systems of knowledge are represented in the texts?
- What ideologies inform and are supported by them?
- How are power relationships represented?
- How do these texts support or counter hegemonic practices?
- Whose voices and interests are visible, or dominant? and conversely
- Whose voices and interests are marginalised or invisibilised, and by what process?

The texts I draw on also have their own discursive practices. Academic texts and articles in research journals, for example, conform to certain rules of production and employ particular language styles in their production. Reports produced by government may have a different set of rules, language and style which may be unwritten or assumed. In general I analyse the dimension of discourse practice in the sets of texts I analyse in Chapter Six.

Data Analysis: Discourse Practice

Fairclough's second analytic level is that of discourse practice, which is concerned with production, distribution and consumption of texts, and the way in which different types or styles of texts operate to develop or maintain a particular discourse. As an example, Ministers' speeches and media releases analysed in the first set of texts may highlight an aspect of an event or publication in a way that presents it as reinforcing an overall message of partnership. Drawing on Fairclough's (1992) guidelines, I look at ways the texts are produced, the forms and media used in their production, the intertextual chains between the texts, and ways in which messages and discourses are embedded or resisted in the texts. The dimension of social practice has different significance in each of the sets of texts I analyse. For example, when considering discourse types and intertextuality in the first set of texts (Ministers' speeches and media releases), there are only two discourse types and they are often closely related, with a media release designed to emphasise and distribute more widely the messages that are delivered to a narrow, targeted audience in a speech. Conversely, the texts I examine in the *pathway to partnership* programme comprise a wide range of discourse types (including media releases, community newsletters, government policy and programme documents, parliamentary speeches, debates and questions and Cabinet papers) with complex intertextual chains and loops that build a self-reinforcing, internally referenced story of partnership.

I ask the following overall research questions of each of the sets of texts:

1. How is a discourse of *partnership* established or maintained in this set of texts?
2. What discourses of *partnership* are constructed in these texts? and
3. How do partnership discourses represented in these texts demonstrate or resist governmentalising practices or hegemony?

In addition, I posed a range of questions to the texts to uncover the discourse practice including:

- What techniques of text production are employed to establish or maintain the socio-historical practices identified above?
- What intertextual chains are displayed in this corpus; how are discourses / discursive elements transferred and transformed in these chains?

- For whom is this text (or group of texts) designed, and how does this affect the status of the text?

My main focus in this aspect of the research is to identify and analyse the discourses of partnership in each of the three sets of texts I examine.

Textual Analysis

Whereas the dimensions of social and discourse practice consider the texts in relationship with wider social practices and other texts and discourses, the dimension of textual analysis focuses on the micro analysis of the selected texts themselves. In this aspect, I follow Smith (2007), who explained that the textual analysis may also be conducted at the thematic level where “the aim of the research is not to focus on the minutiae of the language used, but to comment on the general themes raised in the text in relation to the debate as a whole” (p. 63). I also considered the semantic use of language, including the way the texts are structured, the use of particular key words or expressions, the use of pronouns (for example the use of ‘we’ to convey inclusiveness) and adjectives in order to illustrate how particular discourses, or elements thereof are normalized or resisted.

Rigour

The notion of rigour can be problematic in non-positivist research in an environment where “[t]he language of quantitative research is assumed to be 'the language of research' and its positivist assumptions remain largely unquestioned” (Nixon & Power, 2007, p. 73). There is an active debate among non-positivist researchers regarding the notion of validity in qualitative research, with the construction of ‘validity’ closely associated with the methods of positivist research (Aguinaldo, 2004; Cho & Trent, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Koro-Ljungberg, 2010). Rather than enter this debate, I prefer the concept of ‘rigour’ over ‘validity.’ Crowe (2005) suggests that rigour of discourse analytic research may be assessed by:

Examining how it reflects its epistemological and ontological basis and how it provides sufficient evidence for the interpretations it makes. Discourse analysis is an interpretive process and acknowledges the multiple interpretations that can emerge from the text. The interpretive process used, however, needs to be

rigorously underpinned by theoretical positions that provide a basis for the interpretation (p. 61).

Crowe suggests two dimensions for considering rigour: methodological and interpretative. Nixon and Power (2007) also discuss the various debates and issues concerning the rigour of discourse analytic research and provide a rigour framework, (see Table 1) that I find useful as a checklist.

Table 1: Rigour framework
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Clear research question: is it appropriate for [Discourse Analysis]? 2. Clear definition of discourse and species of [Discourse Analysis] 3. Effective use of theoretical framework — clarity and explicitness in epistemological and ontological positioning ... 4. Transparency in analysis methods and application of theory to the analysis 5. Clarity in selection of talk/texts 6. Concepts/criteria/strategies to guide analysis

(Nixon & Power, 2007, p. 76)

The research question: ‘*What were the discourses of partnership between government and community organisations during the fifth Labour-led Government (1999-2008)?*’ is crafted in a way that invites a discourse analytic research approach. Applying this framework to this research, in Chapter Two I set out the epistemological and theoretical positionings as critical social theory and poststructuralism. Chapter Three includes the definition of discourse and explains the critical discourse analytic approach taken in the research. I also used Fairclough’s (1992) guide for selecting and analysing the texts.

A feature of the discussion of research rigour and validity that is relevant to this research concerns reflexivity, defined as “a process of reflecting critically on the self as researcher, as one approach to acknowledging the subjectivity inherent in the research process” (Lincoln & Guba, 1981, cited in Cohn & Lyons, 2003, p. 41). This approach contrasts with positivist research which seeks to exclude, or ‘control for’ the researcher in the research. While the literature on reflexivity generally focuses on research that involves interactive methods, such as interviews or action research, and the relationship between the researcher and research subjects or participants (Cho & Trent, 2006; Cohn & Lyons, 2003; Denzin &

Lincoln, 2005; Lather, 1986), the principles of reflexivity apply to discourse analysis as the researcher's position influences her or his reading and interpretation of the texts. I introduced my personal and professional history within both community and government in Chapter One. While my experience influences the way I select, read and interpret the texts; it also provides some privileged insights into the research field.

Summary of Chapter Three

This research takes a poststructuralist approach; as such it does not claim to have uncovered 'the truth;' and suggests that 'truths' are multiple, local and partial. The research follows an explicit process, drawn from Fairclough (1992) and outlined in this chapter. This structured approach provides a degree of rigour to the research.

Having set out in Chapter Two the theories and philosophies that underpin the research in Chapter Three I outline the research methodology and methods I use in the research and how this methodology will be applied to analyse the discourses of partnership between government and community organisations in the period of the fifth Labour-led Government (1999-2008).

CHAPTER FOUR: PARTNERSHIP – THE HISTORICAL, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT.

This research examines the discourses in the partnership between government and community organisations in New Zealand during the period of the fifth Labour led Government (1999-2008). In this chapter (Chapter Four) I explore the historical, social and political context of the relationship. I start by defining, for the purpose of this research, the main terms used: community and voluntary sector (sometimes expressed as ‘tangata whenua, community and voluntary sector organisations’) and government or the government sector, including the term ‘fifth Labour-led Government’. I outline the history of the relationship between government and tangata whenua, community and voluntary sector organisations from the period of European colonization (circa 1840) and identify a range of discourses that have characterized this relationship throughout this history, with a particular emphasis on partnership. Following this historical overview, I review government action taken by the fifth Labour-led Government to change its relationships with community organisations. In Chapter Five I examine the academic literature from both New Zealand and international sources, relating to the discourses of partnership between government and community organisations during the period 1999 – 2008. These chapters provide the historical, political and social context for this research, which Fairclough (1993) refers to as the domain of social practice in his approach to critical discourse analysis followed in this research.

Definition of Terms

Community and Voluntary Sector

I use the expression ‘Community and Voluntary Sector’ as a broad, inclusive term to refer collectively to the community groups and organisations that are neither part of the formal machinery of government, although many receive funding from government and are subject to government regulation, nor commercial ‘private sector’ organisations. There are a number of terms that are also used to refer to this sector, although there may be some differences in the way they are defined. Some terms in common use are ‘not-for-profit’ or ‘non-profit’ sector, non-

government organisations or sector (NGO), civil society organisations (CSOs), or the ‘third sector’ (Community and Voluntary Sector Working Party, 2001; Tennant, et. al, 2006; Tennant, 2007). Among community organisations in Aotearoa New Zealand the inclusive term ‘tangata whenua, community and voluntary sector’ is sometimes preferred as it explicitly includes tangata whenua organisations and kaupapa Māori ways of organising.

Government, Government Sector

New Zealand is considered to be a constitutional monarchy or parliamentary democracy. The Queen (represented by the Governor-General) is the formal Head of State who, with the elected House of Representatives forms the Parliament that enacts and debates legislation. The Head of State also formally appoints the Executive Government or Cabinet comprising the Prime Minister and Ministers. The executive government is responsible for the administration of the country, with the bureaucracy of government ministries, departments and agencies to advise on and implement its various policies and programmes.

I use the term ‘government’ to refer to both the political machinery (Parliament and the Executive or Cabinet) and the bureaucracy of government. Where it has been important to distinguish between these two aspects, I use the expression ‘government agencies’ when referring to the government bureaucracy, and I capitalize ‘Government’ when referring to a specific administration, such as ‘the third Labour Government’.

The (fifth) Labour-led Government (1999-2008).

The term ‘Labour-led Government’ refers to New Zealand governments from 1999 to 2008. The Labour Party was the majority party of the 1999-2002 Labour-Alliance coalition Government and governed as a minority government in coalition with the Progressive Party for the two subsequent terms from 2002 to 2008. I use the term ‘fifth Labour-led Government’ to distinguish the 1999-2008 government from the four other periods of Labour government rule in New Zealand.

Part I: A history of the Relationship between the Government and the Community and Voluntary Sector in New Zealand

Histories of the community sector in New Zealand generally describe four broad periods (Tennant, 2007; Tennant, O'Brien & Sanders, 2008; Tennant, et. al, 2006). The first period spans from pre-colonial times until about the 1880s; the second from the late 19th century until about World War II; the third covers the period of the welfare state period (1940s until the 1980s); and the current 'post-welfare state' period is from the mid 1980s. In this chapter I follow these broad periods (with some conflation of the first two) in order to outline an historical context for the discourses of partnership between community and government.

This historical overview is not presented as a definitive history, nor does it attempt to reconcile divergent perspectives and experiences. A post-structuralist approach acknowledges multiple histories that may be contradictory, and questions the concept of a so-called singular official history, asking, for example, 'whose histories are included and who is excluded?' My purpose is to uncover some of the historical threads in order to provide an historical context to the fifth Labour-led Government's focus on developing the relationship with community and voluntary sector organisations and its use of the term *partnership* in this development.

Pre- and Early Colonial Period;

The first period I consider covers the early colonization of Aotearoa New Zealand and the establishment colonial government in the latter nineteenth century. I start with an overview of the social and political structures of Māori society prior to, and in the initial period of European colonization. I then outline the early European settlement leading up to the Treaty of Waitangi, which I discuss with respect to its role in the development of systems of government and partnership discourses in New Zealand. This section concludes with a summary of the development of systems of government and community organisations in New Zealand in the nineteenth century.

Māori Social and Political Systems and Structures

The social, economic and political structures of Māori society were based on kinship relationships of whānau and hapū, without the differentiated separate structures of civil society and government that are seen in western capitalist societies. Nikora (2007) explains:

In the pre-contact era, the primary unit of social organisation was the hapū – a territorial and resource holding group consisting of whānau aligned together under an eponymous ancestor symbolising their relatedness and solidarity. The hapū consisted of the allied whānau at the time of their coming together and after the decision was taken to remain together for mutual benefit. For hapū members, their primary social identity would have been built around genealogical kinship relations, and the everyday activities, politics and interactions of hapū (p.33).

Political, social, economic and family structures that delineate different sectors of a modern, westernized state were internalized within a single kinship based structure of the hapū with its composite whānau. Broader economic and political alliances were made between hapū, generally within wider iwi groupings which were also kinship based.

Early Pakeha Colonisation

There have been a number of histories written on the European colonization of New Zealand – with a wide range of perspectives, often reflecting and reinforcing discourses of the period. Early histories written by European settlers and their descendents tended to be anglo-centric, and celebrated the rugged achievements of these pioneer settlers, no doubt mirroring and reinforcing the attitudes of prevailing colonial discourses. More recently popular revisionist histories, such as Belich's *Making Peoples* (1996) and King's *Penguin History of New Zealand* (2003) have shown a more complex, multi-faceted history, with both Māori and non-British immigrant histories also recorded. The historical research associated with the Waitangi Tribunal provides another rich repository of historical information, particularly giving voice to Māori histories that were for various reasons, not readily available in written form previously.

The first European settlers are frequently represented as transient; often whalers, sealers and traders; stories abound of how they generally were a drunken and

lawless element at early trading posts such as Kororoeka, or married local Māori women and joined the whanau as colloquially termed ‘Pakeha Māori’ (King, 2003; Salmond, 1991, 1997). The next (and often contemporaneous) significant European group comprised Christian missionaries who brought, along with faith and religion, colonizing institutions of Church and education. The third broad group comprised the settlers who emigrated to New Zealand with aspirations of creating a better life, some having already bought land from the New Zealand Company, where they planned to break in the so-called uninhabited waste lands and establish farms and create their villages and institutions modeled on their, nostalgically referenced ‘home country’.

The Treaty of Waitangi

In the 1830s the British government agreed to establish some governmental control over British subjects in New Zealand, and to regulate the purchase of land for settlement. This culminated in the Treaty of Waitangi, which was signed by 540 Māori rangatira and Lieutenant Governor William Hobson as representative of Queen Victoria. The context of this treaty is also contested. The instructions from Lord Normanby, (1839) Secretary of State for War and Colonies to Captain Hobson show that, officially at least, the British government was ‘restrained by higher motives’ from annexing New Zealand, on the grounds that:

... the increase of natural wealth and power promised by the acquisition of New Zealand, would be a most inadequate compensation for the injury which must be inflicted on this Kingdom itself, by embarking in a measure essentially unjust, and but too certainly fraught with calamity to a *numerous and inoffensive people whose title to the soil and to the sovereignty of New Zealand is indisputable and has been solemnly recognized by the British Government*. We retain these opinions in unimpaired force; and though circumstances entirely beyond our control have at length compelled us to alter course, I do not scruple to avow that we depart from it *with extreme reluctance* (p. 15; emphasis added).

These grounds were to preempt the alienation of land, and to establish ‘necessary laws and institutions’ to govern the increasing number of British subjects. Normanby’s (1839) instructions authorize Hobson to enter into a treaty with the ‘Aborigines of New Zealand’ – emphasizing that “the free and intelligent consent of the Natives, expressed according to their established usages, shall first be obtained” (p.15). The instructions recognize, rather prophetically, that “the

motives by which [a Treaty] is recommended are of course open to suspicion” (p.15) and, while they demonstrate taken for granted assumptions of British superiority, they also clearly acknowledge the intended mutuality of the Treaty, embodying the principle of partnership that is the subject of this study.

The subsequent history shows these lofty principles, and any recognition of the sovereignty of Māori as expressed in Normanby’s instructions were soon disregarded by the incoming colonial settlers. The impact of the mass colonisation of New Zealand in the late nineteenth century, the disregard for the Treaty of Waitangi and consequent impact on Māori have all been well documented elsewhere, and are beyond the scope of this research. In the next paragraphs I look at two aspects relevant to this research: the establishment of colonial government following the Treaty of Waitangi, and the early development of community organisations in New Zealand in the nineteenth century.

Establishment of ‘Responsible Government’ in New Zealand

The Treaty of Waitangi established the basis for, and legitimacy of the Queen of England and by extension, her representative government, to govern in New Zealand, although the extent of this governance is widely contested. Following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, Governor Hobson declared sovereignty over New Zealand and independence from New South Wales, thereby establishing New Zealand as a separate colony, governed by a Governor appointed by the Queen and a nominated Legislative Assembly. In 1846 the first of two Constitution Acts was enacted by the British Government, this was not implemented, and was replaced by the Constitution Act, 1852 which established a system of government in New Zealand comprising a Governor and appointed Legislative Assembly, and elected House of Representatives, and six elected provincial assemblies: Auckland, New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury and Otago (McLintock 1966). Later, three new provinces: Hawkes Bay, Marlborough and Southland were established and the province of New Plymouth was re-named ‘Taranaki’ (Griffiths, 2000). The provinces were abolished in 1876, and replaced with a system of locally elected counties and other local bodies such as Roads Boards and Hospital Boards. Suffrage was open to males over age 21

who ‘owned, leased or rented property over a set value; thereby disenfranchising women, who gained the right to vote in 1893, and Māori, who were effectively excluded as they owned land communally.

Early Development of Community Organisations in New Zealand

The influx of immigrants in the period following the Treaty of Waitangi (1840s to 1880s), predominantly from Great Britain, brought with it their cultural practices, and established a range of community and social groups such as mutual aid societies and various sporting and artistic societies (Tennant, 2007; Tennant, et. al, 2008). Charitable and church-based organisations were also established, generally with overt moral judgments about ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ poor; reflecting the religious evangelical and charity discourses of the period. Similarly, settler attitudes were generally individualistic, proclaiming the virtue of hard work and achieving ‘on one’s own’ (Tennant, 2007). In this pre-colonial and colonial period, Māori social structures generally co-existed, separate from the structures of settler society, although Tennant et al. (2008) note that “Tribal engagement with Western business systems in the 1840s and 1850s was paralleled by an ability to borrow from settler political and organisational forms, while remaining distinctively Māori” (p. 7).

In this initial period of European settlement and colonization of New Zealand there appear to have been few formal relationships between the government and community organisations. Settler organisations were generally founded on the themes of mutual association and charity, and government, particularly at a national level, was largely focused on issues of security and development. Engagement between community organisations and government was often informal, with local prominent citizens dominating both the elected bodies and community organisations (Tennant, et. al, 2008). This arrangement reflects Gramsci’s (1971) concepts of cultural hegemony, the process whereby the elites maintain their power through controlling the institutions of civil society backed with the coercive power of government, which they also control. Discourses of ‘charity’ and ‘deservedness’ which delineate people’s entitlement to social support, along with negotiating the place of the Treaty of Waitangi and kaupapa

Māori organisational forms, are issues that remain current in the process of negotiating relationships between government and community organisations in New Zealand.

Late Colonial period, 1880s to 1940s

The second period covers the late nineteenth century until the establishment of the Welfare state in the late 1930s. The dominant settler perspectives in this period remained anglo-centric with New Zealand framed as an outpost of ‘Mother England’. Murphy (2003) explains this with particular reference to Chinese settlement: “For most of its history, New Zealand’s identity was linked with the idea of Britishness, with belonging to the Anglo-Saxon community and to the British Empire” (p. 48). Māori and non-English migrants, such as the Chinese and Dalmatians in Northland were marginalized in this process, both through law and government policy that restricted non European immigrants (Murphy, 2003), and through the informal cultural and societal norms. Community organisation and structures continued to reflect English society with local sporting and recreational clubs and societies established. This period saw the development of more organised associations, a number of which, such as the Plunket Society continue today. These were initially established as independent organisations, often with the support of a philanthropic benefactor (Tennant, 2007, Tennant, et. al, 2008). It was during the late 1800s that closer relationships with government were developed, often based on the need for funding.

Tennant (2007) outlines a process of engagement that resonates with the current experience of people working in community organisations. First, the lack of funds from fundraising and philanthropic funding resulted in charitable organisations being unable to raise enough funds for their good works, and pressuring the government for financial assistance. Turning to the government for financial support challenged the dominant liberal values of charity and community that expected communities and families to look after their own poor and needy. The government responded by enacting the Hospitals and Charitable Institutions Act (1885). This introduces Tennant’s second theme that state funding support is accompanied by a degree of state regulation and control. Tennant’s third theme

notes the risk that community organisations might “wither or lose their separate identity once aligned with the state” (p. 61). The imposition of state regulation and control, and concerns about the consequent loss of community organisations’ focus or identity were still relevant a century later when community organisations were termed “little fingers of the state” (Nowland-Foreman, 2000). Tennant’s fourth theme, resistance, provides an historical example of the way that community organisations may demonstrate adaptive and resilient characteristics as they “started to map out a distinctive domain and mission, sometimes to justify their claims for state funding while retaining their independence” (p. 61). This mapping involved differentiating themselves from the state activity, enhanced by their ability to choose with whom they worked, unlike the state that provided a ‘residual safety net’ for intractable or unwanted cases. The fifth theme is the negotiation of the boundaries and distinctions between state and voluntary sector provision. Tennant’s themes are evident in the more recent history of the relationships between the government and the community and voluntary sector. Concerns regarding funding and independence remain prominent for community organisations, and government continues to focus on issues of accountability of community organisations, both for the funds they receive and the services they provide.

The early twentieth century period was also characterized by the development of close and personal relationships between government members and representatives of community organisations; a phenomenon that continued through the following welfare state period. Certain organisations were seen to have favoured status as far as government funding was concerned; a fact that lent significant support to the calls for greater transparency with themes such as ‘provider capture’ and ‘conflict of interest’ associated with the neo-liberal new public management discourses of the 1980s.

The dominant histories, analyses and worldviews of this late colonial period (1880 – 1930s) remained anglo-centric. During this period the alienation of Māori land and attempted subjugation of cultural practices continued unabated. Hill (2004) describes, with various examples, the process whereby the colonial government

attempted to regulate or domesticate Māori communities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – subsequent to the attempts to subjugate them by force:

Until it gained first physical and then full hegemonic control over all the colony's inhabitants, the Crown had little choice but to allow chiefly institutions and Māori customs to continue. These needed, however, to be subject to controls, including the franchising of chiefs to keep a degree of 'law and order' on its behalf in buffer or even outer zones. Both within the areas under direct state control and in liminal regions where it had temporarily devolved authority to chiefs, the state would establish control institutions based on, derived from or equivalent to indigenous structures (p. 31).

Hill (2004) describes how these attempts, such as the development of Māori Committees and Councils, were frequently resisted and/or subverted by Māori, for whom autonomy over their lands and communities was the goal. A number of significant Māori movements and organisations were established, such as the Kingitanga from 1858, and the Kotahitanga movement which established a Māori Parliament, or Paremata Māori in 1892 (Cox, 1993; Hill, 2004). The analysis of these movements, and the questions they raise about the monocultural, anglocentric bias of the structures of government and community organisations in this period are relevant to, but beyond the scope of this study.

The Welfare State Period: 1930s to 1980s

The third period, the Welfare State years, starts in the late 1930s² and 1940s with the establishment of the welfare state and continued, with a number of phases and strands until the 1980s when it was dismantled in a neo-liberal restructure of government administration. In this section, I summarise the development of community services and their role of complementing government provision of social services (Tennant, O'Brien & Sanders, 2008). I then discuss the development of Māori civil society organisations, and the relationship between these organisations and government. Although I refer to an overall welfare state period from the 1930s to 1980s, there were a number of distinct periods within the timeframe. I explore of the influence of various protest and social movements on the development of community organisations and ways of thinking from the 1960s

² The Social Security Bill, establishing the foundation of the Welfare State was passed in 1938, with various welfare arrangements progressively introduced over the following decade.

to the 1980s, and conclude the section with by looking at the related discourses of community development and partnership between community and government that developed in towards the end of the welfare state era (1970s and 1980s), and which provide a direct context for the partnership discourses of the fifth Labour-led Government (1999-2008).

A significant feature of the welfare state period is the increased acceptance of the role of the state in the provision of social support. According to Tennant (2007), the prevailing discourses in the initial Welfare State period of first Labour Government (1935-1949) emphasized citizenship entitlement and welfare rights, challenging the prevailing notions of charity and deservedness that marked earlier forms of social assistance. Despite the increase in government provision of social support, the community sector grew under the welfare state, moving into new roles, such as advocacy for particular groups (for example IHC for people with intellectual disabilities), family and marriage counseling and aged persons' care. The social support provided by community organisations was seen as complementary to state provision (Tennant, et. al, 2008). The themes of innovation and advocacy for clients and communities continue to reflect the ways in which community organisations see themselves (ANGOA, 2009; Hanley, 2006; Nowland-Foreman, 2000).

Overall, relationships between government and community welfare organisations, in particular large, national organisations, continued to be informal and personal during the Welfare State period, although the personalized nature of these relationships also left organisations vulnerable to the whim of the government or Minister of the day. A 1978 NZCOSS report is critical of the bias inherent in this system:

The present system has not led to the overall distribution of resources according to need as indicated at the local level. Rather the distribution of resources has favoured those organisations who can command political influence or emotional appeal, and traditional organisations which have had funding arrangements built into government programmes in more affluent times (p. 23).

Tennant (2007) describes the symbiotic relationship between government Ministers and senior officials and community organisations in language that reflects the community-government hegemony, and is a prelude to the contractualist, service provision approaches to community-government relationships discussed later in this research:

The discourse was one of teamwork and co-operation, with the voluntary agencies benefiting from government sanction and funding. They, in turn, were to convey government policies to the masses and provide a forum for policy experimentation at a distance from the government (p. 122).

These community welfare organisations, with their informal access to political power, were largely located in Pakeha society. Consequently they were seen to display the unintentional institutional racism typical of the period, effectively excluding Māori from participation, except within the unexamined constraints of the dominant Pakeha norms. I shall return to this theme when discussing the rise of social and protest movements in the 1960s and 1970s.

The Development of Māori Community Organisations

In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Māori organisations and communities generally existed separately to the Pakeha world in a predominantly rural context, although there were significant organised attempts to engage with the settler-dominated government at local and national levels (Cox, 1993; Hill, 2004). From the 1930s, a number of Māori organisations were established in cities in response to the large numbers of Māori migrating from rural areas, largely in search of work. This migration continued following World War II at an increased pace. Often facing discrimination and lacking the support of whānau, they came together and established social and support networks such as Ngati Poneke Māori Club in Wellington and the Auckland Māori Community Centre (Nikora, 2007). While pan-iwi, these organisations were run on familiar kaupapa Māori structures, with kaumātua and Māori protocol, and in some cases they registered as incorporated societies or charitable trusts. The organisations frequently included committee members or trustees who were public servants, bringing with them skills, knowledge and at times resources from the government.

At the same time as newly urbanized Māori were establishing these social and community organisations as a way of maintaining supports and cultural practices in what was often a hostile or at least alien environment, the government was also sponsoring Māori organisation. The Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act (1945) established Māori Tribal Committees and Tribal Executives, including urban Māori committees, as part of the Māori Welfare Organisations unit within the Department of Māori Affairs. The government policy of the day was assimilationist. This view held that urbanization would hasten this assimilation of Māori into the Pakeha ‘mainstream’ (Hill 2005). Hill (2005) describes this development as “an attempt by the government to control, steer, tame and utilize the energies of Māori that had been so evident in the war effort” (p. 2). Māori, however, utilized these structures by establishing urban committees in centres of significant migration, and pursuing their own rangatiratanga agenda. Hill concludes that “The Welfare Organisation system, in fact, became a key means of Māori resistance to the state agenda of full assimilation. In effect then, Māori reappropriated the state’s appropriation of Māori flaxroots organisational forms and energies” (p. 5).

The Māori Women’s Welfare League was another significant pan-iwi organisation that was established in this period. During the War years, Māori women, often involved in local Māori Women’s Health Committees, had taken a prominent role in whānau support and development (Hill, 2004, 2005). The newly established Māori Welfare Committees were male dominated with much of the actual welfare support – whanaungatanga and manaakitanga - being undertaken by women. Hill (2004) notes the role of the Department of Māori Affairs in developing a national Māori women’s network to complement the role of the Māori Welfare Committees. Tensions between rangatiratanga (autonomy) and co-optation were evident in this process; with the movement, and key instigators, being treated with a degree of suspicion as “creatures, of pakeha Wellington” in some areas (p. 249). The Māori Women’s Welfare League was incorporated in 1951 and remains a vital organisation in the networks of Māori, community and government organisations today.

The next iteration of Māori Committees saw the establishment of the New Zealand Māori Council in 1962, with a network of regional District Māori Councils, local Māori Executive Committees and Māori Wardens. As these committees were not based on tribal (iwi or hapū) affiliation, but were based on government-defined regions, their establishment can be viewed as a deliberate attempt by government to undermine the social and political authority of existing hapū structures within Māori communities. Despite this, they were also used by Māori to assert rangatiratanga, and in time came to present significant challenges to government, for example in making pan-tribal claims to the Waitangi Tribunal.

The 1960s and 70s: Protest and Community Organising

The cozy picture of ‘godzone,’ the idealized New Zealand of the post-war decades, was disturbed by the social and economic changes and challenges of the 1960s and 1970s. In New Zealand as elsewhere, new or re-invigorated social and political movements gained momentum during this period. Second-wave feminism exposed and challenged male dominated institutions and norms, with women’s consciousness raising groups that were focused on women’s experience and self-identity. These groups generally operated with non-hierarchical structures, as Vanderpyl (2004) notes, “Hierarchical, formal procedural ways of operating, such as the use of Robert’s Rules of Order, were commonly identified as patriarchal, with voting and passing of motions linked with the dominant white male way of operating” (p. 109). The early women’s groups were attempts to build “an oppositional culture based on ‘female values’ of co-operation, sharing and consensus between women” (p.110).

In the latter 1970s a number of activist services, such as women’s refuges, women’s centres, and women’s health groups were established. These were founded on feminist discourses of ‘by women for women’ and empowerment, and distanced themselves philosophically and organisationally from existing services that operated within a charitable framework of doing good works for the needy or underprivileged. Vanderpyl (2004) discusses various debates and tensions that emerged, such as the risks of co-optation, the energy and time required to run the service taking away from activist protest, fears of alienating public funders, and

concerns that a strong feminist activist stance might alienate women who need to use the crisis centre. The tension between community activist and service organisations, and between these aspects within the same organisation, is a recurring theme in the community and voluntary sector in New Zealand. A current example of this tension is the impact of the Charities Commission's rulings that disallow community organisations whose purpose is advocacy from registering as 'charities' with consequent loss of tax deductibility. I discuss the Charities Commission further in Chapter Five.

A second major site of protest and community organisation in this period involved the emergence of activist Māori protest. Although Māori had resisted colonization and the alienation of land, language, spiritual and cultural practices since the Treaty of Waitangi, earlier protests were largely ignored by the dominant Pakeha society who expounded, and largely believed the myth that 'New Zealand had no racial problems' (Kelsey, 1995; Walker, 1990). The new radicalized Māori movement of the 1970s could not be ignored in the same way as previous protests, with groups such as Ngā Tama Toa in Auckland and Māori Organisation on Human Rights (MOHR) in Wellington taking provocative action to raise the awareness of the wider Pakeha population to racism and the marginalization and oppression of Māori. In 1975, Whina Cooper led Te Roopu o te Matakite hikoi, or march to Wellington to protest the alienation of Māori land under the banner 'Not an acre more.' Prominent and well publicized occupations and protest over the ongoing occupation of Māori lands in Raglan (Raglan golf course) and Takaparawha / Bastion Point brought these issues into the national media. Māori-led protest was aligned to international indigenous peoples' movements of liberation and de-colonisation.

Of particular relevance to this study is the associated establishment of new community-based Māori organisations that were both activist and providers of services, in a similar process to the feminist organisations discussed previously. Additionally, existing, established organisations were critiqued as being monocultural and culturally oppressive, leading to a call for the establishment of 'by Māori for Māori' organisations. Other major sites of activist protest and development of community organisations included environmental and nuclear-free

issues, such as the 'Save Manapouri' campaign, and Campaign for Nuclear Development (CND).

The Rise of Community Development

The emerging social and political movements of the 1970s challenged the established order of community and community organising. Discourses of institutional racism and patriarchy provided an exposé and explanation of systems of domination and oppression. The works of Gramsci (1891-1937) on the development of hegemonic practices, and Freire (1921-1997) with concepts of structural analysis, conscientization and praxis provided intellectual and conceptual frameworks and links to international movements examining similar issues. Older, established community organisations were typically seen as part of 'the establishment' or hegemony, and regarded alongside the wider welfare state in which they operated as agents of social control. Freire (1972) expressed this way of operating "as an anesthetic, distracting the oppressed from the true causes of their problems and from the concrete solutions of these problems" (p. 152), embedded in and supporting patriarchal and racist monocultural practices. Discourses of community development provided alternative, at times radical frameworks that emphasised the existence of local solutions to local issues, assuming that, within each community, there were strengths and resources that could be mobilized to realize these solutions.

Chile (2007) notes the increase in organised and state-sponsored community development over the 1970s. A number of local authorities established community development divisions, partially funded by central government, and representing an early example of partnerships between central and local government and communities to support and develop community organisations and networks. Haigh and Dale (2007), who were among the first community development workers employed by local authorities, discuss the roles of these early workers as "quite basic, involving the provision of needed services such as welfare, budgeting, health care, information services and dealing with emergency housing" (p. 78). Chile, quoting Wilkes (1982), notes that the role of the community development worker "ranged from identification and quantification of

social needs, to the development of community groups and liaison between the government as larger social structures” (p. 59). Everingham (1998), referring to Australia where a similar process was occurring, frames the context of this development: “The Community Development movement arose within welfare circles as an alternative to the charity model of welfare. It was framed within modernity discourses which emphasised social services as a 'right' of citizenship” (p. 25).

The development of national umbrella groups.

The late 1960s and 1970s was also a period where national organisations and umbrella organisations were established. The New Zealand Federation of Voluntary Welfare Organisations (NZFVWO) was established in 1969; the New Zealand Council of Christian Social Services (NZCCSS) in the 1960s and the New Zealand Council of Social Service (NZCOSS) in 1975, initially as a government QANGO (Twyford, 2008). When government decided to disestablish NZCOSS in 1985, it was restructured as an independent voluntary organisation with local COSS groups taking ownership (Twyford, 2008).

Changing Relationships in the Late Welfare State Period

One of NZCOSS’s early roles was to advise government on changes to the provision of social services in New Zealand. In 1978 it published a report ‘*Sharing Social Responsibility*’ (NZCOSS, 1978) in which it reviewed the existing and potential roles of voluntary organisations, local authorities and central government agencies in the provision of social services. The report recommended a more planned and coordinated approach to the provision of social services, and a greater emphasis on community development and planning, with voluntary agencies having an important part to play. The report did not delineate particular roles for government and community organisations, but spoke of the need for collaboration between the sectors. The dominant discourse was of community development and coordination. It also contains a prescient caution:

Voluntary agencies, always torn between their impoverished treasuries and awareness of the vast unmet need, have reached hungrily for funds when offered without too much forethought about their ultimate costs. They have tended to obscure this departure from the principles of their origins with phrases like -

Partnership
Joint Planning
Programme Development and
Wider Service (p.13).

This extract indicates that the language of partnership was being used in this period, and that there was a concern that it masked a process in which community organisations departed from their principles in the search for funding; an issue that was to gain prominence over the following two decades (Nowland-Foreman, 2000).

Discourses of partnership gained prominence in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Another government appointed working party, the Social Advisory Council, prepared a report on the delivery of social and community services in 1986. This report, *Partnership, the Delivery of Social and Community Services* (SAC, 1986), advocated for a concept of partnership it termed ‘tahitanga,’ which it defined as “people coming together with one heart and mind for a common purpose.” (p. 7). The report provides a definition of ‘genuine’ or ‘true’ partnership that positions it within a broader community development discourse:

In a genuine partnership, one partner does not manipulate the other, or simply inform the other of decisions without consultation. Indeed genuine partnership – or tahitanga – goes beyond consultation, and requires negotiation and sharing of the decision-making process....

In a true partnership both parties have a common goal, and seek to bring their different resources together to achieve it more satisfactorily. Each must recognize that the other has a contribution to make which is needed if the total enterprise is to succeed, and the right to a full part in the consultative and decision-making process. The partnership arises from negotiation about respective functions and responsibilities. Once the terms are settled, each partner is equally bound to observe them (p. 11).

This idealized partnership is contrasted with an emerging tendency for “statutory agencies to set the terms of any partnership, and to grant or withhold assistance as they see fit” with the report commenting that “[s]uch a one-sided arrangement makes the non-statutory agency more of an agent or employee than a partner” (p.11). This model of ‘partnership’ (which is not described as ‘true’ or ‘genuine’)

was to become a dominant feature of the 1990s contractualist arrangements discussed in the next section.

The various themes and ways of thinking, such as community development, feminism, and de-colonisation, that influenced the late Welfare State period, as well as emerging themes of collaboration and network-building, were pivotal in transforming the relationship between government and community organisations in this period. The Social Advisory Council (1986) describes this journey as a shift from “follow[ing] parallel tracks with little interaction” to the situation in the 1970s and 1980s where “a sharing of social responsibility has become necessary, and a much greater degree of partnership has been developed between statutory and non-statutory organisations in meeting social and community needs” (p. 5). These themes of partnership and collaboration between government and community continue with various forms and meanings throughout the next period I consider; the neo-liberal, or post-welfare state period from the mid 1980s.

The Neoliberal or Post Welfare State period: From 1984

The final broad period I consider can conveniently be said to start from 1984 with the election of the fourth Labour government, although the changes in the nature of the relationship between government and community organisations had been developing dramatically in the preceding decade. In the early 1980s, community organisations were running unemployment projects and training programmes funded by government, such as the Voluntary Organisation Training Programme (VOTP) that funded coordinators and administrators of community organisations.

New Zealand, along with many other countries went through a major restructuring of the state in the 1980s and 1990s. Driven by an overarching neo-liberal ideology, the reforms impacted dramatically on the shape of the machinery of government and on its relationship with other elements of society, including the community sector. This ideology was underpinned by, or at least rationalized by a number of economic theories that were collectively known as ‘New Public Management’, and comprised Public Choice Theory, Agency Theory and

Transaction Cost Economics (See Bhatta, 2003; Boston et al, 1996; Kelsey, 1995; Schik, 1996; Smith, 1996).

The neo-liberal economic model, with its predominant ethos on the individual, and the market, challenged the Keynesian economics and welfare state models that had largely informed government policy for the preceding forty years. While a full discussion of these changes is outside the scope of this research, there are several key elements that fundamentally changed the relationship between government and community organisations and are therefore relevant to this research. Public Choice theory led to the separation of policy and operational aspects of government services, the so-called ‘policy-operations split’ whereby policy was developed in a vacuum, removed from the input or influence of those in either government operational roles or community organisations who were charged with implementing the policies. Similarly, roles of funding and providing services were separated and specialist funding agencies, such as the Health Funding Authority and Community Funding Agency were established. This restructure of government set the environment for the commodification and marketisation of what were previously seen as government services (Bunkle, 1995; Kelsey, 1995). Bunkle (1995) explains the concept and operation of commodification:

The market model only works for commodities. Commodities have to be invented if they do not already exist so that the market model can be applied. Social interactions are transformed into ‘things’ so that they can be bought and sold’ (p. 14).

With the artificial commodification of community, health and social services, the government could now ‘purchase services’ instead of giving grants to community organisations to enable them to operate. This ideological and practical shift enabled the overall establishment of a government contracting regime for the provision of social services; one of the main strands leading to the discourses of partnership that are the subject of this study.

Larner and Craig (2002, 2005) suggest that there have been three ‘waves’ of neo-liberal, or new public management, reforms in New Zealand as far as the relationships between government and community are concerned. These approximate the three administrations over the period: the first period was of the

fourth Labour Government between 1984 and 1990 in which the focus was on devolving responsibility to communities and iwi for services previously provided by government; the second period of the fourth National-led Government (1990-1999) extended the commodification and competitive market models to the provision of social services. The third phase; the term of the fifth Labour-led Government (1999-2008), which is the subject of this study, emphasized partnership between government and community organisations. I discuss each of these phases in more depth.

First Wave Neo Liberal Reform: Devolution

The first wave of reform followed the election of the Labour Government in 1984. The restructuring and dismantling of the state structures was accompanied by the establishment of a range of localised community-government bodies, such as Community Organisations Grants Scheme (COGS) committees, Regional Employment and Access Councils (REACs) and District Executive Committees (DEC) within the Department of Social Welfare. While protesting many aspects of the neo-liberal agenda, tangata whenua Māori and community organisations saw a number of opportunities in the new arrangements. Discourses that had their genesis in the activist social movements of the 1970s, critical of an unresponsive, monolithic and mono-cultural state bureaucracy converged with neo-liberal discourses of ‘less government’ in this period.

A pivotal event was the restructuring of the Department of Social Welfare as a result of the review by the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare. This committee, headed by Tuhoe kaumatua John Rangihau, was charged with advising how the Department of Social Welfare could better respond to Māori. In its seminal report *Puao te Ata tu* (Daybreak) (Department of Social Welfare, 1988) it reported on widespread ignorance and institutional racism, and recommended that the responsibility for the welfare of Māori children should be devolved to Māori, recognizing their traditional structures of whānau, hapū and iwi. Some of the recommendations were implemented with the passing of the Children Young Persons and their Families Act (1989) and changes to the administration of the Department of Social

Welfare. These changes included a greater recognition of the role of iwi and community social services in the provision of support to children, young persons and their families. This came at a cost as organisations needed to be ‘approved’ and assessed as “(a) suitable to act as the custodian or guardian of children and young persons; and (b) capable of exercising or performing the powers, duties, and functions conferred or imposed by or under this Act” (Children, Young Persons and their Families Act, 1987. s. 397). The impact of these approval requirements on community organisations was a source of major discontent in the next phase of the neo-liberal restructuring of social services in New Zealand, discussed in the next section.

For this first phase of the neo-liberal restructuring in the late 1980s, the dominant discourse that impacted the relationship between government and community in this period was of decentralization and devolution. Informed by community development theory and practices and by such reports as *Puao te Ata tu*, these discourses suggested that responsibility and resources should be devolved to iwi Māori and to communities to identify and address their own issues. The discourse of devolution provides a contrast to the discourse of partnership that was promoted by the following Labour-led Government and which are the subject of this research.

Second Wave of Neo-Liberal Reform - Contractualism.

The second neo-liberal wave occurred in the term of the National Government (1990-1999), and constructed the community sector as a quasi-market. Funding was provided by way of ‘contracts’ with community organisations that were re-constructed as ‘service providers.’ The contracts were invariably onerous, with only a small proportion of the cost of services funded. Others have critiqued this period and its impact on community organisations extensively (see for example: Cribb, 2006; Nowland-Foreman, 1998).

The Community Funding Agency (CFA) was established as a semi-autonomous agency within the Department of Social Welfare to fund (or contract with) community organisations to provide a range of social services, some of which had

previously been provided by government, and others responding to emerging needs in the community. Smith (1996), a manager within CFA, explains:

Ten years ago, the provision of government funding for the social and welfare services delivered by voluntary sector service providers in New Zealand was a simple process of grantmaking. This process has, in the last decade, been replaced by a funding relationship between government and the voluntary sector which owes its origins primarily to theory emanating from the study of the operation of private markets and the internal organisation of firms within the marketplace. Agency theory and Transaction costs analysis, along with other theoretical perspectives from the world of the private business sector, have provided the theoretical basis for the transformation of the relationship between government and the voluntary sector into one of principal and agents, bound by contractual terms and a regulatory framework for the monitoring of quantity and quality of social and welfare service outputs (p. 5)...

The process of monitoring for contract compliance was considered to be a partnership between the Department and the providers (p.10).

CFA was widely criticized, primarily for its policies of partial funding that threatened the financial and operational viability of community organisations. Competitive contracting processes undermined collaborative ways of working between organisations, and the onerous accountability or reporting requirements placed unsustainable burdens on many community organisations (NZCCSS, 1998; Nowland-Foreman, 1998; Von Tunzelmann & Murphy, 1988).

While much of the criticism of CFA and the contractual model is concerned with the underfunding of services, of more interest to this research is the impact the contractual models, imported from the commercial sector, had on the shape, culture and values of the sector. A competitive culture was fostered, and contracts contained non-disclosure clauses forbidding the sharing of information between organisations. Swain (1995) offered the opinion that:

... community-based social service agencies which have traditionally enjoyed close and mutually supportive 'networking' are now starting to be more selective in their information-sharing and cooperation in order to avoid conceding advantages to other agencies competing with them for limited 'contestable' funding (p. 202).

Tennant (2007) describes the way a number of organisations took on the norms of 'the market' and managerialist practices, developing strategic plans and corporate

marketing plans, mission statements and hiring consultants; coordinators were replaced by CEOs, organisations got new names, often “snappy acronyms conveying ‘brand identities’” (p. 193). Nowland-Foreman (2000) discusses how community organisations took on these managerial norms and practices, often as a prerequisite to being eligible for government funding. Vanderpyl (2004) describes the impact of the changes over this period on women’s activist service groups such as Women’s Refuges:

By the 1990s, few groups questioned the acceptance of state funding. Indeed, most groups worked hard to obtain state funding. However, the introduction of contract funding in the early 1990s reduced the autonomy of the activist service groups. The introduction of standards that specified how groups organised challenged groups’ commitment to collective ways of working, demanded increased formalisation of group policies and procedures to meet CFA standards and challenged the informal basis of collective organising. Consequently, the state influenced the organisational structures and practices of service groups more than had been the case with the grants-in-aid model of funding. Contract funding contributed explicitly to the process of deinstitutionalising the radical feminist collective and also reduced service group autonomy from the state. Based on the above, it would be easy to conclude that the groups had been co-opted and deradicalised by the state (pp. 209 & 210).

This extract describes the way Foucauldian governmentalising processes operate so that community organisations “internalise the relevant laws, rules and norms so as to regulate themselves in accord with them” (Bevir, 1999, p. 355). Nowland-Foreman (1998, 2000) discusses the way that the combination of underfunding and contract compliance requirements had the effect of transforming community organisations from autonomous (and therefore uncontrollable) entities into subdued “little fingers of the state” (Nowland-Foreman, 1998) in a process he describes as ‘funder capture.’ As community organisations spent a larger portion of their time and effort seeking funding and complying with reporting requirements, this could easily lead to a degree of neglect of their accountability to their community with a consequent mission drift and distortion (Cribb, 2005, 2006; Nowland-Foreman, 1998, 2000). The picture of a marketised community sector, in which community organisations competed for underfunded government contracts, was the dominant feature of the relationship between government and community organisations in the 1990s. It is, naturally, not the only story as throughout this period there were numerous challenges and resistances, primarily

from community sector organisations although some government circles were also promoting more collaborative models of working with community (see for example, Blakeley & Suggate, 1997).

The Third Wave – Partnership

The third wave of neoliberal reform is centred on the notion of partnership between government and community organisations. This partnership discourse initially emerged as a resistance to contractualism, in the 1990s, and gained prominence as the policy of the Labour-Alliance Government elected in 1999.

Partnership as resistance to contractualism.

Discourses of partnership, together with associated discourses of social capital and civil society, emerged in the 1990s in resistance to dominant contractual model. Within this matrix, the notion of ‘partnership’ was promoted as “one way of resolving the tensions between market, government and community, and drawing them into mutually supportive relationships” (Robinson, 1999, p. 3). This discourse drew on a broad community development approach which emphasised the value of the civil society and community and voluntary sector organisations as expressions of community wellbeing rather than merely as contracted providers of services. Haigh and Hucker (1999) describe this as movement as a:

... rediscovery of concepts of community, social capital and civil society. In order to build on these concepts in a practical way, it is necessary to recognize the plurality of society and to form partnerships to achieve mutual goals. Partnership is a cement that enables groups and agencies to work together in an increasingly complex society. Without it we might just continue to talk past each other, fail to build strong communities and leave the ‘civil’ out of society (p. 8).

In 1998 the New Zealand Council of Christian Social Services published a report entitled ‘*Towards a Real Partnership*’ (NZCCSS, 1998) that cited fundamental flaws in the policy framework and funding model employed by NZCFA. The report found that the contracting model undermined the wider role of voluntary organisations and promoted a lack of trust and goodwill. The Associate Minister of Social Welfare, Hon Nick Smith’s response was to threaten to withdraw government funding to NZCCSS and two other social services umbrella groups, the NZ Council of Social Services (NZCOSS) and NZ Federation of Voluntary

Welfare Organisations (NZFVWO) (refer Elvidge, 1999³). Smith dismissed the notion of a partnership between government and community organisations:

[I do] not believe that Government and voluntary sector organisations can be equal partners as Government will make the final decisions about what it wishes to fund... I am skeptical about the extent to which negotiation is possible in the context of contracts for social services. In most cases there is little to negotiate as funding levels are constrained by the amount of appropriation for particular programmes (cited in NZCCSS & NZCOSS, 1988, p. 13).

Von Tunzelmann and Murphy (1998) also criticise the contracting model, concluding: “generally it can be said that the contracting model to date has not dealt with relationships; innovation; [or the] changed and changing environment” (p. 25). They proposed a refinement of the model to focus on relationships, rather than the narrow ‘outputs’ that the community organisations were contracted to provide, noting the increasing discussion about partnership:

Partnership or partnering approaches are much talked about. Achieving them in reality is much easier said than done. The conditions for effective partnerships are quite complex and require a conducive community environment, levels of mutual understanding by each of the parties about each of the other organisations in the partnership, a variety of styles of funding and variable accountability arrangements. *Partnerships are also difficult to achieve in a competitive environment since they rely on networks and collaboration* (p. 37, emphasis added).

In this environment, there was a growing acknowledgement of the limitations of the contractual model. Von Tunzelmann and Murphy noted some “interesting new language among central government policy departments and funding agencies” (p. 31), and cautiously noted changes in contracting practice, including the development of relationship-based contracting in some areas.

In the late 1990s there was also a degree of resurgent interest in community development and community-government partnerships within government circles. The Ministry of Social Policy commissioned a literature review on community-

³ John Elvidge (then) President, NZCCSS in a speech to the NZCOSS / NZFVWO sponsored Voluntary Social Services Conference, Wellington, Sept/Oct 1999.

‘The three peak bodies reflected here certainly saw this when we had our funding petulantly removed by Nick Smith the then Minister of Social Welfare. We know it was petulantly removed from correspondence received under the Official Information Act – the NZCCSS was picked out at first possibly because of its excellent critique of CFA funding’

government partnerships (MSP 2000⁴), and two Department of Labour (Community Employment Group) publications on community development (Byrne, 1999; France, 1999) discussed community development and partnerships between government and community organisations. France (1999), drawing on a community development approach, identified a number of critical factors for successful partnerships:

Critical factors for successful partnerships include strong community support, clear roles, goals and benefits for partners, the ability to maintain a level of autonomy within the partnership even if publicly funded, perhaps through setting up a structure/legal entity focused on the local development initiative, excellent communication systems, and networks of individuals and organisations that can be called upon. Honesty, trust, mutual respect and patience are vital, yet often need to be developed over time given the potentially conflictual relationships between partners (p. 33).

These government-sponsored publications noted the concerns and contradictions associated with partnership, commenting:

‘Partnership’ has become a very popular concept in government and welfare sectors in recent years. Unfortunately the term partnership has often been used with more rhetorical than real meaning, and as a term it is “...overused, ambiguous and politicised” (Ministry of Social Policy, 2000, p. 6).

Nowland-Foreman (1997) had a similar view, commenting that “Partnership between government and voluntary organisations has been much talked about but little evidenced” (p. 6).

New Zealand discourses of partnership between government and community organisations drew on similar discussions and processes taking place in the United Kingdom, where a formal ‘compact’ had been agreed between the government and the National Council of Voluntary Organisations (NCVO). Etherington, Chief Executive of NCVO visited New Zealand in 1999 and met with government and community representatives to discuss the way the compact was developed and worked. He found a receptive response from the (then) opposition Labour party that was following the lead of the British New Labour government in developing a number of its social and community policies (Baxter,

⁴ Although this was not published until 2000, an unpublished draft was available in 1998. Byrne (1999) cites the unpublished draft several times as Ehrhardt, Penny (1998).

2002), and included the idea of a compact with the community and voluntary sector in its policy programme.

Partnership as government policy: 1999-2008.

Partnership gained more prominence as a significant policy platform of the incoming Labour-Alliance Government in 1999. The Prime Minister set the tone in the Speech from the Throne that outlines the work and direction of the incoming government: “A new partnership needs to be built with business and local communities... New partnerships with local government, businesses, communities, and the voluntary sector will be developed to revitalise regional economies” (Clark, 1999). Working in partnership with others was presented as a point of difference from the past ways of operating and the notion of a ‘Third Way’ provided a link to the Blair Labour Government in the United Kingdom that was employing similar language and strategies. As Baxter (2002) comments:

As in other areas of social policy, the NZ Labour Party’s approach to relations with the community and voluntary sector around the time of the last Election was strongly influenced by the Blair Government and the politics of the ‘Third Way’. In particular, the NZ Labour manifesto commitment to exploring a formal agreement with the ‘voluntary sector’ drew quite directly on developments in the United Kingdom throughout the 1990s (p. 2).

In the next section I discuss the various ways that these ‘third way’ and ‘partnership’ approaches were incorporated into government policies, actions and ‘best practice’ guidelines developed to improve and regulate the relationship with the community and voluntary sector. I then examine academic literature on the notion of partnership between government and community to provide a theoretical context to the study.

Part II: Transforming Government Processes?

In the previous section I discussed the general historical context that frames this research. I provided an overview of the development of the relationship between government and community organisations from the period of initial European settlement until the election of the fifth Labour-led Government in 1999. In this section I provide an overview of policy development and actions undertaken by the fifth Labour-led Government to strengthen its relationship with the community

and voluntary sector, with a particular emphasis on its first term of office: 1999-2002. I discuss various guidelines and policies developed by central government agencies that were influenced by this new approach to improving relationships and building partnerships with the community and voluntary sector. I draw on Gramsci's concepts of hegemonic practices, and Foucault's theorizing on governmentality to explore the impact of these various arrangements on both government and community organisations.

The Community and Voluntary Sector Working Party

One of the first actions the Labour-led Government took to address the state of its relationship with the community and voluntary sector was to appoint a working party to "consider the scope of a proposed agreement between government and Iwi/Māori community and voluntary organisations" (Ministry of Social Policy, 2001, p. 9). The working party was chaired by Dorothy Wilson and its members were drawn from both government and community sectors, with the community members nominated by community organisations but appointed by the Minister. The Ministry of Social Policy provided a secretariat for the working party.

The working party consulted widely with and invited submissions from both government and community, and produced a comprehensive report '*Communities and Government: Potential for Partnership Whakatōpū Whakaaro*' (MOSP, 2001). The findings largely confirmed there was a significant degree of concern and cynicism in the community about the way government agencies had been operating. Wilson explains in her cover letter to the Minister: "We found deep levels of frustration, mistrust, cynicism, anger and burnout" (p.3). The report also noted a degree of optimism, or at least, suspension of disbelief:

People clearly saw strong, vibrant community organisations as a critical element in building a 'civil society'. ... In essence, people wanted to see the state supporting, enabling and facilitating, rather than dominating, demanding and standing aloof. Many were cynical about the level of commitment from government agencies towards restoring an open and inclusive relationship, but were generally willing to suspend their disbelief (p. 3).

The report, and in particular the submissions and notes from the various hui and meetings held, shows that the main concerns of the community organisations

related to funding, and the funding and contracting processes. There are numerous, rather dismissive references to the language of ‘partnership’ such as “You soon realize that the Government is the boss, not a partner” (p. 111) and “The relationship is not one of partnership, it is one of abuse” (unpaginated).

The Working Party concluded the British model of a compact between government and the community and voluntary sector wasn’t appropriate, and recommended a number of actions that the government could take to help restore some trust. The first recommendation was that the government issue a statement of intent to demonstrate its commitment to work on the relationship while acknowledging the difficulties this might present. The government accepted most of the working party’s recommendations, and implemented two major facets: issuing a government statement which I discuss in the next paragraph, and establishing a Community-Government Relationship Steering Group to continue the work of the Working Party.

The Statement of Government Intentions for an Improved Community-Government Relationship (SOGI)

Responding to the recommendations of the working party’s report, the Prime Minister (Clark) and Minister Responsible for the Community and Voluntary Sector (Maharey) jointly signed a Statement of Government Intentions for an Improved Community-Government Relationship (SOGI) (Clark & Maharey, 2001). This was an aspirational, rather than regulatory statement, encouraging and enabling, rather than directing government agencies to develop better relationships with community organisations with whom they dealt. In the managerial style of mission statement, SOGI set out a vision of “Strong and respectful relationships between government and community, voluntary and iwi / Māori organisations” and a set of principles and commitments covering: the culture of government, a “whole of government approach”, valuing the Treaty of Waitangi, community participation in decision-making, government funding to community organisations, and strengthening the community sector. The intentional nature and language is evident throughout, best reflected in the final, implementation clauses:

Government is committed to creating a genuine partnership with community, voluntary and iwi/Māori organisations. Building strong

and respectful relationships with the community sector will take time and will require hard work, reflection and active engagement.

Government sees a future where the state performs its role as a facilitator of a strong civil society based on respectful relationships between government and community, voluntary and iwi/Māori organisations (Clark & Maharey, 2001).

Holland (2008) compares SOGI with the Compact that was signed by representatives of both government and community organisations in the United Kingdom. Whereas the UK Compact heralded ‘partnership’ between government and community, the more passive terms ‘participation’ and ‘relationship’ are used in SOGI. Holland concludes that the SOGI has a weaker tone than the British compact with the community and voluntary sector:

In the New Zealand statement, even under the ‘commitments’ section, there are few actions stated. These are not specific. Overall, the government ‘expects’ (hopes/anticipates) that certain changes will take place within the public sector. While the New Zealand statement uses verbs showing attitude such as ‘recognises’, ‘values’ and ‘acknowledges’, the UK document uses verbs showing action (‘promotes’ and ‘consults’). While there are some instances where “will” is used in the New Zealand statement, signifying a promise, what *is* promised is imprecise (p. 18).

The absence of any measures, or monitoring whether government agencies complied with this statement of intentions, was an ongoing frustration to community organisations. A review of SOGI commissioned by the Association of Non Governmental Organisations Aotearoa (ANGOA) reported that, while SOGI “has continued value as an affirmation of government’s recognition of trust and respect as the essential underpinning of its relationship with the community and voluntary sector” it needed to shift “from being just ‘good intentions’ to become a formal basis for action and accountability and a reflection of genuine partnership” (ANGOA, 2008, p. 2). The ANGOA report notes some ways in which SOGI provided a set of high level principles that government agencies could use to develop healthy and respectful relationships, and even ‘partnerships’ with community organisations. SOGI also supported the establishment of good practice guidelines by central government agencies such as Treasury and the Office of the Auditor General, with a similar criticism that the voluntary nature of the guideline meant that a number of agencies were not complying with them. I discuss these guidelines in the next section.

The Development of Good Practice Guidelines

Foucault (1978) explains how discourses and meanings are constituted, not in grand rhetoric, but in the various “institutions, procedures, analyses, reflections, calculations and tactics” (p. 244) that operate on a population to enable their self-governance. It is with this Foucauldian perspective that I consider the ways in which the government developed various voluntary codes and guidelines which operated to change the behaviour of government agencies and regulate community organisations. In this section I outline the development of a range of guidance material for both government and community organisations, designed to implement the government’s focus of improving its relationships with the community and voluntary sector, as stated in the Statement of Government Intentions (SOGI).

Guidance for Government Agencies

The Statement of Government Intentions (SOGI) provides a guide to government agencies about the way in which they should seek to work with community organisations. As noted previously, it provided the space for other agencies to develop their own guidelines, ideally with more specific and measureable features. Over the same period the government was pursuing other avenues in an attempt to change some aspects of the culture of government in a retreat from the extreme neo-liberal, corporatized positions of the previous decade. These changes emphasised the development of a ‘whole of government’ approach, and building better coordination (or partnerships) between government agencies as well as between government and external organisations, including the community and voluntary sector.

I outline the best practice guidelines and codes developed for government agencies by three central government control agencies: the State Services Commission and its *Review of the Centre* (2001), Treasury and the development of its *Guidelines for Contracting with Non-Government Organisations for Services Sought by the Crown*, (2003) and the Office of the Auditor General’s good practice guide *Principles to underpin management by public entities of funding to non-government organisations* (2006).

State Services Commission and the Review of the Centre.

In 2001, Ministers commissioned a review of the way government agencies operated with a view to improve the ways government agencies operated, and in particular to develop a ‘whole of government’ approach. The result was the Review of the Centre report (State Services Commission, 2001) which recommended improvements in the front line provision of services by government agencies, including:

- enhancing regional coordination of State sector agencies, *including their interaction with local government and community organisations*, by adapting and building on *existing successful models of local coordination*;
- reviewing relationships between policy and operational units within the State sector, and identifying ways of enhancing the sector’s ability to provide *well informed and practical* policy advice and to implement policy decisions on the basis of a thorough understanding of them (pp. 6 & 7; emphases added).

The recommendations place value on local and practical knowledges and existing examples of good local practice and relationships. The report implicitly includes community knowledge and criticises the arrangements whereby government policy is frequently developed without being informed by community and operational knowledge.

Treasury guidelines for contracting with non-government organisations.

In 2001 Treasury developed a set of guidelines for government agencies contracting with non-government organisations. The guidelines were revised in 2003 following consultation with community sector organisations. They explicitly refer to the SOGI and are designed to “assist in building this good relationship” with the community and voluntary sector:

The Government has expressed a clear wish for a good working relationship with the community and voluntary sector... These guidelines are intended, among other things, to assist building this good relationship (p. 3).

While the guidelines are within the framework of contracting for services and address the requirements for government agencies to pay attention to matters of accountability for Crown expenditure, they present a broader view of the contract

and relationship between the contracting parties than a narrow, market driven model. This may be seen in the following three features that represent the modifications to contractualism I refer to when I discuss the modified contractualist discourse of partnership:

1. They include of a set of principles of good contract management. These principles include specific reference to the relationship that the government seeks to have with the community and voluntary sector;
2. A consistent reference to the attention that needs to be given to the relationship between the parties, and with the broader community sector; and
3. Emphasising the mutuality implicit in developing contracts “It is normally in the interests of both the government agency and the NGO to approach negotiations in a collaborative rather than a confrontational manner” (pp. 5&6).

It is significant that Treasury issued these guidelines. Treasury was seen as the key agency that introduced New Public Management in the 1980s, bringing with it the marketization of government services, the dominance of economic or financial arrangements and marginalization of other frames of reference such as the social or environmental. That Treasury, the gatekeeper of government’s purse, promoted the value of relationships and non-financial aspects of contracts represented a significant shift, and set a tone for government agencies developing relationships with community organisations that go beyond the narrow focus of the market.

Office of the Auditor General's good practice guidelines.

In 2006, the Office of the Auditor General developed a good practice guide titled: ‘Principles to underpin management by public entities of funding to non-government organisations’. While these guidelines are non-binding on government agencies, they are designed as tools for instilling ‘good practice’ and the self governance of government organisations. The guidelines were developed within the contractual paradigm; the audit office’s sphere of concern is the spending of and accountability for public funds. As such, the guidelines do not explicitly support a partnership approach, but support funding processes that are more responsive to the community organisations they provide funding to. Larner

and Craig (2005) note the constraints imposed on government agencies by the Public Finance Act (1989) which they say, “underpins a continued emphasis on contractualism and a narrow, market-contested output accountability regime” (p. 420). The Auditor General acknowledges the importance of building relationships, and also notes the tensions that exist for government agencies to balance relationship responsibilities against the financial accountability required for public funds:

There is tension between the principle of accountability, the principle of openness, and the trust relationship set out in the Government’s commitment to a genuine partnership with the community and voluntary sector...

Collaboration and partnership between local and central government public entities and communities is now often expected if public policy objectives are to be realistic and achievable. However, I acknowledge that strong and sustainable relationships and, most particularly, partnerships, may be difficult to achieve where there are major disparities between public entities and NGOs in terms of relative power, size, and governance structures (p. 4).

Carrot and Stick: Supporting and Regulating the Community and Voluntary Sector

As well as this guidance material produced by central government agencies, two government agencies with a focus on the community and voluntary sector were established in the first term of the Labour-led Government: The Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector within the Ministry of Social Development and the Charities Commission. I briefly discuss each of these agencies and their role in promulgating discourses of partnership between government and community organisations. I also note the role of each agency in the governmentalisation of community organisations and their role in influencing government practices.

The Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector (OCVS)

The Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector (OCVS) was established in 2003 with the aim of improving the relationship between government and the community and voluntary sector. The office provides good practice guides and convenes ‘good practice seminars for government agencies working with community organisations, with an aim of improving the way government agencies

deal with the community organisations. Underlying these guides and seminars is a discourse of partnership, or relationship, based on two-way communication and mutual respect that recognizes the value of community and civil society organisations as ‘partners with’, rather than merely ‘contractors to’ government.

The OCVS uses the techniques of influence rather than control; akin to the governmental techniques Foucault speaks of. In this case, government practices are being ‘steered’ away from a contractualist view of community sector organisations as only being providers of services, towards a view of community organisations as partners with government. This aspect of the OCVS role is transformative of government practice. The SKIP initiative that I analyse in Chapter Six is one of the good practice examples showcased in this process.

The Charities Commission

The Charities Commission is a significant aspect of the government apparatus that regulates the community and voluntary sector in New Zealand by maintaining a register of ‘charities’. Although it does not profess a discourse of partnership between government and community, I include this reference to it because of its regulatory function. The Charities Commission was established in 2005 with the legislated functions of maintaining a register of charities and to

- (a) promote public trust and confidence in the charitable sector;
and
- (b) encourage and promote the effective use of charitable resources; and
- (c) educate and assist charities in relation to matters of good governance and management, for example,—
 - (i) by issuing guidelines or recommendations on the best practice to be observed by charities and by persons concerned with the management or administration of charities... (Charities Act, 2005 Section 10.

The primary role of the Charities Commission is thus to regulate, and encourage the self-regulation of community organisations. This regulation has a number of aspects, both direct and indirect. First, the construction of ‘charity’ limits the scope of the Charities Commission to organisations with a charitable purpose, defined as “the relief of poverty, the advancement of education or religion, or any other matter beneficial to the community” (Charities Act, S. 5). This emphasis on the provision of services to the community reinforces the condescending ‘charity’

discourse of community organisations. The second point is related; activist community organisations with a significant social justice purpose may be excluded from the registration, as ‘political activity’ is not, by definition, charitable. This has the function of silencing dissent, as only registered organisations and their donors are eligible for such benefits as tax deductibility. Third, the Charities Commission’s function of “educating and assisting charities” (S. 10) supports the self-regulation, or governmentalisation of community organisations; through a process of encouraging, or guiding them to develop the ‘good governance and management’ systems and structures that fit the government’s notions of ‘best practice’.

The Charities Commission, with its functions of registering, regulating and educating charities can be best seen as a tool for the governmentalisation of the community and voluntary sector organisations; using both coercive and more subtle mechanisms. This has the effect, if not the overt intention, of reconstituting community organisations as charities; compliant and docile organisations focused on their responsibilities to provide support and services to the community (see Rose, 1999).

Good Practice Guides for Community Organisations: Support or Governmentalisation?

As well as producing guidance material for government agencies, a number of government agencies developed resource material to support community agencies with which they had a relationship. These sets of guidelines and resource materials include specific programme or funding guides as government agencies themselves followed the guidance of Treasury and the Auditor General in their funding relationships. Various government agencies developed more generic resources to support the management of community groups (refer Table 2). This development was generally well-intentioned, and in a number of cases an advisory group of community representatives may have been involved in the development of the resources and guides. However, as Lerner and Butler (2004) caution, these guides are not neutral, and serve to transform the ways in which the community organisations operate:

Seen through the lens of the neo-Foucauldian governmentality literature the good practice guides, transferable models and evaluations that are now proliferating in the social sector are not simply neutral tools, rather they are governmental techniques that represent and help constitute governmental spaces and subjects in particular forms (pp. 4 & 5).

The summary of these resources listed in Table 2, shows the way in which they subtly support managerial discourses of community, with an emphasis on governance, legal structures, employment relations and financial management.

While the various sets of guidelines contain specialist material for their particular sector, such as conservation methods for museums or coaching for sports clubs, they all include general information about governance structures, planning and other issues to do with running the club or community organisation. Without disputing the value of these guides, they also construct community groups in an organisational shape that mirrors neo-liberalised corporate world views. There is scant reference, for example, to collectives as legitimate organisational structures or to consensus decision making; both of which were signature aspects of the new social movements of the 1970s. In the 1990s community organisations restructured themselves to fit the requirements of government contracts (Tennant, 2007; Vanderpyl, 2004). By the early twenty-first century these restructured models had become the taken for granted way of operating; reinforced by voluntary guides and resources produced by a government that was both supportive of community organisations, and had an interest in constructing them in a way that suited the risk management requirements of the new contractual culture.

Good Practice Guidelines and Resources: A Summary

At a political level the government rhetoric was of building partnerships. SOGI, Treasury and Auditor General's guidelines demonstrate leadership on the part of central government agencies to develop systems and processes designed to improve funding practices and the relationship between government and community organisations. As Holland (2008) notes, the aims of 'improving relationships', 'collaboration' and 'participation' stop short of Ministers' rhetoric and the community's expectation of partnership with its implication of shared planning and decision making.

Table 2: Guides and Resources for Community Organisations

Year	Government Agency	Publication/ Resource	Community involvement in production	Description
1998 (and ongoing)	Department of Internal Affairs	Community Net www.community.net.nz	Advisory Governance Board. Contributors and editors from community	Website ‘an information sharing resource for NZ community and voluntary groups.’
2006	Department of Internal Affairs / Ministry of Social Development	Community Resource Kit	Advisory editorial group Contracted contributors from community organisations	Revision of the earlier Community Development Resource Kit (DIA). Provides ‘good practice’ guides for the management of community organisations.
2000	Conservation (Department of)	From Seed to Success	Not stated	Guides and toolkits for community conservation projects and groups
2004	Te Puni Kokiri	Effective Governance	Not stated	A resource for directors and trustees of Māori organisations. Covers approaches to governance structures and includes. summaries, references, case studies, and templates.
2005	Social Development (Ministry of) Family and Community Services (FACS)	Managing Well	Community advisory group	A directory of resources for community organisations

Year	Government Agency	Publication/ Resource	Community involvement in production	Description
2006 and updates	Office of the Community and Voluntary Sector (OCVS) /NZ Federation of Voluntary Welfare Organisations (NZFVWO)	Keeping it Legal <i>E Ai Ki Te Ture</i>	Joint project between government and community organisation. Updates and replaces earlier NVWO publication	A kit (website and hard copy) for community and voluntary organisations to help them comply with their legal obligations and develop strategies for managing risk.
2004	SPARC	Governance Toolkit	Not stated	A guide to governance for sports and recreation groups.
Undated	Legal Services Agency	Lawaccess website www.lawaccess.lsa.govt.nz	Not stated	A website-based catalogue of law-related information and resources.
2003 (revised)	Creative New Zealand	Getting on Board: A governance resource for Arts Organisations	Not stated	Resources designed for Arts organisations, covering a range of topics to support governance committees and managers. The resources include samples and case studies
2003	Te Papa Museum of New Zealand	Governance management and planning resource guides	Not stated	A set of 33 guides on various subjects related to running museums, including organisational management

The development of guidelines and instructions to government agencies, signals an increased interest from government in the community and voluntary sector. While they promote improvement of government practices that impact on the relationship, the guides do not refer to developing partnerships, nor do they fundamentally change the contractual nature of the relationship of the way the government operates. Using Sacks' (1996, 2008) notions of contracts and covenants, the changes signaled by the various guidelines and instructions remain within a contractual framework, but with the potential of improved processes for developing and managing the contracts.

Similarly, the resources and guidelines produced for the support of community organisations, while no doubt well-intentioned, have the effect of steering community organisations' structures and practices in a way that best suits the government agenda. This process is consistent with the modified contractualist discourse identified in chapters five and six, which frames much of the government's approach to partnership in the term of the fifth Labour-led government.

Summary of Chapter Four

In this chapter I explore the historical, social and political context in which the research is located. This examination follows the Foucauldian approach to discourse analysis that considers both the present and historical situatedness of the discourse, as Powers (2007) explains:

For Foucault, it followed that discourse cannot be analyzed only in the present, because the power components and the historical components create such a tangled knot of shifting meanings, definitions and interested parties over periods of time. Consequently, a discourse analysis must be seen at the same time from a genealogical perspective (p. 26).

In Chapter Five I explore the literature regarding partnership to identify various approaches to, or discourses of partnership and the ideological frameworks within which they are situated. Taken together, chapters four and five establish the dimension of social practice in Fairclough's approach to critical discourse analysis that I follow.

CHAPTER FIVE: A PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNITY AND GOVERNMENT? EXPLORING THE LITERATURE

Chapter Five explores some of the literature that discusses partnership between government and community, in particular as it relates to the fifth Labour-led Government in New Zealand and similar ‘third-way’ approaches in the United Kingdom. I start by discussing definitional problems with the notion of partnership, and note various matrices that have been developed to describe a range of ways in which partnerships operate. I then explore the development of the third-way discourse of partnership in more depth, and identify the main approaches to, or discourses of partnership in the literature: community development, modified contractualism, the Treaty of Waitangi and commercial discourses of partnership. The chapter concludes with a brief introduction of associated discourses of civil society, social capital, and communitarianism.

Towards a Definition of Partnership

As may be expected, there are multiple meanings and discourses of partnership between government and community organisations. The consensus seems to be that it is a feel-good notion, drawing more from a colloquial understanding of the word than any precise legal or academic definition. Larner and Butler (2003) refer to partnership “a ‘Humpty Dumpty’ term (when I call something a partnership, by definition it is one)” (p. 8), explaining that partnership seems to mean different things to different people. A literature review on partnerships concludes that “partnership has become a very popular concept in government and welfare sectors in recent years. Unfortunately the term partnership has often been used with more rhetorical than real meaning” (Ministry of Social Policy, 2000, p. 6), leading to Nowland-Foreman’s (1997) rather cynical observation that partnership is “much talked about but little evidenced” (p. 6). Davies (2007) comments on the lack of a common understanding or definition of the term partnership, and the consequent room this creates for misunderstandings, noting that “public managers and community activists have contrasting common-sense understandings of partnership which, being unspoken, cannot be articulated or deliberated” (p. 280).

Despite this lack of clarity or consistency, there are several useful models that describe the different ways in which partnership is understood. Brinkerhoff (2002) suggests a two dimensional matrix of partnership, comprising mutuality and organisational identity (see Figure 2).

		Mutuality	
		<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>
Organisational Identity	<i>High</i>	2 Contracting	1 Partnership
	<i>Low</i>	3 Extension “When one organisation calls all the shots and the other organisations have very little independent identity”	4 Co-optation and gradual absorption

Figure 2: Partnership Model (Brinkerhoff, 2002, p. 22)

Craig and Courtney (2004), drawing on the work of a comprehensive research project and a history of partnering arrangements in Waitakere City, New Zealand, set out a ‘partnering continuum’ which positions relationship of coexistence at one end and partnership at the formal end (see Figure 3).

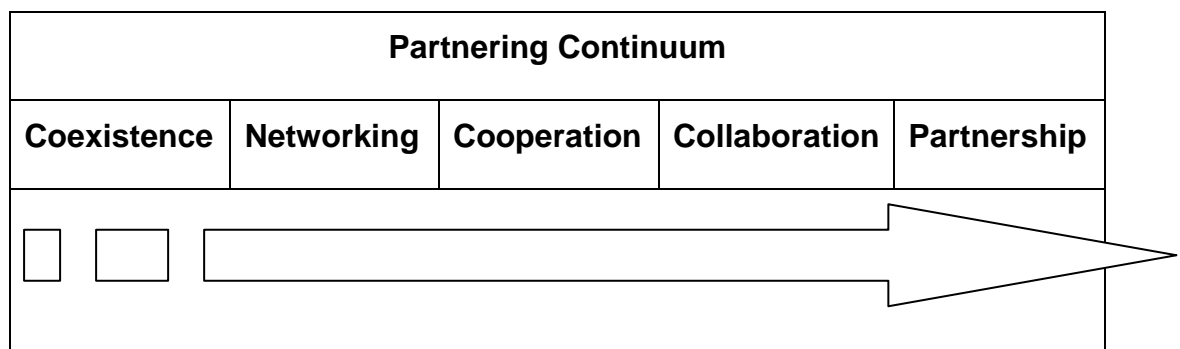


Figure 3: Partnering Continuum (Craig & Courtney, 2004, p.38)

Courtney and Craig note that each of the points on the continuum is a legitimate node of relationship, and caution that the ‘partnership’ end of the spectrum requires a considerable commitment of time and energy. They also set out core

requirements for developing partnerships at this level, including the sharing of power and resources, having a commitment to the process of working together, and having clear and shared goals of the partnership.

Both Brinkerhoff's (2002) and Courtney and Craig's (2004) models represent partnership as an extreme position in a range of ways in which relationships between government and community are constructed. Both also caution that the imprecise, 'feel good' language surrounding partnership is problematic as the term is indiscriminately applied to a range of relationships across their respective matrix or continuum.

Partnership and 'Third-Way' Politics

The fifth Labour-led Government positioned itself as a 'third-way' government, and framed its approach to building partnerships as part of this positioning:

In earlier times, central government tended to assume it could operate on its own without nurturing such broader relationships. In more recent times it tended to push the responsibility for economic and social development away and disclaim any proactive role.

Now, our third way government is seeking a new role, built around that concept of partnership, acknowledging the limitations of government, but also accepting the responsibility of leading, facilitating, enabling, brokering, and funding where appropriate to get results (Clark, 2000).

The term 'third way' was a slogan of the Blair led Labour Government in the United Kingdom that assumed office in 1997 and which influenced the Labour-led Government in New Zealand (Baxter, 2002). Sociologist Anthony Giddens is widely credited with developing the contemporary concept of a 'third way' that charted a new path between Labour's earlier Welfare state and Keynesian economic policies on the one hand, and the neo-liberal, marketised policies of the Thatcher era in the United Kingdom on the other hand (Dahrendorf, 1999; Geyer, 2001; Rose, 1999). More loosely the third way is described as a new path between socialism and liberalism (Latham, 1998, cited in Walsh & Bahrish, 2000). Third way politics argue that government has a role to lead and support social and economic development alongside the corporate and civil society sectors. It promotes a value of working in partnership with these sectors, contrasting this approach to alternative paradigms in which government takes either a hands off

approach or a controlling position, either as the provider of services or as the principal in a contractual relationship. Dahrendorf (1999) describes third-way politics as “a combination of neo-liberal economics and social democratic social policy” (p. 14). Rose (2001) takes a critical view of the third way rhetoric, especially as it relates to a new focus on community and civil society in a way that both suggests a divestment of government responsibility for a range of social support to communities, community and voluntary organisations and families, while retaining a role for the government to form partnerships with such organisations.

The third way is presented politically as a rejection of the neo-liberal models of government without returning to the socialist models of the past. A broad consensus of the literature I examined does not support this view, and tends to position both third way and partnership discourses as extensions to, or aspects of a new phase of neoliberalism. Peck and Tickell (2002) refer to it as a “mutation of neo-liberalism” where it [neo-liberalism] “metamorphosed into more socially interventionist and ameliorative forms, epitomized by the Third-Way contortions of the Clinton and Blair administrations” (p. 388). They include the discourses of partnership and social capital which form a new, ‘roll-out’ phase of neoliberalism which has a greater emphasis on social and penal policy. Carson and Kerr (2003), considering a similar policy shift towards partnerships in Australia caution: “this shift is widely acknowledged as bearing the hallmarks of neo-liberalism, as the state distances itself from direct service provision by entering into contract-based partnerships which are claimed to differ from classical contract relationships” (p. 84). They continue to raise the question whether “ ‘partnership talk’ is more than just talk or, worse, a benign way of presenting classical contractual processes that incorporate non-government agencies into government agendas in ways that limit the extent of the agencies’ autonomy” (p. 87). This position is echoed in the New Zealand literature (Curtis, 2003; Larner and Butler, 2003, 2004; Larner and Craig, 2002, 2005). Larner and Craig (2005) suggest that the emphasis on partnership is “most commonly understood to be an integral aspect of the third phase of neoliberalism” and can be explained as an effect of the efforts of the fifth Labour Government to develop a local variant of ‘Third Wayism’” (p. 407).

The third way discourses of partnership generally fall within the approach I term a modified contractualist approach, which I discuss in the next section together with the community development approach. While it is easy to see pitfalls for community organisations in this approach, the notion of partnership also provides possibilities of influencing the way government works and generating local, community driven responses that were not available under the earlier contractualist models. As Harrington (2005) suggests:

The efforts to construct partnership and the consequent practice are as much to do with seeking a way to reclaim and reshape what happens to one's own community as it is an attempt by government to darkly shed responsibility and costs (p. 9).

Discourses of Partnership

The literature indicates two dominant approaches to partnership between government and community organisations, which I term 'community development' and 'modified contractualism' discourses of partnership. In this section I briefly summarise the literature relating to these two approaches, and then discuss two other significant partnership discourses: the Treaty of Waitangi and commercial partnership discourse. I conclude this section with a discussion of several associated discourses: communitarianism, civil society and charity, and explore how these discourses also construct partnership discourses.

Community Development Discourse of Partnership

The community development discourse of partnership can generally be traced to the 1970s and 1980s, and is associated with the rise of the community development discourses in this period. This discourse of partnership reemerged on the late 1990s as a resistance to the dominant contractualist discourses (Robinson, 1999). Although I suggest a coherent, unitary 'community development' discourse of partnership, this oversimplifies the situation. As with most concepts I consider in this research, 'community development' has multiple definitions and a contested relationship with neo-liberalism. Geoghegan and Powell (2008) identify three distinct (and interwoven) understandings of community development in the current period: a neo-liberal view in which civil society is subservient to economic development; a corporatist view which promotes the partnership between civil

society, the market and the state; and an activist model in which community development is seen as resistance to neoliberalism.

Community development discourses of partnership are sometimes termed 'genuine' or 'true' partnerships, and typically fit within the 'partnership' quadrant of Brinkerhoff's model as both partners demonstrate a high degree of organisational identity, and the partnership shows a high degree of mutuality. Similarly, these partnerships are positioned towards the 'partnership' end of Craig and Courtney's (2004) continuum. This understanding of partnership also fits Sacks (1996) concept of covenantal relationships, as enduring moral and social commitments rather than pragmatic transactions found in purely contractual relationships.

Modified Contractualism Discourse of Partnership

In general, the partnership approach I term 'modified contractualism' is consistent with the third way approaches discussed previously. In this approach, community organisations are seen primarily as the providers of community services, partly paid by government. Rose (1996, 1999, 2001) argues that the renewed emphasis on community, civil society, and partnerships with community represents a new, neo-liberalised form of government through community, in which 'the social' is replaced by a more immediate, personalised representation: 'the community'. Rose (1999) suggests that this emphasis on 'community' and 'communitarianism' is used as a means of arguing for the government's retreat from responsibility for the social welfare of citizenry in favour of the responsabilization of individuals and communities, with the language of partnership presenting a softer image of government's lack of involvement:

The state is no longer to be required to answer all society's needs for order, security, health and productivity. Individuals, firms, organisations, localities, schools, parents, hospitals, housing estates must take on themselves - as 'partners' - a portion of the responsibility for resolving these issues - whether this be by permanent retraining for the worker or neighbourhood watch for the community. This involves a double movement of autonomization and responsabilization. Organisations, actors and others that were once enmeshed in the complex and bureaucratic lines of force of the social state are to be set free to find their own destiny. Yet, at the same time, they are to be made responsible for their destiny, and for that of society as a whole, in new ways (p. 476).

The modified contractualism discourse of partnership falls short of the 'partnership' end of Craig and Courtney's continuum (refer Figure 3), and could more appropriately be regarded in the 'cooperation' or 'collaboration' phases. It can be seen to reflect Sacks' (1996) concept of contractual relationships, in that they are primarily instrumental, or pragmatic arrangements founded on achieving mutual goals or mutual self-interest. Similarly, programmes and relationships developed within this approach would generally fall into either the 'contract' or 'extension' quadrants of Brinkerhoff's matrix (refer Figure 2), with the potential of co-optation if a community organisation compromises its organisational identity and purpose in the interests of fulfilling the terms of the contract (Nowland-Foreman, 2000). Government sets the rules of engagement, and controls the majority of the resources. Communities and community organisations are invited to join as partners with government in a 'joined up' programme, designed or promoted by government to remedy some community concern or provide some services to the community. While the superficial message is compelling, almost inevitably the government partner retains the control, as in a process that Lynn (2006), referring to an Australian context, describes:

Partnerships with community borrow the commercial language, while government retains power and control.... There is no analysis of the imbalance of power between government and community. Community is not trusted to know its own needs and set its own agenda (p. 113).

Others are more optimistic, particularly when considering this governmentalised approach to partnership through a Foucauldian lens, which considers the way power and resistance operate at a local level. Although it is easier to see the way in which community organisations are co-opted to a government agenda, Larner and Craig (2002) note that partnerships are "challenging accepted understandings of the policy making process and transforming institutional cultures" (p. 29). Morison (2000), discussing the United Kingdom context, also considers the ways in which the processes of governmentalisation operate both ways, suggesting that government processes are also influenced by the way partnerships operate:

The sector actors are not mere ciphers within the network or an empty space where government is occurring. The insights of the governmentality approach shows us that they are active subjects. They are contributing to the reconstruction of their world by actively engaging with the powers that govern them and by which

they govern themselves... And of course the process works both ways: formal government too is being changed and governed as it seeks to operationalise its programmes through networks of civil society and responds to new priorities and rationalities (pp.131&132).

In Chapter Six I identify the way the modified contractualism discourse operates in the sets of tests I analysed, and the way it interacts with community development discourses. I next introduce other significant discourses that are closely linked with the discourse of partnership between government and community organisations.

Treaty Discourse and Partnership

The Treaty of Waitangi sets out an agreement, or partnership between Māori (iwi and hapū) and the Crown. It may be viewed as a central partnership discourse in Aotearoa New Zealand. It impacts directly on the partnership between community organisations and the government; as the Community and Voluntary Sector Working Party (2001) reported: that “for Māori, the need for action in regard to the Crown’s relationship with iwi overshadows discussion about relations between government and the community sector” and “until government honours its obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi, a relationship between government and iwi, and Iwi/Māori organisations will be flawed” (Ministry of Social Policy, 2001, p. 69).

Treaty Principle of Partnership

The Treaty of Waitangi established a partnership between Māori and the British Crown. Judge Durie, the then Chair of the Waitangi Tribunal, explained: “we can read into the Treaty what we might modernly call the heads of agreement for a bi-cultural development in partnership” (cited in Sorrenson, 1989, p. 162). After the Treaty had been largely ignored by the dominant Pakeha-controlled government for over a century, in 1975 the Treaty of Waitangi Act was passed, establishing the Waitangi Tribunal “to make recommendations on claims relating to the practical application of the principles of the Treaty” (Treaty of Waitangi Act, 1975, s 2) and, of more immediate relevance to this research, to have “*exclusive authority* to determine the meaning and effect of the Treaty” (Sorrenson, 1989, p.160,

emphasis in original)⁵. Consequently, the Waitangi Tribunal was required to look at the context and meanings of the Treaty to establish what these principles were. The Tribunal and Courts affirmed the principle of ‘partnership,’ among others, implicit in the Treaty. Hayward (1997) concludes from the Court of Appeal judgment (*New Zealand Māori Council v Attorney-General* 1987) that “The Treaty established a partnership, and imposes on the partners the duty to act reasonably and in good faith” (p. 478), and from the Waitangi Tribunal findings that “The Treaty implies a partnership, exercised with the utmost good faith” (p. 484).

Treaty discourses of partnership impact on community-government discourses of partnership in several ways. First, for many, the ‘Treaty partnership’ is predominant; and needs to be resolved before other relationships or partnerships can be negotiated. Second, and associated with the first point, tangata whenua organisations view themselves as partners with government, not merely as a subset of the community and voluntary sector. Third, a number of community organisations have developed their own models of treaty-based practice and organisational structure, internalizing principles of partnership in the organisation⁶. Fourth, as Lerner and Craig (2005) identify, there are difficulties with discourses of ‘partnership’ with regard to Māori and Māori organisations because of the ways in which the Partnership of the Treaty of Waitangi has been persistently abused by the Crown or pakeha partners.

Commercial Discourses of Partnership

As this research is concerned with the relationship between community organisations and government, any consideration of commercial partnership arrangements is largely peripheral, except as far as the commercial discourse impacts on, and further confuses the understandings of what is meant by ‘partnership’. I briefly refer to three commercial discourses of partnership: the

⁵ The powers and jurisdiction of the Waitangi Tribunal were extended in 1985 to enable it to investigate contemporary breaches as well as historical claims going back to 1840.

⁶ See for example, Community Sector Taskforce (2006). *A new way of working for the Tangata Whenua, Community and Voluntary Sector in Aotearoa New Zealand*.

commercial partnership as a business enterprise, commercial joint ventures, and the recent attention given to Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs).

Commercial Partnerships

The organisational form of the business partnership is governed by the Partnership Act 1908, in which partnership is defined as “the relation which subsists between persons carrying on a business in common with a view to profit” (Section 4 (1)). In business partnerships, a ‘firm,’ or separate business entity is established to manage the partnership business, but the partners keep their own identity outside of the joint business. Partners share in the risks of the shared partnership business, usually according to an agreement entered into between the partners at the start of the business. More recent legislation⁷ established ‘limited partnerships’ which have both ‘general partners’ who are active in the management of the partnership and ‘limited partners’ who are generally passive investors in the partnership.

While these commercial partnerships are outside the scope of this research, they contribute a distinctive understanding of partnership that may be expected of government - community partnerships. This may include an expectation that the partnership is a separate, functional operation that has a purpose and function that is distinct from that of the member partners. Robinson (1999) explains this in relations to community-government partnerships:

In a true partnership, the ‘partners’ do not simply cooperate on a project as separate entities. They join together to form a new type of organisation in which all parties participate in identifying needs and developing solutions (p. 3).

With this in mind, a partnership between government and community organisations would be more substantial than a network coming together to discuss shared interests.

⁷ Limited Partnerships Act 2008

Joint Ventures as Partnership Arrangements

The second commercial arrangement I briefly refer to is the joint venture. In this arrangement, two or more commercial organisations join together to undertake a specific business venture or project. Again, the partners retain their separate identities outside of the joint venture, and share in the responsibilities, risks and rewards of the venture. Joint ventures are generally short term arrangements entered into for mutual profit; each party contributing their particular resource or expertise, and sharing the proceeds. Much of the academic discussion on joint ventures (Buchel, 2000; Chowdhury & Chowdhury, 2001), relates to international arrangements, typically where an international company with particular expertise and resources enters into a joint venture with a local company which brings its knowledge or and access to local markets and conditions. This process is replicated in the international development context with NGOs ‘partnering’ with local community organisations.

Unlike ‘true’ partnerships that emphasise the importance of building enduring relationships between the partners, joint ventures are essentially pragmatic time limited arrangements, with the partners focused on gaining some mutual benefit of working together.

Public- Private Partnerships

The recent discourse of public private partnerships (PPPs) refers to the development of joint venture projects between government and private sector partners to develop major infrastructure projects (Hammami, Ruhashyankiko & Yehoue, 2006; Office of the Auditor General, 2006a; Katz, D., 2006; Spackman 2002, Wettenhall, 2003). Public-private partnerships were a feature of the privatization of government services in the 1990s in both the United Kingdom and New Zealand, with the management of prisons and other facilities contracted to private agencies. In the United Kingdom this developed further, incorporating the ‘partnership’ rhetoric of third wayism of the Labour government (Hammami, et al, 1996; Flinders, 2004; Spackman, 2002). The Labour-led Government of 1999-2008 was less enthusiastic, sensitive to the anti-privatisation sentiment among its support base, and the association of public private partnerships with privatization

of public assets. While relationships between the partners may be valued, public private partnerships are predominantly pragmatic funding arrangements, fraught with ideological concerns about privatization of public assets, and the tensions between private sector profit motives and public good motivations of government involvement (Spackman, 2002).

Associated Discourses:

Communitarianism, Social Capital and Civil Society

The rise of the talk of partnership in the 1990s is associated with a number of other new and repackaged discourses. There was a renewed interest in the notions of civil society, community, and communitarianism from a range of ideological perspectives. As with the initial promotion of partnership, these were in part discourses of resistance to the neo-liberal models that commodified and contractualised community and relationships. Etzioni (1996) promoted communitarianism as a counter-discourse to the individualistic discourses of neo-liberalism, by promoting the value of the collective or social bonds that link people. Similarly a discourse of social capital was promoted as a resistance to the domination of economic relationships by promoting the value of the social networks (Robinson, 1999).

As with the discourse of partnership, these discourses of community, civil society and social capital may also be seen as part of, or supporting a neo-liberal framework (Fyfe 2005; Geoghegan & Powell, 2008; Rose, 1996, 1999). The emphasis on community, as in Etzioni's (2000) communitarianism also argues for a withdrawal, or reduction in the role of the state from social provision and increasing the reliance on families and communities for such support:

... as a rule the state should not be the first source of social services. Small loans, childcare, sick care, counselling and much else is best provided in the first instance by members of the immediate and extended family, local and other communities, voluntary associations, workplaces and others. When the state becomes the first or sole source of these services, it undermines, demoralises and bureaucratises relationships that are at the core of communal life (pp. 46 & 47).

This view was echoed in New Zealand by the Thomas (2008) of the Maxim Institute:

When the government steps back, communities can supply what people need, since they are closer to the needs of the people in their midst. For example, communities can provide tangible relationships, compassion and care in a way that government handouts, agencies and welfare programmes cannot. This might take the form of local communities assuming more responsibility for the provision of education or social welfare services to meet the needs of their members.

This discussion paper therefore contends *that good government is limited government*, and that the common good will be most securely protected when the responsibilities of individuals, associative communities and civil institutions to each other are not absorbed by the state (p. vii, emphasis added).

Rose (1996, 1999, 2001) places this renewed interest in civil society within the wider neo-liberal agenda of transferring responsibilities from the state to individuals and the nebulous entity ‘community’. In this way, discourses of partnership, civil society, community and social capital are not neutral or fixed, but have a fluid and contested relationship with the wider neo-liberal discourses that have dominated the political landscape for the past twenty-five years.

Community Organisations and the ‘Charity’ Discourse

A further ancillary discourse is the ‘charity’ discourse in which community organisations are constructed as charities; doing good work in the community. There are several strands within this overall discourse. Fries (2001), in an article discussing charities and civil society explains:

Charity has a resonance worldwide. For some it is tinged with negative associations, for most it is positive. Charity is generosity, altruism, reflecting the better qualities of human nature in a world of greed and selfishness. For a minority, it reflects, reinforces inequality, is condescending. For the old left (in Britain anyway), charity has memories of class, of social provision by favour – replaced by the statutory rights of the welfare state (p. 2).

The charity discourse re-emerged in the 1990s with the establishment of the Charities Commission which has the role of registering and regulating ‘charities’ in New Zealand. The Commission draws on legal understanding of ‘charity’ and enters into contested territory regarding the potential silencing (or withdrawal of

registration) of community organisations that may be seen as ‘political’ – as this is not, of itself, seen as a ‘charitable purpose’.

Summary

In Chapter Five I reviewed the literature regarding partnership between government and community organisations to identify the main discourses of partnership and the ways they are constructed, and in turn construct the relationship. This review, together with the historical overview and outline of government actions in Chapter Four, provides the political, historical and social context of the research; or Fairclough’s dimension of social practice. Next, in Chapter Six, I analyse a range of material to uncover the discourse practice and text dimensions of the study. In Chapter Seven I draw together the findings from both parts of the research and present the overall conclusions and insights I draw from this study.

CHAPTER SIX: ANALYSING THE TEXTS: THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

In this chapter, I examine three sets of texts produced over the period of the fifth Labour-led Government in New Zealand (1999-2008) in order to identify and analyse discourses of partnership between government and community organisations in this period. In Chapter Four I presented an overview of the historical and political context of this research, and in Chapter Five I reviewed a range of literature and identified two predominant approaches to partnership, which I called community development and modified contractualist discourses of partnership. Chapters four and five together frame what Fairclough (1992), in his critical discourse analytic approach that guides this research, terms the ‘dimension of social practice,’ or socio-historical context of the research. Chapter Six focuses on what Fairclough terms the ‘dimension of discourse practice’ which is concerned with the ways in which texts establish and maintain, and also are constructed by, particular discourses. This deals with the way texts are produced, distributed and consumed, and how they work together to construct and maintain particular discourses; how the texts “shape the nature of the discursive event and privilege particular identities or ideologies, thus giving them more power” (Smith, 2007, p.62). The analysis at this level provides useful insights into the processes by which discourses are established and maintained.

This chapter is set out in three parts, reflecting the three sets of texts I examine, with a brief introduction and conclusion to the chapter. Each part includes an outline of the texts, an introduction to the particular socio-political context in which it is set, and an analysis of the discourses of partnership uncovered in the texts.

Selection of Texts to Examine

The three sets of texts that I examine are:

1. The speeches and media releases from Hon Steve Maharey, the then Minister of Social Development, in the first year of the fifth Labour-led Government (1999-2000). I select this set of texts to show the ways in which a discourse of partnership was developed in this period, at least from

the government's perspective, and how partnership became seen as a normal, taken for granted approach.

2. Newsletters, information sheets, reports, evaluations, presentations and other material produced by, for or about the Strategies for Kids, Information for Parents (SKIP) initiative. This set of texts provides an example of a government-led initiative with a well articulated philosophy and practice of working in partnership with community organisations. This initiative was developed in the course of the period under study, and is still operating.
3. Policy and programme material, Cabinet papers, media releases, articles and commentaries on the government's *pathway to partnership*⁸ initiative administered by the Ministry of Social Development in 2007-2008, the final years of the fifth Labour-led Government. This set of texts provides an example of a government-led initiative with rhetoric of partnership, while operating in a contractualist paradigm. *Pathway to partnership* texts I examine reveal various meanings or understandings of partnership, and ways in which processes that claim to develop partnerships have the potential to co-opt and neutralize dissent.

The selection of these three sets of texts is not designed to be representative, but each is selected to illustrate different aspects or ways that discourses of partnership were developed or maintained.

I list the texts that are referred to in each of these sets in appendices, giving each a unique identifying code which I use when referring to them in the research. For example, Maharey's speech entitled 'Partnership, Politics and the Social Democratic Project' given to a regional Labour Party conference in March 2000, is coded 'S7' when referenced within this chapter (Chapter Six) and referenced as Maharey, 2000; S7' when referred to elsewhere in the research.

⁸ This initiative is 'pathway to partnership in some texts, and pathways to partnership in others. I have used *pathway to partnership* except when quoting other sources directly

Analysing the Texts:

I follow Fairclough's approach to critical discourse analysis to analyse each of the sets of texts. Each section commences by introducing its social and historical context; or the domain of social practice, followed by an examination of the discourse practice in which I analyse the various types of texts and their interrelationships. I ask the following three questions to each of the sets of texts to uncover elements of discourse production that inform the research:

1. How is a discourse of partnership established or maintained in this set of texts?
2. What discourses of partnership are constructed in these texts? and
3. How do the partnership discourses represented in these texts demonstrate or resist governmentalising practices or hegemony?

The answers to these questions frame the findings of the research.

Part I. Establishing a Discourse of Partnership: The Role of Maharey's Speeches and Media Releases

Steve Maharey was the Minister of Social Services and Employment (later renamed 'Minister of Social Development') in the first two terms of the fifth Labour-led Government (1999-2005). He was also the inaugural Minister for the Community and Voluntary Sector during the government's first term of office (1999-2002). Maharey, who was a lecturer in sociology prior to becoming a Member of Parliament, was a leading academic within the Labour administration. He promoted a social policy agenda that was largely based on the 'third way' policies developed in the United Kingdom, and which included the notion of developing partnerships with other sectors in society, including the community and voluntary sector (Baxter, 2002; Maharey, 2003).

An Overview of Maharey's Speeches and Media Releases

Maharey gave over 80 recorded speeches and published over 200 media releases in his first year of office. They are listed chronologically in Appendix A, and coded with speeches numbered 'S1' to 'S82' and media releases numbered 'R1' to 'R214'. I use this code for the speeches or media releases I refer to in this section. These texts cover a wide range of material as Maharey's ministerial portfolios

spanned social services (later termed ‘social development’), employment, tertiary education and the community and voluntary sector. The texts also range from functional announcements to pivotal policy statements. Maharey refers to partnership in sixty, or three quarters of the speeches that he made; in some instances this may be a cursory reference; in others the theme of partnership dominates the speech.

Discourse Practice: the Role of Speeches and Media Statements

Discourse Type: Speeches

Ministerial speeches carry political authority, and as such can be expected to maintain the hegemonic discourse of the ruling government⁹. Their function is also to promote or introduce particular policies or programmes and construct (and/or represent) a particular political position or discourse. While speeches are available publicly, they are also written for a particular audience, with their tone and language chosen for the setting.

Discourse Type: Media Releases

Media releases are generated for a wider audience, and designed to articulate a particular point. Ministers’ media releases are generated (or at least approved) by the Minister’s office, and often produced with a headline to draw attention to a particular, publicly desirable aspect of a policy or event. They are expected to conform to the conventions of media discourse. Their constitutive purpose is to transform the political or policy discourse, bringing it to the public domain through the media – a process that Fairclough (1998) terms “mediatized political discourse” (cited in Smith, 2007, p. 65). Chouliaraki (2000) explains this discursive function of the media as “a recontextualising principle for appropriating other discourses and bringing them into a special relation with each other for the purposes of their dissemination and mass consumption” (pp. 295&296). Whereas the function of political speeches may be to engage and inspire an audience, media

⁹ Note, for example the speech given by Hon Tariana Turia to the NZ Psychological Society conference (August 2000) in which she referred to the decimation of Taranaki Māori as a holocaust, for which she was criticized and subsequently apologised.

releases generally serve a more utilitarian purpose; presenting a particular piece of information, albeit with a slant that reflects a particular narrative or discourse. In the texts I examine, media releases were frequently utilised to announce specific programmes or events, or to reinforce particular themes in an important speech. As such, they demonstrate an intertextual link between the text modes ‘speech’ and ‘media release.’

In this chapter I discuss the role of Ministerial speeches and media statements as both producers and products of discourse. I then examine how these types of text work together to develop a particular discourse of partnership.

Establishing the Discourse of Partnership

Techniques of Discourse Production

The initial question I asked of the texts is: ‘*How is a discourse of partnership established or maintained in this set of texts?*’ I identified two main techniques used in these texts. First, there is a persistent reference to partnership in the texts with word ‘partnership’ mentioned in the majority of the speech texts. This technique introduces an undefined term ‘partnership’ in a multitude of settings, so that the expression becomes almost taken for granted. I term this the ‘technique of constant repetition.’ Second, an analysis of the texts indicates themes that form a pattern to construct a theoretically coherent model of partnership. I discuss each of these themes or techniques in more detail.

Technique of constant repetition: ‘Partnership is everywhere.’

A broad scan of the speeches Maharey gave during 2000 show references to partnership in three quarters of them. These references range from a cursory mention to in depth presentations of particular government policy in which partnerships with some other entity are central. In this scattergun approach, partnerships are presented as being everywhere: between government and business, government and community organisations, community and business, and between organisations within each sector. Partnerships are promoted across a broad span of government activity, as in the following extract from an early speech

that takes a broad view of partnership to position it in a wide range of settings across a broad span of government activity:

Partnerships are becoming a signal feature of this Government.

I see it in my own portfolio areas when I encourage the Department of Work and Income to engage with benefit advocacy groups.

I see it when I encourage public servants to break out of their policy silos and to start talking to each other.

I see it in the Prime Minister's Local Government Forum where we are talking about a real partnership between central and local government.

I see it as we develop a compact; a partnership between Government and community and voluntary groups.

I see it in the enormous potential provided by the Mayor's Jobs Forum; the opportunities for partnership between central and local government around an employment strategy.

I see it in initiatives like the new legislation on students associations, where we are seeking not only to encourage students to organise collectively, but to engage in partnership with University and Polytechnic Councils in the governance of those institutions.

I sense it with initiatives like Modern Apprenticeships Isn't it great to see the term apprenticeship back! – when I say to Industry Training Organisations, to the unions, to employers, and to Polytechnics; 'get along side the officials as they develop the pilots and launch Modern Apprenticeships nationally

And we will see it right through the new Government's programme:

We will see it in the health sector as Annette King provides opportunities for the community to once again take some sense of the ownership and governance of health care.

We will see it in industry and regional development as Jim Anderton and Pete Hodgson involve business, unions, and government in addressing industry and regional development issues

We will see it in the workplace as Margaret Wilson's new Employment Relations legislation opens up opportunities for workers and unions to work in partnership with good employers to improve productivity and grow the productive base and potential of this economy

We will see it in arts and culture as our artists and writers and performers once again have a sense that Government has a vision for our society and join with the Government to grow our cultural capital

And perhaps we will see it most importantly as the parties to the Treaty of Waitangi address the grievances, provide redress where appropriate, and build a basis for a shared partnership (S7).

Partnerships are thus presented as the new natural way of working in a wide range of settings, with little analysis about what ‘partnership’ may mean. Table 3 gives some extracts from various speeches to a broad range of audiences that refer to partnerships in some way.

Table 3 Extracts from Maharey’s speeches: Maharey on Partnerships		
No, Month	Portfolio	Extract from speech
S1, March	Social Services and Employment (SSE)	<i>Firstly, partnership with the voluntary sector and people with disabilities. This is important for successful service delivery and policy.</i>
S2, March	Employment	<i>The era of hands off is over. A new era of partnership has begun Partnership with the private sector, as well as with other groups in the community with good ideas ... partnership with Māori economic entities, with tertiary institutions, with employees and trade unions, and so on.</i>
S3, March	Tertiary Education	<i>This Government is working with people and communities to develop the partnerships.</i>
S4, March	SSE	<i>A great deal rests on the success of our partnership.</i>
S6, March	Education	<i>We want partnerships. We want partnerships of course between Government and the sector... We are very much a partnership Government.</i>
S7, March	Minister (generic), local Member of Parliament	<i>the new politics that we will encourage as a Government will be about partnerships that open up government and politics to the governed.</i> <i>the notion of 'partnership' is central to a coherent social-democratic project for Aotearoa/New Zealand.</i>
S23, June	Employment	<i>Partnership is one of the cornerstones of our approach to industry training.</i>
S57, September	Employment	<i>We want to play a partnership role in the development of industries and in regional development.</i>
S61, September	Social Development	<i>public policy requires a partnership between central and local government.</i>

Table 3 Extracts from Maharey's speeches: Maharey on Partnerships		
No, Month	Portfolio	Extract from speech
S63, September	Industry Training	<i>The Industry Training Review – an invitation to partnership</i> <i>The Review will focus on developing partnerships – both in the policy changes it makes, and in the way it is carried out.</i>
S69, November	Employment	<i>I am now more confident than ever that we have the basis of a very productive partnership between Government and the private sector.</i>

The persistent reference to partnership in speeches in a wide range of settings establishes 'partnership' and a normative, or taken for granted way to operate. While the meaning of partnership may lack definition, the tenor of these speeches indicates that partnership, whatever it is, is a good thing. Partnership *with* or *between* suggests a degree of mutuality, indicating that the government is not about to unilaterally impose some policy or programme. By leaving the definition of partnership unclear but desirable, the audience is invited to draw on their own meanings of partnership to make sense of what is being said.

Partnership: Presenting a theoretically coherent model.

The persistent repetition of word 'partnership' serves to establish an overall, albeit imprecise, discourse of partnership. A closer analysis of various speeches and presentations indicates a pattern that constructs partnership as a theoretically coherent model for the government to pursue. I analyse several speeches taken from a broad spectrum of Maharey's ministerial portfolios from March 2000, early in the government's term:

1. 'Partnership with the Manawatu: the Government's regional development strategy.' Speech given at a Manawatu Regional Development conference (S2, March 2000);
2. 'The New Way.' Speech given at a tertiary education conference (S6, March 2000);
3. 'New Directions.' Speech given at a Child Youth and Family staff conference (S4, March 2000); and

4. 'Partnership, Politics and the Social Democratic Project.' Speech given at a regional Labour Party conference (S7, March 2000).

These speeches indicate a range of techniques that form a coherent story of partnership, located in a social, political and historical context. I identify the following seven techniques that occur in these speeches, and recur in other speeches later in the year.

First, the theme of partnership is introduced as central to the way in which the government works, as in the following examples (emphasis added):

The era of hands off is over. A new era of partnership has begun (S2);

*We want partnerships. We want partnerships of course between Government and the sector. We want partnerships between businesses and the sector. Between the community and the sector. Between local government and the sector. **We are very much a partnership Government** (S6);*

*the new politics that we will encourage as a Government will be about partnerships ... the **notion of 'partnership' is central** to a coherent social-democratic project for Aotearoa/New Zealand (S7);*

This centrality of partnership was also found in the later speeches, as in the two following example:

*At the **heart of our approach** to government should be the invitation to partnership (S65, October).*

Second, the policy or programme being introduced, together with the notion of partnership as the process to realize it, are presented as successors to earlier notable Labour tradition and policies:

We come from a proud tradition. It is a tradition of ideas and of action, and it is a tradition that has always been about fostering a sense of partnership between government and the governed, between the state and civil society (S6);

The new government is seeking to chart a new course for New Zealand in the 21st century. Our predecessors in the first Labour Government established a welfare state which would protect people against predictable crises. Their plan offered support to those deprived of income through age, illness, unemployment, widowhood and or other misfortune; "... This is an inadequate model for today.... . Instead of a welfare safety net focused on relieving problems, we need a social welfare system that prevents problems. ... We need a welfare society for the 21st century (S4);

As a Government we know where we have come from. This Government holds firm to the vision of Dr Beeby and Peter Fraser.... So we want to take Beeby and Fraser's vision and update it for the 21st century... (S7).

Third, the process of partnership is contrasted with the previous, market model:

National sought to develop a marketplace in education in which tertiary institutions became competitors and all sense of cooperation and collaboration ...was undermined (S6);

The prevailing ideology for the better part of the last 15 years has been one quite hostile to the development of partnerships.... I reject the suggestion that partnerships risk capture, and that any interest constitutes a vested interest (S8, April 2000).

This criticism was presented as ideological rather than partisan; previous Labour administrations were not immune to criticism:

it was the Fourth Labour Government that lost its way in trying to find an alternative between the heavy handed statism of Muldoonism, and the free market anti-statism of the new right. In one sense the Fourth Labour Government failed to meet the challenge of finding a 'third way' beyond these two extremes (S6).

Fourth, partnerships are presented as a 'new' or 'third' way, in which government is engaged as an active party in the development of programmes or policies. . This 'third way' is distinguished from both the laissez faire neoliberal model and the earlier era of government ownership and control, and is presented as building on earlier Labour traditions, translated into a current context:

We need a welfare society for the 21st century ... It will be a new way; some people talk about a 'third way' approach in which we take the best from the community and the market; but it will be 'our way' (S6);

The era of hands off is over. A new era of partnership has begun (S2);

And the word is partnership. This Government will not abrogate responsibilities nor will we seek to devolve all accountability. Local solutions to local issues should never mean that Government has wiped its hands, and walked away (S35, July);

Partnership doesn't mean central government abrogating its responsibility. But it does mean engaging with you so that you are party to the development of vision, strategy, and policy (S55, September).

Fifth, Maharey draws on a recognised international expert or academic to locate the notion of partnership as theoretically robust and supported by the literature:

'highly respected economists like the former Chief Economist of the World Bank, Joseph Stiglitz have argued for a new approach to

the relationship between politics and economics.... Stiglitz talks of a new approach to economic development; he talks about partnership and he talks about the importance of democratic engagement with the policy process (S7).

Sixth, partnership is located in practice, either existing or envisaged in the operation of the policy being announced:

I see it in my own portfolio areas when I encourage the Department of Work and Income to engage with benefit advocacy groups.

I see it when I encourage public servants to break out of their policy silos and to start talking to each other.

I see it in the Prime Minister's Local Government Forum where we are talking about a real partnership between central and local government.

I see it as we develop a compact; a partnership between Government and community and voluntary groups....

And we will see it right through the new Government's programme:

We will see it in the health sector (S7);

... the partnerships that are in evidence here today signal a way forward:

- *Partnerships within an industry and within an enterprise*
- *Partnerships between management and employees*
- *Partnerships between enterprise and Industry Training Organisations*
- *Partnerships with the members of the Government's official family – Skill New Zealand and the NZ Qualifications Authority (S4);*

this initiative ... heralds the beginning of a very practical and dynamic learning partnership between Government, employers and the community (S5);

Last, the audience is invited or challenged to join in as partners:

It is your job to ensure the provision of highly professional services, a genuine partnership with the community and a focus on building the capacity of communities to do more for themselves ...

A great deal rests on the success of our partnership. Children, young people, families and communities are looking to us for leadership. I have every reason to believe that we can deliver (S4);

The key message for you to take away with you this morning is that Industry New Zealand will be required to work in partnership with local communities (S2);

The challenge for the industry is to carry on the efforts it has been making and work in partnership with Government in a cooperative and constructive way (S21, May).

These features are found in a wide range of speeches, and are instrumental in establishing a discourse in which partnership becomes an accepted, or normal way for the government to operate. Partnership is not well defined at this stage, and the vagueness acts to serve the purpose of appealing to audiences across a political spectrum. Different audiences are able to construct their different, unspoken meanings of partnership, leading to the situation Davies (2007) notes, where various actors “have contrasting common-sense understandings of partnership which, being unspoken, cannot be articulated or deliberated” (p.780).

The generic, non-specific discourse of partnership masks the fact that different audiences may have different understandings of ‘partnership.’ Whereas the business sector may expect a commercial approach, predicated on the sharing of commercial costs, risks and rewards, the community sector may expect a partnership that is more focused on process, as in the community development discourses of partnership. Also ignored, or conveniently masked, are the critical issues of equity and the distribution of power between partners. I discuss the issue of power further when considering whether or how a discourse of partnership may develop to serve to co-opt or governmentalise community organisations.

Identifying Partnership Discourse(s)

Having considered the broad, undefined references to partnership, in the following section I analyse Maharey’s speeches and media releases that focus on the community and voluntary sector, to uncover distinctive themes or discourses of partnership, and particular understandings of the community and voluntary sector.

A Community Development Discourse of Partnership

Although Maharey’s overall speeches promote the idea of partnership without going into much detail of what this may mean, his speeches to community and voluntary sector audiences present a more focussed discourse of partnership. There was an existing tradition of partnership between government and community organisations (New Zealand Council of Social Services, 1998; Robinson, 1999; Social Advisory Council, 1986) that these speeches draw on.

Table 4 presents selected extracts from Maharey's speeches given to community sector audiences..

Table 4: Speeches with a Community Development approach

No	Month	Extract from speech
S24	June	<i>Partnering... seeks to build trust-based long term working relationships based on mutual respect and shared goals.</i>
S25	June	<i>a partnering approach acknowledges that mutual trust and respect is essential to a successful working relationship.... You are especially valued for your independence and your diversity and the value which you can add through working in partnership with government to meet local needs.</i>
S35	July	<i>Investing in Community Wellbeing – a partnership approach. In opposition we noted with concern the steady decline of the relationship between Government and civil society as embodied by the community and voluntary sector. Unthinking adherence to a rigid contracting model, centralised needs identification and programme specification, and an unwillingness to acknowledge the independence of sector groups over the last decade–led to an almost complete breakdown of the relationship... Because if we say we believe in partnership we must demonstrate this commitment through our actions. This is our new paradigm, one where Government not only talks the talk but walks the walk too.</i>
S49	August	<i>Volunteers- the heart of the community. Over the last decade or so our country has fallen sway to the dictates of the 'market'. The general approach of Government could be described as 'hands off' with the inevitable consequence being 'devil take the hindmost'.... And ... we are smart enough to know that we cannot achieve any of this without strong partnerships with the community and voluntary sector, which includes Māori and Pacific groups. The message of 'by community for community' has been heard loud and clear... Government's role should be to form partnerships with community agencies and communities themselves, not to impose ridiculous contract provisions that stifle development and innovation.</i>
S70	October	<i>If we are talking about a partnering relationship between the Government and the sector then the process, problem identification and recommended solutions must reflect a partnering approach. You do not rebuild trust, and you cannot restore the relationship by imposing a centrally determined solution, no matter how worthy the motivation.</i>
S75	November	<i>if we say we believe in partnership, we must demonstrate this commitment through our actions...</i>

These speeches to community sector audiences articulate particular qualities and values that indicate a community development understanding of partnerships between the government and the community and voluntary sector. Features of a community development discourse of partnership include: the qualities of partnership (trust and respect) are prominent, a long-term relationship is envisaged, the focus is on the *process* of developing the partnership, the value and independence of the parties (in particular of the community sector) is recognised, and there is a commitment to ‘walk the talk.’ These extracts emphasise the importance of overall relationship between the parties. This emphasis can be contrasted with the neo-commercial, or modified contractualist discourses, where the partnership is a pragmatic business arrangement entered into by the partners (in particular by the government partner in this context) to deliver some programme or product.

Discourse of Modified Contractualism

The second major approach to, or discourse of partnership between government and community organisations in the early period of the fifth Labour-led Government has been referred to as a “mutation of neo-liberalism” (Peck & Tickell, 2002) or, less dramatically, as a more friendly extension of the contractual models of neoliberalism (Larner & Craig, 2002; 2005). I refer to this approach as a modified contractualist discourse of partnership, and in this section I analyse Maharey’s speeches and media releases to explore how they construct, and are constructed by this discourse.

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Whereas Maharey’s speeches to a community and voluntary sector audience spoke of the mutual nature of partnerships and the importance of process, the media releases generally conformed to more utilitarian, modified contractualist discourses in which community and voluntary sector organisations are primarily constructed as ‘service providers’, and a reason for entering to a partnership is to enable these services to be provided more effectively, in a commercial or contractual relationship. This approach is seen in the following extracts from speeches and media releases (see Table 5).

Table 5: Texts with a modified contractualist approach

No	Month	Extract from speech
R40	April	<p><i>Mr Maharey says the Social Workers in Schools programme fits with the Government's desire to build strong communities in which all children are physically, emotionally and intellectually supported.....</i></p> <p><i>"One of the key elements of the initiative is the emphasis on a partnership approach in which the social workers work closely with family/whanau, teachers, health workers and others to resolve problems," says Steve Maharey.</i></p>
R41	April 2000	<p><i>Family Start programmes are being established across the country and enable families to access a wide range of health, education and welfare services, according to their needs. Kirikiriroa Family Services Trust won the contract to provide the Family Start programme in Hamilton which will directly assist over 500 families annually by its fourth year of operation....</i></p> <p><i>The Government is investing in a programme which is proven to work. Studies show...</i></p>
R 214	Dec 2000	<p><i>The Government has set aside an additional \$1.125 million a year in extra funding for Child, Youth and Family to distribute to not-for-profit organisations providing family violence services. 16 organisations will receive a total of \$2.25 million this financial year and in 2001/02 for this work.....</i></p> <p><i>"A number of government and non-government agencies are working on family violence prevention initiatives. The Government wants to be able to make sound decisions about where we should prioritise our efforts," Steve Maharey said</i></p>

These examples in Table 5 indicate that contractualist assumptions are found, albeit implicitly, in the language of media statements announcing funding decisions or projects in which the government retains control of the relationship or contract terms. In this context, community organisations are valued for their ability to provide services more effectively than government, and to work alongside others in the community. The services and programmes are, in general, centrally designed and controlled although there may be some flexibility for local conditions. This approach is at odds with the community-centred discourse of partnership being promoted at the same time; a contradiction Maharey acknowledges in the following speech:

I have heard repeatedly that you don't want to see more government-specified programmes being introduced into communities which had no part in their design or delivery. These new programmes are proving to be most effective and I have just come from Hastings where the new Family Start programme, delivered by ... has been launched. However I agree with you that the time to return more of the power to local people has come (S 25).

Contractualist and commercial approaches to partnership are more evident in speeches Maharey gave to audiences involved in education and employment creation than to community sector audiences, perhaps reflecting the commercial settings of these speeches. The modified contractualist approach to partnership also tends to be more evident in funding and programme related texts whereas the community development approach is more evident in broader, rhetorical speeches that set, or discuss the nature of the relationship between the partners. Sacks' (1996; 2008) perspective on the difference between covenantal and contractual relationships is a useful reference point, differentiating the utilitarianism of contracts from the relationship basis of covenants:

A contract is a *transaction*. A covenant is a *relationship*. Or to put it slightly differently: a contract is about interests. A covenant is about identity. It is about you and me coming together to form an 'us'. That is why contracts *benefit*, but covenants *transform* (Sacks, 2008, p.3, emphasis in original.).

The fact that texts dealing with programmes and money are more likely to be contractualist indicates that the actual mechanisms and practices that determine the relationship between government and community groups were framed in the contractualist approach. Foucault's writings on governmentality suggest that we look to these practices and instruments, rather than the broad flourishes of rhetoric, to analyse the operation of power and discourse. I discuss governmentality and the risks of co-optation of community in the next paragraph.

Governmentality and Hegemony: Partnership or Co-optation.

In considering the texts of Maharey's speeches and media releases, I extend the standard question: '*How do partnership discourses represented in these texts demonstrate or resist governmentalising practices or hegemony?*' to ask how (or whether) the language (discourse) of partnership contributes to the

governmentalisation of the community sector; or, in plainer language, ‘*How does the language of partnership support and/or resist co-optation of community organisations by government?*’

Introducing the concept of governmentality, Foucault (1978) refers to it as “the ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflections, the calculations and tactics” (p. 244) with which government maintains control. From a Foucauldian approach, this technology of control is not so much maintained by the central instruments of government as in the instruments and technologies of power that act on individuals at a local level. For example, a government decree or Ministerial policy announcement may signal an intention of government to act in some way. This announcement may be reflected in guidelines, instructions, procedures and processes for front line staff to follow, and it is these local procedures and policies rather than the policy statement that actually determine how government power is enacted. This, rather than the initial policy announcement, determines how its effects are experienced by affected citizens (Bevir, 1999; Jessop, 2007; Lemke, 2001; 2002). Analysing Maharey’s texts, speeches intended for a community sector audience generally demonstrated a community development approach to partnership, and texts that introduced specific programmes or announced funding provision tended to follow a contractualist discourse of partnership. Considered from a governmentality perspective, this divergence may indicate that, while Ministerial announcements from the centre may follow community development discourse, the texts that directly impact on the community largely reflect contractualist discourses.

Partnerships and the Governmentalisation of Community

Foucauldian notions of power relations and governmentality theory provide insights into the way that power constructs its subjects as autonomous, self directed entities, although this construction may be illusory. Bevir (1999) explains this process, speaking of Foucault’s notion of pastoral power, which:

... has to flow through the consciousness of subjects in such a way that they internalize the relevant laws, rules and norms so as to regulate themselves in accord with them. It acts not as a direct, immediate form of domination, as does violence, but as a type of influence. Moreover, because it must work by convincing the subject

of the rightness of certain acts, it must treat the subject 'to the very end as a person who acts' (p. 355).

The speech and media release texts I examine present a narrative of government as a participant with, or alongside other sectors including the community and voluntary sector, not as the controlling force. This narrative provides a space for others, constructed as partners, to freely participate in whatever is being proposed, and serves to allay fears of government control, as it represents, in some undefined way, 'what the people want':

People don't want big government any longer. They want to be much more involved designing and delivering tailored solutions to meet their needs and that of their communities with the active support of the Government. ... We want to move past the narrow focus on what is in the contract and develop strong relationships (S59, Sept.).

This presentation of the community as free to act and be involved in "designing and delivering... solutions" (S59), together with the reconfiguration of government as 'partner,' constructs community organisations as being free to behave in the way the government wants them to. This isn't as a result of the coercive force of an authoritarian government, but because the internalized rationales and norms render the government's way as the obvious choice to take. This follows Foucault's notions of governmentality, in which, as Rose (1999) explains, communities:

... take on themselves - as 'partners' - a portion of the responsibility for resolving these [the community's] issues... This involves a double movement of autonomization and responsabilization. Organisations, actors and others that were once enmeshed in the complex and bureaucratic lines of force of the social state are to be set free to find their own destiny. Yet, at the same time, they are to be made responsible for their destiny, and for that of society as a whole, in new ways (p. 476).

I discuss the ways in which partnership discourses may act to co-opt community organisations to the government agenda in Chapter Seven when presenting the overall conclusions and insights from this research. I also note how the operations of power also hold the possibility of changing the ways that government operates.

Building Hegemony

Gramscian hegemonies are built in a similar process, with the collusion or co-optation of civil society organisations working in tandem with the coercive power of the state. Katz (2006) explains the effect of this: “civil society becomes part of an extended state, utilized by the ruling class to form and maintain its hegemony by ... co-optation” (p. 335). The invitation to form a partnership with the state may be considered, from a Gramscian perspective, as an invitation to develop hegemony. While this is not overt in the texts I examine, there is a risk of hegemonic practice when selective invitations to form partnerships or productive relationships exclude groups who may not fit the preferred organisational or ideological flavour.

Concluding Comments: Maharey Speeches and Media Releases

The set of texts I analysed in this section, comprising speeches and media releases by Hon Steve Maharey in the first year of the fifth Labour-led Government, provide insights into the ways a discourse of partnership was introduced. The literature reviewed in Chapter Five indicated two major approaches to the relationships between community organisations and government: first, a community development approach which carries expectations of partnerships as mutually developed, trusting relationships; and second, a modified contractualist approach in which community organisations are contracted by government to provide a range of services and programmes in the community. The analysis of Maharey’s speeches and media releases indicates that the dominant discourses of relationship and partnership represented in these texts remain a modified form of contractualism, despite the rhetoric claiming otherwise.

In the next two sections, I examine two further set of texts associated with government initiatives, Strategies for Kids – Information for Parents (SKIP) and *pathway to partnership*, to see how they develop and represent partnership discourses.

Part II. Partnership in Practice – The SKIP Initiative

The Strategies for Kids – Information for Parents (SKIP) initiative is an integrated parenting strategy led by Family and Community Services (FACS), an operational division of the Ministry of Social Development (MSD), with the close involvement of community organisations. SKIP began in May 2004, and was publicly launched by the Minister, Hon Steve Maharey, as “a strategy ... to provide support to everyday New Zealand parents in practicing effective parenting.” (SKIP 5, Maharey, 2004,) This rather bland introduction understates the fraught history to that point, and disregards the range of expectations that the SKIP project had to deal with (Gander, 2005; Surgenor, 2005; Wood, Hassall & Hook, 2008).

Various commentaries refer to SKIP as an example of effective community-government partnerships (OCVS 2008; Parker, 2007), and as a model that is outside the normal government *modus operandi* (Gander, 2005; Parker, 2007; Woodley & Metzger, 2009). This research is concerned with ways that ‘partnership’ is spoken about and understood by various people and groups involved with SKIP and how it is reported in various presentations, reports and commentaries about SKIP. I start with a brief discussion of the socio-historical context in which SKIP was developed, and the impact of this on the strategy to build partnerships with existing community organisations, including the way these relationships were developed. I then analyse a range of texts that relate to the SKIP programme, posing the following three questions that I asked of each of the sets of texts I analysed:

1. How is a discourse of *partnership* established or maintained in this set of texts?
2. What discourses of *partnership* are constructed in these texts? and
3. How do partnership discourses represented in these texts demonstrate or resist governmentalising practices or hegemony?

Introducing the SKIP Texts:

I examine texts from two main sources: first, material such as newsletters, information sheets and website information produced by SKIP and community organisations involved with the SKIP initiative and second, commentaries and research reports about SKIP. The texts I examine or refer to are listed in Appendix B and are coded numerically: ‘SKIP 1’ to ‘SKIP 36.’ For in-text citations, primary texts such as SKIP newsletters, information sheets, and media releases are referenced with this number, while the secondary sources are also referenced by author and date of publication.

Secondary Texts: Their Role in Discourse Production

I examined a range of secondary texts such as research reports, studies, commentaries and presentations about SKIP (Chamberlain, 2006; Clements, 2009; Gander, 2005; Gravitas, 2005; Martin, Kerslake-Hendricks & Gomes, 2004; Parker, 2005; Surgenor, 2005, 2008; Woodley & Metzger 2009). These are listed as SKIP 23 to SKIP 36 in Appendix B. These texts say what is being said about SKIP and SKIP partnerships. The SKIP narrative is generated not only in the texts directly produced as part of the initiative, but also the stories that are told and the reports that are written about it. Chouliaraki (2005) discussing the role of the media in reporting political events, explains that secondary texts or media reports “do not simply relay or ‘talk about’ a reality that occurs ‘out there’ but they actually constitute this reality in the process of communication” (p. 295). Fairclough (1992a), discussing intertextuality and its role in the production of discourses, explains how secondary texts such as research papers accentuate, reinforce and rework past texts and in so doing “help to make history” (p. 270). To take an example in the SKIP papers I examined: Woodley and Metzger (2009) undertook a review of SKIP and presented their findings in a report that includes quotes from interviews done as part of the research, and extracts from earlier texts. Clements (2009) produced a summary of research findings in a form of publication designed for a wider audience. I draw on both of these reports in my research. Both Woodley and Metzger and Clements include the following quote from a research participant, using it to exemplify different, but not inconsistent, qualities of the SKIP team:

They [the SKIP team] have a keen interest to know how our training is going. That stands out. They listen. They are keen to be part of what we are doing (National Partner).

Woodley and Metzger use the quote as an example of how “The SKIP team actively encourages innovation and organisations that try things and ‘do things differently’” (p.20), and Clements uses it as an example of “strong partnerships are based on listening, openness and ongoing dialogue” (p. 7). This extract has taken on more meanings and importance by being reproduced and reaccentuated in various research reports such as the two I quote, and again in this research. Together with the various reproductions and interpretations of it, it has, in Fairclough’s (1992a) language, “contributed to making history” (p.270) and in Chouliaraki’s terminology, “actually constituted [the] reality in the process of communication” (p. 295).

Socio-Political Context and History of SKIP

The movement that led to the establishment of SKIP began with community organisations and children’s advocates lobbying the government to repeal Section 59 of the Crimes Act 1961. This contentious section provided parents charged with the assault of a child with a defence that, if the assault was “for the purpose of correction” and “the force is reasonable in the circumstances”¹⁰. Wood, et al. (2008) outline a history of the movement to change this law, commencing in the 1960s soon after the Crimes Act was enacted, and gaining significant momentum in the 1990s with the support of the then Commissioner for Children, Dr Ian Hassall, and the establishment of the lobby group, EPOCH NZ (End Physical Punishment of Children NZ) supported by a range of community organisations including Plunket and Barnardos. The lobbying for a change in the law intensified with the election of the Labour-Alliance Government in 1999, many of whose members supported the law change but considered more preparatory work was needed to educate and reassure the public. There was also a strong community based lobby, loosely associated with the conservative religious groups, which supported the right of parents to use physical punishment. This movement drew

¹⁰ S 59 of the (then) Crimes Act 1961 read: ‘Every parent or person in place of a parent of a child is justified in using force by way of correction towards a child if that force is reasonable in the circumstances’

support from a libertarian fringe that framed the move to repeal Section 69 of the Crimes Act as an example of state interference in the private domain of parental responsibility.

During 2001 to 2003 government officials considered a number of options for changing the law and educating parents on other forms of disciplining children, and finally recommended a proposal for a mass media, public education campaign. Community organisations were critical of both the decision and the process, as illustrated in Epoch's newsletter:

EPOCH New Zealand was one of a small number of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) consulted - on one occasion only - by officials developing advice to the Minister of Social Services on the shape of the public education campaign... It is frustrating that since the single meeting NGOs had with officials, there has been no further involvement or feedback in the project. NGOs are not included in the steering group formed from Government agencies. This is despite a strong recommendation from the NGO representatives attending the meeting with officials that they be included in all phases of the programme (SKIP 4; EPOCH, 2004).

This process by which government policy experts developed and designed initiatives in isolation from the community, is consistent with the policy-operational split, prevalent under the new public management theories instituted in the 1990s. It is a specific feature that Maharey, in speeches analysed in Part One of this chapter, criticized:

But the one thing that wasn't permitted was any meaningful engagement between those making policy, those delivering health care, and those receiving it. Why? because any engagement would allow these vested interests to corrupt the process... We are different as a Party and as a Government because we reject the automatic assumption that any interest is a vested interest (Maharey, 2000, S 7).

In 2003 the government allocated funding for a "safe and positive parenting media campaign" (SKIP 1, Cullen, 2003, p. 12) that included community based programmes "to support the campaign's key message." (SKIP 2, Maharey, 2003). Later in 2003 a team was formed within the Ministry of Social Development, charged with developing and implementing this campaign and associated community programmes. This was to become the Strategies for Kids, Information for Parents or SKIP initiative.

Table 6 SKIP development timeline

Year	Action	Community sector involvement
1997 (and ongoing)	EPOCH NZ established to lobby for the repeal of Section 59 of the Crimes Act and promote positive parenting.	Driven by community based advocates and organisations, including Barnardos and Plunket.
2001-03	Government proposal for a mass media education campaign	One-off consultation; not included in the steering group
May 2003	Budget announced funding for education campaign	None
May - Dec 2003	Change of direction to a community-based initiative	Change was result of Community consultation and feedback
Dec 2003- May 2004	Development of SKIP programme	Key community organisations (the National Partners) involved in the development and 'thinking' stage
May 2004	SKIP launched	National partners involved in the launch.
May 2004 to date	SKIP operational	Partnership with community organisation, both national and local.

Gander (2005) describes the context in which the SKIP programme was created as one of “disruption and change” (p.3) and how this:

... created the space and conditions for innovation wherein a project team combining policy expertise with people from NGO backgrounds were able to utilise their experience and network relationships to initiate a rapid parallel policy and operational design process with high levels of informal sector involvement (p.3).

Parker (2007) also notes the effectiveness of SKIP is due to the way that the government SKIP team worked with the community organisations, who were involved in all aspects of the development of the programme. This is fundamental to the overall discourse of partnership that I analyse next.

Establishing the Discourse of Partnership in SKIP:

SKIP was launched in May 2004 with three strands:

- A Local Initiative Fund to support community-based projects that promote positive parenting;
- Parent education resources for parents and relevant organisations; and

- Partnerships with parent support organisations that build on existing parent support and education programmes (SKIP 10; Ministry of Social Development, 2006,).

While the theme of partnership is overtly stated in the third strand, the texts I examine indicate a partnership approach is present throughout the SKIP initiative. Local initiatives funded by SKIP were not merely seen as grant recipients, but active participants in extending the vision and messages of SKIP, and parent education material was developed in partnership with, and promoted the work of community organisations.

The emphasis on partnership within SKIP was deliberate (Chamberlain, 2006; Surgenor, 2005). The initiative was established in an environment of considerable tension and mistrust from the community sector. On the one hand, child advocacy organisations saw the government's decision to fund parent education programmes, rather than repeal Section 59 of the Crimes Act, as a cop-out. On the other hand, a strong community lobby was resistant to any government interference in what they considered the private domain of parenting practice. That the initial policy and framework was developed by government officials, without any real community input, added to community organisations' wariness of this new initiative.

From its outset, the way that SKIP involved community expertise in its development was seen as different from many other government initiated programmes. Gander (2005) contrasts SKIP with "other projects faced with similar pressures; where the tendency is to withdraw inward and focus on getting the internal team story 'right' or 'solid' before it is exposed to external stakeholders" (p. 11). Conversely, the SKIP team "tap[ped] their informal NGO connections and networks," involving key community organisations at an early stage of the thinking and planning, and in so doing establishing a relationship with the key community organisations (Gander, 2005, p. 11). Angela Baldwin of Plunket describes the experience of forming the relationship from a community organisation's perspective:

*We had a trusting relationship and we were on a journey together.
We'd try some things and we wouldn't be beaten up if we did it*

wrong What went on in this process was learning to work together, learning to trust each other and, all the time, clarifying where we were both at with things...

So, while one was a funder and one was a provider, it didn't feel that way. It felt like we were both partners working to a good solution; to reach this vision (SKIP 9; SKIP 26).

Surgenor, the SKIP Manager, described the situation from the government's perspective:

We had to build relationships and the confidence of key stakeholders, within MSD, with other government agencies and, most importantly, with community organisations. The programme could not work without the support of community groups....

When we first started on this process I think most national organisations were expecting one of two things from us: Either that we would develop a prescribed package and put it out to competitive tender, or they would come to us with their ideas for projects and we would fund them. We decided instead to take a development approach and explore how we could embed SKIP in the work that organisations were already doing to support parents (SKIP 24, 2005, pp. 1&2).

This development approach to building relationships between community organisations and the government team is what distinguishes SKIP and its discourse of partnership. Baldwin (2008) notes that this commitment to developing a 'genuine partnership' was different from what Plunket had experienced in its 100 year history, explaining:

It felt like we were both partners working to a good solution; to reach this vision (SKIP 9).

In this section I outlined how a discourse of partnership was constructed in the SKIP texts I examine. In the next section I analyse these texts further to identify and describe the various approaches to, or discourses of partnership they construct.

The SKIP Discourses of Partnership

The texts I examine consistently refer to SKIP's emphasis on developing genuine partnerships and relationships. Ways of working throughout SKIP are promoted as partnerships: whether between community organisations and parents; between different local community organisations; or between community organisations and the government SKIP team. This aspect of partnership is evident in texts developed by SKIP, such as training resources and newsletters, and commented on in the various secondary texts; the presentations, articles, evaluations and reports

and workshops about SKIP that I examine. In this section I analyse this partnership talk further, posing the question: *‘What discourses of partnership are represented in the texts relating to SKIP?’*

Community organisations’ flyers and promotional material describe SKIP programmes and events as partnerships, as in the following examples:

A partnership project between the Auckland Women’s Centre and SKIP (SKIP 7; Auckland Women’s Centre),

referring to the teen parenting programme;

Since 2004, the SKIP (Strategies for kids, information for parents) Team (in the Ministry of Social Development) have worked with Barnardos in a partnership to enable S.K.I.P to become embedded in all of the work that we do (SKIP 8; Barnardos website),

and

Plunket continues to promote SKIP messages in close partnership with Family and Community Services within the Ministry of Social Development (SKIP 6; Plunket, 2007, p. 17).

In a similar vein, evaluation reports refer to the way SKIP builds partnerships, with a number of references including adjectives such as ‘genuine’ or ‘true,’ as in Clements’ (2009) summary of research, describing the partnerships with national organisations:

These are genuine partnerships in which agencies and MSD staff engage in ongoing dialogue to make the best use of their combined knowledge, skills and resources and to keep their plans flexible’ (SKIP 36; Clements, 2009, p.4)

and Woodley and Melzger’s (2009) evaluation:

... those working in national organisations commented that they felt that it was a true partnership, in that they were not only treated respectfully but came to the table as equal partners with an equal voice.... ‘This was not a contractual relationship. It has been truly relational’ National Partner (SKIP 35; p. 22).

SKIP texts I analysed, indicate that there is something distinctive in the ways in which SKIP partnerships are developed and maintained, compared with many other government-initiated programmes promoted as partnerships with community organisations.

SKIP: A Community Development Approach

SKIP promoted an overt community development approach, providing examples of how this works in practice in various newsletters. The community development principles and approach underlying SKIP is outlined in the following SKIP newsletter article ‘Taking a community development approach’:

Community development increases opportunities for people to participate, enables the transfer of skills, develops self reliance, ensures local ownership and uses local resources to solve local issues. ...

Key elements to community development are:

- *The community defines its own problems and issues*
- *People work together as a group, rather than as individuals*
- *Actions increase the self reliance of the community and its individuals, rather than increase the dependency on others*
- *Workers facilitate this process, rather than organise it on behalf of others ... (SKIP 17; Newsletter 6, 2006, p. 3).*

The community development approach is also explicitly stated in the criteria set for funding local initiatives, stipulating that, applicants for funding need to:

- *take a strengths-based and non-judgemental approach with parents and whānau*
- *display a culture of possibility and innovation to connect with parents and caregivers*
- *take a community development approach [which is explained]. (SKIP 11; website and information sheet).*

The initiative identifies itself with a community development approach and explain what community development may mean for people and community organisations involved with SKIP. In the next section I explore SKIP’s community development approach in more depth.

SKIP: Features of community development approach.

An analysis of the SKIP texts reveals a number of features that support the claim, or rhetoric of a community development approach. I identify the following ten features that reflect and construct a community development approach in SKIP.

1. The focus of the relationship was on the vision of SKIP. Both government and community people involved in SKIP emphasised the importance of sharing a vision in order to find ways of working together:

They [the SKIP team] didn't come with all the solutions – they came with clear vision (SKIP 25; Baldwin, cited in Chamberlain, 2006).

A clear vision, objectives and values were the keys to helping us make decisions and in bringing people on board. We didn't know in detail what was going to happen and the community responded to this, because it gave them the opportunity to be part of the thinking and the solutions, and not just the doing (SKIP 24; Surgenor, 2005).

2. There wasn't a set template or preconceived idea of partnership, thereby allowing different forms of partnership to develop depending on the situation. As Chamberlain (2007) explains:

SKIP's partnership building processes acknowledge each organisation's unique structure, capability, the mana/status they hold within their community and their own established "channel" to parents (SKIP 25; p. 2).

3. Both government and community partners noted the importance of allowing time for trust and a relationship to develop, despite the pressure to get things underway in short timeframes.
4. Relationships are personal. Although each organisation involved made an overall commitment to the partnership, the strength of SKIP's partnerships was that it was also on a personal level.
5. The process to develop the partnership, or relationships was inclusive. Although the SKIP team identified some significant community organisations that it wanted to work with, this did not exclude others from participating. This was different to the competitive tendering process of a contractual arrangement in which an exclusive partner is selected and other organisations are either subservient or excluded.
6. The partnership was much more than a functional contract for the delivery of a specified programme: Courtney (2007), reviewing the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with Barnardos notes it provides:

*the back-drop to the formal capacity building contract that has subsequently been developed between the two organisations. The MOU acknowledges Barnardos as a partner **with** MSD rather than a service provider **for** MSD (SKIP 33; p. 20).*

7. SKIP is strengths based. Rather than propose new ways of working that, by implication denigrated what was already happening, SKIP deliberately sought out community organisations that were already working in parent support and education, and together they found ways of enhancing what was already happening. This was also a feature of the way SKIP worked at a local level, as in following article from a SKIP community partner, in a SKIP newsletter:

Community participation has always been a positive and forthcoming experience. We adopted a partnership approach as a way forward. The people in our community hold many answers to their everyday challenges. What we and SKIP provide is a safe and non-judgemental environment for them to discuss and explore their own values and beliefs about parenting," they say Some of the solutions include strengths based activities like noticing things going right, bringing the good things to the surface (SKIP 21; Newsletter, May 2008).

8. SKIP built partnerships and relationships between community organisations. Gander (2005) remarks on this feature of SKIP, and how it is different to the more common experience of competitive dynamics:

Partnership development programmes frequently struggle with competitive dynamics between partners; whether through competition for money, attention or support, or from perceived relative advantages/disadvantages of being an 'early' or 'late' partner.

SKIP seems to have generated the opposite effect with partners feeling that they are collaboratively part of creating a joint programme, each having their own unique role to play within a common wealth of shared knowledge and capability (SKIP 30; p. 29).

9. The principles of relationships and partnership infuse the whole structure and process of SKIP. The notion of working 'in partnership' is not a pragmatic add-on, designed to gain acceptance from the community partner, but is fundamental to SKIP's way of working.

'[a] trickle down effect of SKIP role modeling [partnership] to us, and us doing this with the parents and them doing it with the children' (SKIP 9; 2008).

The concept of partnership extends to the broader SKIP programme, with a high degree of working together between community groups, and the development of the partnership approach with parents:

Parents are engaged and treated as partners in programme delivery and development – this is a true partnership in that they are engaged as equals and peers and feel a valued member of the team (SKIP 35; Woodley & Metzger 2009, p. 127).

10. SKIP fostered collaborations and partnerships between community organisations with many of the projects funded by the Local Initiatives Fund involving a number of community organisations working together.

The community development discourse of partnership, and its centrality to the ethos and practice of SKIP is summarised by Parker (2007) who presents the SKIP model of community-government collaboration or partnership as:

... an object lesson in getting quick results through augmenting existing work on the ground – not creating new architectures of delivery, or calling for massive cultural or programme change, but working with existing providers to create what is now widely regarded as a very successful programme. Rather than try and set up a new delivery system, the SKIP team adopted an ‘augment, compliment, supplement’ intervention model ...

The schemes that would deliver SKIP on the ground were codesigned by the policy team and NGOs themselves. Organisations with an interest such as Barnados and Plunket were given resources to examine where they could build SKIP into their existing programmes of work (SKIP 32; p. 161).

In an approach that reflects Sacks’ (2008) imagery of covenants, Chamberlain (2006) explains the community development approach in SKIP is based on relationships:

Instead of seeing relationships as merely a mechanism for contract management, SKIP consciously puts relationships at the heart of its practice (SKIP 25; p. 2).

I discuss SKIP’s community development approach to partnership further, comparing it with other approaches and discourses of partnership in Chapter Seven.

Contractual Approaches in SKIP

The other main approach to partnership between government and community organisations that I identified in Chapter Four, is a modified contractual approach. In this approach, partnership mainly relates to the provision of community services by community organisations, termed service providers, and funded by government with a contract signed between the parties. The ‘partnership’ aspect of this approach lies in the way the terms of contracts are negotiated between the parties rather than unilaterally imposed by government or set by a quasi market competition.

SKIP, as a government initiative, has funding contracts with community organisations. These include national contracts with partner organisations and funding to local community organisations under the Local Initiatives Fund. The funding contracts are seen as practical agreements that set out the terms of the funding agreement, and are developed within a broader context of relationship between the parties. The relationship guides the contract; the contract is not the main determinant of the relationship. Courtney (2007), describes the SKIP-Barnardos memorandum of understanding (MOU) as: “a public record of the relationship between Barnardos and Strategies for Kids, Information for Parents (SKIP) and the way they intend to work together to achieve their mutual goals” (SKIP 33; p. 18), and notes the impact of the MOU on funding contracts:

The MOU also provides the back-drop to the formal capacity building contract that has subsequently been developed between the two organisations. The MOU acknowledges Barnardos as a partner **with** MSD rather than a service provider **for** MSD. This resulted in a funding contract that was simpler, less prescriptive and less compliance driven than might otherwise have been expected.

From MSD’s perspective, having flexibility in the contract has assisted Barnardos to be more creative with their SKIP capacity building and enabled them to take advantage of opportunities as they arose” (SKIP 33, p. 20).

This link between the contract and overall relationship, reflects Sacks’ (1996, 2008) discussion of covenantal and contractual relationships. The overall relationship, expressed in a memorandum of understanding in the case of SKIP and Barnardos, is a covenantal relationship that guides the more pragmatic

contractual agreements between the parties. Community development and contractual approaches, like Sacks' covenantal and contractual relationships, are not binary opposites. They construct different aspects of relationship, and following Courtney (2007) they are best seen as working together. SKIP provides a model of this.

SKIP: Hegemony or Counter Hegemony?

The third question that I ask of the texts I analyse is: *'How do partnership discourses represented in the SKIP texts demonstrate or resist governmentalising practices or hegemony?'* In the previous section I noted that the predominant approach to partnership in the SKIP texts is a community development approach. This approach emphasizes the value of developing a trusting relationship between the partners, rather than forming a pragmatic relationship to provide some specified programmes or services. Further, the texts indicate that SKIP has an inclusive approach to partnership, with a proviso that potential partners agree with the vision of SKIP. While there is flexibility in the way the partnerships are formed and programmes are developed, agreeing to the vision of SKIP is not negotiable.

There is a potential of developing hegemony where the combined power of the key community organisations and government collude to establish or maintain a particular view which may marginalize other views. SKIP, by building a strong alliance between government and community organisations to promote a particular discourse of 'positive parenting,' could be seen as developing a hegemony in which community organisations are recruited or co-opted to promote a government agenda. This potential for developing hegemonic practices is not evident in the texts that I examine.

SKIP's strategy involves identifying and supporting 'SKIP champions' within core partner organisations, such as Plunket and Barnardos, and these champions were responsible for infusing the core vision and values of SKIP throughout their organisation. Commenting on SKIP, Gander (2005) suggests that a significant factor in the success of SKIP is the identification with SKIP and self-regulation by the community organisations involved:

... the author was struck by the success of the programme in generating a high degree of self regulation.

First and foremost was the sense of personal identification with the outcomes and principles – when people advocate SKIP it is their own credibility that is on the line, not some remote central agency that can carry the blame (p. 19).

This process is consistent with the development of self-monitoring, self censoring, compliant organisations in the literature on governmentality. This suggests that the SKIP model is susceptible to co-optation, whereby community organisations may take on the values and norms of government as their own, and change the way they operate to fit in with this perception of what government wants. I examined the texts for indications of SKIP acting in this way, but was unable to find direct criticism of SKIP in this way. The criticism that most closely matches this concern is an overall libertarian concern about ‘nanny state’ interference in the family area, which did not mention, but may be extended to include SKIP.

Failure to find criticism led me to ask a further question: *‘What systems or processes protect SKIP from becoming co-opted or governmentalised; part of a government-community hegemony?’* Surgenor (2005, 2008) suggests four features of SKIP that resist co-optation: inclusiveness, reflexive practice, a lack of standardization, and an awareness of the need to confront complacency. When SKIP was established, the team listened to a broad spectrum of community organisations, and worked deliberately to avoid being seen as ‘captured’ by a particular ideological perspective:

Differences became apparent early on when advocacy groups expecting an anti-smacking campaign were disappointed that by focusing on positive parenting we were being too soft. However, key informant interviews with community groups supported this approach (SKIP 24, Surgenor, 2005, p. 1).

People were invited to be ‘part of the thinking’ as Surgenor (2005) explains:

SKIP avoided setting up a steering group so as to keep the involvement inclusive and wide-reaching.... [SKIP] gave them the opportunity to be part of the thinking and the solutions, and not just the doing (SKIP 24, p.1).

This emphasis on shared thinking and reflexive practice operates to protect SKIP from becoming ‘just another programme’ with community members in a useful but subsidiary advisory role. In addition, as there was no template or form for people

to fill out to become involved; each partnership was individually crafted. Surgenor (2008) reflects that one of the issues SKIP faces as it matures is the need to avoid complacency and remain open to new ideas and new groups, while maintaining and developing the existing relationships.

SKIP's inclusive attitude and process seems to be its major protection against building hegemony that privileges a particular story and silences dissenting views. Rather, SKIP with its community development, inclusive approach appears to be developing a counter hegemony that privileges local knowledges, strengths and stories within a loose affiliation bound by a common vision of society.

Summary of SKIP

SKIP was a government-initiated initiative that drew on a community development discourse of partnership. The analysis of the SKIP texts gives insights into how the community development discourse of partnership is constructed. The analysis also shows how the community development approach determined the way that SKIP operated, becoming the dominant, taken for granted way of thinking and behaving. I next look at the *pathway to partnership* programme, where the discourses of partnership are more equivocal, before presenting some overall conclusions and ongoing questions from my research.

Part III. The End Years: A Pathway to Partnership?

The third set of texts I select to analyze, relate to the *pathway to partnership*¹¹ initiative which was introduced in the 2007 Budget as a five year plan “to boost the ability of community organisations to deliver services that support New Zealand’s children and families” (PP 3.0; NZ Govt., 2007). It was expanded with considerably more publicity and funding in 2008 as a major item of the fifth Labour-led government’s policy agenda in its final year (PP 1.4; Clark, 2008). The change of government later in the year, forestalled the initiative’s implementation.

¹¹ Note: This initiative is sometimes referred to in the plural as ‘*pathways to partnership*.’

I start with a brief discussion of the socio-historical context in which the *pathway to partnership* initiative was developed. I then analyse a range of texts that relate to the initiative, posing the following three questions that I asked of each of the sets of texts I analysed:

1. How is a discourse of partnership established or maintained in this set of texts?
2. How do discourses of partnership represented in these texts demonstrate or resist governmentalising practices or hegemony? and
3. What discourses of partnership are constructed in these texts?

I explore two features in particular: the intertextual links and chains that operate to develop and disseminate a story about *pathway to partnership*; and the role of the steering group in developing this initiative and gaining the support of the community for it.

The Socio-political Context: Setting the Scene for Pathway to Partnership

When the fifth Labour-led Government came to power in 1999, it had the freedom to promise a new ways of working and partnership with community, as shown in the Minister's speeches and media releases analysed in Part I of this chapter. Seven years later they faced demands for more action rather than just words. The overall environment of government had also shifted, and was increasingly dominated by discourses of risk management which did not fit very well notions of sharing control, or partnership with community organisations. While the government could point to progress that had been made over its term of office in its relationship with the community and voluntary sector, such as the establishment of ministerial portfolio and Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector, and a number of joint programmes and projects, it was facing significant criticism. The Community Sector Taskforce, an independent body that succeeded the ministerially appointed Community and Voluntary Sector Working Party, criticized government ways of working: "The Government's attempt to dominate ... [is] just the 'same old' approach that has always been taken with the Tangata Whenua, Community and Voluntary Sector" (PP 5.3, Community Sector Taskforce, 2007). The New Zealand Council of Christian Social Services also criticized the lack of result from a succession of government programmes and

policies: “the overwhelming impression is one of a succession of plans, reviews and strategic initiatives with little practical result”(PP 5.4, NZCCSS; 2006, p. 3), attributing this to “failure at the political and departmental level to understand or remain committed to an understanding of the fundamentals of how families and communities operate” (PP 5.5; NZCCSS, 2006a, p. 7). Various initiatives that began with much fanfare in the government’s first term (1999-2002) were now struggling or quietly closed down, as with the Strong Communities Action Fund (SCAF) that was introduced by the Minister in 2000 as signalling a new way of devolving decision making to communities (PP 5.2; S.25, R.65). A community-government forum attended by a number of Ministers in June 2007, raised numerous concerns about the culture of government that neither respected nor understood community; funding and contracting practices that were still one-sided and onerous; the remoteness of policy development from the ‘grassroots;’ and an ongoing concern that the Treaty of Waitangi was no longer a priority for government (PP 5.8, Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector, 2007).

At a political level, the National opposition was developing relationships with the community sector, and addressing some of its long-standing criticisms. John Key, then Leader of the Opposition, indicated an interest in working more closely with the community (PP 5.6, 2007) and introduced a policy for supporting the community and voluntary sector with “a commitment to: full-cost funding of services; reducing the burden of bureaucracy; and investigating a venture capital fund for community groups” (PP 5.7; Key, 2007, May). These speeches, and the appointment of a spokesperson to liaise with community groups, indicated that the National opposition was intent on working with community organisations, and provided a credible alternative to the existing government. The *pathway to partnership* programme can be viewed as a response by government to these various challenges from both the community and the Parliamentary opposition.

Pathway to Partnership – a Timeline

‘*Pathway to partnership*,’ was introduced in 2007 as a government programme to “Strengthen the Child and Family Services Sector” (PP 1.12; Treasury, 2007).

Table 7: The Timeline of Pathway to Partnership

May 2007	<p>Initial 2007 Budget allocation: “Strengthening the Child and Family Services Sector.”</p> <p>Allocation: \$20.4m over 2 years to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Address cost pressures by providing a 2.5% funding increase • Simplify funding processes • Establish five local partnership networks. <p>Community involvement / Partnership: Minimal; A Government (MSD Policy) led initiative, with advice provided by a NGO steering group.</p>
May - Dec 2007	<p>Programme development and implementation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inflation adjustment funding paid to providers. <p>Community involvement/Partnership: Steering group comprising community sector leaders appointed by MSD to provide advice on programme.</p>
Feb 2008	<p>Prime Minister announces the extension of Pathway to Partnership</p>
May 2008	<p>2008 Budget Allocation ‘Supporting a Sustainable NGO sector.’</p> <p>Allocation: \$38 m. in the first year and \$446 m. over four years to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • fully fund essential services for their service costs;¹² • make automatic annual cost adjustment payments; • address forecasted volume increases. <p>Also included but with no details or funds allocated:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • build workforce and capability; • support NGOs to work more closely together to reduce duplication and direct more resources into services; • focus on outcomes rather than inputs and programmes.
July-Oct 2008	<p>Implementation – stage 2</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Funding increases passed on to community organisations • 24 Community forums held jointly convened by MSD and steering group members • Steering group expanded to include government members and a broader base of community members. Its scope was extended to a project governance role.
Oct 2008	<p>General election and change of government. <i>Pathway to partnership</i> programme on hold.</p>
2009- 10	<p><i>Pathway to partnership</i> funding reallocated to other initiatives.</p>

¹² The term ‘full funding’ of services is used to refer to both direct costs and an allocation of indirect costs for an agreed volume of service for an agreed price.

Pathway to partnership received little attention until it was extended in 2008, as a major plank in the government's social policy platform. With the election in 2008 bringing a change of government, the bulk of the unspent funding marked for the *pathway to partnership* initiative was transferred to other programmes working with the community and voluntary sector and supporting families and communities. Table 7 sets out the significant stages of *pathway to partnership*, and lists the specific aims of the programme in each stage.

Introducing the Pathway to Partnership texts

In this section I outline the range of texts relating to the *pathway to partnership* initiative that I examine as part of this research. I then explore the way these texts work together to construct particular stories of the relationship between government and community organisations, the value of the *pathway to partnership* initiative to strengthening this relationship, and the way 'partnership' is constructed or understood within these texts.

The texts I examine are drawn from publicly available sources and cover a range of discourse types: Cabinet and parliamentary records, reflecting a political discourse; government policy development papers reflecting policy discourse; media releases reflecting media discourse; and newsletters, information sheets and website information reflecting communication discourse. The texts are listed in Appendix C, sorted in five categories: first, formal government texts comprising Cabinet and Budget papers, parliamentary debates and questions, and associated reports; second, Ministerial speech notes and media releases; third, information produced by government departments such as newsletters, information sheets, fact sheets, and web pages; fourth, material produced by community networks and organisations comprising newsletter articles, notes of workshops and media releases; and fifth, miscellaneous texts (PP 5.1 – PP 5.8) I refer to in this research.

Formal Government and Parliamentary Records

The first set of texts I examine comprises a range of formal government records: Cabinet papers, Budget papers, Parliamentary speeches and debates, and associated policy documents. These texts conform to the rules and conventions of

political and policy discourse and the particular rules that govern each set of texts. Budget papers, for example, are developed by officials with a code of budget secrecy excluding other input, such as from community sector partners, from being considered. Members of advisory bodies, such as the *pathway to partnership* advisory group, who may have been consulted in the development of policy, are bound by the budget secrecy code. This prevents them from discussing policies with their peers, and sets in place a process in which they are susceptible to co-optation. It also explains how the *pathway to partnership* initiative was introduced in Budget 2007 without any evidence of prior consultation with community. I discuss the potential of co-optation and impact of secrecy when I consider the role of the *pathway to partnership* steering group and hegemony later in this chapter.

Formal government papers follow their own particular rules and processes in their development: Cabinet papers conform to explicit rules and good practice guidelines set by the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet. The Prime Minister's statement, in which she announced the extension to *pathway to partnership* in 2008, is a set piece of the parliamentary process, setting out the government's policy and legislative agenda for the year, and parliamentary debates follow a ritualized process set out in the Parliamentary Standing Orders. The texts comprising government and parliamentary records and associated papers are listed in Appendix C, numbered 'PP 1.1' to 'PP 1.12'. This code, together with the author and date, is used as a reference for these texts.

Government Media Texts: Speeches, Media Releases

The second types of texts I examine are Ministerial media releases and speeches. Significant political events, such as the annual announcement of the Budget and annual opening of Parliament, generate a raft of media releases; fact sheets and speech notes. Such texts are produced for a wider audience, reinterpreting and representing aspects of the political event for general consumption. Fairclough (1992a) explains this role of media discourse as a translation of the official texts and language styles into popular speech, a process he describes as a "rearticulating of the relationship between the public domain of political, economic, religious, and so forth, events and social agents; and the private domain, the domain of the

‘lifeworld’, of common experience” (p.276). Fairclough alerts us to the political impact of this reinterpretation of events into ordinary language by the news media:

Powerful groups are represented as speaking in a language which readers themselves might have used, which makes it so much easier to go along with their meanings. The news media can be regarded as effecting the ideological work of transmitting the voices of power in a disguised and covert form (p. 276).

I discuss the workings of intertextuality and the reworking and re-presentation of *pathway to partnership* texts, by both formal and informal media, later in this chapter as I examine that way in which partnership discourses were established and became taken for granted. The ministerial media releases and associated texts I examine are listed in Appendix C, numbered ‘PP 2.0’ to ‘PP 2.10’.

Departmental Information Sheets and Newsletters

The various newsletters, information sheets and website information published by the Ministry of Social Development, may also be seen as part of the process of reinterpretation and re-presentation of the *pathway to partnership* initiative. These texts employ mediated communication strategies and techniques designed to inform and gain the support of a wider community sector audience for the initiative. I list the texts in this group in Appendix C, numbered PP 3.0 to PP 3.17.

Community Newsletters, Reports and Media Releases

One of the functions of community newsletters is to critique and disseminate information on government policies and programmes. They may act as sites of resistance, offering critical comment on the policy or programme concerned. Conversely they may also, perhaps unwittingly, reinforce a government agenda and develop community-government hegemony. Both of these aspects can be seen in the *pathway to partnership* texts that I examine that are produced by community organisations.

In this review I concentrate on newsletters and other media produced by major community umbrella organisations: New Zealand Christian Council of Social Services (NZCCSS), Social Service Providers Aotearoa (SSPA), New Zealand Council of Social Services (NZCOSS), the New Zealand Federation of Voluntary Welfare Organisations (NZFVWO), and, where they were available electronically,

those of local organisations and networks. Material published in the national newsletters is frequently reproduced by member organisations and local affiliates, thereby extending and localizing the communication reach. I list these texts, comprising newsletters, media releases, notes of discussions, and website material in Appendix C, numbered from PP 4.1 to PP 4.39.

Establishing a Discourse of Partnership

I pose the following question to these texts: *'How is a discourse of partnership established or maintained in this set of texts?'* I examine how the notion of partnership is presented in the texts, and in the intertextual chains and processes that link various texts, and consider the role of the steering group in the development and legitimization of this initiative, and the way partnership is represented.

'Partnership' in Pathway to Partnership

While the term 'partnership' forms part of the title of the *pathway to partnership* initiative, the texts I examine do not describe or even discuss what partnership means. Partnership is assumed in these texts, with the lack of definition leading to "contrasting common-sense understandings of partnership" (Davies, 2007, p. 780), which Davies suggests is problematic in that there isn't a platform to debate, or even recognise the contested meanings of partnership. The title *'Pathway to Partnership'* may be seen as an implicit, fuzzy link to a broad discourse of partnership which was a feature of the fifth Labour led government.

There are two distinct sites of relationship between the government and community organisations within the *pathway to partnership* initiative that may be construed as a form of partnership. First, *pathway to partnership* was developed with input from, or in partnership with, a steering group comprising representatives of community organisations. Second, the relationship between government and community organisations that provide community based social services funded under the initiative may be seen as a partnership. I discuss the discourses of partnership represented in *pathway to partnership* following a discussion of the intertextual chains and the role of the steering group.

Intertextuality: Constructing and communicating the story.

Fairclough (1993) describes intertextuality as “the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged into, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth” (p. 84). This effectively means that any given text cannot be seen in isolation, but as part of a chain or network of texts. Discourses are developed in the aggregate of these texts and in the shifts and spaces between them.

This intertextual chaining process is a feature of the way the *pathway to partnership* narrative was established. The interweaving of various texts and text types or genres, produced from various sources, created an overall story of *pathway to partnership*. In this section I explore some of these chains by initially describing the overall pattern of intertextual chaining, then examining an example in depth, and concluding with a schedule that shows the way this pattern is repeated over the term of the initiative.

A typical intertextual chain identified in the texts I examine may originate in the government policy area, with formal government documents such as Cabinet papers or Budget documents. These are then the subject of Parliamentary speeches and debate, in the arena of political discourse. In the third step, ministerial media releases, and the subsequent reporting in the media transforms the political and policy language into common place language, with messages designed for public consumption (Fairclough 1992a). Now that the issue is in the public domain, there may be a response from community organisations, and these may critique or support announcements (or both). The next transformation is into operational policy and procedural texts that establish the initiative’s criteria, procedures, guidelines, and so on. From a Foucauldian perspective, this represents “the ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflections, the calculations and tactics” (Foucault, 1978, p. 244) that instrumentalise and governmentalise a programme. The fifth step in the chain involves communication media, with newsletters, websites and similar media disseminating the information to and throughout the community sector. In this step, the information is initially provided by the Ministry of Social Development (MSD), and reproduced,

sometimes with further commentary, in national newsletters of community networks and organisations and then, perhaps with localizing comments, in local newsletters.

Table 8: *Pathway to Partnership* Intertextual Chains

Link in the chain; Discourse type (genre)	Introduction of <i>pathway to partnership</i> (May 2007)	Announcing the extension of <i>pathway to partnership</i> (Feb. 2008)
Policy development (policy discourse)	PP 1.1, Cabinet minute (preceded by unpublished texts)	PP 1.3, Cabinet Minute
Parliamentary announcement / debate (Political discourse)	PP 1.9, Budget announcement and debate (Note <i>pathway to partnership</i> was not specifically mentioned in Budget 2007 parliamentary record.) PP 1.5, Parliamentary questions and answers	PP 1.4, Prime Minister's statement. PP 1.6, Parliamentary debate
Communication by government (communication / media discourse)	PP 2.1, Ministers' speech notes PP 2.2, Media release PP 2.10 Media Release	PP 2.3, Minister's media release
Response from community (communication, media discourse)	PP 4.35, NZFVWO media release PP 4.36, NZCCSS media release	PP 4.33, Age Concern media release PP 4.37, Family Help Trust Media release PP 4.38, Relationship Services media release
Policy and operational guidelines and procedures (administration / managerial discourse)	PP 3.1 Budget 'factsheet' PP 3.4, 'Questions and answers' sheet & webpage PP 3.5, Web page	PP 3.2, Website updates PP 3.6, Questions & answers, webpage PP 3.7, Webpage
Communication, marketing by government	PP 3.9, Funding News 2	PP 3.12, Funding News special edition
Communication & response, community organisations	PP 4.24, SSPA newsletter PP 4.16, NZCCSS newsletter PP 4.7, NZFVWO Lawscene newsletter	PP 4.27, SSPA newsletter PP 4.21, NZCOSS newsletter PP 4.12, Christchurch COSS newsletter PP 4.10, Hutt COSS newsletter

I trace this intertextual chain in Table 8 with two examples: the initial announcement of the *pathway to partnership* initiative in May 2007 and the announcement of the extension of *pathway to partnership* in February 2008. The intertextual chaining is significant to the research for two reasons. First, it shows how the discourse became established, primarily through the use of communication media and media discourse; and second, the analysis of community-sourced texts and their links to the government texts that precede them indicate patterns of resistance and/or co-optation. I note some of the salient points in the development of the discourse next, and return to discuss the issue of co-optation and resistance later in the chapter.

Establishing the Discourse: Mediatising Processes

The intertextual chains trace a recurring pattern that shows how the *pathway to partnership* initiative evolved from its policy origins through various transitions to become ‘common-place.’ This follows a mediatised process that Fairclough (1992a) explains as a translation of the official texts and language styles into popular speech; a “rearticulating of the relationship between the public domain of political, economic, religious, and so forth, events and social agents; and the private domain, the domain of the ‘lifeworld’, of common experience” (p.276). As an example of this process, the Minister’s media release (PP 2.2) announcing the initiative following the 2007 Budget uses the vernacular “supporting kiwi families” in contrast to the dense policy documents of the Budget.

The programme prescriptions, guides, and media texts that MSD developed to promote the initiative (PP 3.1; PP 3.4; PP 3.5 PP 2.10; PP 3.9) also employ “a language which readers themselves might have used, which makes it so much easier to go along with their meanings” (Fairclough, 1992a, p. 276) as shown in the following extracts (emphases added):

...real partnerships need to be built between families, their communities, and child and family services based in the community and the Government (PP 3.9; Funding News 2);

Pathway to Partnership is a five year plan to make sure community organisations get the support they need (PP 3.5; MSD Website information sheet).

What is Pathway to Partnership?

*It's about working in partnership so that **providers get the support they need** ... (PP 3.4; MSD Website Questions & answers).*

While light on detail of what the pathway, or plan, involves, these texts together present a coherent narrative of *pathway to partnership*, linking it to overall government policy of supporting families and communities, and to the community through the involvement of the steering group. The actual notion of partnership is undefined, allowing various actors to make sense of it in their own way, but it looks appealing. In the next section I examine several texts; newsletters and media releases, produced by community organisations in response to the Budget announcements and subsequent information from the government. I then discuss the role of the steering group.

Community Response: Resistance, Critique, Co-optation?

The initial Budget announcement of *pathway to partnership* in 2007 was rather muted, and so was the community response. The New Zealand Federation of Voluntary Welfare Organisations (NZFVWO) and New Zealand Council of Christian Social Services (NZCCSS), neither of which was represented on the steering group at that stage, issued media releases responding to the Budget announcements. These texts draw on, critique and contextualise the Budget statements for a community sector audience. The texts display a tone of cautious approval of the initiative, underscored by a range of concerns and degree of skepticism:

The aims expressed in the Budget for working with families and communities ... are good ideals. The Pathways to Partnership funding is a good beginning to develop an improved environment...

However, it is the experience of NGOs that the bureaucratic processes of some government agencies often result in the actual implementation of Budget aims being short-changed...

The Pathways to Partnership funding is a good beginning to develop an improved environment for NGOs to work with families and communities. However, the announcement is short on detail and we await further information in July. A clear government framework for support for children and families has not yet been articulated (PP 4.32; NZCCSS).

If the government is serious about supporting the sector for the long term, it will have to address issues broader than today's... (PP 4.35; NZFVWO).

These media releases take independent positions as external to the initiative. They demonstrate the independence of the community sector critique as neither co-opted by nor resistant to the *pathway to partnership* initiative at this early stage.

The next link in this intertextual chain comprises the development of information sheets, policy guidelines and so forth, produced by the Ministry of Social Development, MSD) (Texts PP 3.1, PP3.4, PP3.5; See Table 8). This step is followed by the production of government communication texts; in this instance Funding News Issue 2, produced by the Ministry of Social Development. These two steps serve to put an operational framework around the broad policy, and position it in a way for the community to consume. I discuss the role of these programme prescriptions and the associated media strategy when I discuss the governmentalising processes in the *pathway to partnership* initiative.

The final link in the chain comprises the community newsletters produced the publication of the MSD information and newsletter. (PP 4.16, NZCCSS newsletter; PP 4.24, SSPA newsletter). The NZCCSS newsletter follows the pattern of their earlier media release by obtaining information from various sources and presenting a tone of independent critique. It asserts its independence by stating NZCCSS is not represented on the steering group. The SSPA newsletter on the other hand reproduces the material from MSD's Funding News 2 (PP 3.9) without further comment, and includes a column from the Minister that reiterates the points in the mediatised story:

*To secure positive outcomes for families young and old, this Government relies heavily on the efforts of New Zealand communities. ...
[Pathway to Partnership] seeks to reshape and strengthen child and family services by improving coverage, capability and sustainability (PP 4.24).*

This text is an example of a process whereby the government-initiated discourse becomes established in the community as information produced by government sources corroborated by community sources, thereby conferring a degree of community legitimacy to the programme. This process of uncritically reproducing

government information may contribute to the development of community-government hegemony, with the associated risk of the co-optation or governmentalization of community organisations.

Table 9: Pathway to Partnership: Examples of Intertextual Chains

Date	Event	Government Policy Texts	Government (dept) texts(s)	Community texts
May 2007	Budget announcement of P2P	PP 1.1. Cabinet Paper PP 1.9, Budget Papers	PP 3.1 Budget 'factsheet' PP 3.9 MSD Funding News 2	PP 4.35, NZFVWO media release PP 4.36, NZCCSS media release PP 4.24, SSPA newsletter PP 4.16, NZCCSS newsletter
August 2007	Initial implementation of P2P		PP 3.10 Funding News 3 PP 3.5 Website and Questions and Answers	PP 4.25, SSPA newsletter PP 4.17, NZCCSS newsletter
Dec 2007	General project update		PP 3.11 Funding New 4	PP 4.26, SSPA newsletter PP 4.18, NZCCSS newsletter
Feb 2008	Announcement of 'rollout' of P2P	PP 1.2 Cabinet Paper PP 1.4, Prime Minister's statement. PP 1.6, Parliamentary debate	PP 3.12 Funding News Special Edition PP 3.2, Website updates PP 3.6, Q & A PP 3.7, Webpage	PP 4.27, SSPA newsletter PP 4.21, NZCOSS newsletter PP 4.12, Christchurch COSS newsletter
May 2008	Budget announcements	PP 1.8, Budget Estimates PP 1.7, Estimates Debate	PP 3.13 Funding News 5	PP 4.28, SSPA newsletter PP 4.19, NZCCSS newsletter PP 4.23 NZCOSS newsletter PP 4.13, Christchurch COSS newsletter PP 4.9, NZFVWO, New Dialogue.

The ostensibly neutral position taken by community organisations reporting events or reproducing information in newsletters overlooks discursive messages in the texts that reinforce the government bias in the initial communication texts. A

more independent critique, such as the NZCCSS article, also asks questions of the initiative and reports less beneficial aspects, such as the limited application of *pathway to partnership* to existing contractual arrangements. A similar pattern of intertextual chains in the dissemination of information about *pathway to partnership* is repeated over the life of the initiative at three or four monthly intervals (see Table 9).

The intertextual cycle may be triggered by a government event, such as a Prime Minister's Statement or the Budget. Government produced media: newsletters, website information and press releases translate the policy discourse into 'community' language and establish the 'facts' about *pathway to partnership*. This information is then reproduced in various community sector newsletters. The texts I examine indicate an increasing textual alignment between community-produced texts and the government-sourced material with successive cycles. Additionally, authors increasingly associated themselves with the initiative, either as members of, or with links to the steering group:

As a member of the Steering Group I have been able to put forward many of the views and concerns that have been conveyed to me by SSPA members (PP 4.26, SSPA, Dec 2007);

NZCCSS and umbrella group colleagues will continue to stay in contact with MSD regarding the development of P2P (PP 4.17, NZCCSS, Oct 2007).

This pattern demonstrates the way in which communication and media strategies associated with *pathway to partnership* cultivated a compliant community media that reproduced material provided by government without raising critical questions about the programme. In particular, community organisations that were also represented on the steering group tended, over the course of the initiative, to associate themselves with it, advocating for it rather than offering critical comment:

"We are very pleased that the Government has recognised the significant role that the NGO sector plays, and has agreed to fund these key organisations in a sustainable way", said ... ,a member of the Pathways to Partnership steering group.

Today's announcement is the result of the Pathways to Partnership discussions with the Government over a number of years about how community organisations can be better resourced to meet the growing and complex needs in the community.

“This demonstrates the benefits to the community of government and NGOs working together to find solutions” (PP 4.37).

I return to discuss the inherent potential for co-optation of community media and consequent loss of a critical community voice after introducing the role of the steering group; the second aspect of *pathway to partnership* that presents an opportunity for community involvement in *pathway to partnership*, or the potential of co-optation and hegemonic practice.

The Steering Group – a Productive Partnership?

The implementation of *pathway to partnership* followed a more conventional model than the SKIP initiative discussed previously. Ministry of Social Development (MSD) policy officials retained the responsibility for the programme development, with MSD operational units, Family and Community Services (FACS) and Child Youth and Family (CYF), responsible for the implementation. MSD appointed a steering group, initially comprising a number of chief executives of major community organisations and MSD senior executives, to provide advice and feedback on the programme development. In this section I explore the way that the steering group is constructed in the *pathway to partnership* texts I examine.

Government texts introducing *pathway to partnership*, consistently refer to the role of the steering group in the development of the initiative. These references to the steering group confer a degree of community legitimacy to the process: implying that the initiative was not designed by government policy officials working in isolation from the community. Table 10 lists extracts from a range of texts that mention the role of the steering group. The first six texts present the role of the steering group in a way that may seem to confer a degree of community legitimacy to the project by representing the development of the *pathway to partnership* programme as a joint initiative between the government (MSD) and community. The second set, questions the representativeness (and by implication legitimacy) of the steering group. The third set comprises comments by steering group members in various community newsletters that may raise questions about their role and the potential for them to be co-opted to a dominant government agenda.

Table 10: Pathway to Partnership: Sample Texts Regarding the Steering Group

Text No	Description	Author	Extract
<i>a. The steering group as partner: legitimizing pathway to partnership</i>			
<i>PP 3.9</i>	<i>Funding News 2, May 2007</i>	<i>MSD</i>	<i>The Ministry of Social Development is working with the child and family support services sector to develop Pathway to Partnership... A Steering Group made up of both government and non-government organisations is advising the project</i>
<i>PP 3.10</i>	<i>Funding News 3, Aug 2007</i>	<i>MSD</i>	<i>Who's been supporting us to develop Pathway to Partnership? A steering group drawn from the Ministry's key fora and reference groups ...</i>
<i>PP 3.5</i>	<i>MSD Website 2007</i>	<i>MSD</i>	<i>To get the plan to this stage we've had input from a Steering Group made up of [names of organisations]. This Steering Group will provide ongoing advice and feedback as the plan develops.</i>
<i>PP 3..7</i>	<i>MSD Website 2008</i>	<i>MSD</i>	<i>The Pathway to Partnership Steering Group provides leadership and advice on the direction and implementation of the Pathway to Partnership programme. The group consists of representatives from ... and senior officials from the Ministries of Social Development and Justice.</i>
<i>PP 3.3</i>	<i>Feedback from pathway to partnership regional forums, June 2008</i>	<i>MSD June 2009</i>	<i>We are working with the Steering Group ... We will develop advice on this in consultation with the Steering Group and service providers... ... advice from the Steering Group Providers can have input into these areas of work by contacting their Steering Group representative</i>
<i>PP1.2</i>	<i>Cabinet Paper</i>	<i>Feb 2008</i>	<i>Joint Government-NGO leadership and management are vital to implement this plan successfully. We also have a NGO Steering Group overseeing the development and implementation ... This process has been very successful and we will continue and possibly expand the Steering Group to oversee the rollout.</i>
<i>PP 1.2</i>	<i>Cabinet Paper (footnote)</i>		<i>A Steering Group, comprising representatives from community-based organisations, nominated by key MSD and NGO forums, oversees the plan's development.</i>

Text No	Description	Author	Extract
<i>b. Questioning the claim of representation and community legitimacy</i>			
<i>PP 4.4</i>	<i>ANGOA Roundtable 6 March 2008</i>	<i>ANGOA</i>	<i>A heart-felt plea was made for there to be more community representation on the Pathways to Partnership group, plus resourcing to enable the representatives to report and consult back with the community</i>
<i>PP 4.4</i>	<i>ANGOA Roundtable 2 April 2008</i>	<i>ANGOA</i>	<i>[Steering group member] has repeatedly expressed concerns re representation on the P to P consultative Group at MSD, plus the assumptions made by MSD re how the sector works.</i>
<i>c. The view from within – Steering group members advocate pathway to partnership</i>			
<i>PP 4.26</i>	<i>SSPA newsletter Dec 2007</i>	<i>Wilson J</i>	<i>As a member of the Steering Group I have been able to put forward many of the views and concerns that have been conveyed to me by SSPA members through Regional Meetings and Talking Back Questionnaires.</i>
<i>PP 4.27</i>	<i>SSPA March 2008</i>	<i>Wilson, (SSPA)</i>	<i>As a representative on the Pathways to Partnership Steering Group this announcement is the result of many hours of discussion with Government by this group about the true cost and value of the work provided by the NGO sector. I will continue to work with my other NGO and Government colleagues on the steering group to</i>
<i>PP 4.38</i>	<i>New Dialogue 2007</i>	<i>Rice, (NZCOSS)</i>	<i>Make no mistake, this is a risky business for all of us. The Sector people are aware of the responsibility they carry and the Government people are working in a way they rarely have before. But this is one of the most positive and encouraging ventures I have been engaged in. From my point of view, this process has demonstrated the willingness of Government to engage with us, and they have been listening</i>
<i>PP 4.11</i>	<i>COSS GOSS (Hutt COSS)</i>	<i>Rice, (NZCOSS)</i>	<i>I made the point at the meeting of the P2P steering committee. I said that putting more information on the website or in Funding News wasn't good enough, and they needed to explain the whole thing to people face to face ... the rest is history. I am visiting as many of you as possible to support you in your efforts, and to front up as a sector member of the Pathway to Partnership</i>

From these texts, a closer analysis of the membership of the steering group, and the process by which members were appointed, raises some questions about the claims of community representativeness. Members were appointed by MSD, and in general comprised chief executives of large, national organisations, many of which (e.g. Plunket, Barnardos, Relationship Services) have a long history of working with government. The fact that smaller local organisations were not represented on the steering group was an issue for the wider community:

A heart-felt plea was made for there to be more community representation on the Pathways to Partnership group, plus resourcing to enable the representatives to report and consult back with the community (PP 4.4, ANGOA Roundtable, March 2008).

The steering group was established to provide community input and legitimacy to the project. With no community sector involvement in the appointment process, and with the business of the committee constrained by the rules of budget secrecy that prevented any consultation with the wider community, there is a potential for co-optation of steering group members, and the development of hegemonic practices. I discuss this potential for co-optation in the next section.

Pathway to Partnership: Governmentalising Processes

One of the questions I posed to each of the sets of texts I analysed was: ‘*How do partnership discourses represented in these texts demonstrate or resist governmentalising practices or hegemony?*’ The two processes in the *pathway to partnership* initiative that may be seen to support hegemonic practices and have the potential for co-optation of community organisations and leaders are first, the mediatised intertextual chaining process discussed previously, and second, the operation of the steering group.

A Communication Strategy: Potential for Co-optation

The intertextual chains discussed previously, in which community organisations uncritically reproduce and reconfigure government messages may be seen as a technique of co-optation or governmentalisation of community, with a government message reinforced by a compliant community media. Community newsletters risk becoming co-opted as communication media for a government strategy, paraphrasing and reproducing the government messages, rather than providing

critical, as well as supportive comments, or presenting the autonomous voice of the community that they claim to represent (Maddison, Dennis & Hamilton, 2004). In the *pathway to partnership* initiative, this risk of co-optation is compounded by the position on the steering group of chief executives of agencies producing some of the newsletters.

While there is a risk of co-optation, and the texts indicate that this may be a feature of the *pathway to partnership* initiative, it is not inevitable. NZCCSS newsletters retain a degree of critical distance, reporting concerns as well as the government information:

Responses from the community sector ginger group ComVoices want to see this commitment anchored in firm policy and supported by legislation (PP 4.19)

Christchurch COSS newsletter also raises concerns at the limited application of *pathway to partnership* to existing service contracts and not developmental work:

The constant grappling with uncertain funding in the sector, and especially for groups working in developmental models, is impacting on pay scales and conditions. This has been highlighted with the recent government announcement of Pathways to Partnership, which will see groups with government contracts receive funding for the full cost of services. Community development work is typically not funded by government contract (PP 4.14).

Overall, criticism of the *pathway to partnership* initiative was subdued. This may reflect an effective communication strategy with its co-opting effect. It may also reflect the fact that, despite its limitations, *pathway to partnership* promised some benefit to community and voluntary sector organisations.

The Steering Group: The Potential for Co-optation

The steering group, with its changing role, accountabilities, and the expectations of it, provides the second aspect of *pathway to partnership* that is open to co-optation. The initial reason given for establishing a community advisory group was to provide a community perspective in the development of the programme:

To get the plan to this stage we've had input from a Steering Group.... This Steering Group will provide ongoing advice and feedback as the plan develops (PP 3.5, MSD Website info, 2007).

Over the course of the initiative, the role of steering group shifted from being an external, independent advisory group designed as an accountability mechanism, to an integral aspect of the initiative, with steering group members taking prominent roles in promoting *pathway to partnership*. This shift was partly a consequence of extending the role and membership when *pathway to partnership* was expanded in 2008. Membership was extended to include government officials, and the role was also extended to include a leadership or governance function. From one perspective, this change may be seen as strengthening the role of the group and demonstrating the ‘partnership’ intent of the programme with the inclusion of senior government officials. From a governmentality perspective, it could be seen as a tactic to control the limited community voice in the initiative, and to make community, via its representation on the steering group, responsible for the overall success of the programme. This shift represents what Rose (1999) refers to as the “autonomisation and responsabilisation” of community (p. 476), within parameters set by government and internalized by the newly responsabilised community actors. Steering group members took on the responsibility to promote *pathway to partnership* within their own networks and in the wider community by such activities as writing articles in newsletters, and representing *pathway to partnership* in public forums. The tone of the reporting in the newsletters changed from a rather neutral reporting of information, to a position of advocating for the programme:

As a representative on the Pathways to Partnership Steering Group this announcement is the result of many hours of discussion with Government by this group about the true cost and value of the work provided by the NGO sector. I will continue to work with my other NGO and Government colleagues on the steering group to develop implementation principles for this new funding (PP 4.27; Wilson, SSPA March 2008),

and:

Make no mistake, this is a risky business for all of us. The Sector people are aware of the responsibility they carry and the Government people are working in a way they rarely have before. But this is one of the most positive and encouraging ventures I have been engaged in (PP 4.39; Rice, New Dialogue 2008).

Extending this process, the potential is for the steering group members to be co-opted to represent the government agenda of *pathway to partnership* rather than representing the voices of the community sector to the government policy officials

who were developing the programme. The close liaison between the government appointed representatives on the steering group and the policy officials also has the potential for developing community-government hegemony that establishes and controls access to the initiative.

The Discourses of Partnership:

Having considered the way a discourse of partnership was constructed in the *pathway to partnership* texts, and the potential sites for hegemony to develop, I now consider the third question posed to the three sets of texts I examine in this research: ‘*What discourses of partnership are constructed in these texts?*’

In chapters four and five I identified two major approaches to, or discourses of partnership in the literature about community-government relationships during the period of the fifth Labour led government. I term these the ‘modified contractualist’ and ‘community development’ approaches to partnership. In this section I examine the ways that these discourses are represented in the *pathway to partnership* texts, and consider the interplay between the discourses.

Modified Contractualist Discourse of Partnership

A modified contractualist discourse of partnership is the predominant discourse reflected in the *pathway to partnership* texts I reviewed. This may be seen in the initial policy papers that establish *pathway to partnership* and the various newsletters, websites and associated media that promote the programme to a community audience. An overarching theme is the construction of community organisations as ‘service providers’:

A strong non-government sector is vital to the delivery of community based intensive social services. If no action is taken, increasing pressure on NGOs will affect their ability to maintain services at a sufficient level and quality to meet community need (PP 1; Cabinet paper).

I identify six features in the *pathway to partnership* texts that indicate a modified contractualist approach. Four of these are common to earlier, neo-commercial contractualist approaches: first, the construction of community organisations as ‘service providers’ with ‘partnerships’ that are limited to the delivery of specified programmes or services; second, the range and scope of eligible programmes and

services are defined by the government rather than negotiated with community; third, the scope of the ‘partnership’ does not extend to the development of policies or the design of the programme responses, but is limited to the delivery of services, and fourth, the terms of the ‘partnerships’ are set out in standard form contracts, the terms of which are largely prescribed by government. The features that indicate a modification of the contractualist discourse are: an acknowledgement that the price needs to be fair to both parties, as in the discussion about fully funding services, and a retreat from the previous approach that fostered competition between community organisations to one which is about collaboration and ‘reducing duplication’ (which was often a consequence of marketisation) between community organisations.

Community Development Discourse of Partnership

The language associated with a community development approach may be seen in the political texts that introduce the initiative or its expansion and argue for the case for *pathway to partnership*:

*This programme was announced last year and signalled our intention to **develop a stronger relationship** between government and NGOs.*

*Today I am announcing significant new funding to **enable that partnership to be firmly established** and put on a secure and sustainable financial footing) (PP 1.4, Clark 2008),*

[pathways to partnership] is recognition by our Government of the importance not only of the work that our community organisations do but of the importance of genuine partnership between central government, local government, and those community organisations (PP 1.6, Dyson in Hansard, 2008).

Similar themes are repeated in the parliamentary debate supporting the introduction of *pathway to partnership*:

Part of what makes civil society gel is when the organisations that understand people and know people on a personal basis, and make policy from a ground-up position, are allowed the freedom to do the work they do best and are given support to do that (PP 1.6, Turner in Hansard, 2008),

and media texts emphasizing that the purpose of *pathway to partnership* is to support and strengthen community, or non-government organisations:

Community organisations ... understand their communities and the families who live in them and they are more likely to be the first port of call for families seeking help...

Our government is committed to a genuine partnership with the sector. We know that this funding and the new model of service delivery will help achieve a real difference in the lives of New Zealanders (PP 2.3, Dyson 2008).

This community development rhetoric supporting *pathway to partnership* is not evidenced in the actual practices and policies by which the initiative is implemented. In the next section I discuss the impact of this, and the possibility that the feel-good language of community development was used to gain acceptance for *pathway to partnership* while masking an overall contractualist programme.

Interdiscursivity or Discursive Confusion?

Drawing on Sacks' (2008) discussion on contracts and covenantal relationships; the mechanisms that define *pathway to partnership* conform to a contractual arrangement, concerned with the mechanisms of the agreement, while the rhetoric that supports *pathway to partnership* reflects covenantal relationships, with an emphasis on developing an enduring relationship. Sacks' contractual and covenantal models reflect the modified contractualist and community development discourses respectively.

The confusion or conflation between the two approaches is evident throughout the texts, as in the following example from the Parliamentary debate in which a 'feel good' language associated with a community development, masks the 'service provider' and contractualist discourse implicit in the initiative:

The people involved in [the non-government] area are the lifeblood of our communities. We have now committed to fully funding those organisations that provide such services (PP 1.7, O'Connor, in Hansard, 2008).

Sue Bradford, a community development worker and activist prior to entering Parliament, exposes the contractualist approach of *pathway to partnership*, and visualizes what a community development approach might involve:

I am thrilled to see that the Government is finally acknowledging the total inadequacy of current funding arrangements, and is pledging an ongoing relationship based on full and fair resourcing. ...I... await with anticipation the day when the

principles announced today are applied across the whole of Government in its relationships with community and voluntary sector organisations (PP 1.7, Bradford in Hansard 2008).

The conflation of the two approaches is also evident in various media releases and communication material. Again the language used to describe the overall purpose of the programme draws on community development concepts of working together, while the detailed explanations revert to the more pragmatic language of contractualism. Drawing on a Foucauldian understanding of the operations of power and governmentality; while the broad political rhetoric may suggest an inclusive community development approach to working in partnership, Foucault reminds us that the operations of power are most directly relevant in the instruments and technologies of power that act on individuals at a local level. For *pathway to partnership*, the local policies and practices that set the terms of participation are framed within a contractualist model, albeit with terms and conditions that are (according to the texts) more favourable than previously.

Pathway to Partnership: Conclusion to this Section

From the texts I examined, *pathway to partnership* was heralded by government as a demonstration of its commitment to the community and voluntary sector, and welcomed practically unanimously by community organisations. This exploration of the discourses that underpin the initiative, and the pitfalls associated with it, are not intended to detract from its potential value. This chapter traced the processes by which the story of *pathway to partnership* was created and taken on board by community, with the use of community development language masking the more limited application of the initiative. I also highlighted the potential pitfalls whereby community energy and leadership may be co-opted to further a government-developed agenda instead of remaining free to provide critical comment on the programme. Finally, each step where the community may be co-opted to the programme also represents a point of resistance or critical comment. Although the dominant theme shows a governmentalising of community organisations and actors, the texts also point to ways in which community organisations may be critically engaged in the process without being co-opted. I next draw some overall conclusions from the three sets of texts I examine, and, in Chapter Seven, incorporate these into the overall findings of the research.

Some Conclusions:

In Chapter Six, I examined three sets of texts to identify the discourses of partnership operating, and how they were constructed and maintained. In Part One I examined speeches and media releases produced by (or on behalf of) Steve Maharey, the Minister of Social Services and Employment, in 1999-2000. The texts illustrated the emphasis that the government was placing on being seen to work in partnership with other sectors of society. Analysis of the texts charted a pattern used to establish a broad but undefined discourse of partnership as common-place. A closer analysis of the texts indicated a modified contractualist discourse of partnership in the texts that focussed on employment creation, or discussed specific programmes or funding arrangements. Texts that discussed broad, aspirational relationships, or which focussed on the relationship between government and the community and voluntary sector were more likely to employ a community development discourse. In Part Two, I examined texts related to the SKIP initiative which has an explicit community development approach to partnership. Analysis of these texts showed a number of features that construct the community development discourse, and how this discourse resists co-optation and develops counter-hegemonic practices. Part Three explored the *pathway to partnership* initiative that, similarly to Part One, utilised community development rhetoric to introduce the initiative, and a contractualist approach to the way the initiative was established and the relationships were set in place. I also considered the potential for the co-optation of community through media strategies and membership of steering or advisory groups in Part Three.

In Chapter Seven, I present the overall findings from the research. I further explore the interactions between the community development and modified contractualist discourses, drawing on the exploration of the texts presented in Chapter Six and the socio-historical context and literature presented in chapters four and five.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The incoming Labour-led Government in 1999 announced that it wanted to build a new approach, and work in partnership with community organizations. The partnership approach was contrasted with the dominant contractual arrangements it inherited. In this research I showed that, while this ‘new way’ discourse of partnership is located in a particular time and context, it builds on historical relationships between community organizations and the government, and is linked to international third way discourses. I also examined the various meanings of, and approaches to partnership by the fifth Labour-led Government (1999-2008).

In this chapter, I summarise the two main discourses of partnership identified in this research: community development and modified contractualism, and the ways in which they interact. Drawing on Foucauldian concepts of governmentality and Gramscian concepts of hegemony, I show how the language of partnership may be used to co-opt community organisations as compliant subjects in government-led hegemony, and also how a partnership approach has the potential to transform ways in which government and community organisations work together. I suggest ways in which the findings of this research may inform both government policy officials and community actors as they develop ongoing relationships. I conclude this chapter by noting some of the limitations of the research, and suggesting areas for further related research.

Partnership: The Historical and Political Context

When the incoming Labour-Alliance Government (1999-2002) announced a partnership approach to the way it intended to work with other sectors, it was aligning itself with an international third-way discourse that was particularly prominent in the United Kingdom, and also linking to a history of partnership discourse in New Zealand.

Until the 1970s, community organisations in New Zealand operated relatively independently of government, with “the two sectors follow[ing] parallel tracks with little interaction” (Social Advisory Council, 1986, p. 6; see also Tennant, et.

al, 2008). This situation changed in the 1970s as a response to the dramatic social and economic changes of the period. Community organisations sought financial assistance from government and government increasingly relied on community organisations to provide support to the people affected by the social and economic changes. Various advisory committees and working groups explored and debated the respective roles of government and community organisations in the provision of social services and support (NZCOSS, 1978, SAC, 1986), with an overall theme of “sharing social responsibility” and developing “a much greater degree of partnership” between them (SAC, 1986, p.6). This approach to partnership was framed within a community development approach, predicated on devolution and localization of both planning and service provision. The theme of mutual agreement and negotiation was explicit in these discussions on the meanings of partnership:

In a genuine partnership, one partner does not manipulate the other, or simply inform the other of decisions without consultation...In a true partnership both parties have a common goal, and seek to bring their different resources together to achieve it more satisfactorily (SAC, 1986, p. 11).

The adoption of a neo-liberal approach to government, and the associated introduction of new theories and practices of public management in the 1980s and 1990s, precipitated major changes in the way the community and community organisations were viewed by, and interacted with, government. In the initial phase of this restructure, the themes of community development, devolution, and to a lesser extent, ‘partnership’, were prominent, with various locally elected (or appointed) committees overseeing the funding and provision of social and community services. The second phase of the restructure in the 1990s was characterized by an increased commodification and marketization of social services, as community organisations were increasingly constructed as ‘services providers’ delivering a range of services under contract to government in a pseudo-market model. Smith (1996) describes this contractual model:

Agency theory and transaction costs analysis, along with other theoretical perspectives from the world of the private business sector, have provided the theoretical basis for the transformation of the relationship between government and the voluntary sector into one of principal and agents, bound by contractual terms and a

regulatory framework for the monitoring of quantity and quality of social and welfare service outputs (p. 5).

While there were various references to 'partnership' in these contractual arrangements, they were predominantly framed within contractual arrangements in which government sought community 'partners' to develop and provide a specified range of services.

The fifth Labour-led Government (1999-2008) adopted a 'third-way' approach to developing relationships with community sector organisations. This policy drew on a renewed community development approach to 'partnership' as resistance to the dominant neo-liberal contractual relationships, and on the third-way policy discourse coming from the United Kingdom at that time. Third way discourse argues that government has a role to lead and support social and economic development alongside the corporate and civil society sectors. Clark (2000) presents the government's view:

In earlier times, central government tended to assume it could operate on its own without nurturing such broader relationships. In more recent times it tended to push the responsibility for economic and social development away and disclaim any proactive role. Now, our third way government is seeking a new role, built around that concept of partnership, acknowledging the limitations of government, but also accepting the responsibility of leading, facilitating, enabling, brokering, and funding where appropriate to get results (unpaginated).

Although they draw on the language of community development, the third way discourses were widely viewed as extensions, or mutations of the neoliberal, contractualist models; "metamorphosed into more socially interventionist and ameliorative forms" (Peck & Tickell, 2002, p. 388), bearing "the hallmarks of neo-liberalism, as the state distances itself from direct service provision by entering into contract-based partnerships which are claimed to differ from classical contract relationships" (Carson & Kerr, 2003, p. 84). Rose (1996, 1999, 2001) similarly suggests that this emphasis on 'community' and 'communitarianism' is used as a means of arguing for the government's retreat from responsibility for the social welfare of citizenry in favour of the 'responsibilization' of individuals and communities, with the language of partnership presenting a softer image of government's lack of involvement. I have termed this a modified contractualist discourse of partnership

The Discourses of Partnership Summarised

‘Partnership’ in reality is still pretty much a catch-all phrase that encompasses a wide range of situations, practices and arrangements (*Craig & Courtney, 2004, p.11*).

If we have a naive, all-inclusive definition of partnerships, then it will be reasonable for policymakers to expect partnerships to be able to achieve far more than they can. We have learnt ... that naive collaborative expectations like ‘whole of government relates to whole of community’ need to be broken down, into real responsibilities and accountabilities, with more focused outcomes and processes, if collaboration is not to be a dumping ground for ‘too hard’ problems (*ibid, p. 34*).

Many of the texts analysed within this research present a vague, undefined notion of partnership, a term that is “used with more rhetorical than real meaning, and ... ‘overused, ambiguous and politicised’ ” (Ministry of Social Policy, 2000, p. 6). This ambiguity allowed the Minister¹³ to describe a myriad of situations where there was a working relationship between government and other parties as partnerships, thereby establishing an over-riding view that partnership is a normative way of operating, without making specific commitments to work in a partnering way that may be expected from a community development approach. Following Craig and Courtney (2004), I argue that this ambiguity and confusion may be avoided by using more specific terms that better describe the relationship; for example, whether it is networking, cooperation or collaboration, and use ‘partnership’ for situations that follow a community development approach.

In this research I identified two main discourses of partnership between government and community organisations; I have called them modified contractualist and community development discourses. I noted two other significant discourses, one associated with the Treaty of Waitangi and the second with a commercial approach to partnerships. While I identified these as distinct discourses, they are interwoven in the texts that I analysed, suggesting that the dynamic *between* the discourses is as significant as the discourses themselves.

¹³ I refer to Hon Steve Maharey and his speeches and media releases analysed in Chapter Six.

Modified Contractualism Discourse

A modified version of contractualism dominates the relationship between government and community organisations, although the approach had softened from the quasi market models of the 1990s. This approach typically describes a functional, commercialized relationship focused on the provision of services by a community organisation, and paid for, either fully or partially, by government. The notion of partnership is used to indicate that these arrangements are more than purely commercial interests. In this discourse, community organisations are typically constructed as ‘service providers’, providing identifiable and quantifiable *services* or *programmes* in the community. These services and programmes may be funded (either fully or partially) by government agencies, with the terms and conditions of the funding and services set out in a legal contract. The *service provider* position is taken on by community organisations (e.g. Social Service Providers Aotearoa); although they may argue that it is *one of* their roles alongside, for example, representational and advocacy roles, rather than the one that defines them.

Both the literature and the texts reviewed, show a number of modifications to the contractualist discourse in the period under review that demonstrate a retreat from the more extreme quasi-market positions that characterized the contracting environment of the 1990s, while retaining the same core contractual mechanisms (Larner & Craig, 2002, 2005; Larner & Butler, 2004). I identified six features that indicate a modified contractualist approach. Four of these are common to earlier, marketised contractualist approaches: first, the construction of community organisations as service providers with ‘partnerships’ focused on the delivery of specified programmes or services; second, the range and scope of eligible programmes and services are defined by the government rather than negotiated with community; third, the scope of the ‘partnership’ does not extend to the development of policies or programmes, but is limited to the delivery of services; and fourth, the terms of the ‘partnerships’ are set out in standard form contracts, the terms of which are largely prescribed by government. The features that indicate a modification of the contractualist discourse are: an acknowledgement that the price needs to be fair to both parties, as in the discussion about ‘full funding’ and

there is a retreat from an approach that fostered competition between community organisations to one that is about networking and ‘reducing duplication’ (which was often a consequence of marketisation) between community organisations.

The modified contractualism discourse of partnership generally falls within the ‘cooperation’ or ‘collaboration’ points on Craig and Courtney’s (2004) partnership continuum (refer Figure 3) rather than at the ‘partnership’ end. Similarly, programmes and relationships developed in this way generally fall into either the ‘contract’ or ‘extension’ quadrants of Brinkerhoff’s (2002) matrix (see Figure 2), with a potential of co-optation if the community organisation compromises its organisational identity in the interests of fulfilling the terms of the contract. The modified contractualism discourse can be seen to reflect Sacks’ (1996, 2008) concept of contractual relationships, in that they are primarily instrumental, or pragmatic arrangements founded on mutual self-interest.

Community Development Discourse

I term the second significant approach to partnership a ‘community development’ discourse of partnership. This approach draws from historical discourses of community development that construct community organisations as (or as able to be) autonomous and competent expressions of the community in which they are located. In the 1990s, a community development discourse of partnership was widely promoted by community organisations and activists as a resistance to the neo-liberal contractualist models that constructed community organisations as self-interested providers of services under contract to government. A community development partnership discourse is also associated with civil society discourses that assert the autonomy of community organisations and the role of civil society as complementary to, rather than subsidiary to government (Robinson, 1999).

Community development discourse is drawn on by government when presenting its understanding of partnership:

If we are talking about a partnering relationship between the Government and the sector then the process, problem identification and recommended solutions must reflect a partnering approach. You do not rebuild trust, and you cannot restore the relationship by

imposing a centrally determined solution, no matter how worthy the motivation (Maharey, 2000, S 70).

The SKIP initiative broadly reflects the community development approach to developing partnerships. This is explicitly stated in written material produced by SKIP in which the approach is explained as:

Community development increases opportunities for people to participate, enables the transfer of skills, develops self reliance, ensures local ownership and uses local resources to solve local issues. (SKIP 17, p. 3).

Table 11: Ten Characteristics of SKIP's Community Development Discourse

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Partnerships were developed on the basis of a clear, shared vision and values. 2. There wasn't a preconceived template for partnership arrangements; they developed in different ways depending on the organisations involved. 3. Time was allowed for the relationship to form and trust to develop, despite pressure to get things underway with relatively short timeframes 4. An inclusive approach was adopted. Although some significant community organisations were approached initially, this did not preclude others from being involved. 5. The relationship is more than a functional contract for the delivery of a specified programme; and funding contracts are developed within, but are not the basis of the partnership. 6. Relationships are personal. Although each organisation involved made an overall commitment to the partnership, the strength of SKIP's partnerships was that the commitment was also on a personal level 7. Partnerships are strengths based. Rather than propose new ways of working that, by implication denigrated what was already happening, SKIP deliberately sought out ways of enhancing what was already happening. 8. The principles of relationships and partnership infuse the whole structure and process of SKIP. The notion of working 'in partnership' is not a pragmatic add-on, designed to gain acceptance from the community partner. 9. SKIP built partnerships and relationships between community organisations, with experienced organisations sharing their skills and experience. 10. The concept of partnership infuses the broader SKIP programme, fostering a high degree of collaboration between community groups, and the development of a partnership approach with parents.

Table Eleven sets out ten characteristics of SKIP's community development approach to partnership that distinguishes it from the contractualist approach,

although contracts are negotiated within the approach This list may usefully guide others seeking to work in partnership, and provides a tool to critique so-called partnership arrangements from a community development perspective.

The community development discourse of partnership approaches the ‘partnership’ end of Craig and Courtney’s (2004) continuum and the ‘partnership’ quadrant of Brinkerhoff’s (2002) matrix, as it describes a position in which the partnership is mutually negotiated (instead of one party agreeing to pre-set conditions) and the various parties (partners) retain their identity outside their partnership interests. This model is also closer to Sacks’ (1996, 2008) covenantal relationship, with its emphasis on a longer term shared relationship based on shared values. As such it requires greater commitment of time and resource to establish, compared with the more functionalist arrangements required of contractualist partnerships.

The Discourse Interplay:

Application of the partnership framework does not eliminate the potential for actors to engage in partnership rhetoric without partnership-like behaviour (whether intentional or not), either because it is popular and assists with public relations, or because the actual intent is co-optation. (Brinkerhoff, 2002, p. 28).

While I distinguish the two dominant discourses of partnership between government and community as modified contractualism and community development, they are interconnected. A ‘community development’ discourse does not preclude contractual arrangements, and both discourses draw on notions of community and civil society, although with different understandings of this. Table Twelve sets out and compares features of the two partnership approaches or discourses.

As well as untangling the discourse threads that may identify each of these discourses, it is useful to understand the interconnections (interdiscursivities) between the discourses, such as the way that a community development discourse may mask a non-negotiated contractualist intent, and how contractual arrangements may be developed that are consistent with a community development approach. I then look at ways in which partnership discourses may

operate to co-opt, or governmentalise community organisations and, conversely, how strategies may be developed to resist co-optation.

Table 12: Features of modified contractualist and community development discourses

Partnership Discourse:	Modified contractualism	Community development
Broad (meta) discourse	Neo-liberal / commodification	Community Development
Genealogy	New Public Management, (1980s) with ‘third way’ modifiers (1990s)	Community development (1960s.’70s). ‘social capital’ & ‘civil society’ (1990s)
Partnership role	Partners in service delivery, consultees or stakeholders in programme development	Partners in the design and development as well as delivery of services and programmes
Construction of community organisations	Service providers	Civil society organisations (autonomous)
Positioning of community	Community is seen as divided into distinct ‘sectors’	‘whole of community’, holistic approach
Relationship with government.	Generally set out in a contract in which community organisation is subsidiary to government.	Negotiated May involve relationship-based contracting
Orientation of discourse	Programme-based (generally)	Shared vision and/or Principles-based.
	Problem – centred (problems are defined and programmes are developed to address them)	Strengths-based (Recognises underlying strengths in community to draw on)
	Exclusive (boundaries of participation are pre-defined)	Inclusive (‘door is open’)
Brinkerhoff’s (2002) partnership quadrant	Predominantly contracting	Partnership
Craig & Courtney (2004) continuum	Co-operation / co-ordination	Partnership
Represented in Sacks’ model	Contractual	Covenantal
Example:	Pathway to Partnership	SKIP

Community Development Discourse as a Mask for Contractualism

Aspects of community development language were used in each of the sets of texts I examined when referring to partnership. A closer analysis of the texts indicates that this rhetoric was often not reflected in the practice. The much criticized contractual mechanisms for funding community organisations remained in place throughout the term of the fifth Labour-led Government, and in general the policies and programmes involved were developed in isolation from, or with superficial input from or consultation with community. Community development discourses of partnership and civil society were used to promote the *pathway to partnership* programme with Ministers and Members of Parliament speaking in glowing terms of the value of community and civil society organisations, and how important it was for government to support these civil society organisations. The use of inclusive community development language can be seen as a tactic to gain community assent to the initiative, masking an overall contractualist orientation of *pathway to partnership*, which was primarily about improving existing contractual arrangements.

Contractualist Processes: Instrumentalising the Relationship

While the language associated with community development dominates the broad rhetoric, the actual mechanisms and instruments that define the terms of the agreements between the parties are more likely to be standard contractual arrangements, particularly where funding is involved. In such cases, the community development intent may easily be lost in the details of the contracts. Following Foucault's (1978) analysis of governmentality, techniques of power operate in these instruments, such as the contracts, practice guidelines and processes, rather than in the broad rhetoric. This divergence between the rhetoric and practice is seen in the analysis of Maharey's speeches and media releases, with many speeches following a community development discourse, while the texts that directly impact on the community largely reflect contractualist discourses. Similarly, while the *pathway to partnership* initiative was publicly argued using community development language, the actual practices and policies by which the initiative was to be implemented follow a contractualist approach.

The SKIP initiative uses contracts as instruments to account for funding from government to the community partner organisations, within a community development approach. SKIP funding contracts were agreed and managed within the wider relationship the SKIP team had with community organisations, while still conforming to the government's overall financial management and audit requirements. Courtney (2007) discusses the way funding contracts are positioned in the context of the overall relationship between Barnardos and the Ministry of Social Development:

The MOU also provides the back-drop to the formal capacity building contract that has subsequently been developed between the two organisations. The MOU acknowledges Barnardos as a partner **with** MSD rather than a service provider **for** MSD. This resulted in a funding contract that was simpler, less prescriptive and less compliance driven than might otherwise have been expected (SKIP 33; Courtney, 2007. p. 20).

Baldwin describes this approach from the perspective of a community organisation:

While one was a funder and one was a provider, it didn't feel that way. It felt like we were both partners working to a good solution; to reach this vision (SKIP 9).

The link between the contract and overall relationship reflects Sacks' (1996, 2008) discussion of covenantal and contractual relationships, as the covenantal relationship, expressed in a memorandum of understanding in the case with Barnardos, guides the more pragmatic contractual agreements between the parties. Community development and contractualist approaches to partnership are not mutually exclusive and, while there may be tensions, the SKIP texts indicate that these are not insurmountable.

Partnership and the Governmentalisation of Community Organisations.

The discourse of partnership may lead to the governmentalisation, or co-optation of community and community organisations to a particular way of thinking and acting. Allen (2004) explains this process as:

... the idea that we are under the control of a political or economic authority has less to do with the extent to which people confirm or comply with its administrative pronouncements, and rather more to

do with effectiveness with which we, its subjects, internalize their meaning.... through indirect techniques of self-regulation which make it difficult for individuals to operate in any other way (p. 23).

Various commentators (e.g. Fyfe, 2005; Larner & Butler, 2004; Rose, 1996, 1999), note ways in which community has become governmentalised as part of the third way politics, and how the discourses of partnership contributed to this process. The language and promises of partnership are seductive, evoking images of sharing power and decision making, and of meaningful input into developing policies. Where this rhetoric is not reflected in the practices and contracts that instrumentalise the relationship, this may contribute to a governmentalisation of the community 'partner' and process of co-optation. This does not represent a dishonest intention on part of government actors to co-opt community organisations or actors. Rather, the process operates more subtly, reflecting and reinforcing the dominant neo-liberal ideology and discourse framing the relationship between government and community organisations.

I outline three techniques that, in the absence of strategies of resistance, operate to governmentalise community organisations and actors: the provision of good practice guides and resources, the role of advisory or steering groups, and communication tools and strategies.

The Governmentalising Role of Good Practice Guides

The processes of governmentalisation involves community organisations and advocates voluntarily changing the way they operate in order to participate in partnership arrangements with government, or to appear to be a 'credible' partner by taking on the organisational designs and practices expected of them. In preparing for this, they are aided by the various good practice guides that government agencies have developed in good faith, frequently with input from or in consultation with civil society actors to support them to operate more effectively. These 'how to' guides explain and provide templates for organisations to develop governance structures, planning, management, networking,

collaboration, and communication among a host of other subjects¹⁴. Community organisations, taking advantage of these guides, transform themselves to be more efficient, effective, collaborative, and so on as they “internalize the relevant laws, rules and norms so as to regulate themselves in accord with them” (Bevir, 1999, p. 355). The consequence, or at least risk, of this transformation is that community organisations lose sight of their community foundations and accountabilities and become “little fingers of the state” (Nowland-Foreman, 2000).

The Governmentalising Role of Working Parties and Advisory and Steering Groups

One of the features of the ‘partnership government’ (Larner & Butler, 2004), is the proliferation of working parties and advisory or steering groups that provide community input to policy or programme development. The Community and Voluntary Sector Working party, discussed in Chapter Four is a significant example of this in operation, while the two programmes I reviewed: SKIP and *pathway to partnership*, each had their own, different ways of ensuring community input to the programme design and delivery. *Pathway to partnership* had a steering group appointed by the Ministry of Social Development, while SKIP had a less structured approach of using workshops and interviews with key informants to gain community input. Surgenor (2005) explains that “SKIP avoided setting up a steering group so as to keep the involvement inclusive and wide-reaching” (SKIP 24, Surgenor, 2005). In this section I consider the ways in which working parties, steering and advisory groups have the potential for co-optation of their community members.

Accountabilities of advisory and steering groups.

In most of the advisory groups established in the early 21st century, including the *pathway to partnership* steering group and the Community and Voluntary Sector Working Party, members were appointed by government (either the Minister or Ministry officials) rather than by the community whose interests they are expected

¹⁴ See Table 2 for a list of guides and resources developed for community organisations by various government bodies.

to represent.¹⁵ This carries a risk that the people selected may be, or may be seen to be more aligned to a government than community interest, and that uncomfortable, or critical perspectives are excluded. As members are not appointed or elected by the community whose views and interests they are expected to represent, they may be seen by community as government appointees, representing the view of government rather than community.

Members of advisory or steering groups are usually appointed with some terms of reference that explain their role and function, and sign various documents such as declarations of conflicts of interest and confidentiality agreements. They may also subscribe to a further set of implicit rules and norms that govern the way the group operates. Some of these rules, such as confidentiality of meeting proceedings, while understandable, can act to separate the community member from the community whose interests they are expected to represent. In these processes members' accountabilities to their appointing body and government are established and overt, while their mandate from and accountability to the community remains vague and assumed.

From community representatives to programme advocates.

An advisory or steering group is typically established to provide external advice to the government in the development of an initiative. Over time there is a tendency for the advisory group to become closely associated with the initiative and take on a role of promoting it. The *pathway to partnership* initiative provides an example of this shift in focus and responsibility of the steering group. When established, the group's role was to provide advice and feedback to the government officials who were responsible for the development of the policy and programme. Over time the role of the steering group changed to be more actively responsible for the programme, taking on increasingly active roles to promote the programme within their networks and the wider community. There is a significant risk of co-optation in this process as community members, invited by government to join an advisory group are given more authority over and responsibility for the programme. In the

¹⁵ A notable exception is the Community Organisations Grants Scheme (COGS), administered by the Department of Internal Affairs, in which committee members are elected by community organisations, and the national committee is elected by (and from members of) local committees.

subtle processes of governmentalisation that Foucault exposed, as these members take on these responsibilities their role shifts from community-centred advocacy, presenting a community perspective in the development of the programme, to being responsible for selling the programme to the community, thereby providing the programme with a degree of assumed community legitimacy.

While the SKIP initiative did not have a defined advisory or steering group, there was a group of community people, generally working within community organisations associated with SKIP who became ‘SKIP champions.’ Their role was to take the vision and messages of SKIP to the community, and work within their own organisations to embed the messages and practices associated with SKIP. The reliance on SKIP community champions to spread its messages, supported by government produced media and communication material is susceptible to a similar co-optive process as the use of advisory and steering groups.

Communication Strategies as Mechanisms for Co-optation

The third technique that is susceptible to co-optation, is the initiative’s media and communication strategy. Community newsletters risk becoming co-opted as communication media for a government strategy, paraphrasing and reproducing the government messages, rather than providing critical, as well as supportive comments, or presenting the autonomous voice of the community that they claim to represent (Maddison, Denniss & Hamilton, 2004). This was partially seen in the *pathway to partnership* initiative, particularly in newsletters produced by smaller, under-resourced organisations without the capacity to produce significant independent material. SKIP, as a social marketing campaign, also carries a risk of co-opting community media by producing ready-made articles and communication material for local community organisations to reproduce. For example, SKIP newsletters showcase community stories and experience; the selection of which may legitimize certain views and practices with a ‘community’ slant, and ignore other perspectives that challenge this view.

Strategies to Resist Co-optation

Strategies that lead to the co-optation of community are more closely associated with contractualist approaches to partnership in which community organisations are primarily framed as service providers, and agents of government. Conversely, strategies that resist co-optation will strengthen the voice of, and accountability to community; a process more commonly associated with a community development discourse of partnership. I outline a range of techniques or strategies to resist co-optation, drawing on the elements that I identified to determine that respective partnership discourses, and the techniques of co-optation noted above.

The first technique I identified that contributes to the governmentalisation of community organisations is the development, by government, of good practice guides and resources for community organisations. These are generally developed in order to assist community organisations function more effectively, but without a conscious analysis of what ‘being effective’ may mean. The ‘good practices’ are uncritically adopted by community organisations in order to obtain government funding. In this process they are re-shaped to conform to an organisational style that may suit a government agenda but take them from their community base. Three strategies whereby government may support the capacity building of community while resisting a governmentalising effect are: first, to focus on supporting the autonomy of community organisations and the emphasis on developing their organisational vision and values; second, for government to take an arm’s length approach and support community sector organisations to develop their own resources and guides to build their capacity, rather than have government do this on their behalf; and third, government agencies should distinguish between guides and resources that have been developed for a specific focus, such as guidelines to particular funding schemes that the government has a responsibility to produce, and generic capacity building tools and resources that are best developed by, or in association with community.

The second practice that is susceptible to the co-optation of community is the use of advisory and community steering groups, established to provide community input to initiatives. The main issues that generated a risk of co-optation were: a

lack of clarity or understanding of the role of the steering group; a lack of mandate from or accountability to the community that members are expected to represent; and a shift in the advisory group's role over the life of the group from community representative to programme advocate. Strategies to resist co-optation include: having clear, agreed roles and functions of the group; ensuring that processes are in place to support members' accountability to and mandate from the community they represent; and regularly reviewing the functioning and membership of the group. The existence of an advisory group is not an effective proxy for working with and hearing from communities directly. The SKIP initiative did not involve a steering group, but had a more flexible group of 'SKIP champions' who worked within community organisations, and provided community input into the way SKIP developed.

Communication strategies, in particular the uncritical reproduction of government-sourced material in community newsletters is the third area identified as susceptible to co-optation. Co-optation was less likely where the government announcement was set within a wider context, with some independent analysis of the programme or initiative undertaken by the community. The New Zealand Christian Council of Social Services' (NZCCSS) newsletters analysed the *pathway to partnership* initiative in this way, whereas other media reproduced the government material with little or no comment, thereby giving tacit approval to the initiative.

Working with government carries a risk for community groups of co-optation. It also carries genuine opportunities to be involved in the design and development of policies and practices that will impact on the communities in which they are located. In the next section I outline some of the potential impacts of this research for both government officials and community organisations.

Impact of the Research

This research provides an insight into the way the language of ‘partnership’ between government and the community and voluntary sector developed in New Zealand over the period of the fifth Labour-led Government. Others have also explored this field of research (for example, Holland, 2008; Larner & Butler, 2004; Larner & Craig, 2002, 2005; Milligan, et al., 2008, Tennant, 2007, Tennant et. al, 2008), and their work has informed my research.

Research undertaken from a critical social theoretical perspective is not intended to passively explain or understand the research topic, but to bring about change. In this section, I outline ways in which this research may be used by both community organisations and actors and by government officials as they negotiate the pathways of partnership and working together.

Implications for Government Officials and Policy Makers

Larner and Butler (2004), reviewing the development of the ‘partnering state’ in New Zealand observed that:

... as local partnership programmes have become an increasingly normalized aspect of the delivery of social services in New Zealand, they have had implications not only for the spaces and subjects of social policy, they have also involved the mobilization of new forms of expertise and the invention of new relational approaches, thereby reconstituting the state itself (P. 17).

The bulk of the literature I reviewed, discussed the discourse of partnership in the context of social and political events; in particular the rise of ‘third way’ politics. This literature generally views partnership as a governmentalising process in which community organisations are brought within the range of the informal state apparatus (Peck & Tickell, 2002; Rose, 1996, 1999), with a restrained counter view that suggests partnership offers the possibility of a community and socially-centred government that extends beyond the neo-liberal obsession with the economic sphere (Larner & Butler, 2004; Morison, 2000).

In this section I discuss the findings from the research, and how they may support the government officials as they develop government policy and programmes that involve working with community organisations, while minimizing the risks of co-

optation. The partnership approach was introduced in Maharey's speech texts as "about the rehabilitation of politics in this country... about re-building the relationship between government and the governed" (Maharey, 2000, S7). The government introduced a number of structural and cultural changes with a view of improving its relationship with community organisations and produced codes and good practice guides, such as the Statement of Government Intentions for an Improved Community-Government Relationship (Clark & Maharey, 2001) (SOGI), Treasury Guidelines for Contracting with Non-Government Organisations (2003), and the Auditor General's good practice guide (2006), as a retreat from an extreme contractualist position. Just as the production of guidelines and resource kits indirectly steered community organisations to operate in the way that suited the government interest, these good practice guides and resources moderated and steered government agencies' policies and practices for working with community organisations.

The community development discourse of partnership identified in the research provides a framework for government and community organisations to work together. The construction of community organisations as elements of civil society, rather than as providers of services to the community is fundamental to the community development discourse, and informs partnerships between government and community organisations that extend beyond a contractual or funding paradigm. Table Eleven lists ten aspects of SKIP's community development approach to partnerships. Key features that may guide government agencies in developing relationships with community organisations are: the need for having a shared vision and values as the basis of developing a partnership; the commitment of time and energy that is required to build a partnership in this way; and the open, mutually respectful process by which the partnership is negotiated. The research also identified a number of strategies to assist policy officials develop genuine partnerships with community organisations, and minimize the risk of co-optation. These include: having communities and community organisations involved in both determining the services and programmes to be provided in the community, and to ensure government accountability processes do not limit the accountabilities of community organisations and actors to the communities in which they are located.

As Craig and Courtney (2004) note, not all arrangements between government and community are or should be viewed as partnerships. Many will be straight forward funding arrangements where standard templates and contracts are appropriate. In such cases, the overall relationship between community and government is enhanced where funding contracts are developed and maintained within broader relationship agreements. Craig and Courtney's partnering continuum is useful in this respect as it describes a range of relationship styles, reserving the term 'partnership' for arrangements at the formal end of the continuum. Using a more precise term than 'partnership' to describe the actual relationship, and reserving 'partnership' for situations that follow a community development approach will reduce the risk of co-optation of community interests.

Implications for Community Organisations

Community organisations and advocates were instrumental in the development of partnership discourses in New Zealand as a resistance to the neo-liberal contractual models operating in the 1990s (see Robinson, 1997, 1999). This research traced the history of partnership discourse, and explores the ways that the discourse has been co-opted within a broader neo-liberal ideology. The rhetoric of partnership has been used to describe a modified contractualist model in which community organisations are constructed as providers of services to the community, often under contract to government. By using a range of governmentalising techniques, such as the provision of good practice guides and resources, community organisations are at risk of being co-opted as "little fingers of the state" (Nowland-Foreman, 1997, p.34).

The modified contractualist discourse of partnership presents a number of challenges to community organisations considering whether to enter into partnering arrangements with government. Twyford (2008) describes the situation as "finding [one's] feet on the partnership tightrope" (p. 9), suggesting, however, that "[t]hough the language of partnership is fraught with pitfalls, spaces for genuinely collaborative initiatives do exist" (p. 1). Harrington (2005) also notes the community investment in partnerships as "as much to do with seeking a way to

reclaim and reshape what happens to one's own community as it is an attempt by government to darkly shed responsibility and costs" (p. 9).

This research provides community organisations and actors with some analytic tools to assess offers or claims of partnership. First, does the claim of partnership fit within either a broad community development or contractualist approach? Second, what is the process for community to be actively engaged in the way the policy or strategy is developed and any associated programmes are delivered? Third, what processes are in place to resist co-optation to an implicit government agenda? From this initial assessment, community organisations can assess the relative risks or merits of whether, or how to engage with government in the situation concerned.

A major role and responsibility of community organisations is to advocate with or at times on behalf of the community. Craig and Courtney (2004) discuss the potential difficulties with an advocacy role within a partnership arrangement. At best, the partnership may provide an opportunity for negotiation of concerns. More likely, a partnership agreement may make it difficult to publicly criticize government policy or advocate for communities that may be impacted by government policy. Community organisations are not powerless in this situation, always having the option to not participate in so-called partnerships and to exit unsatisfactory arrangements in favour of having a more direct, activist voice outside of the norms and constraints of the so-called partnership (Davies, 2007; Morison, 2000).

Limitations of the Research

In the previous section I set out a number of ways in which this research may assist people working in both government and community organisations develop, understand and maintain effective relationships and joint initiatives. In this section I identify some limitations of the research, in two broad areas: limitations in the scope of the research, and methodological limitations.

Limitations in the Scope of the Research

In the initial framing of this research project, I considered exploring discourses of relationship between government and the community and voluntary sector. The first limitation is ideological, in that the research is framed within a dominant western framework that distinguishes the separate institutions of government, the market or private sector, and ‘third sector’ or civil society organisations. The process of defining these different sectors constructs the relationship space. In the interests of keeping the scope of the research manageable, I considered it to be outside the scope of this research to explore these fundamental questions of the nature of government and governance, and civil society or the community and voluntary sector.

Second, in order to maintain a manageable scope to the research, I focused on the discourses of partnership between government and community organisations, rather than the broad range of relationships, and limited the analysis to the community and social services area. The research does not claim that discourses of ‘partnership’ define the relationship between government and community, or that the sets of texts examined in the research are representative of the way in which discourses of partnership are developed or maintained. Other government agencies also negotiated partnership arrangements with community organisations; for example NZ Aid and the Council for International Development, and the Department of Conservation with local conservation groups.

The third scope-related limitation relates to the way discourses identified as part of the research were analysed. I concentrated on the community development and modified contractualist discourses in this research. Two other partnership approaches were also identified: the Treaty of Waitangi and commercial partnership approaches, but these were not fully explored, either in the way they construct an overall discourse of partnership, or the ways they operate alongside the other partnership approaches. There are complex and nuanced sets of interrelationships between these different discourses of partnership, and within the various discourses are represented over time, which are beyond the scope of this research.

Methodological Limitations

In considering the methodological limitations of the research, critical discourse analysis examines texts to identify and analyse discourses. The texts I examined were limited to those which were publicly available, predominantly electronically. As such, texts produced by government and larger community networks are over-represented relative to local and informal texts. Further, a critical discourse analytic research approach is only one research approach to exploring the relationship between government and community organisations.

Suggestions for further Research

The previous paragraph in which I identified limitations of the research also indicates some possibilities for further research. Considering aspects of the scope-related limitations; there may be value in further theoretical research into the ideological framework that distinguishes government, civil society and the market or commercial sectors. A second suggestion is for further research into the ways private-public partnerships (PPPs) operate; how they may replicate or differ from the government – community partnerships, and what ideological and discursive features distinguish them.

There is room for further research in the field of community-government relationships, extending beyond a focus on partnership. Such research could utilize different methodological frameworks, in order to better understand the dynamics of power in these relationships. Some complementary research projects might involve a constructivist methodology that explores the lived experience of various partners, or an action research project in which the various partners are framed as co-researchers in the research.

The third area where further research is indicated is in the area of governmentality and the ways in which community actors and organisations may be co-opted. A research project in this area could explore the construction, operation and accountabilities of advisory or steering groups and working parties, possibly using a critical discourse analytic approach to expose the dynamics of power within the group and its relationships.

Final Words

When introducing this research, I told some of my personal story of living and working in the community-government nexus over the past thirty years. I had an ambivalent attitude to the notion of partnership which tended to overlook imbalances of power between the so-called partners. On the one hand, it seemed to offer an opportunity for community organisations and government officials to work together with some shared purpose or passion. Conversely, at times it seemed that government was dictating the terms and community could 'take it or leave it'. Usually it was more complex.

After three years immersed in an intellectual exercise to analyse and understand 'partnership', my ambivalence is replaced by cautious optimism. This research shows that the pathway to partnership may have many pitfalls, with plenty of scope for cynicism about government and the potential for co-optation of community interests. The research also shows the possibility of genuine and productive partnerships based on community development principles and practices; partnerships which also have the potential to transform ways in which the government works. This research is offered to assist people working in both government and community to navigate the pitfalls, and build open, trusting and effective relationships.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Schedule of Maharey's Speeches and Media Releases 2000

Schedule of Speeches:2000.

No	Date	Mention partner ship	Port folio ¹⁶	Title
S1	9/3/2000	Y	Sde	Association for Supported Employment in New Zealand
S2	10/3/2000	Y	Sde	Partnership with the Manawatu: the Government's regional development strategy
S3	11/3/2000	Y	Ed	Graduation Speech
S4	20/3/2000	Y	Sde	New Directions
S5	22/3/2000	Y	Sde	Salvation Army Employment Plus
S6	29/3/2000	Y	Ed	The New Way
S7	25/3/2000	Y	Sde	Partnership, Politics and the Social Democratic Project
S8	7/4/2000	Y	Ed	The Future of Industry Training
S9	11/4/2000	X	Sde	An Agenda for children
S10	13/4/2000	X	Sde	Address to the New Zealand Family and Foster Care Federation conference
S11	14/4/2000	X	Sde	Supporting mental health consumers into employment
S12	3/5/2000	X	T ed	The Challenge of International Education
S13	5/5/2000	Y	Ed	Towards the Innovative University
S14	8/5/2000	Y	Ed	The transition from school to work – building partnerships and pathways
S15	10/5/2000	Y	T ed	Celebrating excellence in Industry Training
S16	12/5/2000	X	Ed	The Polytechnic in The New Environment
S17	12/5/2000	Y	Ed	Training for at-risk groups – opportunities and quality outcomes
S18	15/5/2000	X	Sde	New Zealand families
S19	17/5/2000	X	Sde	Improving Outcomes for Women and Children Through Greater Availability of Effective Refuge Services.

¹⁶ C&V: Community and voluntary sector; Ed: Education; Sde: Social development and employment; T ed: Tertiary education.

No	Date	Mention partner ship	Port folio ¹⁶	Title
S20	23/5/2000	X	Ed	Emphasis on Excellence: Science & Tertiary Education in the 21st Century
S21	23/5/2000	Y	T ed	Supporting export education
S22	24/5/2000	Y	Sde	Tomorrow's Lifestyle Today
S23	6/6/2000	Y	Ed	Gateways from School to Work
S24	7/6/2000	Y	Sde	Investing in families
S25	7/6/2000	Y	Sde	Address to Napier social service providers
S26	8/6/2000	Y	T ed	A Step Towards a Cooperative and [collaborative tertiary education sector]
S27	13/6/2000	Y	Ed	Tertiary Education in the 21st Century: Restoring Public Accountability
S28	22/6/2000	Y	Sde	Closing the Gaps: Investing in our Future
S29	22/6/2000	Y	Ed	Weaving Together the Strands: A National Innovation System for New Zealand
S30	23/6/2000	Y	Sde	Our Children, Our Future
S31	23/6/2000	X	T ed	A Focus On Affordability: Tertiary Education and the 2000 Budget
S32	29/6/2000	Y	Sde	UN Special Session of the General Assembly on the Implementation of the Outcome of the World Summit for Social Development
S33	8/7/2000	Y	Ed	A Knowledge Society of Our Own
S34	10/7/2000	X	T ed	Tertiary Education: A Nation-Building Role in A Knowledge Society
S35	11/7/2000	Y	Sde	Investing in Community Wellbeing – a partnership approach
S36	11/7/2000	Y	Ed	Getting a Life: The future of careers and learning services
S37	12/7/2000	Y	Sde	Beyond process – evaluating policy outcomes
S38	18/7/2000	Y	T ed	Rebuilding Careers Information and Guidance as a public service
S39	19/7/2000	X	Sde	Focus on the future: an agenda for children
S40	21/7/2000	Y	Ed	Whose Values? -- Values Education in the 21 st Century
S41	24/7/2000	Y	Sde /C&V	Making the Links – Working Together to Improve the Health of New Zealanders

No	Date	Mention partner ship	Port folio ¹⁶	Title
S42	1/8/2000	Y	Sde	Directions in Youth Justice
S43	3/8/2000	Y	T ed	A Shared Vision for Tertiary Education
S44	8/8/2000	X	Ed	A Knowledge Society of Our Own: The Mission of Research
S45	10/8/2000	Y	Sde	Lifting human capability – an invitation to partnership
S46	15/8/2000	X	Sde	Guardianship, custody and access review
S47	17/8/2000	Y	Ed	Seizing The Opportunity
S48	23/8/2000	Y	Sde	Partnerships For Youth
S49	23/8/2000	Y	C&V	Volunteers- the heart of the community
S50	24/8/2000	Y	Ed	Real Life Learning – Gateways from School to Work
S51	1/9/2000	Y	Sde	Opening opportunities for older workers
S52	1/9/2000	Y	Sde	'One more worker' – local people delivering local employment solutions
S53	2/9/2000	X	Ed	The Student Agenda A Government of Constant Improvement
S54	7/9/2000	X	Sde	Retirement incomes – encouraging an informed debate
S55	12/9/2000	Y	Ed	Cooperative change for tertiary education
S56	12/9/2000	Y	Sde	Social Security Amendment Bill first reading
S57	13/9/2000	Y	Sde	Acknowledging the centrality of employment
S58	14/9/2000	Y	Sde	Social commitment: a team game
S59	15/9/2000	Y	Sde	Social Welfare in New Zealand
S60	19/9/2000	X	Ed	Apprenticeship Training Bill first reading speech notes
S61	22/9/2000	Y	Sde	Future work and future incomes – building a constituency for research and action
S62	26/9/2000	Y	Ed	Innovation, Cooperation and Differentiation: Polytechnics in the Emerging System
S63	27/9/2000	Y	Ed	Building a skilled workforce for the 21st century
S64	28/9/2000	Y	Ed	Polytechnic Research: A Distinct Role
S65	2/10/2000	Y	Sde	Opening of the Wellington City Mission's Mission 4 Work facilities

No	Date	Mention partner ship	Port folio ¹⁶	Title
S66	5/10/2000	Y	Ed	Championing the Knowledge Economy
S67	6/10/2000	Y	Sde	Keeping safe on the open road
S68	10/10/2000	Y	Ed	Access and Accountability: Dual Goals for Tertiary Education Policy
S69	13/10/2000	Y	Sde	Celebrating community employment creation
S70	18/10/2000	Y	C&v	Not-For-Profit Sector: The Heart of Society
S71	25/10/2000	Y	Sde	Effective outcome delivery - joined up Government for joined up challenges
S72	25/10/2000	X	Sde	Fit For Purpose – Getting Family Law Right
S73	30/10/2000	X	Sde	Putting Children First
S74	1/11/2000	Y	Ed	Reaching for the Sky: Sky City and Modern Apprenticeships in the tourism
S75	1/11/2000	Y	C&V	More than just good works: Inspirational Philanthropy
S76	2/11/2000	X	Ed	Equal Opportunities & the Tertiary System: Encouraging Greater Responsiveness
S77	2/11/2000	X	Sde	Launch of the National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges "Te Kowhai Standards"
S78	4/11/2000	Y	Ed	Innovative, Strong and Responsive Institutions: Developing a Framework for Success
S79	17/11/2000	X	Sde	Social work in the new millennium: celebrating diversity, innovation and good practice
S80	30/11/2000	X	Sde	Securing the future
S81	1/12/2000	Y	Sde	Getting Canterbury young people into work
S82	11/12/2000	Y	Sde	Making Work Pay: Social Justice and the renewed welfare state

Retrieved from www.beehive.govt.nz

Schedule of Media Releases (2000)

No	Date	Portfolio ¹⁷	Title
R1	14/1/2000	Sde	National hid WINZ settlement
R2	20/1/2000	Sde	Government to harness benefit advocacy groups expertise
R3	28/1/2000	Sde	Disestablishment of the Super 2000 Taskforce announced
R4	28/1/2000	Sde	SSC review into WINZ settlement released
R5	2/2/2000	Ed	NZQA's years of indecision over
R6	2/2/2000	Sde	Board goes as Maharey sets new direction for WINZ
R7	3/2/2000	Sde	Unemployed drop welcome but not good enough for this Govt
R8	14/2/2000	Ed	Loan changes remove barriers for low income students
R9	16/2/2000	Sde	National and WINZ will be held accountable for student loan problems
R10	17/2/2000	Ed	Maharey outlines centrepiece of Government's tertiary policy
R11	18/2/2000	Ed	Maharey announces freeze on student loan interest rate
R12	22/2/2000	Sde	Maharey focused on finding solutions for WINZ loan problems
R13	22/2/2000	Sde	Government determined to plug the skills gap
R14	24/2/2000		Maharey welcomes Speaker's privilege ruling
R15	24/2/2000	Ed	Maharey rejects National's loan claims
R16	27/2/2000	Ed	Tide turns for students
R17	2/3/2000	Sde	Maharey cuts loans waiting time
R18	2/3/2000	Sde	Maharey cuts loans waiting time
R19	7/3 2000	Ed	Maharey rejects National's loans claims
R20	9/3/2000	Sde	Tearing down employment barriers for people with disabilities
R21	9/3/2000	Ed	Government and Wairarapa Community Polytechnic working together to secure local tertiary provision
R22	10/3/2000	Sde	Partnership with the Manawatu: the Government's regional development strategy.
R24	11/3/2000	Ed	Maharey calls for skills shake-up
R25	16/3/2000	Ed	Widespread support for Government's tertiary plans
R26	22/3/2000	Sde	Welfare of children not advanced by Shared Parenting Bill

¹⁷ C&V: Community and voluntary sector; Ed: Education; Sde: Social development and employment; T ed: Tertiary education

No	Date	Portfolio ¹⁷	Title
R27	22\3\2000		Modern Apprenticeships to improve training opportunities for young people
R28	23/3/2000	Sde	Mick Brown to review child referral, notification and placement procedures
R29	24\3\2000	Sde	Maharey on partnerships
3R30	26\3\2000	Sde	Suppressed report shows work-for-the-dole scheme failing
R31	28\3\2000	Sde	Superannuation entitlements confirmed
R32	28/3/2000	Sde	Benefits, Student Allowances, and War Pensions to increase
R33	31/3/2000	Sde	Notice of requirement lodged for Youth Justice Centre
R34	1/4/2000	Sde	April 1 changes deliver on core pledges
R35	4\4\2000	Ed	Tertiary Education Advisory Commission chair appointed
R36	6\4\2000	Sde	Maharey backs Mayors Taskforce for Jobs
R37	20\4\2000	Sde	Costs of WINZ charter incident investigation
R38	19\4\2000	Sde	Student loan processing evaluation begins
R39	19\4\2000	Ed	Commission announcement heralds change
R40	26\4\2000	Sde	Social Workers in Schools will help build stronger communities
R41	12/4/2000	Sde	Maharey opens Hamilton Family Start
R42	1/5/2000	Ed	Tertiary Education Advisory Commission begins work
R43	3/5/2000	Ed	Huge potential for New Zealand in export education
R44	4\5\2000	Sde	Employment trends welcome
R45	4/5/2000	Sde	National wanted to cut funding to Child, Youth & Family
R46	5/5/2000	Ed	Maharey urges universities to work together
R47	8\5\2000	Ed	Young people in education and training until 18 – Maharey
R48	9\5\2000	Ed	Maharey announces extra funds for industry training
R49	12\5\2000	Ed	Polytechnics To Focus On Building Local Communities
R50	14/5/2000	Sde	International Day of Families a chance to acknowledge diversity
R51	16/5/2000	Sde	Legislation clarifying international benefit entitlements to be debated by Parliament
R52	16\5\2000	Ed	Government to place moratorium on further universities
R53	17\5\2000	Sde	Funding for family violence services confirmed
R54	23\5\2000	Ed	Government to back export education

No	Date	Portfolio ¹⁷	Title
R55	23\5\2000	Ed	Watch out Jonah!
R56	23\5\2000	Ed	Government To Back Export Education
R57	24\5\2000	Sde	Opportunity and security for older New Zealanders
R58	25/5/2000	Ed	Maharey commits Government to address skills shortages
R59	25\5\2000	Sde	Improved access to special benefit and childcare
R60	25\5\2000	Sde	Government response to beneficiary advocacy groups
R61	25/5/2000	Ed	Industry Training – Government and Business in Partnership
R62	25/5/2000	C&v	Community & Voluntary Sector Working Group announced
R63	31/5/2000	Sde	New Zealand's first Children's Day
R64	6\6\2000	Ed	New Gateway will build bridges between school and work
R65	7/6/2000	Sde	Building strong communities
R66	7\6\2000	Sde	Strengthening Pacific peoples' communities
R67	7/6/2000	Sde	Maharey opens Hastings Family Start
R68	8\6\2000	Sde	Expanding careers advice and planning
R69	13\6\2000	Ed	Closer links between tertiary institutions and business promised
R70	14/6/2000	Sde	Government to strengthen community development capacity
R71	14\6\2000	Sde	Backgrounder: Community employment
R72	15/6/2000	Ed	Cutting the cost of tertiary education
R73	15\6\2000	Ed	Building the nation's skills
R74	15\6\2000	Sde	Supporting at-risk children and families
R75	15\6\2000	Sde	Closing the Gaps: social services and employment
R76	15\6\2000	Sde	Creating new job opportunities
R77	15\6\2000	Sde	Preventing youth offending
R78	18\6\2000	Sde	Planned improvements to student loan processing
R79	20/6/2000	Sde	Government Response to the Ministerial Inquiry into the Department of Work and Income
R80	20/6/2000	Sde	Maharey announces plans for Community Employment Organisations
R81	21\6\2000	Sde	Closing the gaps essential for NZ's future - Maharey
R82	22\6\2000	Ed	Government wants partnerships between tertiary researchers and industry – Maharey
R83	23\6\2000	Sde	Budget driven by a new paradigm
R84	23/6/2000	Ed	Government delivering on tertiary promises – Maharey

No	Date	Portfolio ¹⁷	Title
R85	25/6/2000	Sde	Government acting on Commissioner's report
R86	26/6/2000	Sde	Maharey to outline 'social investment' policies at UN summit
R87	30/6/2000	C&v	Huge interest in new voluntary sector working group
R88	30/6/2000	Sde	New social security agreement signed with the Netherlands
R89	3/7/2000	Sde	Unemployment drop welcome, but no cause for complacency
R90	4/7/2000	Ed	New support for work-based training in the public sector
R91	4/7/2000	Sde	Maharey takes Closing the Gaps message to UN
R92	10/7/2000	Ed	Maharey outlines new challenges for tertiary education
R93	11/7/2000	Ed	Government making good progress in careers education
R94	11/7/2000	Sde	Public service evaluation capacity critical says Maharey
R95	11/7/2000	Ed	Maharey welcomes Otago University decision to freeze fees
R96	13/7/2000	Sde	Government working on Maitua solutions
R97	12/7/2000	Sde	Maitua paper mill mothballing
R98	13/7/2000	Sde	Community Employment transfer on track
R99	13/7/2000	Ed	Modern Apprenticeship pilots to be announced next week
R100	14/7/2000	Sde	Maharey releases Work and Income papers
R101	17/7/2000	Sde	Maharey announces first stage of benefit reforms
R102	18/7/2000		Planned improvements to student loan processing
R103	18/7/2000	Ed	Maharey marks 10th anniversary of Career Services
R104	19/7/2000	Sde	Maharey outlines year ahead for Work and Income
R105	20/7/2000	Sde/ed	Modern Apprenticeships to close the skills gaps
R106	21/7/2000	Ed	Funding For School Environment Projects
R107	24/7/2000	Sde	Maharey links poverty and poor public health
R108	25/7/2000	Sde	Government to tighten up on safety of children in residential care
R109	25/7/2000	Sde	Professional Social Work
R110	26/7/2000	Sde	Social exclusion a threat to social cohesion
R111	30/7/2000	Sde	Comment on Downtown Community Ministry report
R112	30/7/2000	Sde	Work opportunities for beneficiaries to be discussed

No	Date	Portfolio ¹⁷	Title
R113	31/7/2000	Sde	Newman's call for child abuse inquiry five months too late
R114	3/8/2000		Commission's strategic focus bang on target says Maharey
R115	8/8/2000	Sde	Search Continues for Suitable Site for Youth Justice Residential Centre - South
R116	8/8/2000	Ed	Location, location, location – a strategy for building the knowledge society in New Zealand
R117	8/8/2000	Sde	Social Security Amendment Bill Introduced
R118	10/8/2000	Sde	Social Policy is Part of the Drive for Prosperity
R119	15/8/2000	Sde	Discussion paper on guardianship custody and access arrangements released
R120	15/8/2000	C&v	Community and Voluntary Sector Working Group appointed
R121	17/8/2000	Ed	E-learning and export education - taking Brand New Zealand to the world
R122	18/8/2000	Ed	Modest enrolment increase estimated for 2000
R123	23/8/2000	Sde	Kiwi Kids Need Good Role Models, Says Maharey
R124	23/8/2000	C&v	Get active in Your community, Maharey urges
R125	24/8/2000	Ed	New Gateway offers work-based learning, says Maharey
R126	1/9/2000	Sde	Horowhenua 'One More Worker' scheme shape of the future, says Maharey
R127	1/9/2000	Ed	Government's giant steps to affordable tertiary education
R128	1/9/2000	Sde	Maharey opens Manawatu Community Law Centre (finally!)
R129	7/9/2000	Sde	Maharey commends Wairarapa stand on child abuse
R130	8/9/2000	Ed	Community education blueprint begun, says Maharey
R131	12/9/2000	Sde	Social Security Amendment Bill introduced
R132	12/9/2000	Ed	Caveat emptor no more for private tertiary students
R133	13/9/2000	Sde	Maharey champions community employment creation
R134	14/9/2000	Sde	Government promises active partnership
R135	20/9/2000	Ed	Wairarapa Community Polytechnic to merge with UCOL
R136	19/9/2000	Ed	Maharey welcomes multi-party support for Modern Apprenticeships
R137	22/9/2000	Sde	Government to fund research into the future of work
R138	25/9/2000	Ed	Trans-Tasman qualifications recognition vital - Maharey

No	Date	Portfolio ¹⁷	Title
R139	26\9\2000	Ed	Maharey sets out clear role for polytechnics
R140	27\9\2000	Sde	Maharey on the Closing the Gaps
R141	28\9\2000	Ed	Polytechnic research to have distinct role
R142	25\9\2000	Sde	Newman wilfully distorting research
R143	27\9\2000	Ed	Government to review industry training arrangements
R144	3\10\2000	Sde	Ministerial Taskforce on youth offending
R145	4\10\2000	Sde	Playing fast and loose with unemployment stats won't wash
R146	5\10\2000	Ed	Skills gaps must close, says Maharey
R147	7\10\2000	Sde	Government releases employment strategy document
R148	10\10\2000	Sde	Offering New Zealanders security in retirement
R149	10\10\2000	Ed	Maharey signals reform of tertiary governance
R150	11\10\2000	Ed	Student loan interest 'Wipe Out' campaign begins
R151	13\10\2000	Sde	Government to fund project worker for Banks Peninsula employment programme
R152	17\10\2000	Ed	Government committed to a strong future for Victoria
R153	18\10\2000	C&v	Maharey praises contribution of Canterbury's 'third sector'
R154	20\10\2000	Ed	Maharey welcomes the end of an error
R155	20\10\2000	Sde	Time for Act to reconsider Newman's spokesperson role, says Maharey
R156	25\10\2000	Sde	Silo mentality must be broken down if gaps are to close, says Maharey
R157	25\10\2000	Ed	Maharey outlines improvements to student loan processing
R158	27\10\2000	Sde	Simcock playing politics with child abuse
R159	30\10\2000	Sde	Maharey hails success of inaugural Children's Day
R160	31\10\2000	Ed	Maharey announces new appointments to tertiary councils
R161	1\11\2000	Ed	Maharey congratulates first Sky City Modern Apprentices
R162	1\11\2000	C&v	Maharey praises work of Kiwi philanthropists
R163	2\11\2000	Ed	Improving tertiary participation by Māori and Pacific students
R164	2\11\2000	Sde	Figures good - but Govt will continue jobs focus
R165	2\11\2000	Sde	New funds for child abuse and family violence education
R166	4\11\2000	Ed	Government to strengthen tertiary governance arrangements
R167	7\11\2000	Ed	NCEA result pleasing

No	Date	Portfolio ¹⁷	Title
R168	7\11\2000	Ed	Maharey farewells TEAC Chair
R169	7\11\2000	Sde	Social direction briefings
R170	8\11\2000	Sde	Maharey announces seasonal work campaign
R171	10\11\2000	Sde	New 24-hour child abuse freephone under development
R172	13\11\2000	Sde	Maharey pays tribute to Dame Margaret Bazley
R173	14\11\2000	T ed	International reference group appointed to strengthen Tertiary Education Advisory Commission
R174	16\11\2000	Sde	Damning report charts failure of work-for-the-dole scheme
R175	17\11\2000	Ed	Maharey launches Student Job Search nationwide network
R176	17\11\2000	Ed	Comment on police investigation at an Auckland School
R177	21\11\2000	Ed	New Māori voice on NZQA Board
R178	21\11\2000	Sde	Opposition welfare policy in melt-down
R179	21\11\2000	Ed	Reappointments to Skill New Zealand Board
R180	23\11\2000	Ed	Government announces details of new Gateway programme
R181	24\11\2000	Ed	Government committed to Hutt Valley tertiary provision
R182	30\11\2000	Ed	Maharey rejects Modern Apprenticeship criticism
R183	30\11\2000	Ed	Lockwood Smith's Document of Accountability demonstrates National Party hypocrisy
R184	1\12\2000	Sde	Maharey launches Canterbury youth employment strategy
R185	5\12\2000	Sde	Government releases 'digital divide' papers
R186	5\12\2000	Sde	Government announces funding injection for Child, Youth and Family
R187	6\12\2000	Sde	Maharey launches Work and Income regional job plans
R188	6\12\2000	Sde	DWI regionalisation to deliver more jobs in Wellington - Maharey
R189	6\12\2000	Sde	DWI regionalisation to deliver more jobs to West Auckland and the Shore - Maharey
R190	6\12\2000	Sde	DWI regionalisation to deliver more jobs for the Bay of Plenty - Maharey
R191	6\12\2000	Sde	DWI regionalisation to deliver more jobs in the Central region - Maharey
R192	6\12\2000	Sde	DWI regionalisation to deliver more jobs in Nelson and on the West Coast - Maharey
R193	6\12\2000	Sde	DWI regionalisation to deliver more jobs in the Southern region - Maharey

No	Date	Portfolio ¹⁷	Title
R194	6\12\2000	Sde	DWI regionalisation to deliver more jobs in the Waikato – Maharey
R195	6\12\2000	Sde	DWI regionalisation to deliver more jobs for South Auckland - Maharey
R196	6\12\2000	Sde	DWI regionalisation to deliver more jobs in Cnty - Maharey
R197	6\12\2000	Sde	DWI regionalisation to deliver more jobs for the East Coast – Maharey
R198	6\12\2000	Sde	DWI regionalisation to deliver more jobs to Northland - Maharey
R199	6\12\2000	Sde	DWI regionalisation to deliver more jobs in Taranaki – Maharey
R200	6\12\2000	Sde	DWI regionalisation to deliver more jobs to Auckland
R201	7\12\2000	Sde	Increase in tertiary council member fees
R202	8\12\2000	Ed	Maharey announces package for Wanganui Polytechnic
R203	10\12\2000	Sde	Government backs by-community, for community
R204	11\12\2000	Ed	Government committed to strong tertiary education system
R205	11\12\2000	Sde	Maharey welcomes new poverty research
R206	12\12\2000	Ed	Education Amendment Bill to strengthen tertiary governance
R207	12\12\2000	Ed	Maharey announces appointments to Tertiary Education Advisory Commission
R208	13\12\2000	Sde	Heartland initiative to help rural communities
R209	13\12\2000	C&v	"Heartland Services Initiative".
R210	14\12\2000	Ed	Maharey welcomes dialogue with Vice-Chancellors
R211	15\12\2000	Sde	25% increase in funding for Women's Refuge
R212	19\12\2000	Sde	DWI Placements Up and Job Seeker Register totals down
R213	20\12\2000	Sde	James Whakaruru report: Government agency responses
R214	20\12\2000	Sde	Maharey announces new funds for family violence prevention

Source: www.beehive.govt.nz

Appendix B: Schedule of SKIP Texts:

- SKIP 1 Cullen, M. (2003, May). *Budget Executive Summary*. Wellington: NZ Treasury.
- SKIP 2 Maharey, S. (2003, May 15). *Strong communities and strong families*. [Media release] Wellington.
- SKIP 3 End Physical Punishment of Children New Zealand.(August 2003). *EPOCH Newsletter*. Wellington: Author.
- SKIP 4 End Physical Punishment of Children New Zealand. (July, 2004). *EPOCH Newsletter*. Wellington: Author.
- SKIP 5 Maharey, S. (2004, May 6). *Supporting parents*. Comments at the launch of SKIP – Strategies with Kids, Information for Parents campaign, Wellington.
- SKIP 6 Plunket. (2007). *Connecting communities across generations for 100 years. 2007 annual report*. Wellington: Author.
- SKIP 7 Auckland Women's Centre. (n.d.). *Young mothers parenting positively*. Retrieved on 20 January 2010 from <http://www.awc.org.nz/>
- SKIP 8 Barnardos New Zealand Inc. (n.d.). Retrieved on 20 January 2010 from <http://www.barnardos.org.nz/aboutus/skip.asp>
- SKIP 9 SKIP Team, Family and Community Services, Ministry of Social Development. (2008, May). *The SKIP stories: Edited Video of conference proceedings*. Wellington: Author.
- SKIP10 SKIP Team, Family and Community Services, Ministry of Social Development. (2004, Sept.). [Information sheets]. Wellington: Author.
- SKIP 11 Family and Community Services, Ministry of Social Development. (n.d.). [Website information] www.familyservices.govt.nz
- SKIP 12 Family and Community Services. (2004, Sept.). *Skip newsletter 1*. Wellington. www.familyservices.govt.nz.
- SKIP 13 Family and Community Services. (2004, Dec.). *Skip newsletter 2*. Wellington. www.familyservices.govt.nz.
- SKIP 14 Family and Community Services. (2005, March.). *Skip newsletter 3*. Wellington. www.familyservices.govt.nz.
- SKIP 15 Family and Community Services. (2005, June.). *Skip newsletter 4*. Wellington. www.familyservices.govt.nz.
- SKIP 16 Family and Community Services. (2005, Oct.). *Skip newsletter 5*. Wellington. www.familyservices.govt.nz.
- SKIP 17 Family and Community Services. (2006, June.). *Skip newsletter 6*. Wellington. www.familyservices.govt.nz.

- SKIP 18 Family and Community Services. (2007, Feb.). *Skip newsletter* 7. Wellington. www.familyservices.govt.nz.
- SKIP 19 Family and Community Services. (2007, June.). *Skip newsletter* 8. Wellington. www.familyservices.govt.nz.
- SKIP20 Family and Community Services. (2007, Dec.) *Skip newsletter* 9. Wellington. www.familyservices.govt.nz.
- SKIP21 Family and Community Services. (2008, May.). *Skip newsletter* 10. Wellington. www.familyservices.govt.nz.
- SKIP 22 Family and Community Services. (2008, Nov.). *Skip newsletter* 11. Wellington. www.familyservices.govt.nz.
- SKIP 23 Pritchard, R., (2004, July 8). *Partnership: How much better than cold porridge?* Keynote address at New Zealand Association of Counsellors' national conference, Nelson, New Zealand. <http://www.rhondapritchard.co.nz>.
- SKIP 24 Surgenor, G., (2005, April 1). *Good Practice in Action: Event 1*. Keynote presentation. Wellington: Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector.
- SKIP 25 Chamberlain, K., (2006, Sept.) *Getting the best from both to change the world*. Presentation at Communities and Government in Partnership conference, Melbourne, Australia. <http://www.public-policy.unimelb.edu.au/conference06>.
- SKIP 26 Surgenor, G. (2008, Nov. 28). *Practice in Action Seminar part 2 - Strategies with Kids, Information for Parents (SKIP)*. Seminar presentation. Wellington: Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector.
- SKIP 27 Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector. (2008, Nov. 28). *Taming wicked problems. Workshop notes to Good Practice in Action Seminar*. Wellington.
- SKIP 28 Martin, J., Gomes, A., & Kerslake-Hendricks, A. (2004, Oct. 13-15). *Evaluation of the Strategies for Kids – Information for Parents (SKIP) programme*. Paper presented at the Australasian Evaluation Society 2004 International Conference, Adelaide, Australia.
- SKIP 29 Gravitas Research and Strategy. (2005). *Strategies with Kids – Information for Parents (SKIP): Research report*. Wellington: Ministry of Social Development.
- SKIP 30 Gander, P. (2005). *SKIP (Strategies for Kids, Information for Parents): Implementation success model. A report for Ministry of Social Development - Family and Community Services*. Wellington: Synergia Limited.
- SKIP 31 Smith, A., Gollop, M., Marshall, K., & Taylor, N. (2005). *The discipline and guidance of children: Messages from research. A review of the research literature*. Dunedin: Children's Issues Centre.

- SKIP 32 Parker, S. (2007). Beyond delivery. In S. Parker & N. Gallagher (Eds.). *The collaborative state: How working together can transform public services*. (pp. 153-165) London: Demos.
- SKIP 33 Courtney, M & Dept of Internal Affairs. (2007). SKIP-Barnardos memorandum of association in *Putting pen to paper: Profiles*, (pp 18-26). Wellington: Dept of Internal Affairs
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