Remaining student centred:

A critical discourse study of an adult literacy organisation's publicity in Aotearoa New Zealand from 1973 to 2009

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Abstract

This thesis undertakes a historical critical discourse study of an adult literacy provider's publicity in Aotearoa New Zealand. It investigates how the organisation attempted to publicise a critical literacy mission and communicate with hard-to-reach learners within the structuring effects of wider marketised publicity discourses and a hegemonic functional account of literacy.

Drawing on Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory and Habermas' critical theory of publicity, the research found that the case study organisation, Literacy Aotearoa, was increasingly impacted by the need to produce marketised publicity which centres on garnering positive attention from state funding agencies and business. Despite the paradox that in order to raise funds it had to publicise and in order to publicise it had to raise funds, Literacy Aotearoa managed to produce glossy, branded publicity in order to survive a tight fiscal environment. At the same time, it also articulated a student-centred critical literacy discourse in its publicity which was able to critique impediments to adult literacy provision. In addition, Literacy Aotearoa carefully engaged with low-key publicity methods that were better suited to learners' needs. This reconciliation of diverse literacy and publicity needs was achieved, in large part, due to the commitment, skills and resources of practitioners and learners in the organisation.

However, because of the organisation's need to identify with common-sense understandings of literacy learners as "lacking", stubborn deficit discourses remained in the organisation's publicity, which were at odds with a more empowering learner identity, although these discourses became less obvious in later years. In addition, the strain on the

organisation's resources in adhering to accountability requirements in a competitive funding environment impacted the organisation's full potential to connect with all learner audiences.

Building on previous recommendations for the sector, this thesis argues that in order to increase the sector's ability to reach a diverse range of adult literacy learners, agencies should support learners to publicise in their own social networks. It is also argued that this labour-intensive publicity work, which better meets the particular information and communication needs of adult literacy learners, should be recognised and supported in state policy and funding.

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List of acronyms

3Rs	Reading, 'riting and 'rithmetic
ACE	Adult and Community Education (sector)
ABE	Adult Basic Education
ALLN	Adult Language, Literacy and Numeracy
ALLS	Adult Literacy and Language Survey
ARA	Adult Reading Assistance
ARAO	Adult Reading Assistance Officer
ARAC	Adult Reading Assistance Committee
ARAN	Adult Reading Assistance Newsletter
ARLA	Adult Reading and Learning Assistance (Federation)
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CAQDAS	Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software
EFTS	Equivalent Full-time Students
ETSA	Education and Training Support Agency
FRST	Foundation for Research Science and Technology (New Zealand)
GM	Genetically-modified (food)
IALS	International Adult Literacy Survey
ITO(s)	Industry Training Organisation(s)
LLN	Literacy, Language and Numeracy
LTSA	Land Transport Safety Authority
NCAE	National Council for Adult Education (New Zealand)
NPM	New Public Management
NQF	National Qualifications Framework
NZCTU	New Zealand Council of Trade Unions

NZQA	New Zealand Qualifications Authority
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OTEP	Other Tertiary Education Provider
PTE	Private Training Establishment
QAS	Quality Assurance Standards
REAPs	Rural Education Activities Programmes
TEC	Tertiary Education Commission
TEAC	Tertiary Education Advisory Commission
TEOs	Tertiary Education Organisations
TES	Tertiary Education Strategy
TOs	Training Opportunities
TOPs	Training Opportunities Programme(s)
TUEA	Trade Union Education Authority
TV1	Television channel one
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
US	United States (of America)
WEA	Workers' Educational Authority
YT	Youth Training

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Part 1

Context setting

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

> [The challenges in the adult literacy sector] will be recognised by
> others working in any newly developing field of social policy. For
> example, the need to raise awareness through innovative and high-
> profile publicity campaigns, the search for ways of presenting the
> issues to catch public interest and funding whilst creating positive
> representations of those seen to be in need; the movement from
> voluntary pressure groups to secure government funding are
> aspects that will be recognised by campaigners in many other new
> areas of education and social policy. The struggle for legitimation
> has involved raising the status of ALLN [Adult Literacy, Language
> and Numeracy] as a fundable area within social policy. (Hamilton,
> 2006, p. x)

Undertaking an analysis of over 30 years of publicity, this thesis
discusses how Literacy Aotearoa, a nonprofit adult literacy provider in
Aotearoa[1] New Zealand, retained a student-centred identity and
campaigned for funding during radically changing social and economic
times. From the 1970s, when there was no state or public recognition
for adult literacy provision (Hill, 1990), to more recent times when adult
literacy has become a notable state policy focus, Literacy Aotearoa's
appeals for funding have been made alongside a committed campaign
for state recognition of diverse literacy needs that go beyond the 3Rs.

Adult literacy is an important "case" for studying nonprofit publicity for
several reasons. The first is that it is a contested site. The traditional,
and dominant view, that literacy is a set of decontextualised 3R skills,
has been challenged by a discourse that sees literacy as a range of
different knowledges and skillsets, which should be located in learners'

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[1] For a list of Māori words used in this thesis, see Appendix 4. Aotearoa is the Māori word for New
Zealand. Throughout this thesis, I use the term Aotearoa New Zealand to refer to the nation in which
this study is based.

lifeworlds. Therefore how do providers reconcile different audiences' needs in publicity? Authors have argued that, similar to other nation states (see, for example, Giroux, 1987; Macedo, 2006), functional, or skills-based literacy, is dominant in Aotearoa New Zealand state policy documents (Isaacs, 2005, 2011; Sutton, 1996). An emphasis on functional literacy skills such as reading, writing, and numeracy has been shown to occlude the myriad other ways that individuals use literacy in their lives (Hamilton & Barton, 2000; Street, 1984), and ignores the power relations in society that have contributed to the over-representation of some groups in low literacy statistics (see, for example, Freire, 1970/1993; Macedo, 2006). Thus, how does an organisation such as Literacy Aotearoa, with a critical literacy mission "to develop accessible quality literacy services to ensure the people of Aotearoa are critically literate" (Literacy Aotearoa Inc, 2009a, p. 2) publicise an identity that could potentially run contrary to the more "common-sense" definitions of literacy and remain funded by the state and other bodies?

To complicate matters further, adult literacy learners have also been identified as "deficit" in dominant literacy discourses, meaning that they are seen to lack the necessary skills to participate in society and need training to be brought up to a "normal" standard (Fingeret, 1983; Hamilton & Pitt, 2011; Tett, 2007). Previous research in Aotearoa New Zealand has shown that this deficit model has affected the self-esteem of those with low functional literacy levels, in that they feel stigmatised (Murray et al., 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006). This has prevented some learners from accessing literacy programmes (Murray et al., 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006). How then, do adult literacy providers reach learners with the stigmatised literacy "brand" (Murray et al., 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006)? Added to this, reaching learners can be difficult because they often do not access formalised written publicity such as brochures, posters and advertisements (Hamilton & Hillier, 2006).

Given these challenges, it is no surprise that adult literacy learners have been considered hard to reach (Freimuth, 1990; Irish, 1980; Martin, 1989; Quigley, 1997; Sligo et al., 2007). In addition, those considered "most in need" of literacy training are particularly under-represented in programmes (Sligo, Tilley et al., 2006). Research is then needed to illuminate how these challenges are addressed in agencies' publicity and how practitioners use the opportunities available to reach learners.

Aotearoa New Zealand is an ideal setting for a study of adult literacy publicity because of the relatively radical economic and social restructuring that occurred in the 1980s and 1990s (Bargh & Otter, 2009; Evans, Grimes, Wilkinson & Teece, 1996; Kelsey, 1995), and the historical impact colonisation has had on critical literacy practices in the country (Isaacs, 2005; Māori adult literacy working party, 2001; Rāwiri, 2005; Yates, 1996).

This research is set alongside macro changes in publicity regimes; what Habermas (1989) and others (see, for example, Fairclough, 1993; Simpson & Cheney, 2007) have conceptualised as a shift from more egalitarian to more "manipulative" or marketised practices. For this thesis, I adopt an expansive notion of publicity that encapsulates a variety of communication methods and strategies, from networking and collaborative work to the production of professionalised and promotional materials such as advertisements and posters.

The main findings of this thesis are that, since its inception in the 1970s, Literacy Aotearoa has publicised an expansive account of literacy which promoted the need for student-centred literacy provision that could help students use literacy in their everyday lives. In its publicity, the organisation has also urged that attention should be paid to the effect power relations have had on low-functional literacy levels and how they have helped to define what literacy is. At the same time, this thesis will show that Literacy Aotearoa has been increasingly impacted by the need to produce marketised publicity which is focused on attracting positive

attention from state funding agencies and business. In reconciling its audiences' different literacy and publicity needs, Literacy Aotearoa engaged in both professionalised and more low-key publicity in order to maintain its position as a lead literacy provider, gain funds and also, reach diverse learners.

I argue that the organisation's identification with critical literacy discourses alongside the discourses of professionalism, accountability, and managerialism was achieved, in large part, because of the commitment, skills and resources of practitioners and learners in the organisation. However, the organisation's publicity was challenged by its need to articulate a commonsensical deficit literacy discourse in order to appeal to the "need" for adult literacy provision. This deficit literacy discourse was at times at odds with a more empowering learner identity. The obviousness of deficit literacy discourses was, however, less evident in latter years. A deficit learner discourse promulgates the notion that learners are sub-normal and in need of literacy training in order to be brought up to a more acceptable skill level. A more empowering or social practice account of literacy acknowledges the contextualised ways literacy is practised in individuals' everyday lives (Hamilton & Barton, 2000; Street, 1984). It recognises that people without 3R skills are not *lacking* in 3R skills but are typically rich in a range of other literacies that contribute in important ways to society.

In addition, the strain on the organisation's resources in adhering to accountability requirements in a competitive funding environment impacted the organisation's full potential to connect with particularly hard-to-reach learners such as Māori, Pasifika, rural learners and the long-term unemployed. For Māori, the Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand, the impact of colonisation on literacy practices has been keenly felt (Māori adult literacy working party, 2001; Rāwiri, 2005; Yates, 1996).

Building on previous recommendations for the sector (Murray et al., 2007; Sandlin & Clark, 2009; Sligo, Culligan et al., 2006; Sligo, Tilley et al., 2006; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006), this thesis suggests that in order to increase the sector's ability to reach a diverse range of adult literacy learners, agencies should extend their utilisation of the permeable boundaries between the public spheres they have access to. Public spheres are the conceptual spaces in which publicity is practised (Habermas, 1989). Different public spheres have different publicity norms and there exist many public spheres such those particular to culture, race, or geographical location. Therefore, agencies could support learners to publicise in their own social networks; thus practitioners could build on the particular knowledges that learners have regarding how to communicate with other potential learners with similar needs to their own. It is also argued here that this labour-intensive publicity work requires dedicated resources, which should be supported in state policy and funding.

This chapter outlines the motivation for this thesis before characterising the main research problem and the case study. I then give an overview of how this thesis contributes to the literature and briefly describe how it employs Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory. The chapter concludes with an overview of the chronological structure of the thesis and a chapter summary.

1.2 Motivation for the thesis

The initial motivation behind this thesis came from my experience in both paid and un-paid public relations work for nonprofit organisations. I was aware, along with other colleagues, that our work often failed to adequately target those whom the organisations had been set up to serve. When working in these roles, I experienced two major related tensions that I was interested in knowing more about.

The first tension was between those in nonprofit organisations who supported increasingly professionalised publicity, such as the use of glossy advertising and professional communication practitioners, and those who were ideologically opposed to such practices. In my experience in the sector, those who were resistant to professionalised publicity did so on account of an opposition to communication practices that were costly to the organisation and were perceived to be "spin" generated mostly for media audiences. In these cases, public relations work tended to be contrasted with the "worthwhile" or "real" work that the organisation should focus on.

Secondly, in my experience, nonprofit publicity practices were largely underfunded. When organisations were stretched, governance bodies were generally reluctant to spend already-scarce funds on publicity if there was barely enough funding to cover core services. Thus, publicity was seen as a luxury that nonprofit organisations could ill afford.

The motivation for this thesis was ignited when I began a literature review of this area and found that there was little research on the problem of *publicising* social justice issues in a time marked by increasingly professionalised practices and competitive funding models. Further discussion on the gaps in the literature and how this research attempts to address these gaps is included in section 1.4 below.

In 2006, I met researchers in the FRST Adult Literacy and Employment Research Project based at Massey University, who informed me that the team had identified a need for a critical discourse study of adult literacy publicity (Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006). The team had made this recommendation based on their findings that adult literacy students were often uncomfortable associating themselves with the term "literacy" as they felt judged by the term (Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006). In addition, the team found that, for students, the word "literacy" did not connect to the overwhelmingly positive experiences they had on adult literacy programmes (Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006). The Literacy and

Employment research project thus recommended that these factors should be taken into account in the marketing of literacy programmes and, given the potential problems in the communication of literacy and its deficit connotations, a critical analysis of publicity, including how adult literacy students relate to the term, should go some way in recommending more effective publicity methods. The research team also stipulated that such a study on adult literacy publicity should pay close attention to the impact of colonialism on literacy provision.

I applied for and was granted funding by this project to specifically undertake a doctoral study into adult literacy publicity. The research team had existing relationships with Literacy Aotearoa and through these, and my own contacts within Literacy Aotearoa's senior management team, I proposed the current case study to the organisation.

During the early years of my doctoral candidature I was also recruited by the Literacy and Employment research team as a research assistant and participated in discussions and publications based on interviews with adult literacy students (Murray et al., 2007; Tilley, Sligo et al., 2006). This work helped to broaden my understanding of both the research problem and adult literacy students' perspectives.

1.3 Research problem and introduction to the case study

This study addresses how a social-justice-based nonprofit organisation in Aotearoa New Zealand publicised itself when the nonprofit and adult literacy sectors were beginning to engage in more consistent professionalised practices (Bhela, 2002; Owen & Kearns, 2006) and were facing new funding structures (Nowland-Foreman, 1997, 1998). These new structures included competitive and outcome-based funding regimes that compelled organisations to distinguish themselves from their competitors and focus on quantifiable "results" (Eikenberry, 2009; Owen & Kearns, 2006). In order to better understand how Literacy

Aotearoa managed to publicise its social justice goals, such as providing student-centred literacy services that took account of the individual and social needs of learners, and to understand the opportunities and challenges of its publicity, this thesis undertakes an historical analysis, taking into account how some aspects of Literacy Aotearoa's publicity have changed and some remained the same, since its early days in the 1970s.

In the year of data collection, 2009, Literacy Aotearoa comprised 45 member groups, or ngā poupou, throughout the country; a national office; and a governance group. It was a lead provider of community-based literacy programmes and also offered workplace literacy programmes and professional development for adult literacy workers in the wider field. In 2009 Literacy Aotearoa enrolled the following numbers of students in the relative funding categories –

Table 1: Student enrolment 2009

Funding programme	No. of students enrolled nationally
Adult and Community Education (ACE) Literacy	4711
Workplace Literacy Targeted	974
Foundation Learning	971
Modern Apprenticeship	243
Work and Income New Zealand	214
Land Transport Safety Authority (LTSA)	188
Workplace Literacy Fund	173
Industry Training Organisations (ITOs)	122
Training Opportunities (TO), Youth Training (YT) and English for Migrants	56
TOTAL	**7652**

Figures taken from *Literacy Aotearoa Annual Report 2009* (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2010, p. 6).

Literacy Aotearoa's beginnings can be traced back to the 1970s and the establishment of an Aotearoa New Zealand adult literacy movement. From a network of community-based programmes co-ordinated through the National Council of Adult Education (NCAE), the movement formalised into a federation in 1982 entitled Adult Reading and Learning Assistance (ARLA). In 1998, the organisation re-launched as Literacy Aotearoa, more clearly articulating an identity that recognised Māori as having special rights as Tangata Whenua, or first peoples of the land. The basis for Literacy Aotearoa's identity was inspired by Te Tiriti o

Waitangi, which is regarded as the founding document of Aotearoa New Zealand. Te Tiriti, signed in 1840 between some Māori iwi, or tribes, in Aotearoa New Zealand and the British Crown, established principles for guiding Māori and Crown relations.

In 2009 Literacy Aotearoa was one of three main providers of adult literacy programmes in the sector alongside Workbase and English Language Partners, formerly known as ESOL Home Tutors. Workbase provides workplace literacy services and ESOL Home Tutors arranges home-based tuition for those for whom English is another language.

Other tertiary organisations were also providing adult literacy programmes in 2009. These included universities, Institutes of Technology and Polytechs (ITPs), Wananga, and Private Training Establishments (PTE). The above adult literacy organisations were categorised by the Tertiary Education Commission as Other Tertiary Education Providers (OTEP). Alongside these three providers, other organisations such as Rural Education Activities Programme (REAP), the Workers' Educational Association (WEA), and community education programmes, often run through high schools, also provided adult literacy education.

1.4 Thesis contribution

This interdisciplinary study speaks to the adult literacy, publicity, and nonprofit literatures detailed below. It makes specific recommendations for practitioners in these areas and for adult literacy state policy. Furthermore, this thesis is of significance for adult literacy learners as it recommends specific ways in which learners can be better reached and how learners' voices can be acknowledged in publicity.

I identified many challenges to adult literacy publicity above, including the stigma around literacy training, learners being hard to reach, the

limited recognition of wider literacy needs as nations focus on workforce needs, and an increasingly marketised public sphere. This research is, therefore, a timely response to Quigley (1997) and Sandlin and Clark's (2009) call that more should be done to investigate how adult literacy providers may contribute to dominant, deficit literacy discourses. In response to this gap in knowledge, this study was commissioned by the Literacy and Employment project in order to undertake research on how a literacy provider publicises itself, including how it targets students.

Supporting other research (Hamilton & Hillier, 2006; Murray et al., 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006), this study found that word-of-mouth publicity including networking and collaborative work practised by learners and tutors was most useful for targeting hard-to-reach learners in particular. However, this study also identified that this work lacks strategic clarity and co-ordination because of the lack of resources available for this labour-intensive approach. This study, therefore, goes some way to creating understanding more about the complexities and opportunities in adult literacy publicity and how the above problems can be addressed. The thesis makes specific recommendations for the recognition of this work at an organisational and state policy level.

Authors in nonprofit management have argued that the increasing marketisation of the sector, mostly evidenced through a competitive funding regime, the importance of particular needs that benefit the national economy, and increased accountability demands from state funders (see, for example, Alexander, Nank & Stivers, 1999; Eikenberry, 2009) has meant that some nonprofit organisations struggle to support those whom they were set up to serve (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004). Nonprofit in this thesis is used to describe organisations that primarily address the social and welfare needs of their users (Tennant, Sanders, O'Brien & Castle, 2006). Because of the compulsion to identify with "marketable" "clients" who attract money for the organisation, some nonprofit agencies have had to de-prioritise less lucrative users, who are often those most vulnerable in society (Eikenberry, 2004). Despite this

problem, there has been little research into how nonprofit *publicity* addresses these challenges.

The research presented here contributes to this gap in knowledge and argues that a competitive funding regime limits literacy organisations' ability to publicise widely, especially the labour-intensive publicity which targets hard-to-reach audiences. Practitioners' and learners' networking skills were generally found to be the best methods of ensuring that those learners not generally funded or prioritised by the state, were supported. In addition, the study found that, in its publicity, the organisation's appeal to literacy as a human right for *all* enabled it to identify groups who had experienced *particular* impediments to their human right to literacy, and thus should be specifically supported.

Analyses of marketisation's effects on nonprofit and education publicity practices often focus on more professionalised publicity (see, for example, Fairclough, 1993; Motion, 2005; Sireau, 2009). This thesis investigates how publicity is practised at a number of levels, including at a more micro level between literacy learners in their own social networks, by tutors in collaboration with other agencies, and in more formalised publicity such as advertising. In contributing recommendations for adult literacy publicity strategies, and the wider nonprofit sector, this thesis also formally acknowledges, and makes suggestions to avoid, the strain and pressures of working in publicity in this area.

This study is attentive to adult literacy learners' perspectives. It contains the voices of learners who have experienced the stigma of being low in functional literacy that results from the salience of deficit discourses in wider society. I discuss the stubborn nature of these discourses. I make the recommendation, based on the voices of learners and practitioners, that one way of trying to counter these discourses in publicity is with a strengths-based and learner-centred focus, thus increasing the potential for critical learner agency in publicity. These recommendations include

working with learners, and supporting them, to publicise in their own public spheres.

I also acknowledge the limitations that all of us, including academic researchers and nonprofit practitioners, experience in articulating an empowering discourse on adult literacy. As Bacchi (2000) acknowledged, we cannot "step outside" of discourse. Thus, dominant, and often marketised, articulations of literacy and publicity are pervasive and it is within these confines that all of us articulate our identities, even when we oppose and interrogate those dominant identities. My inability to review dominant discourses completely objectively is acknowledged from the outset. In my own reviews, critiques, and recommendations, there will remain inflections of dominant literacy discourses that may subjugate learners and other participants. I do my best to avoid this, but these slippages, I am afraid, will still occur.

1.5 Chronological structure of the thesis

In order to investigate how Literacy Aotearoa's publicity was discursively constructed, and to address the opportunities and challenges inherent in publicity practice this thesis adopts an historical analysis of the organisation's publicity set against the social and political background in Aotearoa New Zealand from the 1970s to 2009. This responds to the call from Barton and Hamilton (2000) for an "historical approach for an understanding of the ideology, culture and traditions on which current [literacy] practices are based" (p. 13).

Specifically, this thesis undertakes a discourse analysis of Literacy Aotearoa's publicity from 1973 to 2009. The analysis is divided into three historical eras. These are 1973 to 1983; 1984 to 1998; and 1999 to 2009. The first period covers an era primarily considered to be a time dominated by welfare state logics, although questions were being raised in parliament and within the media regarding the nature of the

government's role as a welfare provider (Kelsey, 1995). The second historical period reviewed is from 1984 to 1998. This period was marked in Aotearoa New Zealand by radical economic reform which began in 1984 by a Labour-led government and was named "Rogernomics" after the Treasurer at the time, Roger Douglas. The third era analysed is from 1999 to 2009 and is generally regarded as a time when a "third-way" public-private partnership approach became increasingly institutionalised after the ground was laid in the mid-to-late 1990s (Codd, 2005; Duncan, 2007). During the period covered, the need for adult literacy provision went from being largely unrecognised at a state level to having its own dedicated strategy in 2001 (Ministry of Education, 2001), and being a key part of the New Zealand Skills Strategy in 2008 (Tertiary Education Commission, 2008c).

These historical periods have been segregated for ease of analysis and to tell the narrative journey of Literacy Aotearoa's publicity. They should not be seen as discrete, but rather there are on-going and over-lapping themes in each period.

1.6 Theoretical and methodological frameworks

Discourse is a contested signifier and most discourse analysis in adult literacy research has relied on a socio-linguistic approach based on critical discourse theorists such as Fairclough (1992, 2003) and Gee (1990, 2004, 2005, 2008). However, this thesis deploys Laclau and Mouffe's (Laclau, 1990, 1996, 2004, 2005; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985/2001) post-structuralist account of discourse as a general guide in order to take account of the historical and temporal construction of meaning and acknowledge the constitutive effect of processes of marketisation and colonialism, and other hegemonic projects, on Literacy Aotearoa's publicity. Discourse Theory[2] also helps to identify

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[2] I capitalise Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory in order to differentiate it from other accounts of discourse analysis.

adult literacy publicity's opportunities and challenges. It can also account for Literacy Aotearoa's agency in the construction of its publicity, in helping to show that it has not been consumed by macro-discourses such as managerialism, autonomy and competition.

For Laclau and Mouffe (1985/2001), discourse is the result of articulatory practice, which is the contingent fixing of signifiers into an ideologically coherent structure. In this post-structuralist account, discourse has a constitutive effect on the relatively fixed, but precarious structures in society. This means, for this thesis, that literacy discourse(s) are understood as made up of arbitrarily linked and previously unrelated demands which become contingently fixed together through an appeal to "literacy". For example, functional literacy joins together the need for reading, writing, numeracy *and* the need for a flexible and skilled workforce. In addition, Laclau and Mouffe's post-structuralist account acknowledges the agency of Literacy Aotearoa in articulating its identity within, of course, the limitations of the structuring effects of hegemonic discourses.

Using both Laclau and Mouffe's original work and Glynos and Howarth's (2007) more empirically-based research strategy, I employ a logics approach to inform the discourse analysis in this thesis. Social logics characterise the sedimented and taken-for-granted values and beliefs operating in empirical sites and political logics explain how "the social" is constructed, contested and shaped. A logics approach thus accounts for how discourses come into being and are contingently formed. The literature reviews in chapters two and three provide heuristic themes for a logics account, such as liberal humanist, marketised and meritocratic logics' influence on literacy. How these are modified into the discursive construction of adult literacy publicity is discussed in chapter four of this thesis.

1.7 Preview of chapters

To set the scene for understanding the changing discourses of Literacy Aotearoa's publicity, **chapter two** discusses macro theories of publicity and the public sphere. The chapter then specifically focuses on the nonprofit and adult literacy sectors and how authors[3] have voiced concern about increased marketised practices such as competitive funding and accountability regimes, but also how opportunities for social-justice-based organisational missions are still present in a marketised environment. The chapter discusses arguments that more general marketised processes in the sectors have meant that vulnerable groups have been left out of provision (see, for example, Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004), and specifically for adult literacy, how narrow, functional literacy needs have been prioritised at the expense of more diverse literacy needs (see, for example, Isaacs, 2005). This chapter discusses other publicity challenges such as literacy's stigma and how adult literacy learners have been thought of as hard to reach. The chapter then reviews recommendations for useful publicity practices in the adult literacy literature.

Chapter three reviews Aotearoa New Zealand adult literacy public policy, and the political and economic background to the adult literacy movement. This section draws on the themes in chapter two concluding that like many other OECD countries, Aotearoa New Zealand's adult literacy policies have prioritised workplace literacy skills because of a perceived link between literacy skills, employment, and national productivity. This chapter is divided into three historical periods which sets the background for the chronological analysis of adult literacy publicity set out in part two of this thesis.

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[3] To avoid "presentism", when more recent ideas are used to critique and thus place unfair judgement on events in the past, with the knowledge that we have now, I generally use literature published at the time when analysing specific time periods. However, if more recent literature sheds light on past events, and in order to keep the research up-to-date, I have sometimes used more contemporary literature.

In **chapter four** I describe data collection methods and ethical considerations. I then set out how I use Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory as a general guide for analysis. Discourse Theory offers an account of discourse that acknowledges how publicity practices have been marked by the structuring effects of macro discourses such as marketisation and colonialism, but also acknowledges the agency of identities such as Literacy Aotearoa in constructing their own discourse on literacy.

Chapter five analyses the early adult literacy movement's publicity (1973 to 1983). This chapter argues that its early formalisation and professionalisation helped the movement to articulate clear demands to the government, challenging the state's lack of articulation of the need for adult literacy provision through recourse to welfarist and human rights social logics. It shows how the movement aimed to expand the dominant 3Rs literacy discourse and focus on student-centred provision in its publicity. This chapter also illuminates the challenges of publicising an empowering literacy discourse at the time, as I argue that in order to bring attention to the need for literacy provision, the movement had to appeal to a "common sense" deficit notion of the learner; in other words, it had to publicise that learners were lacking in skills and in need of essential literacy skills for survival. Thus, there was a tension evident in the movement's publicity between a deficit and empowered learner identity.

Chapter six argues that Adult Reading and Learning Assistance (ARLA) Federation continued to practise increasingly professionalised publicity in order to promote to the state and business how it could serve both social and economic literacy needs. During a period marked by radical economic and social restructuring in Aotearoa New Zealand (1984 to 1998), the organisation managed to publicise its social justice goals of providing a diversity of literacy programmes and remaining student-centred. It did this by drawing on human rights, liberal

humanist, welfarist and critical literacy logics in promoting its Treaty-based identity as a mechanism for supporting the literacy needs of *all* New Zealanders. In addition, this chapter discusses how ARLA still faced the challenge of articulating a student-centred philosophy when a more deficit learner identity was dominant.

Chapter seven discusses how the state's institutionalisation of a third-way social partnership model in Aotearoa New Zealand brought new funding and new opportunities for a seat at the policy table for Literacy Aotearoa. This chapter discusses how the organisation articulated a professionalised identity in its publicity in order to appeal to state and business expectations of organisational credibility and, ultimately, try to guarantee its survival through continued funding. The earlier challenges in engaging with deficit discourses are again noted in this period, although they are harder to detect in this more contemporary publicity. The data suggest that the practitioners' sophisticated networking and collaborative activities led to engagement with hard-to-reach learners, however, this publicity work was rarely funded. Learners' word-of-mouth publicity is identified as being key to recruiting other learners. Although this time period has been identified as one where the state "partners" with community organisations in the delivery of social services, this chapter argues that the labour involved in the necessary publicity that nonprofit organisations have to engage in has not been recognised by state funding agencies.

Chapter eight concludes this thesis by summarising the main findings described in section 1.1 above, detailing the contribution the study makes to already-existing literature, and making recommendations for organisational publicity and adult literacy state policy. This chapter also reflects on the methodology used, the limitations of the research and makes suggestions for further research.

1.8 Terminology used

This section briefly summarises the key terms I deploy in this research, some of which have been introduced in this chapter already.   In particular, those terms which have a "common" or popular meaning, but which are being applied in this thesis in a particular disciplinary or technical sense, are identified here.   These terms are further explained and developed throughout this thesis, but are described at this point to give the reader preliminary awareness of the specialised nature of their use in this context.

Functional literacy is used to refer to a concept of literacy that focuses on the 3Rs and skills-based learning, and is often connected to workplace literacy. These are generally the literacy skills that dominant discourses regard as essential for individuals' "functioning" in society. **Critical literacy**, however, acknowledges the power relations in society and how these impact on literacy practices. **Literacy as social practice** refers to the way individuals and groups use literacy in their everyday lives. Further discussion on the different articulations of adult literacy is included in chapter two.

I borrow from public relations and political theory literature (see chapter two) in using a particularly expansive definition of **publicity.**   In this study, **publicity** refers to a multitude of communication methods such as word-of-mouth, networking, advertising, marketing, and other public relations methods. I borrow from Habermas (1989) in using the concept of the **public sphere** to encapsulate the conceptual space(s) that individuals and groups communicate within. I use public spheres to be able to conceptualise the different spaces in which publicity occurs. For example, I use the term regional public sphere to refer to the particular ways learners may publicise in their geographical locations. I use the concept of a state public sphere, to encapsulate the publicity practices that state actors use, particularly in policy making.

Marketisation is used to refer to how adult literacy publicity has been affected by its need to respond to market-based needs, such as contributing to the national economy. I discuss the marketisation of publicity and adult literacy more generally in chapter two. The marketisation of adult literacy provision and publicity is seen as having a close relationship with the increased salience of accountability, managerialism, and competition discourses in the adult literacy and nonprofit sectors.

The term **deficit learner** is used to refer to the idea that adult literacy learners are sub-normal and need literacy training in order to be brought-up to an acceptable skill level. This deficit model can be contrasted with a more empowering learner identity that emphasises the multiple skills adult literacy learners already have, rather than focusing on what the learner cannot do. Although somewhat problematic, as all students identify a "lack" they want to address when engaging with adult literacy programmes, the notion of a deficit learner is seen to be most problematic when other agents are seen to be deciding what skills learners should have. There is a more in-depth discussion of deficit learner discourses and their effects in chapter two.

Student-centred refers to learning in which the student is involved in each step of their education. For Literacy Aotearoa this means "ensuring that all tuition is student-centred, and that students are encouraged to direct their own learning, share responsibility for it, and be involved with the tutor in the joint evaluation of their achievement and the effectiveness of the literacy services" (Literacy Aotearoa, 2003, p. 4).

Borrowing from Tennant et al., (2006), I use the term **nonprofit** to describe organisations connected to the social welfare of citizens, that do not retain profits, or disseminate these to shareholders. The "third sector", a popular term used to describe the nonprofit field in Aotearoa

New Zealand was rejected as a pragmatic step to promote readability in light of the common usage of the "fourth sector" by some authors to refer to adult and community education.

I borrow from Glynos and Howarth (2007) in using **regimes** to characterise a set of social practices. In other words, regimes help to identify the general, normalised ways in which practices such as publicity, or literacy are undertaken. For example, chapter two identifies the changing nonprofit publicity regime as it increases its use of professionalised practices such as branding and the contracting of communication professionals. This category is explored further in chapter four.

The notion of **identities** is used to describe either a character or an entity, for example, a Literacy Aotearoa employee, or the organisation itself. Identities are capable of "identifying" with different discourses. For example, Literacy Aotearoa, as an identity, identified with both workplace and community-based literacy discourses.

Sedimented notions, or discourses, are those which appear as "common sense" in a particular context. For example, I go on to discuss how a deficit learner identity is "common sense" in popular discourse in that learners are "lacking" in skills, therefore literacy provision is needed to ensure they are able to function in society.

This thesis is particularly concerned with notions of **professionalisation.** It is useful to separate professionalisation from, for example, volunteerism or publicity, to demonstrate the "colonisation of professionalisation" (Ganesh & McCallum, 2010, p. 5). In other words, volunteerism or publicity are not necessarily *not professional*, but they have been affected by professionalised discourses.

Chapter 2

Adult literacy publicity - opportunities and challenges

A review of publicity, nonprofit management, and adult literacy academic literature

2.1 Introduction

In order to identify the wider, structural changes that have influenced Literacy Aotearoa's publicity, this chapter begins by discussing macro theories of publicity from public relations and political theory literature. I discuss how authors have identified challenges to democratic publicity practices because of how the public sphere has been impacted by marketisation processes, which have had potential effects on citizenship. This section also discusses how theorists have identified the notion of multiple and counter public spheres, as ways of acknowledging and understanding the diverse ways people publicise in, for example, different cultures and geographical locations. These theories help acknowledge how so-called "marginalised" groups, such as adult literacy learners, have their own communication and publicity processes and techniques, and help shed light on the possibilities practitioners may have for engaging with these.

The next section of this chapter discusses the impact of the changing publicity regime on nonprofit organisations and the education sector. The section discusses how practitioners have both co-opted and resisted increased accountability and monitoring measures in light of new relationships with the state since the late 1990s. I go on to suggest that more research is needed to discover how publicity practices have been impacted by these changing regimes, in terms of how organisations communicate these new practices with their service users and funders. It is also important to find out more about the effects these new regimes have had on those whom the organisations were set up to serve.

Moving to focus specifically on adult literacy, the chapter examines how the issues identified above have been borne out in the adult literacy sector. This section considers how learners and providers have been constituted by dominant and counterdominant discourses. It discusses how dominant functional literacy discourses are seen to occlude other literacy needs and are also limited in their consideration of the power relations that have resulted in low adult literacy rates (Freire, 1970/1993; Gee & Lankshear, 1995; Isaacs, 2005; Macedo, 2006). I discuss other contextual issues such as the impact of dominant deficit discourses and the stigma associated with literacy. I also examine the barriers to participation in programmes that have been identified in the literature, noting that, mostly, publicity has only been referred to in tangential ways. The chapter then identifies recommendations from the literature on how to practise adult literacy publicity.

2.2 Macro theories of publicity and the public sphere

By locating adult literacy publicity within the macro-environment of publicity regimes, and thus understanding the power relations between different publics, this thesis can be set against calls from critical public relations scholars to pay more attention to power relations in wider society (Ihlen & van Ruler, 2007). Investigating the impact of wider structural changes on adult literacy publicity can also be seen as responding to the call for research to examine the impact of globalisation and the wider capitalist hegemony on public relations practices (Weaver, 2001). Motion (2005)[1] argued that public relations should "acknowledge vested interests, recognize conflict, and encourage marginalized critical discourses" (p. 505).

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[1] Motion (2005) cites Mouffe (1999) as being useful for an analysis of power. Chapter four demonstrates how Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory further informs this thesis' notion of publicity.

The public relations scholars identified above were mostly referring to a need for analysis of corporatised public relations in for-profit companies. However, this thesis argues that examining the power relations in a social-justice-based nonprofit organisation's publicity is particularly important as these organisations face specific pressures in promoting a social justice mission, while also having to reconcile their identity with more marketised hegemonic discourses. Eisenberg and Eschenfelder (2009) argued that more research on nonprofit communication is necessary, especially because most communication models were based on evidence from the for-profit sector. Eikenberry (2009) cited Putnam's (2000), Tocqueville's (2000/1835, as cited in Eikenberry, 2009) and Warren's (2001) arguments that there was potential in the voluntary sector for critical deliberation on social issues, because of its tendency to operate in social, rather than legal or bureaucratic modes. However, Eikenberry (2009) noted that the nonprofit sector has been increasingly affected by the discourses of professionalism and accountability through the new relationships it has formed in the last few decades with the state and business. She said as a consequence of this opportunities for engagement with critical social issues have been limited, as goals based on market principles have become more important in the sector.

Until relatively recently in public relations theory, the category of *publicity* has been used in a narrow sense to describe one-way, formalised communication, such as advertising or press-agentry activities. Publicity has been historically contrasted with a more dialogic two-way symmetrical model of public relations (see, for example, Grunig, 1989; Grunig & Grunig, 1989, 1992; Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Grunig & White, 1992). However, other authors have problematised an idealistic separation between publicity and dialogic public relations, arguing that symmetrical models of public relations are not always enacted in practice and that power relations will always be

present between an organisation and its publics (Berger, 2005; L'Etang, 1996; Leitch & Neilson, 1997, 2001; Porter, 2010; Roper, 2005).

In political theory, publicity is generally a broad category which covers communication between citizens, with the purpose of debating pertinent social concerns (Habermas, 1989). In a normative sense, publicity is considered an important democratic process designed for deliberating and solving social and political problems, as well as being important for promoting cooperation and solidarity (Bohman, 1999). Adult literacy publicity can then be seen as involving a wide range of communication processes and sites, ideally devoted to discussing the relevance of adult literacy provision for democratic citizenship. Koivisto and Valiverronen (1996) compared this broad understanding of publicity with a much narrower definition, which mainly understood publicity as promotional activity.

For Habermas (1989), borrowing from Kant, the public sphere is the imagined space where this, ideally rational-critical, debate on common affairs and pertinent societal concerns takes place. Habermas argued that the public sphere should be separate from the state and marketised relations, in the hope that ideologies and self-interested competition for material resources could be put aside in debating for social good. Therefore, for adult literacy, this would mean that citizens could freely discuss the benefits and attributes of adult literacy provision in a space free from state and market interference. This process would result in a consensus-led public opinion on what adult literacy provision would look like in a democratic citizenship.

In contemporary social theory, the mainstream media are often articulated as providing spaces for public debate (Curran, 1993). In Habermas' work on public sphere theory, he focused on the operations

of one main public sphere. However, since then, both he and other scholars have identified the existence of counter and plural public spheres which acknowledge different norms of public deliberation for different peoples (Asen, 2000; Benhabib, 1992; Bohman, 1999; Habermas, 1996). Bohman (1999) argued that given the globalised speed and movement of peoples and communication, there is a need to recognise multiple public spheres and acknowledge that homogenous publicity is inadequate in understanding diverse audiences' communication needs. For this thesis, the conceptualisation of plural public spheres focuses attention on how different identities, such as advertising agents, policy makers, and adult literacy learners (not necessarily assuming that these are different people), participate in different public spheres. Advertising agents may practise mostly in a commercial public sphere, but may also be comfortable in state and/or nonprofit public spheres where they engage with advertising strategies for clients endogenous to these spaces.

Squires (2002) gave public spheres further definition, helping in empirically identifying these quite abstract conceptual spaces. She stated, "the term 'public sphere' refers to a set of physical or mediated spaces where people can gather and share information, debate opinions and tease out their political interests and social needs with other participants" (p. 448). She acknowledged that the spaces of a public sphere can be formal or informal, spontaneous or planned. To put this discussion in context for this thesis, publicity can thus be identified as taking place in scheduled meetings between advertising agents and adult literacy practitioners, in a more "professional" and commercial public sphere. Here, discussions would take place about how best to advertise to learners and their friends and family. However, publicity could also occur between (potential) adult literacy learners in a sports club for example where they could discuss how local programmes could help their needs. Each of these public spheres would have particular publicity norms which are specific to that setting. However, these norms could

also overlap with other public spheres. For example, the discussions in the more formalised meeting between practitioners and advertising agents would likely be impacted by what the individuals knew of how learners discuss literacy in everyday settings. In the sports club, a (potential) student could be confidentially telling their teammate about their difficulties in reading the scoreboard. In informing her friend about a television advertisement she had seen detailing adult literacy programmes, the (potential) adult literacy student could be impacted by the more promotional publicity practised in the commercial sphere.

There is a risk, however, that in identifying particular public spheres, the analyst then assumes, or is seen to be assuming, that all members of a specific group publicise in homogenous ways (Squires, 2002). For example, in identifying an Indigenous public sphere in Aotearoa New Zealand, the analyst could be seen to be making essentialist arguments that all Māori communicate best orally, or that all Māori hold the same ideological views. To get around this conundrum of essentialism, but still use the concept of public spheres to identify difference, as a way of acknowledging that not all citizens practise publicity in the same ways, Young (1997, as cited in Squires, 2002) suggested that groups can be identified in terms of their *relationships* with other groups. This means that instead of assuming homogenous publicity practices within mutually exclusive public spheres, groups are identified in terms of what makes them *different* from other groups. So, for example, it is possible to identify a Māori public sphere in a relationship of power with an arguably more dominant Pākehā public sphere given the impact of colonialism on Māori ways of knowing and communicating in Aotearoa New Zealand (see, for example, Rāwiri, 2005). Rather than assuming all Māori communicate in the same way, or have the same ideological views, identification of Māori public spheres honours the existence of multiple publicity norms in society, where different groups of people have particular needs and practices. Acknowledging the existence of particular public spheres means that the different ways people debate or

discuss the need for adult literacy provision can be illuminated and further explored, with sensitivity given to the specific needs of different public spheres.

The permeability of the public sphere (Pellizzoni, 2003) helps to conceptualise how citizens can publicise and move *between* different public spheres. In the case of Literacy Aotearoa, publics such as adult literacy learners and practitioners can be seen as able, within limits, to communicate in several different public spheres, such as within their own regional areas, workplaces, cultural practices, and family and friend networks. I have thus established that people can be identified as practising publicity in particular ways, but that they can also move between publicity spheres and therefore adapt and change their practices, depending on the public sphere they are participating within. This, I suggest means that a strengths-based account of publicity practices can then be used in identifying who has the best knowledge about particular public spheres. This places learners as the experts in their own particular public spheres and being the best people to discuss literacy needs with their peers.

One of the main theses of Habermas' (1989) work was that publicity practices had become increasingly "manipulative" rather than "egalitarian" in the past 200 years. He saw this as beginning with the refeudalisation of Western European society in the late 19th century, when a more intimate relationship was developed between the state, the market and civil society. These changing relationships occurred as a consequence of capitalist commodification, which meant that more areas of social life were identified as marketplaces, where "commodities" were exchanged. Manipulative publicity is often evident in the marketised and consumerist nature of publicity discourses. Magnan (2006) used Habermas' ideas to argue that state public relations practices on genetically-modified (GM) foods have been impacted by

manipulative publicity practices. This public relations activity focused on the economic advantages of GM food, and had thus limited a more rigorous debate of the advantages and disadvantages of GM products.

Habermas' theorisation of the structural shift to more promotional rather than democratic publicity practices, has been similarly argued by Fairclough (1993) who noted the increasing colonisation of discourse by promotion. Simpson and Cheney (2007) pointed to the unquestioned nature of marketised discourse and Dean (2001) identified the increasing overlap between consumerist and critical discourses in the mediatised public sphere. Therefore, given the assumption that discourses of marketisation and promotion have impacted contemporary publicity practices, an adult literacy organisation, aiming to engage students in ways which allow for an analysis and critique of their positioning in society, faces the challenge of engaging in publicity regimes that have internalised marketised practices. Therefore, publicising outside these marketised norms could be challenging.

However, the practice of manipulative publicity is not all-consuming: Fairclough (1994), for example, has brought attention to the ambivalent nature of conversationalisation and lifeworld registers in public discourse in that citizens' voices are acknowledged and given authority. However, he also noted that such discourses have also been co-opted by consumerist discourses.

The amalgamation of different publicity practices in public discourse was also acknowledged in Habermas' later work (1996). Here, he specifically accounted for the strategic publicity practices in the civil society sector. He discussed how nongovernment organisations communicated with government agencies through private processes that were not always visible in the public domain. The government agencies

then, in turn, advised the government on laws that were often created largely away from more rigorous public debate. In order to influence state policy, therefore, Literacy Aotearoa would have to engage with the state in these more private ways, and as the more general public voice was harder to represent via other channels, it would have to ensure it was advocating for diverse learners' literacy needs.

Habermas' (1989) egalitarian normative communication model has been explicitly used in public relations theory to devise strategies for ethical and normative practice (see, for example, Burkart, 2007; Ihlen & van Ruler, 2007; Leeper, 1996) and when discussing the effects of capitalist commodification on public relations practice (Magnan, 2006). As described in chapter four of this thesis, the study presented here uses Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory as its main methodological lynchpin, because it is useful in analysing fields where discourses are particularly contested. However, Habermas' theory has also helped to frame Literacy Aotearoa's publicity within the changes to the (wider) public sphere and situate adult literacy actors as operating within and between different public spheres.

In public relations theory, Motion (2005) rejected the usefulness of Habermas in normative public relations practice. She argued that power relations will always be present and that some publics will always have less power than others. Motion instead argued for "participative public relations", basing her theory on post-Habermasian theorists' concept of "moral compromise" where parties can reach agreement, while still staying true to their own perspectives. This thesis suggests that in empirical work, Habermas' account, although idealistic, can still provide a useful normative perspective for critically understanding the effects of marketised publicity.

In public relations literature there has been a recent social constructionist move to consider publics as co-creators of publicity (Ihlen & van Ruler, 2007; Roper, 2005). These ideas help this research to consider how publics such as the state and learners have helped to inform Literacy Aotearoa's publicity. They also help this thesis consider how Literacy Aotearoa melded together a diverse array of literacy and strategic organisational needs in its publicity.

Now that I have identified the macro publicity environment in which adult literacy communication is practised, the next section discusses how the nonprofit sector publicises, and the challenges and opportunities available in its mission to promote social justice issues.

2.3 Nonprofit publicity: Challenges and opportunities

In the period identified as the post-war consensus between capitalism and welfare, which is seen to have been in existence through to the 1980s, the nonprofit sector was identified as mostly egalitarian and non-competitive in countries such as Aotearoa New Zealand (Tennant et al., 2006), the US (Salamon, 1999), and those within Western Europe (Bode, 2006). In this way, the nonprofit sector has been imagined as the place where those who have not thrived in a market economy could be supported (Alexander et al., 1999). Conceivably, adult literacy learners, some of whom have been excluded from particular jobs and democratic processes such as voting because of their low literacy levels could then be supported by, and participate in, a nonprofit public sphere sensitive to their needs.

It has been argued that the nonprofit sector's nature and role were altered by the restructuring of the welfare state which formally began in

Aotearoa New Zealand in the 1980s (Owen & Kearns, 2006). The nonprofit sector was increasingly identified as a suitable place for welfare provision and so, in many cases, funding to the sector increased (Tennant et al., 2006). However, the form of this funding often brought fairly strict contractual obligations, a trend evident in Aotearoa New Zealand (Larner & Craig, 2005; Nowland-Foreman, 1997, 1998); the UK (Chew & Osborne, 2009); Western Europe (Bode, 2006); and the US (Salamon, 1999). This "contract culture" (Le Grand, 2003) often meant that organisations had to bid competitively for government work (Crack, Turner & Heenan, 2007). Many nonprofit organisations therefore placed increasing importance on professionalising their services in order to appeal to the state's (and other funders') gaze (Eikenberry, 2009; Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004; Salamon, 1999; Wolch, 1999).

The professionalisation of nonprofit organisations has brought advantages to the sector in that some organisations have gained from increased funding available to suitably professionalised organisations (Markowitz & Tice, 2002). Competition in the nonprofit sector has also been linked to increased flexibility, reduced costs, and better provision of services (Smith & Lipsky, 1993; Weisbrod, 2004). In addition, because of a contract culture, nonprofit organisations have created useful in-roads in relationships with the state which has meant their knowledge can become valuable to the government, sometimes enabling these organisations to assume a better negotiating place with regard to attracting state recognition for their cause (Bode, 2006). In Aotearoa New Zealand, Tennant et al. (2006) argued that the rolling back of the welfare state and the relative autonomy given to nonprofit organisations to provide some appropriate welfare services has also meant that culturally-appropriate provision has been delivered by, and for, Māori.

The literature also identifies some key disadvantages of the nonprofit sector's professionalisation. Firstly, organisations are now competing in a contract culture with other organisations and sometimes against for-profit organisations. This has meant a potential clash of cultures in that the nonprofit mission has generally been focused on the public good, whereas profit-making organisations also have to make a return for the company (Alexander et al., 1999; Chau & Huysentruyt, 2006). As a result of competitive funding, authors have argued that there is a risk that service users deemed less lucrative are omitted from provision because the organisation has to attract funds for "marketable" users in order to survive (Eikenberry, 2004; Wolch, 1999). In a similar argument in the education sector, research has indicated that educational institutions have at times de-emphasised social justice missions and, consequently, some students have been left out of provision (Boshier, 2001; Boshier & Benseman, 2000; Fairclough, 1993; Lowrie, 2007). Eikenberry and Kluver (2004) argued that if the nonprofit sector in capitalist societies stops supporting particular (often vulnerable) publics, there are often no safety nets left for them.

Part of this professionalisation has meant that nonprofit organisations have had to adopt new accountability practices and adopt the language of new public management (NPM) (Nowland-Foreman, 1998, 2009). This new managerialism emphasised efficiency and accountability (Nowland-Foreman, 1997), including systems such as performance indicators (Pollitt, 2007). It has been suggested that these practices have put extra strain on organisations' resources (Bargh & Otter, 2009; Alexander et al., 1999) and demanded more complex nonprofit governance in Aotearoa in the 1990s (Nowland-Foreman, 1998).

In this competitive culture, nonprofit service users have increasingly been identified as "consumers" (Eikenberry, 2009). Some have argued this has implications for democracy as individuals are constructed as

having self-interested, individual needs in a market economy, rather than being citizens engaging with the wider public good (King & Stivers, 1998, as cited in Eikenberry, 2009). In similar arguments, Fairclough, (1993), Lowrie (2007), and Boshier (2001) identified consumerist discourses in education publicity, which they also argued had implications for citizenship. However, although the competitive nonprofit environment has been recognised as being particularly challenging for organisations, Frumkin and Andre-Clark (2000) suggested that nonprofit organisations should use an increasingly competitive environment to their advantage. The authors suggested that, as a point of difference, organisations should appeal to their funders and service users, *they* were in the best position to know community needs.

Volunteerism in the nonprofit sector has changed over the past thirty years in that it too has become increasingly professionalised (C. Wilson, Hendricks & Smithies, 2001). Managerialist moves such as the creation of specific job descriptions have been instituted in the sector in response to accountability demands (Haski-Leventhal, 2009). In addition, the availability of "hands on" volunteers at the frontline of nonprofit social services has decreased in parallel with the increased need for "professional" volunteers such as communication experts, accountants and business strategists (C. Wilson et al., 2001). Ganesh and McAllum (2010) pointed to how volunteerism had been increasingly inflected with professional discourses. The early adult literacy movement was based on a volunteer workforce (Hill, 1990) and still in the 2000s Literacy Aotearoa was largely dependent on volunteers for its community-based tuition.

The professionalisation of the sector has also included the need for slick promotional activities such as branding and advertising (Anhold, 2005; Hankinson & Rochester, 2005; Quelch & Laidler-Kylander, 2006). Tapp (1996) and Jantz (2008) argued that promotional publicity has resulted in

better trust and awareness among donors and other audiences in the nonprofit sector. Professional publicity has also been identified as useful in raising awareness among secondary audiences, who can help to engage primary users of services, and has been identified as useful in helping nonprofit organisations respond better to their publics (Gainer, 2010; Sargeant, Foreman & Liao, 2002). Stride (2006) argued that as long as nonprofit organisations ensured that a values dimension was secured throughout the organisation, the nonprofit organisation's values could be preserved in professionalised publicity such as branding.

However, Lowrie (2007) found that, in a university setting, the need to brand itself to business meant that students' needs were continually replicated as being congruent with industry needs, and thus other educational needs were occluded. Lowrie specifically identified how the university appealed to the "fearful" state of the social and economic world, and offered the university brand as a solution to this. He argued that, whether intended or not, the university promulgated the idea that the world was a fearful place. In Aotearoa New Zealand, Boshier (2001) criticised publicity from private schools that projected a particularly competitive identity onto pupils. These findings have repercussions for adult literacy publicity, in that they demonstrate the pervasiveness of marketing discourses in education publicity and how they can serve to replicate particular, and limited, accounts of students' needs as being explicitly linked to the market.

The ability of nonprofit organisations to participate in rigorous debate on social issues has, arguably, also been impacted by practitioners' needs to focus efforts on surviving in a tight funding regime (Alexander et al., 1999). This problem has been identified as "mission creep" or "funding capture" (Gold, 2004; Nowland-Foreman, 2009). This phenomenon is when organisations end up serving the mission of their funder rather than their own, social justice-based, mission. This can be especially

problematic when organisations are funded almost exclusively by the state, but can also be a problem in the corporate sponsorship of nonprofit organisations (Wymer & Samu, 2003).

Being seen to be using public funds for advocacy work can have legal implications in countries such as Aotearoa New Zealand, Australia and the US. Different authors argued that regulations in these countries mean that there is a limit to how much charitable organisations are allowed to engage in advocacy work before being stripped of their charitable status (Berry & Arons, 2003; Casey, 2006; Nowland-Foreman, 2009; Staples, 2006). This then affects their eligibility for tax deductions. Similarly, Alexander et al., (1999) and Edwards (2008, as cited in Eikenberry, 2009) argued that because of the increasing focus on competition in the nonprofit sector, organisations tend to concentrate on devising the most entrepreneurial way of targeting individual client needs rather than addressing the root causes of social problems. In other words, these studies show how a more critical perspective on social problems can be marginalised because of the strategic need for nonprofit organisations to attract the attention of funders. These arguments establish the back-drop to how Literacy Aotearoa advocated for expansive literacy provision, which was not just limited to the 3Rs. In addition, the organisation has attempted, using various publicity methods, to advocate for those who have been most disadvantaged. At the same time, the organisation was sensitive to state needs that increasingly required an efficient and flexible workforce.

The structural changes to the nonprofit sector identified so far in this section are not all consuming; organisations still retain a capacity for agency within this environment. I now discuss suggestions identified in the literature for how nonprofit organisations have responded, and can respond, to the challenges of practising publicity.

As described in chapter one, since the early 19th century, Aotearoa New Zealand has been impacted by processes of colonisation. Literacy Aotearoa, particularly from the mid-1990s onwards, aimed to specifically address colonisation's impacts on literacy practices. In public relations theory, Motion (2005) argued that public relations practitioners in Aotearoa New Zealand should be more cognisant of biculturalism in their stakeholder relationships. She suggested that a university's need to publicise to the state and emphasise its contribution to economic growth had limited its ability to enter into more genuine dialogical relationships with other stakeholders, including Māori. Suggesting a particular strategy for acknowledging bicultural public relations, Tilley and Love (2010) argued that aspects from Kaupapa Māori - Māori ways of knowing and managing - should be utilised to better effect in public relations practice. The authors suggested that the use of Kaupapa Māori in public relations is useful, not just in targeting Māori audiences but, as general good practice in communicating with all audiences.

The need for a more authentic mode of public relations engagement with Māori audiences can be set against the increasing articulation of Māori imagery in advertising and other promotional publicity (Earl, 2005; Harmsworth, 2005; Thurlow & Aiello, 2007). However, Earl (2005) argued that proliferation of Māori images in publicity is not necessarily an indication that Māori rights have been more widely acknowledged. He argued, conversely, that Māori images have often been incorporated into the status quo. The corporatisation of Māori imagery has been discussed by Jackson and Hokowhitu (2002) and Falcous (2007), who argued that Māori imagery had been corporatised and misappropriated. Falcous criticised contemporary advertising for mythologising an unproblematic bicultural identity and using te reo - the Māori language - and other Māori imagery and tikanga - Māori customs and laws - to do

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this. These findings supported Friedel's (2008) research which demonstrated the corporatised articulation of Indigenous peoples in advertising for corporate purposes.

Amoamo (2007) argued that organisations can resist the colonial othering binary between "them" and "us" in postcolonial discourse, thus articulating a more positive articulation of Māori identity. The author borrowed from Bhabha's (1994) notion of hybridity and third space, which described how the colonised have (re)articulated their identity within the structuring effects of colonisation in order to create a different identity. Amoamo argued that tourist organisations had formed a productive space that incorporated both coloniser and colonised imagery by emphasising regional and tribal differentiations in Māori identities and histories. This strategy, Amoamo argued, also went some way in promoting the diversity of Māori identities in contrast with a homogenising discourse. Amoamo's research thus pointed to the possibility for a third space in organisational identity which spoke to a hegemonic discourse but, at the same time, resisted its homogenising effects. Literacy Aotearoa's articulation of Māori imagery in its publicity, as part of its social justice-based mission, can be thus analysed alongside both the marketisation of Indigenous images, and the opportunities of articulating a "third space" between the binaries of colonial discourse.

The association between Māori images and deficit discourses also provided a challenge for Literacy Aotearoa's publicity. It has been widely discussed that Māori have been linked with low health and education outcomes and are over-represented in low-paid employment (Chapple, 2000) and crime statistics (Webb, 2003). Māori were also over-represented in low functional literacy scores in national adult literacy statistics along with Pasifika and ESOL students (Satherley & Lawes, 2008). These statistics which indicated poor outcomes for Māori can also be situated against the general othering of Māori perspectives in

mainstream media (Barclay & Liu, 2003; Phelan & Shearer, 2009). This background should be taken into account when analysing Literacy Aotearoa's Treaty-based publicity as it could be argued that given the dominant deficit discourse, the organisation could have risked the further stigmatisation of Māori by articulating Māori imagery alongside the need for adult literacy provision.

In advising how to more successfully target Māori in publicity, Dyall (2007) argued that Māori should be more adequately consulted at the design stage of social marketing campaigns. Like Tilley and Love (2010), cited earlier, Dyall argued for the use of Kaupapa Māori in communication campaigns designed to engage with Māori.

For general audiences, authors have argued that practitioners' personal relationships, networking skills and collaborative ventures are important in advancing the goals of the nonprofit sector (Chau & Huysentruyt, 2006; Kapusta-Pofahl, Hašková & Kolářová, 2005; Larner & Craig, 2005). In a case study in Aotearoa New Zealand, Larner and Craig (2005) argued that community organisation practitioners had developed useful brokering skills in the punitive neoliberal times of the 1980s and 1990s. This brokering activity saw activists engaging in partnerships between local government and their own community-based organisations. They said that this experience had actually set organisations in good stead for working with the state's third-way, partnership model in the late 1990s and 2000s. Practitioners can thus be seen as making use of the permeability of different public spheres of the state and the local "community". However, Larner and Craig argued that this brokering work was increasingly complex with more and more accountability requirements being imposed on community agencies. They also noted that this work was not recompensed adequately and that it was gendered, as women mostly performed these brokering roles.

As discussed above, some authors have argued that competitive funding in the nonprofit sector has limited agencies' ability to support hard-to-reach, or vulnerable, groups (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004). In relation to the case study presented here, adult literacy learners have been largely regarded as particularly hard to reach (Freimuth, 1990; Hamilton & Hillier, 2006; Sligo, Tilley et al., 2006). For this thesis, my understanding of the category of "hard to reach" draws from Doherty, Stott and Kinder (2004, as cited in Brackertz, 2007) in that in the nonprofit sector, these audiences consist of those who are "underserved" or "resistant" to service.

Different authors have problematised the idea of hard-to-reach audiences because such a label implies that the communication problem lies with the group being targeted rather than the organisations trying to reach them (Murphy 2006, as cited in Brackertz, 2007; Smith, 2006). These authors suggested that using the term hard-to-reach indicates a homogeneity and simplification of these groups' needs. Lagarde and Gendron (2011) commented that audiences should not be considered hard to reach but "hard *for us* [original emphasis] to reach" (p. 98). Freimuth and Mettger (1990) challenged myths about hard-to-reach audiences, such as that these groups were fatalistic, had poor information-processing skills, limited access to information channels, and distrusted dominant institutions. The authors argued that this was a deficit-based communication model and that more strengths-based communication messages and methods, which focused on "difference" rather than "deficit", would have better outcomes for these audiences. The logic of this approach implied that audiences will use and process information if it is particular to their needs and made accessible and relevant for them. The authors also argued that instead of blaming and targeting individual behaviour change, such as cessation smoking campaigns focusing on individuals, campaigns should include a societal perspective that brought systems to account, for example, targeting tobacco companies and advertisers.

It has been argued that connecting with hard-to-reach audiences can be more expensive and more labour intensive than communicating with mainstream audiences (Wilson, 2001, as cited in Brackertz, 2007). Studies have argued that face-to-face communication works best for hard-to-reach audiences (Freimuth & Mettger, 1990; Lowry, Austin & Patterson, 2011). Specific strategies for face-to-face communication in the literature have included hiring individuals from the hard-to-reach audiences to work as educators within their own social circles (Freimuth & Mettger, 1990) and combining mass media communication with publicity that used personal contact such as telephone help-lines (Freimuth & Mettger, 1990; N. Wilson et al., 2005).

Indicating the need for publicity that is sanctioned in the particular public spheres of adult literacy learners, face-to-face communication has been particularly identified as meeting the needs of Māori audiences (Comrie, Gillies & Day, 2002; Comrie & Kupa, 1999). These studies are especially pertinent for this study as Māori have been specifically identified as hard-to-reach in the adult literacy sector (Ministry of Education, 2001). Comrie, Gillies and Day (2002) described how the Māori concept of kanohi ki te kanohi or face-to-face relationships can be used to reach Māori audiences who have limited contact with mainstream media. Their analysis of the 2001 campaign for Māori Electoral Options described two main communication methods. The first method involved individual presentations made by, often previously unemployed, Māori working in their own iwi areas. The individuals gave presentations in a wide variety of settings including workplaces, gang headquarters, training schemes, and marae, or tribal meeting place. The second communication method involved fieldworkers mingling with people in public places where others gathered such as shopping malls and gaming machine locations. The campaign's purpose was to spread information about the choices Māori had in the proposed new electoral

system. Although the authors acknowledged that the campaign was "modestly dialogic" (p. 56) because it was still largely based on a top-down flow of communication, they argued that it was the best model for engaging hard-to-reach Māori. Demonstrating how more formal and low-key methods of publicity can work together in publicity campaigns designed to engage Māori audiences, N. Wilson et al., (2005) found that friends and family were especially important in passing on information about a stop-smoking television advertising campaign.

The changes to the structure and role of the nonprofit sector have thus provided some challenges, but at the same time, the sector has tried to accommodate, work with and against, the impact of competitive and marketised publicity discourses. The next section focuses on the particular opportunities and challenges in adult literacy sector publicity.

2.4 Adult literacy: How learners and providers are constituted in functional, critical and social practice discourses

Given the relative lack of literature on adult literacy publicity per se, this section discusses how dominant deficit and counter-hegemonic critical and social practice discourses have identified learners and providers. This provides the background for understanding how publicity is practised between Literacy Aotearoa and its publics from adult literacy theory perspectives.

Illuminating the need for publicity research that understands better how literacy organisations communicate with their target audiences, research has shown that organisations have identified learners as difficult to reach (Freimuth & Mettger, 1990; Irish, 1980; Martin, 1989; Sligo et al.,

2007). The need to better target adult literacy students and the under-representation of those considered to have the lowest functional levels has been identified as an issue for some time (Inman, 2009; Sligo, Culligan et al., 2006). In the US in the 1990s, Quigley (1997) argued, citing Pugsley's (1990) statistics, that despite 20 years of campaigning, adult literacy programmes had attracted just eight per cent of those targeted. Also in the US, in the 1970s, 80 per cent of adult literacy basic education programme directors considered improving recruitment strategies as critically important (Mezirow & Irish, 1973, as cited in Irish, 1980). Like this early research in the 1970s and 1980s, the Moser[2] report in the UK in the late 1990s, argued that there needed to be improved targeting of disadvantaged groups if they were to be better represented in participation in adult literacy programmes (Moser, 1999).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, results from the International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS) showed that just 17,000 adults with considerable literacy needs participated in literacy programmes per year, despite nearly half of the adult population being identified as having insufficient literacy skills to enable full participation in society (Cain & Benseman, 2005). In addition, Sligo et al. (2007) argued that those most likely to be participating in adult literacy programmes were individuals who already had gained some educational attainment, which emphasised that those "most in need" were under-represented in adult literacy programmes. At the same time, those at the lower end of the adult literacy scale tended not to identify a need for adult literacy training (OECD, 2000).

One of the main concerns of Aotearoa New Zealand's first state adult literacy policy *More Than Words* (Ministry of Education, 2001) was how to improve participation in adult literacy programmes. Its answer was to focus on increasing the number of providers and the quality of

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[2] The Moser report was written in response to the UK government's identified need to raise literacy levels.

programmes in order to improve participation and access. Publicity was not considered a key strategy for improving participation. The *Literacy, Language and Numeracy Action Plan 2008-2012* (Tertiary Education Commission, 2008b) did recommend publicity strategies targeted at learners, but this was primarily for work-based literacy programmes.

Indicating problems around the accessibility of adult literacy programmes, and the equality of different groups' participation, three main sets of barriers to adult literacy participation have been identified in literature from the US, the UK and Aotearoa New Zealand. These barriers have been nominally grouped as (1), *situational,* for example employment, childcare, family responsibilities (Darkenwald, 1980; MacLachlan & Cloonan, 2003; Murray et al., 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006); (2), *institutional*, for example institutions do not cater for needs of particular learners, negative experiences at school (Boyd et al, 2002; Caswell, 1993; Irish, 1980; Murray et al., 2007; Tett, 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006; Sligo, Tilley & Murray, 2011), and information not available for programmes (Darkenwald, 1980; Murray et al, 2007; Tett, 2006; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006); and (3), *attitudinal*, for example how potential learners see themselves and their values (Darkenwald, 1980; MacLachlan & Cloonan, 2003; Murray et al., 2007; Tilley, Comrie, et al, 2006). Darkenwald (1980) defined hard-to-reach adults as those who were both under-represented in continuing education and/or those that an agency wanted to "serve" (p. 1), but had difficulty reaching. Furthermore, research in the US and in Aotearoa New Zealand has shown that learners, or potential learners, often face *multiple* barriers to participation in adult literacy and adult education (Darkenwald, 1980; Murray et al., 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006)

In trying to include diverse literacy learners, Literacy Aotearoa has been able to take advantage of the fact that over the past 30 years the need for

adult literacy programmes has become a much more accepted part of state policy in Aotearoa New Zealand (see, for example, Ministry of Education, 2001, Tertiary Education Commission, 2008b). This increasing recognition of adult literacy programmes as worthy of funding has been echoed in other countries such as the UK (Hamilton and Hillier, 2006). However, state policy mostly supports workplace literacy programmes (see, for example, Freire, 1970/1993; Giroux, 1987; Isaacs, 2005). Therefore, Literacy Aotearoa has faced the challenge of publicising the need for other literacy provision, not just reading and writing in English, such as recognising te reo Māori, the Māori language, as a literacy component. I will give some background to the dominant nature of the "literacy as skills" discourse, which is suggestive of the way adult literacy providers and their learners have been identified as primarily interested in advancing workplace and work-ready literacy skills. This, I suggest, has implications for how adult literacy is publicised, in that providers have to take into consideration dominant ideas on literacy when they structure their communication practices with audiences such as government funding agencies and learners.

Adult literacy provision in Aotearoa New Zealand began as a community-based, grass-roots initiative (Hill, 1990). However, like other countries such as the UK, the US and Australia, the state became increasingly interested in adult literacy provision because of the perceived need for adult literacy in a knowledge economy (Cain & Benseman, 2005; Isaacs, 2005; Moore, 1996). Since the 1970s and 1980s, adult literacy has become hegemonically linked with the skills required for economic growth in many other developed countries (Gee, Hull & Lankshear 1997; Hull, 1997). Thus, international publications such as the OECD report on adult literacy and economic performance (Benton & Noyelle, 1992) and adult literacy state policy documents in Aotearoa New Zealand (Ministry of Education, 2001) and elsewhere, have focused on literacy demands in the workplace in order to increase national productivity and economic growth (Sutton & Benseman, 1996).

Tett (2007) argued that influential organisations such as the OECD have identified literacy as the key to unlocking globalisation's benefits.

UNESCO played an important role in naming the need for adult literacy provision in the "Western" world (Limage, 1987). UNESCO's interest in adult literacy has been evident since 1948, but this was mostly for "developing" countries (Limage, 1987). However, this changed at UNESCO's 19th general conference in Nairobi in 1976, when policies were developed to engage so-called "developed" countries in the need for adult literacy programmes (UNESCO, 1976). The UNESCO (1976) recommendations clearly encouraged all member states to increase adult education participation, and priority areas were set for those learners who did not tend to access courses, particularly learners with low literacy. Although social inclusion was a major recommendation, the report also highlighted the importance of "economic development" on several occasions.

It has been argued that due to limited funding, UNESCO has been restricted in articulating adult literacy's emancipatory potential (Wickens & Sandlin, 2007). In addition, P. Jones (1990) suggested that UNESCO's consensus-based approach to literacy prioritised state economic objectives rather than focusing on literacy's "consciousness raising" potential. Jones claimed that because of UNESCO's position as a multilateral international organisation, it had to take state objectives into account, thus its social justice discourse was curtailed. Chapter five discusses in more detail how Literacy Aotearoa linked its state demands to UNESCO principles.

A functional literacy discourse identifies literacy as a 3R skillset and generally links these to workplace needs and the link between increased skills and national productivity. Functional literacy has been described

as the "autonomous model" (Street, 1984, 1995). This model assumes that literacy is a set of decontextualised 3R skills. It is generally agreed by critical literacy scholars that functional literacy is the hegemonic literacy discourse in many societies (Freire, 1970/1993; Giroux, 1987; Macedo, 2006; Sutton & Benseman, 1996).

Wickert (1992) and Graff (1979) argued that functional literacy has been used as a panacea for a variety of social and political problems, which has limited critique of structural causes of inequality such as power relations based on race, class and gender. Graff (1979) described the use of literacy in this way as the "literacy myth". He later argued that "literacy crises" have been used in several countries for decades as a way of simplifying much deeper and more complex social and political problems (Graff, 1995). Demonstrating the salience of the idea that literacy was linked to good morals and a healthy society, Williams and Zenger (2007) argued that popular culture representations of literacy identified literacy as a key social good for citizens, important for individuals' and society's economic and cultural capital.

Therefore, in attempting to publicise to a diversity of adult literacy learners, Literacy Aotearoa and its precursor organisations faced the challenge that state literacy policy emphasising workplace functional needs tends to construct adult literacy students as identities *primarily* seeking ways to better their employment chances (Giroux, 2002; Macedo, 2006; Mayo, 1999). Gee and Lankshear (1995) identified literacy training as preparing learners for a "new word order" required for "fast capitalism". Forrester, Payne and Ward (1995) and Hull (1997) argued that workplace programmes mostly take care of the needs of the state and capital rather than those of the learner. In a similar argument, Cowan (2006) suggested that in Ireland, the need for literacy had moved from being located in a discourse of social justice to being the state's mainstream answer to fill the "skills gap".

The limited literacy state policy view of literacy could therefore affect programmes' publicity, as state funding is often restricted to those learners who are able to produce quick results in the knowledge economy (Gee & Lankshear, 1995; Isaacs, 2005; Lankshear, 1985;) Thus, learners considered less lucrative may be left out of provision (Isaacs, 2005) and, consequently, their needs may not be publicised. In addition, research in Aotearoa New Zealand found that the competitive and short-term funding regimes in the sector had affected publicity in that providers did not have the resources to publicise their programmes in their communities (Sligo, Culligan et al., 2006).

Freire (1970/1993) was one of the first prominent authors to discuss the idea that literacy education could be both empowering *and* disempowering. Freire argued that some literacy programmes were limited to priming students to work for an oppressive capitalist society. Teachers, he said, deposited or "banked" information to students, which would be reaped back by the powerful with interest at a later date (Freire, 1970/1993). Aligned with his ideal of a democratic society, Freire argued against authoritarian methods of teaching, instead advocating a more collaborative approach where teachers were not situated as the only experts in the classroom.

Drawing on classical Marxism, Freire (1970/1993) pressed for a pedagogy based on *conscientization*. This involved "problem posing" education and a dialogic relationship between teacher and student. Teacher and learner are thus interchangeable roles whereby the teacher learns from the student and vice versa. The process of conscientization means that teacher and learner critically question their position in the world and begin to understand the structures and processes that help construct their identity (Peters & Lankshear, 1994). This means that

learners (and teachers) should be able to "name the world" (Freire & Macedo, 1987), thus identifying, in their own terms, what the world means to them, and how power structures may have played a part in their own social positioning.

Freire (1998) was particularly critical of the "technical training" of the working class. He argued that in teaching there should not be a separation between technical skills and critical thought (Freire, 1996). Freire (1998) was wary of work-based education saying that he found it difficult to believe that, in a work-based programme, employers would encourage discussions on the unfair distribution of global capital and its effect on workers.

Freire (1998) argued that standardisation of evaluative practices limited freedom in the contemporary world. His comments are relevant given the increasing accountability practices occurring in the nonprofit sector as discussed in 2.3 above, and the evaluative and assessment approach to adult literacy policy in Aotearoa New Zealand (Ministry of Education, 2001; Tertiary Education Commission, 2008a). Articulating a humanist stance, Freire contrasted a narrow, commercialised literacy approach with the "freedom to be human" (Freire, 1998, p. 116). His use of the signifier "freedom" is particularly pertinent as it is also central to the articulation of neoliberal identities (Friedman, 2002). However, in the neoliberal sense, "freedom" is mostly related to freedom "from" (state control), rather than freedom "to". Findsen and Edgar (1999) credited Freire with providing a structure and agenda to help adult educators provide a critical pedagogy in Aotearoa New Zealand that would specifically support those most in need.

It should be noted, however, that Freire had his critics, even within critical circles. Feminist scholars (Weiler, 1991) objected to his

masculine language and accused him of not acknowledging multiple layers of power, meaning that he failed to see that women were subject to patriarchal as well as class control and conceivably participated in class and race control.

More recent critiques of the limited nature of state-sanctioned literacy provision in countries such as the UK and Aotearoa New Zealand have been influenced by Freire's argument that literacy can be both empowering and disempowering. Although state policy in the UK, the US, Australia, and Aotearoa New Zealand recognises the social needs of learners (for Aotearoa New Zealand see, for example, Ministry of Education, 2001), adult literacy theorists have suggested that the dominant discourse of adult literacy, namely the functionalist assumption of literacy training as filling a "lack" or a "gap", have contributed to the identification of a deficit learner. In this deficit model, learners are perceived to be sub-normal and in need of literacy training to be brought up to standard (Fingeret, 1989; Hamilton, 2011; Tett, 2007). In targeting learners, adult literacy agencies then face the problem of simultaneously identifying an existing need, while not reproducing a deficit discourse that further impacts on individuals' potentially negative self-perception. Research has found that deficit models have affected learners' self-image, with negative self-perceptions become barriers to participation in literacy programmes (Boyd et al., 2002; Irish, 1980; MacLachlan & Cloonan, 2003; Tilley, Sligo et al., 2006). Learners have also articulated a fear that their lack of literacy ability would be exposed to their peers (MacLachlan & Cloonan, 2003; Tett et al., 2006).

Identifying literacy as the "answer" to society's ills means that learners are implicitly blamed for a range of negative outcomes such as low national economic growth. This potentially stigmatises literacy learners and providers (Fingeret, 1983, 1988; Giroux, 1987; Quigley, 1990; Tett,

2007; Tilley, Sligo et al., 2006). Giroux (1987) argued that being "illiterate" was constructed as an undesirable, deviant condition that individuals must overcome in order to be confident citizens. Quigley (1997) argued that, within political discourse, "illiterates" have functioned as scapegoats and have been represented as a drain on the economy. In publicising literacy provision and arguing for the need to fund literacy programmes, Literacy Aotearoa thus faced the paradox that they could contribute to the further stigmatising an already (potentially) vulnerable group, something that Hamilton and Pitt (2011) understood as a problem of representation.

In terms of how organisations can fully engage with learners, a deficit learner perspective has been found to prevent critical reflection on the reasons why learners do not participate in programmes (Hull, 1993; Quigley, 1990). Target groups' non-participation is then perceived to be "illogical" and practitioners and policy makers are limited in their ability to imagine more empowering recruitment practices, which could build on learners' existing literacy(ies) (Fingeret, 1988). Participation has been hegemonically constructed as a "good" and logical activity, so long as quality programmes are available (Crowther, 2000). Crowther (2000) argued that a deficit education model perceived learners as sub-normal and in need of particular skills which adult education could rectify. Quigley (1990) argued that nonparticipants, or resisters, were not "emotional cripples or the misguided hard to reach", but were often "courageous individuals who give their full allegiance to a culture and to values they believe in, even in the face of great personal risk" (p. 114). Quigley said that often nonparticipation was viewed by practitioners as either a motivational or attitudinal problem, or a result of barriers in the learners' environment such as economic circumstances. These reasons, he argued, were insufficient and did not credit "illiterate adults" with human agency. He also warned against seeing nonparticipants as a homogenous group because without recognition of diversity, their needs could not be properly addressed. In the US, Darkenwald (1980) argued

that it was the educational agency's responsibility for reaching audiences and increasing access, rather than placing blame on the individual learner for not participating in programmes. Therefore, the "problem" of nonparticipation, identified at the beginning of this section, should be set against the notion that participation in adult literacy programmes is not necessarily normative from a social justice perspective (Quigley, 1990, 1997).

Quigley (1990) and Feeley (2005) argued that potential learners may resist programmes as a conscious political decision based on their opposition to a deficit model. Quigley (1990), influenced by Giroux (1983), argued that nonparticipation in adult literacy and adult basic education should, at least at times, be seen as ideological resistance to the dominant culture. Writing in an Irish context, Feeley (2005) argued that many adults did not participate in literacy learning because the hegemonic deficit model did not communicate anything meaningful to them. She suggested that a more radical egalitarian literacy discourse, which addressed the structural inequalities that resulted in unequal access to education, was necessary to increase particular groups' participation in programmes. Feeley's argument helps shed light on the dilemma faced by Literacy Aotearoa's objective of providing a wide range of literacy services to diverse learners. Therefore, it had to publicise its provision in a way that would appeal to those who might respond to a functional-based account, but it also had to acknowledge those whose literacy needs would be more adequately be catered for in a discourse that explicitly challenged power structures.

In the US in the 1980s, Fingeret (1983) argued that although a deficit approach to literacy education had been under fire from social scientists for some time, the deficit model still pervaded literacy provision. She argued that there was a lack of understanding, even among adult literacy practitioners, of the social worlds of "illiterates". Further illuminating

the need for an analysis of how publicity is practised in a variety of ways, not only between an organisation and its publics, but between learners too, the stereotype of helpless adults, cut off from society, did not stand up to her ethnographic finding that "illiterates" had sophisticated social networks and strategic coping mechanisms for their reading and writing problems. Likewise Comrie et al. (2005) found in Aotearoa New Zealand that numerous people who were classified by functional tests as being of low literacy used coping strategies that drew on other kinds of literacies to enable them to manage complex projects and organisations.

A deficit learner identity is somewhat complex, however, because in arguing for adult literacy funding, agencies have to identify a "problem" that needs fixing. This "problem" is necessarily located within the available hegemonic discourses (Hamilton & Pitt, 2011) so they can facilitate clear communication to target audiences. Dominant perceptions see learners as "*the* problem" and Hamilton and Pitt (2011) argued that UK state policy in the early 2000s maintained that it could solve this learner-based problem. As a consequence of this, the policy regime did not consider other reasons why students may have low functional literacy levels, or be in low-paid work. Literacy Aotearoa's student-centred approach can be contrasted with these discourses that allow other agents to identify learners' needs, as it devolves power to the student in identifying his/her needs (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2003). However, as Rex et al. (2010) acknowledged, literacy learners partly construct themselves using dominant discourses (as other identities do), therefore it can be difficult to identify learners outside these hegemonic structures.

State guidelines for engaging with adult literacy learners in the UK have been recently reconfigured in terms of rights and responsibilities; a discourse which borrows from a deficit literacy model (Hamilton & Pitt,

2011). Hamilton and Pitt found that in the 1970s literacy learners were identified as having a "right" to literacy education, and at the same time constructed as deficit and "disabled" by their lack of literacy. However, by the 2000s, given the impact of third-way social exclusion discourses, learners were perceived as having been marginalised, but also partly responsible for their exclusion. By this time, adult literacy had become perceived as part of a reciprocal relationship between citizens and the state. Through this logic human rights, such as access to literacy, could be granted or withheld, depending on whether a citizen complied with undertaking their own duties such as participating in the knowledge economy.

In a similar argument, but more directly related to promotional publicity, Sandlin and Clark (2009) argued that in "student success" stories, published by adult literacy programmes in the US, students were identified as being increasingly responsible for their own literacy outcomes. The authors found that in promotional stories sent to funders, all learners were perceived to have been offered the same opportunities, thus the figure of a "desirable" learner had been established in the publicity. In their analysis of these stories from the 1970s to the 2000s, the authors found that in the early days, the programmes promoted *their* part in transforming student lives through literacy provision. However, over time, the learner was identified as being increasingly responsible for his/her self-sufficiency.   This, they argued, borrowed from individualistic and meritocratic ideologies reflected in wider political "master narratives".

To expand on how the logic of meritocracy is implicated in constructions of students as responsible for their own learning, Marshall (1998, p. 410, as cited in Sandlin & Clark, 2009, p. 1022) said of meritocracy;

Meritocracy can be defined as a social system in which status is achieved through ability and effort (merit), rather than ascribed on the basis of age, class, gender or other such particularistic or inherited advantages. The term implies that the meritorious deserve any privilege which they accrue.

Sandlin and Clark's (2009) research found that an emphasis on individual achievement and meritocracy worked against some adult literacy providers' funding appeal objectives. The emphasis on self-reliance in funding appeals, Sandlin and Clark argued, supported the dismantling of the welfare state, which had previously served as a safety net for those who were marginalised in contemporary society. They argued that the worth and benefits of adult literacy programmes should be publicised more and providers should promote how *they* help learners meet their goals. However, Sandlin and Clark acknowledged that this strategy would be problematic given that policy makers predominantly value a functional and deficit-based literacy framework. The authors advised that providers should promote stories that "capture the imagination and argue persuasively for social and political change" (p. 1025). The authors cited Quigley's (1997) idea that providers do not critically analyse the "success stories" that they promote because they believe that these particular narratives help obtain funding. These findings are suggestive of the challenges Literacy Aotearoa faced in aiming to "speak to" dominant deficit literacy perspectives which, arguably, both funders and some learners may identify with. It faced the problem of publicising this account with a more empowering literacy discourse that would affirm and build on learners' pre-existing skills and knowledges.

Sandlin and Clark (2009) and Quigley (1997, 2001) argued that adult literacy educators are constantly engaged in strategies to situate their practice against dominant adult literacy policies and ideologies. Despite

Quigley's (1997) call some time ago for attention to be paid to how adult literacy programmes are perceived in society and how the programmes themselves contributed to this perception, Sandlin and Clark argued that there had been "little attempt within adult literacy education to critically examine the ways we portray ourselves and the learners in our programmes" (p. 1004). Murray et al. (2007) had two years earlier made this same call in an Aotearoa New Zealand context.

In response to the dominance of deficit literacy discourses, authors from critical literacy and literacy as social practice perspectives have argued that other literacies, not just the 3Rs, should be acknowledged by state policy regimes. Various authors have suggested that literacy provision should be expanded and funded to include those needs less likely to quickly contribute to economic growth (Barton, 2005; Tett, 2007). Barton (2005) argued that the citing of literacy as the "magic" that would solve social problems does not acknowledge the existence of multiple literacies and how people engage with literacy in the context of their everyday lives, such as reading television schedules and road signs. Authors in Aotearoa New Zealand (Isaacs, 2005; Rāwiri, 2005; Sligo, Culligan et al., 2006) have also identified the state's limited recognition of diverse literacy needs.

The social relationships that inform and embed literacy practice in everyday situations have been highlighted as important in literacy policy and provision (Gee, 2008; Hamilton & Barton, 2000; Street, 1984). Barton and Hamilton (2000) acknowledged "vernacular" and "local literacies" as well as "dominant literacies". The authors used the concept of "literacy events" to inform their analysis, which are "any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of participants' interactions and their interpretative processes" (Heath, 1982, p. 93 as cited in Barton and Hamilton, 2000, p. 16). Tett (2007) argued that, from a social justice point of view, state policy should take into account

learners' strengths, rather than focusing on a deficit perspective. In general, the New Literacy Studies literature has emphasised the contextualised nature of literacy practices, advocating an approach that recognises the literacies people are already adept at, rather than propagate deficit constructions of the learner (Crowther, Hamilton & Tett, 2001).

In an attempt to know more about how dominant literacy discourses operate, authors in New Literacy Studies, such as Street (1984, 2003) and Barton and Hamilton (2000), argued that some key questions should be asked of literacy practice such as, "whose literacy?" and "who benefits?". This implies that literacy practice could be contextualised within the learners' lifeworlds, and more focused on how learners use literacy and to whose benefit. Thus, functional literacy is not necessarily identified as disempowering, but is contextualised within sites important to the learner. To explicate this point further, Gale (2008) argued that "functional critical literacy" is possible in that functional literacy can be practised and taught in a way that encourages critique of power structures. In Aotearoa New Zealand, Bowl and Tobias (2011) borrowed from Freire and Macedo (1987) in arguing that, in general, adult education "can nurture critical as well as functional literacy" (p.12) as learners engage in their world as well as with words.

A. Wilson (2000) offered a conceptualisation of a "third space" in literacy theory where autonomous literacy (Street, 1984) and contextualised litera*cies* could combine within practice. The author borrowed from Bhabha's (1994) concept of liminality in discourse and Gee's (2008) concept of borderland discourse. Gee argued that borderland discourse operates at the boundaries of discourse in both articulating hegemonic discourse and resisting and advancing discourse in new directions.

In a similar vein, those writing on workplace literacy have commented that there is not, necessarily, a strictly functional-critical literacy divide. Some have argued that there are advantages to literacy upskilling in the workplace, as new found skills generally transfer into other spheres of life such as family and community involvement (Cochrane, Dharmalingam, Harris, Law & Piercy, 2005; Murray et al., 2006; Tilley, Sligo, Tilley et al., 2006). Sligo et al. (in press) used the term "liminal literacy" to try to shift thinking about adult literacy training participants away from deficit conceptualisations to see them as in a position of strength where they draw on two worlds – their existing oral and communal competencies and, simultaneously, developing a print skills framework as well. Crombie (1993) argued that state interest in workplace literacy has been compelling as the price paid for not engaging with functional and workplace literacy was that organisations would be left out in the cold when it came to funding Rejecting a straight-forward antagonistic relationship between functional literacy and social justice discourses, Cowan (2006) argued that access to dignified, secure employment was "a question of justice" (p. 243) and one that could often be met by securing adequate functional literacy skills.

With regard to the complex relationship between critical and functional literacies in Indigenous and post-colonial settings, Nakata (2000) argued for an Indigenous standpoint in the multiliteracies agenda, but asked that this not displace the need for many Indigenous cultures to be also literate in English. The complexities in revolutionary literacy campaigns were discussed by Noguera (1995) who argued that literacy workers are able to reconcile revolutionary goals, such as the legitimation of new political regimes, alongside colonial and hegemonic accounts of literacy.

Highlighting the context in which Literacy Aotearoa publicise to Māori literacy learners, authors writing from an Indigenous or post-colonialist

stance have cited literacy as a key tool in colonisation (Bialostok & Whitman, 2006; McLaren, 1993; Mayo, 1999; Shore, 2004). This insight emphasised literacy's potentially disempowering effects. In a critique of how the West articulates narrow, functional, literacy definitions, Goody and colleagues (Goody, 1977, 1986; Goody & Watt, 1963) criticised the West's dependence on reading and writing literacy practices and the link it assumed between reading/writing and "civilisation". He disagreed with the exclusion of oral literacy practices from commonsense definitions of literacy and argued that written literacy practices affected individuals and societies in psychological and social ways.

Likewise, Mignolo (1995) also argued for more expansive definitions of what constituted a "text" in post-colonial settings. In Aotearoa New Zealand, Jenkins (1993) argued that, historically, teaching English was not just about learning a new language, but was used as a key colonising tool for spreading Christianity among Indigenous New Zealanders and inculcating a particular worldview.

Authors have argued that Māori adult literacy needs have had little acknowledgment in dominant literacy discourses (Isaacs, 2005, 2011; Māori adult literacy working party, 2001; Mete, 1996; Rāwiri, 2005; Yates, 1996). Rāwiri (2005) argued that the common literacy definitions did not account for more expansive Indigenous definitions of literacy, which can take into account a variety of knowledges such as that of one's ancestry, of the surrounding land, and cultural food practices such as fishing.

Writing on the difficulties of articulating Māori knowledges in adult literacy programmes in Aotearoa New Zealand in the 1990s, Yates

(1996) argued that it was difficult to get state recognition for adult literacy programmes that used Māori knowledges. She stated:

> At the end of the day the priority, and ultimately the focus, that literacy takes rests with those who wield the power to define it. The form of literacy and therefore the understanding of what literacy is, are crucial to the ways in which literacy skills are transmitted and acquired. (p. 105)

Yates (1996) also argued that Freire's work, on how literacy can be both empowering and disempowering, was closest to Māori pedagogies.

(Neo)colonial relationships have been identified as affecting Indigenous participation in mainstream adult literacy (Caunter, 1990; Papen, 2001; Reeder, 1997; Shore, 2004; Tilley, Murray et al., 2011; Wickens & Sandlin 2007). Rāwiri (2005) argued that colonisation in Aotearoa New Zealand had affected Māori literacy education. Similarly, Reeder's (1997) study of female Māori in adult education highlighted how negative experiences at school had hindered this group's participation. Davies and Nicholl (1993, as cited in Reeder, 1997) stated that the number of female Māori taking part in adult education had increased in recent times, but this group was still under-represented. Reeder argued that previous studies had not taken account of the hierarchical structure of Māori tribal society or viewed participation in the expansive sense articulated by many Māori. Reeder argued that Cross's (1981) categories of situational, institutional and dispositional categories for understanding deterrents to participation in adult education did not account for the marginalisation of Māori women in education. Reeder also said that for many female Māori, their most primary concerns are still around basic social justice rights such as shelter, food and employment. It is only when these are addressed, Reeder argued, that this group can begin considering participation in adult education. Thus, Reeder suggested that the absence of these basic social justice rights had hindered female Māori participation in adult literacy programmes.

Specifically, it has been argued that the monocultural identity and image of literacy schemes has been a significant barrier to reaching Māori learners in Aotearoa New Zealand (Caunter, 1990). When writing in 1990, Caunter said there had been growing recognition within the adult literacy movement of the complexity around Treaty-based relations and efforts to more equally distribute resources between Māori and Pākehā, but this had some way to go. As discussed above, different authors have argued that articulating Māori literacy needs in the sector and at a policy level is difficult given how dominant functional, monocultural adult literacy discourses tend to occlude other ways of knowing and learning (Isaacs, 2005, 2011; Rāwiri, 2005; Sligo, Culligan et al., 2006; Yates, 1996).

It should also be noted that discussions of participation and barriers to adult literacy programmes have not normally taken into account a broader notion of participation. A more expansive account would recognise that there are multiple places of learning (Rāwiri, 2005). In Aotearoa New Zealand, this means recognising that Māori do not just learn literacy in formal, institutional sites. Instead, knowledges are passed on in Māori whānau and hapū settings such as within the marae and in hui (Bowl & Tobias, 2011; Isaacs, 2011; Pere, 1988; Rāwiri, 2005; Reeder, 1997; Tobias, 2004; R. Walker, 2004). It was not until after European settlement that the dominant idea that adult education was uniquely tied to formal organisations took hold in Aotearoa New Zealand. This can be seen as part of the colonisation of Māori knowledges and ways of learning (Bowl & Tobias, 2011).

The above debates illuminate Gee's (2008) analysis of the "contest" between different definitions of literacy. This "contest" also underlines the difficulty of communicating literacy discourse in a lucid way (see,

for example, Bormouth, 1973-1974; Cervero, 1985; de Castell, Luke & MacLennan, 1981; Hill, 1990; Hillerich, 1976; Murray et al., 2007; Scribner, 1984; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006; Van Norden, Peck & Kling, 1977), because of the different notions of what literacy can mean. The contested nature of literacy discourses therefore has implications for how easily Literacy Aotearoa can reconcile different audience needs in its publicity.

2.5 Adult literacy publicity strategies: Recommendations from the literature

Designing publicity and recruitment for ALLN [Adult Literacy, Language and Numeracy] has always been a challenge for literacy-dependent educators. How can you communicate persuasively with people who can't, won't or don't access the written word in printed leaflets or ads? How can you best make use of people's everyday networks of friends and family who do access these and pass on the information by word of mouth? (Hamilton & Hillier, 2006, p. 140)

Taking into account the challenges to publicity considered in the previous sections, Hamilton and Hillier's (2006) quotation above emphasises how adult literacy publicity is a particularly challenging area. Research in Aotearoa New Zealand suggested that more attention should be paid to structured recruitment and promotion strategies for adult literacy programmes (Sligo, Culligan et al., 2006; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006; Tilley, Sligo et al., 2006). In broader ACE state policy documents in Aotearoa New Zealand, those found to be under-represented in participation statistics were particularly targeted (Findsen, 2006). There has been little other contemporary literature that has identified the need for publicity in the sector and state policy has not

considered, in any rigorous way, how publicity can contribute to increasing participation rates, particularly for community-based literacy.

Authors have argued, for some time, that "traditional marketing" techniques are not very useful for publicising to adult literacy learners, especially those with multiple barriers to participation (Darkenwald, 1980; Hamilton and Hillier, 2006). Despite this argument, some authors *have* investigated a marketing approach to recruiting such learners. In the early days of the adult literacy movement in the US, Beder (1980) took a reflective look at marketing practices. He urged providers to question whether their marketed literacy needs had been defined by "society" or the learner. He said the laws of marketing dictate that to successfully engage target groups, services should provide the answer to *learners'* needs. Beder said learners needed to see *why* they should participate and they need to believe in the programme and its merits. He also pointed out that learners needed to see a reason to prefer a particular provider over others in the sector.

Martin (1989) also used marketing concepts in his argument and suggested that learners should be carefully segmented in publicity plans so that particular needs could be met by adult literacy providers. He argued that providers needed clear messages about their purpose and philosophy so that they could accurately target specific learners. Martin argued that providers should think through the outcomes of particular literacy programmes so they could communicate those to targeted learners. He went on to say that providers need to listen to how learners talk about their needs. He added that providers needed to offer alternatives to mainstream provision and not depend on traditional communication channels such as brochures and posters.

The most oft-cited publicity method in adult literacy literature is word of mouth. For the purposes of this review, and the subsequent empirical analysis, word-of-mouth practices take into account networking and collaborative activities that are based, primarily, on personal relations. Word of mouth can also include ways in which more formal advertising, such as newspaper advertisements, act as a stimulus for family and friends to recommend adult literacy provision (Murray et al., 2007; Sligo, Tilley et al., 2006; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006).

Highlighting the importance of publicity that is endogenous to learners' particular public spheres, support from family and friends, classmates and literacy tutors have been identified as important pathways to literacy learning (Boyd et al., 2002; Murray et al., 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006). Referrals from other organisations, especially government agencies, have been key points of direct communication that have resulted in participation (Boyd et al., 2002; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006). Laub (1992), Esposito (1983) and Smith (1996) all recommended low-key publicity methods such as word of mouth, networking and collaboration, for the careful targeting of students within their own communities.

In more formalised recommendations for word-of-mouth publicity methods in Aotearoa New Zealand, Tilley, Sligo et al., (2006) argued that structured recruitment programmes should be adopted in the adult literacy sector, and in particular, publicity using the interpersonal networks of past and present students should be utilised in spreading adult literacy publicity. This type of advice was also given in the US in the 1980s when Irish (1980) recommended personal recruitment methods through door-to-door canvassing. Arguing for the importance of relationship-based publicity, Irish also emphasised that the agency's first contact with the learner is crucial.

The importance of learners' social networks was also highlighted by Fingeret (1983) who argued that practitioners needed to connect to learners' social networks to increase participation. She found that learners perceived a risk in literacy training in that they could, on learning to read and write, become alienated from their existing social networks. She found that enrolment in literacy courses was usually at a time when individuals' networks were changing or were disrupted, perhaps due to a house move, new job or children. This, she argued, was not a reason to dismiss social networks, but instead to see them as sites of strength and innovation for connecting better with adult learners. Lerche (1985, as cited in Martin, 1989) found that personal contact with people and other organisations in the local area was the most effective way of recruiting students. Word of mouth for Martin and Lerche included public speaking at organisations and partnerships with agencies such as social services. Regarding participation in adult learning more generally, Clegg and McNulty (2002) found that those more likely to participate in courses were those who had already formed networks with each other.

In relation to lifelong learning in the UK, Norman and Hyland (2003) argued that, although institutional and situational barriers needed to be overcome in order to increase youth participation in the post-compulsory education and training sector, dispositional barriers, and especially a lack of confidence, were more important to address, especially in the basic skills area. The authors argued that group-learning situations increased students' self-confidence. This group learning can be seen as a form of internal organisational word-of-mouth publicity.

It should be noted, however, that Hamilton and Hillier (2006) and Sligo, Tilley et al., (2006) argued that there were limits to the effectiveness of

word-of-mouth publicity in reaching a diverse range of learners as new target audiences could be hard to reach without pre-existing relationships. Hamilton and Hillier (2006) cited documents from the archives of the adult literacy and numeracy movement in the UK which argued that word of mouth publicity had limitations in that it had the potential to operate in ways that replicated the composition of the student body. In other words, if particular groups of students were under-represented in provision, word-of-mouth publicity that relied on current learners may not reach other, perhaps harder-to-reach, groups of students.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, research has shown that more opportunities for networking between adult literacy organisations are needed in order to be able to share best practice (Sligo, Culligan et al., 2006; B. Watson et al., 2007). These reports argued that networking and collaboration had been hindered by a competitive funding regime. In a similar sentiment, Cowan (2006) argued that adult literacy organisations in the US should adopt broad-based community organising practices in order to raise awareness and funds for their cause. For Cowan, broad-based organising meant identifying where literacy fits within socio-economic problems for particular areas, and working with other partners such as business, the state, and other nonprofit organisations, in a collective manner to help alleviate social problems through literacy. This requires, he argued, widespread legitimation and credibility of literacy which can only be achieved through collective work that identifies shared interests between organisations or movements. In this process, Cowan argued there should be constant reorganisation between projects in that "there are no permanent allies and no permanent enemies" (2006, p. 259). In an Aotearoa New Zealand context, J. Walker (2011) argued that key identities in adult literacy organisations had been integral in lobbying for the need for adult literacy provision in state policy circles. The author went on to argue that third-way state governship had, in part, enabled participation of this type.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, the then-titled Literacy and Employment research group created reports for policy actors which prioritised participants' own words (Sligo, Culligan et al., 2006; Tilley, Sligo et al., 2006)[3]. These reports, I suggest, can be conceptualised as word-of-mouth publicity in that the very words of adult literacy learners were used in order to publicise key issues for the sector. It is an example, therefore, of how word-of-mouth publicity can be used in a formalised way in order to communicate between the public spheres of learners and the state.

Mayo (1999) suggested that adult literacy programmes faced challenges if they are to facilitate social change and make alliances with other groups. He also noted how Western society encourages individualism; therefore, creating solidarity among groups is difficult. However, he argued that adult literacy and, more broadly, adult education agencies should link with other counter-hegemonic international movements such as labour and environmental movements in resisting the capitalist social order.

Who adult literacy organisations have been networking with has been subject to critical analysis (Crombie, 1993). For example, in the broader ACE sector in Australia, Crombie (1993) argued that ACE providers were having to compete in the market place alongside for-profit private organisations. The author argued that, in the 1990s, because funding was focused on vocational skills, ACE providers had been networking with business, rather than critical theorists. The author urged ACE to return to its "radical transformatory" (p.9) origins. Less starkly, the author also conceded that ACE could still offer training for the

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[3] See Sligo and Tilley (2009, 2011) for background on the methodology for constructing these reports.

workforce, but this should not be at the expense of the unemployed; hence provision could be "both-and" rather than "either-or" (p.12).

Since the 1980s, the mass media have been regarded as useful in publicising adult literacy in both the US and the UK. Irish (1980) recommended using mass media to target learners, but said this type of medium should be accompanied by word-of-mouth publicity in that it should target trusted acquaintances of learners who could pass information to potential learners, as learners were more likely to take advice from close friends and family. Martin (1989) similarly argued that mass media communication should be backed-up with word-of-mouth publicity. Irish (1980) also recommended that communication strategies directed toward mass media channels include learners as spokespeople. She argued that mass media may also be helpful in garnering support from community leaders such as political, social and religious leaders, even though they were not a useful means of immediately triggering behavioural change in the key audience (Sligo et al., 2007). Hamilton and Hillier (2006) argued that mass media campaigns alongside word-of-mouth publicity methods were useful in the sector because of learners' often limited access to the written word.

Demonstrating the usefulness of a public service broadcaster in mobilising adult literacy campaigns, the first formalised UK adult literacy campaign used the BBC's public service to recruit and teach learners (Hamilton and Hillier, 2006; Hargreaves, 1980). The *On the Move* television series was broadcast on television and radio but, again, more personal relationships were also included in this publicity strategy in that a telephone helpline was also supplied that referred callers to their local education authorities who could then link learners with local tutors (Hargreaves, 1980). Hamilton and Hillier (2006) argued that use of mass media was important in this campaign for two reasons. Firstly, they noted that mass media are important forms in setting the agenda for

educational policy and for influencing public awareness on social policy issues. Secondly, the authors argued that mass media were useful in that, with low functional literacy, learners are difficult to target with printed forms of publicity.

There are other examples of how the mass media were used to promote adult literacy in the UK. The television series *Parosi* was remembered in the UK in its coverage of ESOL and soap operas such as *Brookside* included adult literacy storylines which were broadcast along with relevant phone lines (Hamilton and Hillier, 2006). Documentaries and television advertising have also been used by subsequent adult literacy and numeracy campaigns. In the 2000s, the English *Skills for Life* strategy ran a *Get it On!* campaign, using gremlins in advertisements and merchandise such as beer mats, post-cards and bus-stop advertising. The gremlins were "intended to externalise people's fears of literacy and numeracy problems" (Hamilton and Hillier, 2006, p. 146). Inman (2009) cited campaign production sources who stated that the publicity was designed to make learners feel uncomfortable about their lack of particular literacy skills, which demonstrated the pervasiveness of a deficit literacy model in popular advertising.

Hamilton and Hillier (2006) argued that the mass media could target a wider audience than just word of mouth, however, the authors also argued that mass media literacy campaigns in the UK had become more marketised since the 1970s. This should be seen in the context of commercialisation of the media sphere. Hamilton and Hillier noted that the *Get it On* campaign relied on a more egalitarian "right to education" approach, compared with the more aggressive marketing of the 2000s that assumed learners were reluctant to take up learning opportunities. This deficit approach was thus more prevalent in the more commercialised, market-driven environment of the 2000s.

In their research in the UK, Hamilton and Hillier (2006) also noted varying support levels for mass media campaigns among adult literacy practitioners. The authors contrasted that variance with the sector's general agreement that community outreach, word of mouth, and agency referrals were the most effective publicity strategies. In addition, Hamilton and Hillier found that in contemporary campaigns, adult literacy practitioners were rarely adequately consulted and that since the early *On the Move* campaign of the 1970s, there had been little research conducted into mass media adult literacy campaigns' effectiveness.

Discussing a paradox in adult literacy publicity, Hamilton and Hillier (2006) argued that, for some time, adult literacy practitioners had battled to balance learner demand with adequate provision. The authors noted that it took some time for an appropriate and sensitive infrastructure for adult literacy to develop in the UK. They argued, citing Hargreaves (1980) that the BBC's mass media campaign in the 1970s created a large response which practitioners struggled to cope with given the fragmented and isolated nature of some programmes and the sector's lack of funding. The BBC's nationwide media campaign was thus replaced with more targeted regional-based campaigns in order that providers could better cope with demand.

As far as the messages that were recommended for adult literacy publicity, early research in the US showed that learners needed encouragement and support (Irish, 1980). In earlier work, Irish (1975, as cited in Irish, 1980) argued that one of the key messages to get across to learners was that they were capable of achieving, thus the agency should encourage positive self-perception and patterns of social interaction. That strategy aimed to empower the learner and challenge a deficit learner model. Darkenwald (1980) argued that "tangible barriers", such

as lack of childcare, transport, etc. could be easily dealt with in publicity, but intangible barriers, for example self-perception and perception of literacy training, were more difficult to address. Citing Hunter and Harmon (1979), Darkenwald argued that radical strategies such as departing from formal schooling techniques, more emphasis on nonformula learning with groups, and ensuring learning was closely linked to everyday life, may be more successful in recruiting the hard to reach adult learner. Based on their interviews with adult literacy learners, Sligo, Tilley et al. (2006) and Tilley, Comrie et al. (2006) recommended publicity for adult literacy programmes include recognition of positive outcomes that adult literacy learners had achieved in their lives as a result of adult literacy learning. The authors also recommended that marketing should take on a multiliteracies approach, thereby promoting a wide range of literacy needs, and mitigating against the stigma associated with literacy.

However, in acknowledging learners' needs in publicity, Law and Sissons' (1984, p. 72) argument that a "needs-based" approach to provision should be challenged because of what they termed (borrowing from Freire (1970/1993)) students' "felt-needs" should be considered. The authors argued that students' needs could be ideologically constructed by dominant notions of what adults require from education. Sligo et al.'s (2009) research on literacy training in Modern Apprenticeships in Aotearoa New Zealand found that within programmes, tutors did challenge learners' articulated needs, in that they emphasised to learners the literacy skills they already had. Therefore, practitioners helped to reject a deficit approach that allowed other agents, such as employers or the state, to solely determine what learners needed from literacy programmes.

Suggestive of a concentrated strategy to better engage with diverse learners, the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) in Aotearoa New

Zealand produced DVDs advising adult literacy practitioners how to better engage with Māori and Pasifika learners (Tertiary Education Commission, 2010a; 2010b). Although these resources were produced after the official data collection period for this thesis, because of their significance for this study, I will describe them here. The TEC recommended that practitioners use Durie's (2001) *te whare tapa wha* model for engaging with Māori audiences in numeracy and literacy programmes. Although mainly focusing on engaging with learners once they are already enrolled, this model was suggestive of how learners could be targeted in publicity as it focused on communicating holistically with Māori audiences, and understanding the many concepts of Māori ways of being in the world. The resource argued that an engagement with learners that focused on their spiritual, physical, cognitive and social needs was also a good way of engaging with non-Māori audiences. Durie's te whare tapa wha model has been used in social marketing campaigns targeted toward Māori (Grigg, Waa & Bradbock, 2008).

With regard to engaging Pasifika audiences, the TEC (2010b) recommended that practitioners ask what they know about the Pasifika learners' lifeworlds including recognising the diversity within the Pasifika region. The audiovisual resource stated that despite diversity within Pasifika peoples, there were some core Pasifika values that could be listed such as collectivity, kinship, solidarity, restraint, humility, recognition of spirituality, generosity, and reciprocity. Again, like the resource advising how to engage Māori learners (Tertiary Education Commission, 2010a), the TEC focused mostly on getting to know Pasifika learners once they were attending programmes. However, the TEC noted that Pasifika cultures were usually highly social and individuals had strong connections within their communities. The TEC recommended that practitioners see Pasifika learners as more than individuals, that they were very much tied to family and community responsibilities.

This advice indicates both how important Māori and Pasifika learners can be in spreading the word about adult literacy in their social networks, and how busy and in demand they can be. The TEC's resources (2010a, 2010b) noted that Māori and Pasifika often have multiple roles and responsibilities within their communities, thus practitioners should bear this in mind when working with students. Although mostly referring to the time and pressures Māori and Pasifika have with regard to learning, I suggest that the limited time and pressures on those individuals should also be recognised with regard to encouraging publicity in their groups. Given that many organisations are increasingly aiming to be more responsive to their obligations under Te Tiriti o Waitangi and are aiming to communicate with Māori audiences more effectively, this could result in increased unpaid and voluntary work for already stretched individuals.

Findings on learner motivations for attending adult literacy programmes can also give a basis for understanding why learners participate, and this research is also suggestive of the types of messages that may be useful in publicity campaigns. Research has shown that learners' motivations for participation include work-related goals, in that learners want to upskill or obtain a further qualification (Boyd et al, 2002; Murray et al., 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006). Being a good parent, especially being able to help children or grandchildren with their school work, was another motivator for participation (Boyd et al., 2002; Demetrion, 1997; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006). To increase self confidence has been an oft-repeated motivation in adult literacy literature (Boyd et al., 2002; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006). When studying participants in more formal life-long learning courses in Aotearoa New Zealand, White (2004) also found that increasing self-confidence was a major motivator for participation.

These motivations can also be considered alongside the benefits adult literacy learners have reported. Repeatedly, research in Aotearoa New Zealand has argued that learners' increased self-confidence has been as important, if not more important, than the literacy skills developed (Caswell, 1993; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006). Thus, the advantages to participation in adult literacy, from which publicity messages might potentially be gleaned, have not been limited to the skills gained.

In summary, by far the most-often cited method of publicity in the adult literacy sector was word-of-mouth. This type of publicity was seen to be useful for communicating with learners and networking within the sector. In addition, word-of-mouth publicity has been found to be useful when used alongside more print and other text-based publicity in the targeting of learners' friends and families so they can pass on information to the learner. I suggest, however, that given earlier discussion on the need for funding for publicity practices in the sector and the ways that competitive funding has limited adult literacy agencies' ability to publicise in their communities, it could be said that word-of-mouth publicity has been identified as most useful because it has been the most often used in the sector, perhaps because of the lack of funds for more formalised methods. This could also have been a popularly-used method because, historically, practitioners have had these skills to hand, and been able and willing to take on this labour. Therefore, word-of-mouth publicity should not be identified as "free", but rather acknowledged as a cost more readily internalised by practitioners and learners than costs for more formalised methods. Thus, if resources were in place for publicity, including its evaluation, there could be far more rigorous research on what types of publicity are useful in the sector for both recruiting students and publicity between agencies and their stakeholders.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter set a backdrop to understanding adult literacy publicity. Habermas (1989) argued that, broadly speaking, publicity practices have changed from being based on more egalitarian, deliberative principles to a more promotional model, which he called "manipulative publicity". As part of this process, there is a growing necessity identified in the literature for non-government organisations to engage with marketised identities to survive (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004). However, this can result in "mission drift" whereby the organisation compromises with marketised principles at the cost of a stronger social justice philosophy (Gold, 2004; Nowland-Foreman, 2009). At the same time, the public sphere does not operate in a marketised/democratic binary. Various factors affect how publicity is articulated in the public sphere and nonprofit organisations have often demonstrated their skills in publicising social justice needs in regimes dominated by marketised publicity practices.

The effects of marketisation on the adult literacy sector have meant that a functional, skills-based account of literacy remains dominant. Critical literacy theorists have critiqued this narrow literacy discourse on several grounds; firstly, for occluding other socio-cultural literacies; secondly, for limiting analysis of the power relationships that have resulted in low functional literacy; and, thirdly, for articulating a deficit learner identity. However, other authors have argued that functional and critical literacy need not necessarily be antagonistic and that there is the possibility of a hybrid "critical functional literacy". Significantly in the context of this study, there is little research on how agencies articulate "critical functional literacy" in publicity and the impact of this on learners and other stakeholders.

The literature review identified a lack of resources for adult literacy publicity and discussed how a competitive funding regime has limited publicity. Another limitation on publicity practices was that practitioners have expressed fear that if they publicise "too much", they may be faced with more students than they could support within current funding structures. This points to the possibility that insufficient funding for services, and for publicity, limits both agencies' ability to reach learners and a fuller understanding of communities' possible needs. Word-of-mouth publicity has been identified as most useful in reaching learners and communicating within the adult literacy sector. However, I suggest that given a lack of funding for publicity practices, a more rigorous account of what publicity is actually most effective is needed.

Now that I have identified the key themes in the literature examining publicity and adult literacy, the next chapter discusses chronologically the political, economic and social background to adult literacy state policy and provision in Aotearoa New Zealand from 1973 to 2009. This context-setting is an important preface to the subsequent close analysis of actual publicity examples, given the numerous arguments in Discourse Theory that specific discursive practices should be studied in context, not in isolation from the broader currents that create their discursive environment and contribute to their formation.

Chapter 3

The social and economic background to adult literacy provision in Aotearoa New Zealand 1973 to 2009

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses adult literacy public policy and the political and economic background to adult literacy provision in Aotearoa New Zealand. During the time-period covered, there were notable social and economic shifts in Aotearoa New Zealand as it moved from a Keynesian welfare state to one dominated by neoliberal state policy and then, lately, a "third-way" discourse of state governance (Codd, 2002; Kelsey, 1995). Education and training were targeted in neoliberal reforms, which emphasised workplace training, arguably to the expense of more social concerns. However, the new context also enabled the adult literacy movement to engage with the state's increased interest in adult literacy provision.

I draw on the themes discussed in chapter two, concluding that, like many other OECD countries, Aotearoa New Zealand's adult literacy policy has been particularly inflected by new funding regimes, accountability and monitoring requirements, and the need for states to be competitive in a knowledge economy. However, the state's third-way approach to governance in the 2000s provided both opportunities for adult literacy agencies in "partnering" with the state, and challenges, in that new accountability and funding regimes brought organisational changes that were further institutionalised.

As noted, the provision of this historical context is important because the adult literacy publicity discourses analysed in this thesis were not produced in isolation, but were part of a landscape of changing social and economic times. Discourses draw from, react to, and are limited by the availability of ways of seeing and knowing in society more broadly. Therefore, it is important to understand the wider discursive context

before proceeding to a specific case study analysis of Literacy Aotearoa in part two of this study. This chapter is divided into three separate historical periods. The first (1973 to 1983) characterises a period when questions were asked in state, and nonstate, circles about the viability of the welfare state. The second period (1984 to 1998) saw the rolling out of radical social and economic reform and the third, (1999 to 2009), was inflected by "third-way" discourses that sought partnerships between the state and private (including nonprofit) organisations.

3.2 1973 to 1983: The questioning of the welfare state

A connected community-based adult literacy movement began to form in the mid-1970s (Hill, 1990). Schemes were set up mostly by volunteer tutors helping adults with the 3Rs (Hill, 1990). This was similar to the beginning of the adult literacy movement in the UK (Richards, 1978). Adult literacy was generally not recognised by the state as a particular need in Aotearoa New Zealand at the time (Hill, 1990), because there was a general mainstream belief that universal schooling meant that adults could already read and write (Openshaw & Walshaw, 2010). The Aotearoa New Zealand state was similar to governments in the UK and other industrialised countries in not considering adult literacy to be a real concern and need at this time (Limage, 1987; Wickert, 1992).

Literacy was, however, present in recurrent mediatised moral panics in popular media reports in the 1970s and 80s, in which schools were accused of not preparing pupils for the workplace and welfarist approaches to education were seen to be hindering Aotearoa New Zealand's economic recovery (Openshaw & Walshaw, 2010). This was reminiscent of the "literacy crises" articulated in other capitalist societies, which Graff (1995) and Gee (1996) argued concealed more complex political problems (see chapter two).

Since Aotearoa New Zealand's first Labour government was elected in the 1930s, and then through to the 1970s, the state governed using Keynesian welfare principles (Kelsey, 1995). There were pre-conceived ideas for who was considered "deserving" or "undeserving", as most welfare benefits were means-tested. There was a shift to a more committed social-democratic system in the early 1970s (Rudd, 1997) when the zeitgeist favoured more equitable sharing of resources (McClure, 1998; Rudd, 1997).

Given the hegemonic articulation of adult literacy as necessary for the good of the economy as discussed in chapter two, it is important to discuss the values the Aotearoa New Zealand state has historically held regarding work and welfare. The history of the social democratic welfare state, often referred to as the "Keynesian" state by many "Western" nations, was a compromise between those who sold their labour for wages and the capital-owning class (Rudd, 1997). The working class accepted that others would hold private ownership, and the capital-owning class conceded a certain amount of income redistribution (Przeworski, 1986). Generally, the state's objective was full employment, but those who could not work would be compensated by way of welfare benefits. Both classes enjoyed the universal provision of services such as education and healthcare that the redistribution of profit provided. In Aotearoa New Zealand the aforementioned provisions, along with welfare benefits, were regarded as "social rights" (King, 1987). The state was therefore the central agent in negotiations between private capital and the labouring classes (Habermas, 1989). Although the Labour government elected in Aotearoa New Zealand in 1938 has been often cited as having instituted the modern welfare system, Law (1998) argued that the idea of social rights had been long in existence in Aotearoa New Zealand before the Labour Party took hold.

From the post-war consensus between capitalism and welfare, to the 1980s, adult education in Aotearoa New Zealand enjoyed a close relationship with the Labour Party and the welfare state (Law, 1998). During this time, the community centre movement, school-based education classes, and adult education in general, widely expanded, providing cultural and social development for citizens (Bowl & Tobias, 2011). Radical elements from the left appeared in adult education circles from time to time, but were muted by forces including reformist ideologies, the nature of industrial relations in Aotearoa New Zealand that encouraged negotiation, and the state, which did not support militant unionism (Law, 1998).

The welfare state's dominance in Aotearoa New Zealand was questioned in the 1970s, when the fiscal belt was tightened across government ministries and demands for economic deregulation emerged as the export-dependent Aotearoa New Zealand was hit hard by international crises such as the 1970s oil shocks and the changing global economy (Kelsey, 1995; McClure, 1998). British support for New Zealand's agricultural sector lessened as the colonial "motherland" turned its attention to the lucrative European Economic Community. At the same time, industries that Aotearoa New Zealand had relied on such as forestry, construction, insurance and finance, saw significant mergers (Kelsey, 1995; Openshaw & Walshaw, 2010). The New Zealand Planning Council's report *The Welfare State?* (1979) signposted the state's reconsideration of its welfare provider role. Spending on education was cut during this time and notably for this research, progressive entities such as the Workers' Educational Associations (WEA) and the National Council for Adult Education (NCAE) (where Literacy Aotearoa's roots were first established) were particularly hard hit (Tobias, 2004).

Although still low by OECD standards, unemployment figures rose in the 1970s and 1980s (Kelsey, 1995). The percentage of youth unemployed as a share of the overall figure was high compared with other OECD countries. In 1977, more than half those registered as unemployed were under 21 (Openshaw & Walshaw, 2010). The centre-right National government, led by Robert Muldoon, saw pre-employment and special training courses as answers to that problem, thus opening up an opportunity for literacy training in those areas (Openshaw & Walshaw, 2010).

At a macro-political level, the government made some attempts at economic deregulation, but most policies remained protectionist as they had been since the 1930s (Kelsey, 1995). The traditional divide between Labour and National voters was disrupted during this time. Young, educated, entrepreneurial voters were becoming frustrated with Muldoon's conservative social and economic policies. Although principally marked by a left-right divide both Labour and National parties had historically taken pragmatic approaches to capturing middle ground voters. Therefore, the path could be said to have been laid for the Labour Party's embrace of market-led reform in the 1980s (Kelsey, 1995). The introduction of new political parties such as the Values Party (a previous incarnation of the now Green Party) and The Social Credit Political League was further evidence of challenges to the traditional two-party political control (Kelsey, 1995). The parliamentary political sphere's increasing complexity provided opportunities for new social movements, such as the adult literacy wave, to identify with discourses not limited by a more traditional left-right divide.

The new social movements that were established in this era in Aotearoa New Zealand, and much of the so-called "industrialised" world, provided opportunities for sites of adult learning (Bowl & Tobias, 2011) as well as offering new identities with which the adult literacy

movement could align itself. In this era, political demands based on race, religion, and sexual orientation, to name a few, became more prevalent and previous antagonisms based on class and gender were reinvoked (Belich, 2001). In Aotearoa New Zealand, protests occurred around homosexual law reform, the Vietnam War, the anti-nuclear movement, environmentalism, and feminist campaigns on issues such as abortion and domestic violence (Belich, 2001). Authors have also noted that there were increased industrial disputes during this time (Bramble & Heal, 1997; B. Roper, 2005).

Belich (2001) argued that, during this time, Aotearoa New Zealand engaged in a process of decolonisation. He argued that the country was trying to articulate a new identity for itself as Britain focused its energies on the emerging EEC and moved away from its economic ties with Aotearoa New Zealand. However, highlighting the continuing links with social practices in the UK in parallel this process of "decolonisation", the adult literacy movement in Aotearoa New Zealand still borrowed from its fellow-practitioners in the UK by using the resources developed there (Hill, 1990; Sutton & Benseman, 1996).

The early adult literacy movement's philosophy was like that of the UK movement in that "everyone had a right to read" (Longley, 1975) and, despite the challenges to the welfare state at a national level, a welfarist education philosophy was dominant (Sutton & Benseman, 1996). Sutton and Benseman (1996) noted that the early movement was based upon liberal-humanistic notions of second-chance education and the literacy needs of individual circumstances. They also noted that some activity in the movement articulated more radical connections between literacy and oppression. On a broader front, liberal humanism constituted the "common-sense" logic of broader education systems in Aotearoa New Zealand until a more "technocratic" philosophy was instilled in the late 1980s (Boshier, 2001). As welfarist and liberal-humanist philosophies

underpinned some demands the adult literacy movement made to the state during the time investigated in this study, I will give a summary background of these notions as they applied to Aotearoa New Zealand at this time.

Hickox and Moore (1995) described liberal-humanist education as:

> the philosophical view that education is *intrinsically* [original emphasis] worthwhile rather than simply a means to an end such as economic efficiency or respect for traditional values; a broad definition of the role of the teacher as being concerned with the moral and spiritual aspects of 'the whole person' and not simply with imparting a narrow range of skills and/or knowledge, and support for a high degree of professional autonomy for teachers, educationalists and educational institutions. (p. 49)

In addition, from a liberal humanist perspective, the autonomous learner uses education as a way of reaching his/her potential. A critique of liberal humanism argues that difference is suppressed by universalising a particular conception of human experience (Marginson, 1999). Tamatea (2005) and Kubota (2002) criticised a liberal humanist approach for ignoring unequal distributions of power in areas such as education. A more radical perspective sees the learner as empowering themselves through learning about societal oppressions (Leach, 2001). Leach (2001) argued that issues around equity and justice are not prioritised in the New Right account of autonomy. Instead, the autonomous citizen is "the independent, self-determining individual who does not rely on the state to provide for or support her" (p. 34).

Signalling the need for a public sphere analysis of adult literacy learners, Findsen and Edgar (1999), in their discussion of the contribution of liberal education to ACE in Aotearoa New Zealand, borrowed from

Freire in saying that attention needed to be paid to learning's social aspects. This, they said was because of the need to have social, progressive peoples. These authors went on to argue that a liberal education tradition tends to limit discussion of barriers to education such as classism, sexism and racism. This is important for the argument presented in this thesis because especially since the 1980s, the case study organisation became increasingly critical of literacy approaches that did not recognise the structural impediments learners experienced in literacy training. However, the organisation also acknowledged the salience of liberal humanist approaches to adult literacy, especially if they were important to students. It managed to reconcile these identities by publicising a student-centred account that promised to support learners' identified needs but, at the same time, in other forums such as in submissions to the state, it critiqued the structural barriers to literacy that some learners faced such as poverty and racism. Documents that illustrate negotiation across multiple audiences with different discourses are analysed in chapters five to seven of this thesis.

Literacy was identified by the early adult literacy movement as a "right" (Sutton & Benseman, 1996): from a liberal humanist perspective, rights are objectively guaranteed prior to any historical and cultural context (Ahmed, 1996). This logic has been described as "progressive" compared with narrower liberal approaches because education is seen as being about more than just learning competencies, but about an *individual's* journey to being a "whole person" (Hickox & Moore, 1995). Marginson (1999) argued that although liberal humanism can suppress difference, in a human rights framework it can open up articulations of diversity as different people were seen to have different levels of access to human rights. ARLA and Literacy Aotearoa argued that literacy, as a human right, should be available to all. In the earlier days of its incarnation, ARLA appealed more directly to universal rights, but the data sets outlined in part two demonstrate that, over time, the organisation identified the need for different rights, for different peoples,

such as those for Tangata Whenua (Māori). Thus, ARLA's articulation of universal rights paved the way for the articulating of particular rights for particular people, who had been previously denied such rights.

The meritocratic dimension often articulated in a liberal humanist logic celebrates the individual's capacity to succeed in education given equal opportunities (Herzberg, 1994). Therefore, the individual in this context is identified as ultimately responsible for his or her achievement and for exploiting available opportunities. Meritocratic liberal humanism sees education as one of the ways in which individuals can become more fully human. Meritocratic liberal humanism was a strategically useful logic for the early adult literacy movement when it appealed for the need for adult literacy funding.

Aotearoa New Zealand's Indigenous peoples' language and ways of learning have been impacted by colonisation since early contact with Europeans in the nineteenth century (Rāwiri, 2005; R. Walker, 2004). In the late 1970s and early 1980s, claims for Māori sovereignty began to receive more attention in wider society (Belich, 2001; J. Harris, 2004). Protests about land alienation including the "Land March" or "Hikoi" in 1975, and the Bastion Point occupation in Auckland in 1977 and 1978, gained widespread media coverage. The Springbok tour of 1981[1] also raised the issue of race, with major and sometimes violent protests around the country. The government's reaction was to crack down on protest movements. Many commentators claimed that the Springbok tour divided the nation (Belich, 2001). These and other events brought Māori dissatisfaction into the homes of many New Zealanders via mass media.

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[1] The Springbok Tour was the South African Rugby Football team's tour of Aotearoa New Zealand in 1981. The tour provoked anti-apartheid protests around the country which often resulted in police violence on Aotearoa New Zealand citizens.

Despite the salience of liberal humanist and meritocratic values in wider education systems in Aotearoa New Zealand, Paulo Freire's visit to the country in 1974 was influential in critical education circles (Roberts, 1999). Freire questioned the power relations in Aotearoa New Zealand based on racism, and some Pākehā found this a challenging point of view (Armstrong, 1999). Throughout the time period studied, but particularly from the 1990s, ARLA's, and then Literacy Aotearoa's, publicity promoted key Freirean signifiers. These were used in a way that could be seen to reconcile the needs of a variety of audiences, without necessarily alienating individuals or groups who may have not have been sympathetic to the more political aspects of Freire's teachings (Freire, 1970/1993).

In summary, with wider, international economic deregulation, Britain moving to closer ties with Europe rather than its old colonies, the emergence of new social movements, and more visible articulations of Māori sovereignty, Aotearoa New Zealand was experiencing major crises, or disruptions to the "normal" way of life. While having to negotiate challenging times, the adult literacy movement was also presented with opportunities to identify with previously sedimented discourses about literacy and the welfare state and to negotiate new right solutions to the dislocations[2] facing Aotearoa New Zealand. This questioning of the welfare state and a move toward a new right political agenda would prove a challenge to a social movement articulating social justice via human-rights-based demands.

3.3 1984 to 1998: Radical social and economic transformation

By the 1980s, the crisis of the welfare state had accelerated in Aotearoa New Zealand, echoing similar movements in the UK and the US

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[2] The term dislocation is used in this thesis not in a geographic sense but in the particular disciplinary sense used in Discourse Theory. A detailed definition is provided in chapter four.

(Kelsey, 1995). Both Labour and National governments throughout this period pursued a minimal state (McClure, 1998). Radical economic reforms were first introduced by the fourth Labour Government in 1984 in an attempt to encourage economic growth and solve social problems such as unemployment (Kelsey, 1995; Lauder, 1990).

The adult literacy movement was faced, in the 1980s, with a state rhetoric, led by the Treasury department, that there were no alternatives to monetarist policies because the previous social democratic policies had failed (Lauder, 1990). Reforms included economic deregulation, increasing public sector corporatisation, and decreasing state support for industry (Belich, 2001). This realignment of welfare systems advanced "user-pays" systems, and a market model of welfare (Peters & Olssen, 1999). Larner (1997) argued that these reforms signified a move from a "welfare" to a "competition" state. Within this framework, state policy encouraged individual rather than collective strategies, competition and choice, privatisation, and rolling back social welfare (Larner, 2000; Peck & Tickell, 2002). The restructuring was similar to that taking place elsewhere in the UK, USA and elsewhere. However, some commentators have argued that the systematic reforms in Aotearoa New Zealand were particularly extensive (Bargh & Otter, 2009; Evans et al., 1996).

The adult literacy movement was, therefore, faced with new challenges, and, arguably, opportunities, for appealing for funding for adult literacy programmes. Their previous reliance on welfarist logic was under threat, but new political demands based on the need to ensure the nation's economic sustainability in a new globalised environment were emerging. Law (1998) argued that the demands of disadvantaged groups were acknowledged by neoliberal policies, but lack of success was blamed on limited individual choice, and market-based solutions were

given as the answer for social problems, with little acknowledgement of social rights.

Education was spared from the New Right discourse in the 1984 reforms, but this changed in 1987 when the Labour Party won its second term in government (Dale, 1994). The *Brief to the Incoming Government Volume II Education Issues* (The Treasury, 1987) questioned the link between education and welfare, arguing that the state-led model had not improved individual achievement, nor aided national economic growth. The report advocated reduced state management of schools, which amounted to a quasi-market model of education. Treasury argued that a market model in education would result in more choice for parents and address disadvantaged groups' lack of achievement. This led to further policy discussion such as the *Picot Report* (Taskforce to Review Education Administration, 1988) and the government's response *Tomorrow's Schools* (Lange, 1988) which argued a market-based funding model was the best way to meet social objectives (McCulloch, 1990).

Tertiary education policy underwent similar marketised reforms. The *Hawke Report* (Hawke, 1988), and the government's policy paper in response to this, *Learning for Life* (Department of Education, 1989), argued for reduced state resourcing of tertiary education (Lauder, 1990). Kelsey (1990) and Grace (1990) criticised the government for claiming that reforms would aid disadvantaged groups; instead, they argued that Māori and other marginalised groups did not benefit from these policies. Hindmarsh (1993), in discussing Treaty of Waitangi and equity issues for the whole community and continuing education sector, argued that policy at a government and organisational level had not gone far enough to empower Māori nor to ensure they controlled their own resources. Grace (1990) argued, borrowing from Gramsci, that the state waged an ideological war on the commonly-held assumption that education was a

public good. In a similar argument, Zepke (2001) posited that from the late 1980s Aotearoa New Zealand adult education state policy had been realigned from focusing on equality and efficiency to prioritising autonomy and accountability. Zepke suggested that in the 1990s, autonomy was increasingly articulated in policy discourses. Adult education organisations' self-determination was not guaranteed in a broad sense in this discourse; rather policy strongly suggested that organisations should be economic entities, free from state control.

With regard to the nonprofit sector as a whole, rolling back the welfare state meant that the third sector re-emerged as a suitable welfare provider (Prince, Kearns & Craig, 2004, as cited in Owen & Kearns, 2006). This, Prince et al. suggested, reconciled with the political right's values of individualism and self-sufficiency. Crack et al. (2007) noted that following welfare state the restructuring in the 1980s and 1990s, the number of nonprofit organisations in Aotearoa New Zealand rose. The authors suggested that the need for welfare agencies increased as the government was not catering for all peoples' needs, and the numbers of such people increased because of the benefit cuts administered by the state during this time. The increasing salience of the need for community-based services at a state level would, at least at some level, have been useful for ARLA's progression as a community-based adult literacy provider, well-positioned to respond to adult literacy learners' individual needs.

However, receiving state funding also brought its challenges. Research in Aotearoa New Zealand's nonprofit sector also found that, in some cases, organisations had lost some autonomy in the new contract-led environment (Nowland-Foreman, 1998). As part of the commodification of social services, community organisations were increasingly contracted by the government in a "pseudo market model" which demanded regulation and monitoring (Prestidge, 2010). This also

meant that, for some organisations, a dependence on state funding resulted in agencies providing services for which they were contracted, rather than those based on their knowledge of community needs (C. Wilson et al., 2001). Authors argued that a competitive contract environment was not conducive to collaboration between organisations in determining best practice (Nowland-Foreman, 1998). A closer relationship with the state meant that organisations had to reconcile their practices with managerialist and accountability discourses, which affected how autonomous organisations could be in their own communities (Nowland-Foreman, 1997; Owen & Kearns, 2006).

Cain and Benseman (2005) stated that, popularly, Aotearoa New Zealand's lack of economic growth in the 1990s was blamed on low workforce skills and a perception that Aotearoa New Zealand industry was ill-equipped to deal with the flexibility that the changing global economy required. Thus, the scene was set for the "myth" of literacy to provide "the answer" (Graff, 1979), or at least one of the answers, to complex political and social problems. During this time period, ARLA attracted state funding, demonstrating the state's increasing interest in literacy provision. However like other countries such as the UK and the US, adult literacy became situated, at a state level, as an economic issue (Moore, 1996).

In a distinct change from the 1970s when adult literacy was not considered a state concern, adult literacy became an important part of some government policies during this time (ETSA, 1991; Skill New Zealand Pūkenga Aotearoa, 1998). The adult literacy movement thus had the opportunity to publicise its ability to provide literacy programmes, and gain state funding. However, it faced the challenge, discussed earlier, that the state tended to be mostly interested in literacy skills for the workplace.

One of the first policy documents to highlight the need for adult literacy programmes was the *Skill New Zealand* (ETSA, 1991) strategy developed by the National government in the early 1990s. The strategy emphasised the importance of a flexible and skilled workforce in order for Aotearoa New Zealand to be able to compete in a global marketplace (ETSA, 1991). The *Skill New Zealand* strategy, Sutton (1996) argued, was integral to the implementation of workplace literacy in Aotearoa New Zealand. The strategy had two parts – the *Industry Skills Training Strategy* (ETSA, 1991) and the National Qualifications Framework (NQF), the latter of which was originally developed by the Labour Party in the late 1980s.

The National Qualifications Framework, launched by the Labour party and the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA), was developed within a managerialist and competitive framework. However, it also included social democratic principles (Law, 1998). The framework considered equity for disadvantaged groups and specifically recognised Māori language, culture and knowledge. However, Cain and Benseman (2005) noted that many community-based literacy schemes opposed the NQF when it was launched, because workers felt that it prioritised employer needs and was not learner-centred. Zepke (1997) criticised the NZQA's definition of student-centred learning for focusing on "choice" and "access" rather than considering opportunities and strategies for how students could participate in transformative education in the classroom. He was also critical of industry's dominant role in developing unit standards and for the lack of opportunities students had within the framework for challenging dominant power structures. At this time, ARLA was thus able to exploit opportunities because of the state's interested in adult literacy provision. In 1990 it received funding to set up a workplace literacy development arm (Sutton, 1996). However, the state's narrow conception of student-centred provision identified by

Zepke (1997) contrasted with ARLA's notion that learners should be offered opportunities to engage in critique of power structures.

Like the international discussions about changing work practices and the need for up-skilling during the 1980s and 90s (see, for example Gee, 1995), in an Aotearoa New Zealand context, Moore (1996) argued that, in state policy, the quality of citizens' lives was linked to the ability of the country to be competitive. However, although literacy was cited as important to Aotearoa's increased productivity and economic status, Sutton and Benseman (1996) and Moore (1996) criticised the government at the time for not having any *specific* adult literacy policy. Moore (1996) suggested that without concrete policy literacy was conceptualised narrowly as an industry issue rather than being connected to other state educational policies. However, she acknowledged that the Industry Training Act (1992) encouraged participation by those previously underrepresented in training and education. She also recognised the Education and Training Support Agency (ETSA) for having prioritised literacy, language and numeracy skills and the Ministry of Education's school curriculum policy for highlighting literacy and numeracy.

By the end of the 1990s, literacy was identified more explicitly in government policy. This was evidenced by *Literacy in the Workplace,* published by Skill New Zealand Pūkenga Aotearoa (previously the ETSA) (1998), although notably, it focused on workplace literacy. Piercy (2011) argued that in wider lifelong educational reform, access and equity issues *were* addressed during this period in policy documents. She argued that the market approach of the 1990s did open up opportunities for women and Māori to participate in lifelong learning, but this had mixed success as funding for this participation did not match demand and there was uneven participation for Māori, women and Pasifika, therefore, wider societal inequalities were replicated in state

policy. This has implications for Literacy Aotearoa as, especially from the mid-1990s, it sought to provide more equitable literacy provision for Māori and other underrepresented groups such as Pasifika and women, at a time when funding, although increasing, did not meet the full needs of the organisation and its potential students.

The state's emphasis on literacy for employment can also be found in its pre-employment initiative, the Access scheme, which was launched in 1987 (Gordon, 1990; Higgins, 1999). ARLA and Literacy Aotearoa were literacy providers for the Access scheme; a programme which provided post-school training, mostly for youth. From the mid-1980s, the state supported what it perceived as "active" forms of income assistance which included training, and reduced its support for "passive" income assistance such as the unemployment benefit (Higgins, 1999). Gordon (1990) argued that this shift in welfare philosophy in Aotearoa New Zealand harked back to the British "poor laws" which provided for those perceived as "deserving", rather than provision based on need. Hence, in contemporary times, this created a "deficit" notion of the unemployed/learner who had to be "up-skilled" because of a "lack". Higgins (1999) concurred that the introduction of Access as the main form of "active employment assistance" (p. 263) demonstrated a change in government policy from creating jobs to transforming the unemployed. The state, however, argued that the schemes increased opportunities for groups who were normally underrepresented in training (Higgins, 1999). As discussed in chapter two, in an international context, Hull (1993) specifically criticised the ideological link between literacy, job performance and the economy, saying that these elements were *not* necessarily linked. She argued for greater acknowledgement of learners' agency and how they use (or do not use) the skills learned in workplace literacy provision. ARLA's target learner audiences were thus identified in state policy as primarily needing literacy skills for work, either for preparing for employment, or bettering their performance in their current job, which can again be contrasted with

ARLA's aims to meet a variety of literacy needs, not just those limited to the workplace.

The Access scheme was notably administered by the Department of Labour, rather than the Department of Education. During this time, there was growing antagonism between the two departments. Gordon argued that the former was more engaged with marketised discourses and the latter was trying to hold on to social democratic principles (Gordon, 1990). The Training Opportunities Programme (TOPs) replaced the Access scheme in 1993 and continued to emphasise training for work (Hindmarsh, 1993). TOPs is still in existence at the time of writing. ARLA, and then Literacy Aotearoa, both of which aimed to provide student-centred literacy that addressed learners' needs first, rather than basing provision on state needs, would therefore have been cognisant of these seemingly contradictory discourses of social democracy and marketisation. In order to maintain state funding, each aimed to appeal to the developing state interest in adult literacy, as well as to students' needs, which may or may not have aligned with the state.

ARLA worked with trade union representatives in ensuring workplace literacy provision was student-centred (ARLA Workbase, 1994). This was a fraught political environment at times, however, as power struggles between industry and union-led training were evident during the 1980s and 90s, such as over the Industry Training Act (1992) and the Employment Contracts Act (1991) (Law, 1996).

To give some background, the Trade Union Education Authority (TUEA) was set up by the Labour government in 1986 under the Union Representatives Educational Leave Act (1986). This provided state-paid educational leave for union representatives. Law (1996) noted that many have considered this amongst the most progressive legislation of

its kind in the world. The TUEA was part of the tripartite system that saw employers, unions and the state recognise workers' collective rights within the capitalist welfare system. This tripartite system was threatened in 1992 when the Act was repealed by the National government and replaced with the Industry Training Act (1992). Under this Act, Industry Training Organisations (ITOs) were formed, which encouraged industry-led training instead of union-led training. It should be noted, however, that although education provided by unions was undermined by the Industry Training Act, Moore (1996) mentioned that some unions did support literacy projects in organisations. She acknowledged the New Zealand Council for Trade Unions (NZCTU) for prioritising literacy training. ARLA's partners in literacy training were thus changing quite dramatically in this time period as industry, rather than unions held the funds for literacy training.

State funding was mostly replaced by industry funding and a more market-based education model was encouraged (Law, 1996). This legislation came after the 1991 Employment Contracts Act that effectively undermined workers' collective rights, replacing them with individual contracts. In light of the changes to education provision, Law (1996) criticised "many providers [for] abandoning core values and redefining themselves ideologically as private training enterprises in order to conform to the market model" (p. 173). It was during this time that ARLA began providing workbased literacy training as a way to meet students' needs, increase accessibility of literacy provision and raise funds (e.g., ARLA Workbase, 1994; Flook, 1991). However, there was also discussion in the organisation over how well-placed workplace literacy programmes were to provide student-centred learning (Moore, 1987; Sutton, 1996).

Overall, state funding increased for adult literacy in the 1980s and 1990s. This was partly because literacy was included in policy

initiatives such as Access and the subsequent Training Opportunities Programmes (TOPs) (Hindmarsh, 1993). Adult literacy programmes fared better than most other ACE providers in the lean times of the early 1990s (Hindmarsh, 1993), demonstrating how it had become a key strategic area for the state. For example, in 1992, ARLA's funding was cut by seven per cent compared with much larger cuts to the WEA and the distance learning unit of the TUEA (Hindmarsh, 1993). However, this increase in funding should not overshadow the argument that the field remained poorly resourced as did much of the rest of the community education sector (Sutton & Benseman, 1996). Sutton (1996) argued that the state's emphasis on new skills did not always lead to increased funding. Sutton also commented that some sectors of the adult literacy field were wary that funding for skills-based literacy might also mean competition for funding for less work-related literacy provision. However, the increased importance the state placed on literacy did suggest that it required the services of nonprofit organisations such as ARLA. This partnership approach would pave the way for a further institutionalisation of a third-way approach in the 2000s.

Sutton and Benseman (1996) projected that there would be less emphasis in state policy on "literacy as a right" and more on the benefits of literacy as a "national economic good". The authors suggested the disjuncture between the different philosophies of the liberal-humanism of the movement and the economic rationalism of the government had prevented the development of specific state policy for adult literacy and basic education thus far. Part two of this thesis discusses how this perceived contestation between the different values of the adult literacy movement and the government were addressed by ARLA and Literacy Aotearoa's representatives using strategic publicity work.

The International Adult Literacy Survey, undertaken in 1996, was a key turning point in state interest in adult literacy policy. Carried out in 22

countries by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in association with Statistics Canada, (OECD, 2000) the survey investigated a cross-section of the working age's literacy levels in prose, document and quantitative literacy. Participants were scaled from level one to five, with level one indicating that individuals had problems completing basic reading tasks and level five indicating the highest grade of literacy. The results demonstrated that, across all the countries surveyed, a larger percentage than had previously been considered had low levels of functional literacy (OECD, 1997).

The results taken from Aotearoa New Zealand showed that one in five adults were at the first level of literacy, and overall, nearly half of the working age population were below level three which was considered the minimum level of literacy required for participation in social and working life (Cain & Benseman, 2005; S. Watson, 1999). These results were comparable to those in the US, Australia and Canada (OECD, 1997). According to the survey, those with the least amount of formal schooling, Pasifika, Māori, those with English as another language, the unemployed, low-skilled workers, the elderly, and those with low income generally, had the most literacy needs. However, Cain and Benseman (2005) also noted that the survey showed that low literacy levels were not restricted to those in marginalised groups.

IALS was followed up in 2006 by the Adult Literacy and Language Survey (ALLS). Again it was undertaken in several countries and conducted by the OECD and Statistics Canada in order to make international comparisons. Results from this survey showed that there had been improvements in literacy rates in that 43 per cent of the adult working age population were at levels one and two compared with 51 per cent in 1996 (Ministry of Education, 2008). However, some have argued that given the slightly different measures used in both surveys comparisons are limited (Isaacs, 2011).

IALS has been criticised for testing knowledge which Hamilton and Barton (2000) claimed did not always reflect the lifeworlds of those it evaluated. In Aotearoa New Zealand, Isaacs (2011) criticised the context in which IALS was reported, for restricting the definition of literacy needs to those related to skills and particularly, those skills needed for the workplace in order to improve national economic growth. He said as a result of this focus on the labour market, other literacies were occluded, including Māori literacies and especially the Māori language, te reo Māori. Isaacs went on to say that this focus on economic outcomes has been reflected in subsequent state policy in Aotearoa New Zealand that has used the IALS results as a basis for its strategies, such as *More than Words* (Ministry of Education, 2001) (which is discussed in more detail below) and the *Tertiary Education Strategies* (Ministry of Education, 2002; Ministry of Education, 2007).

Despite the significant marketised and economistic inflection of educational policies, Bowl and Tobias (2011) and Tobias (2004) argued that there was still notable resistance to these neoliberalised norms within adult and community education. Citing Māori voices such as R. Walker (1990), and oppositional MP voices, Bowl and Tobias (2011) noted discontent and organised resistance to the monocultural and marketised educational reforms in the ACE sector during this time.

Especially from the mid-1990s, ARLA, and then Literacy Aotearoa, began identifying more closely with a Treaty-based mission, in recognising Tangata Whenua, or Māori, as having specific rights to literacy provision. In a wider political context, in this time period Māori gained some new constitutional rights. The Waitangi Tribunal[3] was

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[3] The Waitangi Tribunal was originally set up in 1975 under the Treaty of Waitangi Act (1975) (Byrnes, 2004).

given increased jurisdiction in 1985 (Byrnes, 2004). This permitted the body to hear Māori claims against the crown from 1840 rather than being limited to contemporary claims as it had been before these reforms. In addition, Māori received greater rights to representation in parliament under new electoral reforms. When the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system was introduced in Aotearoa New Zealand in 1996, unlike the previous first past the post system, where the number of Māori electorates was four, the number permitted under MMP was allowed to change according to the electoral population, just like the general electorate (Levine & Roberts, 1994). This meant that in the 1996 election, Māori representation in parliament tripled from 5 to 15 MPs, out of 120 (Belich, 2001).

There was also a renaissance of the Māori language, te reo Māori, during this time period. The Māori Language Act was passed in 1987 which acknowledged te reo Māori as an official language in Aotearoa New Zealand and also established the Māori Language Commission Te Taura Whiri I te Reo Māori (A. Durie, 1998). Kohanga Reo, or language nests, for pre-school children which were first established in 1981, continued to gain support and Kura Kaupapa schools (schools based on Māori philosophies) were also supported by the state (May, 1996). These gains for Māori demonstrated the ability of Tangata Whenua to resist further erosion in times that were often antagonistic to social concerns (Bowl & Tobias, 2011). This increasing recognition of te reo Māori at a state level also sets the scene for how the Māori development arm of ARLA began more clearly identifying te reo as a literacy component.

There were also notable Māori rights protests during this time period. These included a hikoi, or march, from Waitangi[4] to Auckland[5] in 1984

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[4] Waitangi is the town where the Treaty of Waitangi was first signed in 1840
[5] Auckland, situated in the North Island is the largest city in Aotearoa New Zealand and often referred to as the business capital.

led by prominent Māori activist Eva Rickard (Te Awekotuku, 2004) and the occupation of Moutoa Gardens in Whanganui[6] in 1995 (Moon, 1996). These protests occurred at a time when Māori were considered by some to be most at risk from the market-based reforms instituted by the state because of their over-representation in vulnerable industries (Belich, 2001; Moon, 2009).

As discussed in chapter two of this thesis, during this period, Māori adult literacy needs were linked to Freirean pedagogies by Yates (1996). Yates (1996) and Mete (1996) discussed how difficult it was to attract funding for Kaupapa Māori foundational learning programmes, as the state's discourse did not include Māori ways of knowing. Benseman (1998) added to this argument, saying that more radical articulations of adult literacy based on, for example, that of Freire, would not attract state funding because of the possibility that these pedagogies would criticise the state.

In addition to the upsurge in Māori claims for sovereignty, other social movements gained salience during this time. The Homosexual Reform Act was passed in 1986 and there were also anti-nuclear protests from 1985 (Belich, 2001). Proportional representation was instituted in parliament in the form of MMP in 1996 (Jonston & Pattie, 1999). This was seen by Schmidt (2002) as a response by the electorate in Aotearoa New Zealand to the radical reforms that took place in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. She argued that abolition of the first past the post electoral system meant that it was less likely that one party could advance such radical reforms.

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[6] Whanganui is a town in Aotearoa New Zealand's North Island. Whanganui also often refers to the surrounding district of the town, marked by the Whanganui River.

In summary, the period from 1984 to 1998 saw some radical political and economic reform which, relevant for this thesis, affected welfare, education and training. At the same time, there was also resistance to further erosion of Māori rights such as the recognition of te reo Māori as a national language and increased representation in parliament. This period, thus offered both challenges and opportunities for the adult literacy movement in that adult literacy was increasingly articulated as important for the nation's economic well-being; however, this was based on a functional or skills-based account of adult literacy. In addition, besides the radical restructuring of the welfare state, there was resistance by those Māori articulating the need for self-determination.

3.4 1999 to 2009: The "third way" and the state-sanctioning of adult literacy provision

A Labour-Alliance (centre-left)-led coalition was elected to government in 1999 and this brought about further institutionalisation of a third-way social partnership ideology in Aotearoa New Zealand (Duncan, 2007). The third way, like that promulgated in the US and the UK, was designed to provide a middle ground between the more punitive neoliberal times of the 1990s and the "first way" of the post-war Keynesian welfare state (Codd, 2002). This logic of governance instituted a partnership model between the state and the market. In this model, civil society agents, which included nonprofit organisations such as Literacy Aotearoa, were designated as partners to the state in the provision of social services in a market economy (Giddens, 1998). Literacy was seen by the state as a way to address New Zealand's slow economic growth by upskilling the workforce (Cain & Benseman, 2005). Thus literacy providers were important in cementing the social partnership approach to economic and social prosperity.

In the early 2000s, the Aotearoa New Zealand state demonstrated commitment to restoring relationships with the community sector, which had been damaged by state neoliberal reforms in the 1990s (Barnett & Barnett, 2006). A joint working party was formed between the state and the community and voluntary sector and, in 2001, the Ministry of Social Development signed a contract detailing its good intentions to work closely, and consult adequately, with the sector (Barnett & Barnett, 2006). Larner and Craig (2005) argued that although the 1990s had proved to be tough times for the sector, practitioners had gained good brokering skills that set them in good stead for the new era of a "partnership" approach.

With regard to adult literacy state policy, following the release of the IALS analysis, adult literacy slowly began to gain prominence although the state took some time to respond to the survey results (S. Watson, 1999). In 2001, the Ministry of Education appointed an adult literacy chief advisor and, the same year, Aotearoa New Zealand's first specific adult literacy strategy *More than Words* (Ministry of Education, 2001) was launched. The state also doubled adult literacy funding between 1999 and 2002, demonstrating its support for literacy training (Cain & Benseman, 2005).

The adult literacy strategy *More than Words* (Ministry of Education, 2001) concentrated on the economic benefits of adult literacy participation, although it included the social benefits of programmes too. The strategy's broader aims were "firstly raising the levels of literacy in the adult population, secondly to ensure that those of working age can participate in the workforce, and thirdly children leave school equipped to enter the workforce" (p. 5). The goals of this strategy can be seen as part of the "learning for earning" philosophy (G. Harrison, 2008; Isaacs, 2005; Zepke, 2009) articulated by the state across adult literacy and wider lifelong education policy. The focus on adult literacy and its

relationship with employment can be set against the decrease in construction and labouring jobs and a rise in jobs requiring qualifications and more formal education (Cain & Benseman, 2005). J. Walker (2011) argued that adult literacy state policy in Aotearoa New Zealand enabled and limited adult literacy practice through its focus on professionalism and accountability. Provision was enabled through state recognition, but the need for agencies to adhere to strict accountability measures limited its flexibility in provision.

This state adult literacy strategy (Ministry of Education, 2001) claimed to specifically address the problem of participation, reflecting the principal mantras of third-way politics of social inclusion and pluralism (Giddens, 1998). This concern over participation can be contrasted with the historical complacency in Aotearoa New Zealand regarding participation in adult education. This complacency was as a result of the myth that equality in schooling had resulted in a fully literate nation (Findsen, 2006). The types of students *More than Words* was concerned with were limited as there was a clear focus on workplace literacy needs (Isaacs, 2011).

In addition, the strategy to increase participation was limited to improving quality, capability, and increasing providers and programmes in the adult literacy sector. Thus the state saw increasing competition in the sector as a solution to the issue of low participation rates. There was little attention paid to *how* adult literacy learners would be recruited, through, for example, publicity practices. The third-way's focus of providing equality of opportunity rather than equality of outcome (Powell, 1999) is evident in this policy as the state focused on providing more *opportunities* to participate, and did not engage in an in-depth analysis of the complex ways in which adult literacy learners engage (or do not engage) with provision. In a Scottish context, Tett (2007) argued

that attention should be paid to not just the provision of opportunities for adult literacy learners, but the equity of outcomes.

In order to meet the needs of the nation's workforce, *More than Words* (Ministry of Education, 2001) encouraged the adult literacy field to professionalise through improving quality assurance and professional development in the sector. Professionalism was seen as an essential process in linking literacy, employment and the adult learners' quality of life. Providers were thus compelled to professionalise. Morison (2000) argued that state pressure on nonprofit organisations to professionalise can favour more bureaucratic, rather than more informal and grass-roots organisations. Consequently, the pressure was on Literacy Aotearoa to conform to more managerial discourses but, at the same time, stay close to its community-base.

Learners were obligated in *More than Words* (Ministry of Education, 2001) to improve their literacy levels to those designated by IALS. This narrowed accepted literacies to those involving skills (Isaacs, 2011). Because achievement at IALS Level three was linked to the economic and social wellbeing of the country, learners were thus given responsibility to improve for the good of the nation. As discussed in chapter two, Hamilton and Pitt (2011) found similar themes in an analysis of UK adult literacy policy when literacy changed from being a right, to that of an entitlement linked with the return of "duties" on behalf of the learner.

In contrast to *More than Words* (Ministry of Education, 2001), *Te Kawai Ora*, produced by the Māori adult literacy working party (2001) widened literacy to refer to contextual literacies useful for Māori. This included te reo Māori and knowledge about whakapapa, or ancestry, land and heritage, and Māori symbols such as those used in carving. Isaacs

(2011) argued that the report was reminiscent of literacy as a social practice in that it brought attention to literacies that people used in everyday life instead of articulating autonomous literacies that were regarded as unchanged between contexts. The Literacy and Employment research team argued in policy reports that *Te Kawai Ora* be revisited and its precepts given greater consideration in policy (Sligo et al., 2007).

The state's first dedicated adult literacy strategy (Ministry of Education, 2001) should be set against wider tertiary education reforms occurring at the time in Aotearoa New Zealand. Complicit with third-way political restructuring, the tertiary education sector as a whole underwent a series of realignments (Codd, 2002). The Labour-Alliance government set up the Tertiary Education Advisory Commission (TEAC) in 2000 and following its reports, the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) was established and the Tertiary Education Strategies (Ministry of Education, 2002; Ministry of Education, 2007) were published. Along with universities, polytechnics, ACE, Private Training Enterprises (PTEs) and Other Tertiary Education Providers (OTEPs), the adult literacy sector was brought under the newly-formed Tertiary Education Commission in 2003 (Isaacs, 2005). Practitioners and educational theorists in the wider ACE sector had mixed feelings about these changes. On the one hand, the inclusion of ACE in the tertiary education sector meant access to more funding, resources, and a place at the policy table for providers. On the other hand, some feared the loss of autonomy in a much broader sector (Findsen, 2006).

Zepke (2001) argued that since the late 1980s, economic rationalist discourses had colonised the adult education sector's articulations of accountability and autonomy. Furthermore, from 1999 to 2001, the state's emphasis on a New Right accountability discourse was eroding institutions' autonomy. He argued that, since the TEAC was

established, state policy had de-emphasised competition in the sector, but was now prioritising how adult education institutions could meet state needs. He said that because of this, accountability had become the new buzzword in state policy. Zepke suggested that for those interested in challenging these marketised discourses in adult education, individuals and institutions could clarify how notions of accountability and autonomy could be used in a more social justice framework. This could mean that autonomy and accountability become associated with social aims such as participatory democracy and connectedness between disparate groups; as citizens and institutions grow more aware of the needs of others. Zepke's argument is interesting for this thesis as, especially in the 2000s, Literacy Aotearoa articulated the elements of the new managerial discourse alongside a framework for social justice that promoted student-centred literacy provision.

The increasing pressure for community education organisations to professionalise and standardise had been on-going for some time, especially with the introduction of the qualifications framework in the 1990s and increasing accountability requirements in the sector (Hindmarsh, 1993). The *Tertiary Education Strategies* stated that changes should be made to the demand-led tertiary system which was institutionalised in the 1990s. The documents encouraged competition between providers. The state argued that the new overall strategy was designed to encourage collaboration, quality, relevance and access to provision (Ministry of Education, 2008). However, Isaacs (2011) argued that competition was still central in the sector, despite the policies rhetoric of collaboration.

Leach (2001) argued that in the late 1990s the state made clear moves towards increased accountability through quality assurance standards. This, she suggested, impeded and restricted the autonomy of teachers and learners. Leach also commented that this was a particular issue in

workplace learning where the autonomy of the learner was superseded by accountability requirements. Codd (2002) and Piercy (2011) identified these professionalised reforms within the growing salience of third-way political governance that placed quality education as a key link between social and economic outcomes for individuals.

The TEC's *Literacy, Language and Numeracy Action Plan 2008-2012: Raising the Literacy, Language and Numeracy Skills of the Workplace*, (2008b) clearly signified an explicit link to workplace literacy. The action plan focused on embedding literacy learning in vocational programmes as a way of increasing the opportunities learners had to engage with literacy and numeracy learning. The plan acknowledged that participating in literacy learning would take courage; therefore, the document's answer to encouraging the learning was to improve the *quality* of programmes. A publicity campaign to target the workforce was also recommended. Like the state's adult literacy action plan (Ministry of Education, 2001), this document focused on providing equal *opportunities* for learners, rather than focusing on equality of *outcomes*.

Isaacs (2011) argued that because the action plan focused on embedding literacy in vocational courses, those situated at level one on the IALS scale could be excluded from literacy training as these learners do not tend to take part in vocational learning. This limited identification of literacy needs can, therefore, be seen to have been somewhat of a challenge to Literacy Aotearoa's mission to meet the critical literacy needs of *all* New Zealanders. Issacs also posited that the TEC's emphasis on embedded learning meant additional competition for community-based literacy providers such as Literacy Aotearoa. He added that embedded learning was cheaper than providing specialist literacy training and thus more attractive for the state. In addition, other research found tensions were identified between literacy needs in

vocational courses and that of the individual (Leach, Zepke, Haworth, Isaacs, 2010; Sligo et al., 2009).

Isaacs (2011) argued that for Aotearoa New Zealand state policy, participation in adult literacy programmes was identified as a marketing problem in that competition should be instituted, quality improved, and thus learners could operate as consumers as the rules of the market dictate which providers attract the "customers". He argued that there was little acknowledgement of the complex reasons that adult literacy students engage (or do not engage) in learning. In addition, researchers in Aotearoa New Zealand have identified disadvantages to competitive funding in the adult literacy sector in that it prevented the sharing of best practice, limited collaboration between organisations, and because of lack of resources and the ability to engage in long-term planning, prevented agencies from publicising more comprehensively in their communities (Harrison, 2008; Sligo, Culligan et al., 2006).

Funding to providers has been awarded on the basis of Equivalent Full-Time Student (EFTS) numbers and how well the institutions met the goals of the *Tertiary Education Strategy* (TES) (Isaacs, 2005). By 2007, funding was consolidated into three main funds, the Workplace Literacy Fund, The Foundation Learning Pool and Adult and Community Education (Ministry of Education, 2008). In 2009, following my data collection, this framework changed: The Foundation Learning Pool was revised and renamed the Intensive Literacy and Numeracy fund (Tertiary Education Commission, 2009). This change meant that community-based adult literacy programmes had to be more focused on employment and pre-employment skills.

Although the state argued that the key to widening participation was to create more providers and programmes, Isaacs (2005) and Piercy (2011)

argued that programmes were restricted because funding was mostly awarded to those that focused on functional literacy designed for training people for the knowledge economy. This meant that some literacy needs, such as Māori literacy needs, were under-represented in provision because they were not considered economically valuable (Isaacs, 2005). Therefore, it could be argued that the method of introducing more provision and competition into the sector did not necessarily meet a wider range of literacy needs, nor target a more diverse range of adult literacy learners.

New ways of monitoring and auditing the adult literacy sector were produced by the Tertiary Education Commission. *The Literacy and Numeracy for Adults Assessment Tool* and *The Learning Progressions* (Tertiary Education Commission, 2008a) were provided by TEC as resources for the sector. However, Isaacs (2011) argued that these have been primarily used by the state to ensure accountability to the state. He went on to say that this has led to considerably more administrative work for adult literacy workers (2011). These arguments echo those reviewed in chapter two in that increased accountability practices for the nonprofit sector have put undue stress on nonprofit organisations (Nowland-Foreman, 2009).

During the year of data collection for this project (2009), the state further eroded social democratic policies by instituting 80 per cent funding cuts to community night classes with the remainder of community education funding to be re-directed into literacy and numeracy training (Piercy, 2011). This training, as discussed above, was mostly focused on the workplace.

At a wider state level, the articulation of Māori needs underwent some important changes during this time. The Labour-Alliance led coalition introduced *Closing the Gaps* policy in 2000, the aim of which was to reduce the disparities between Māori and non-Māori social outcomes. However, under parliamentary political pressure, it changed the policy to be branded *Reducing Inequalities* and in further moves, carried out a review of all social policy to ensure that documents were responding to "need" and not "race" (Humpage, 2008).

However, there was a definite articulation of the need for Māori sovereignty when conflict over the controversial Seabed and Foreshore Act (2004), which aimed to eliminate Indigenous rights to the seabed and foreshore, resulted in the formation of the Māori Party in 2004. The seabed and foreshore debate and the formation of the Māori party provided new opportunities for discussion on Māori, and indeed Tauiwi rights. However, analysis has shown how Māori perspectives on the seabed and foreshore issue were generally "othered" in national media reports (Phelan & Shearer, 2009).

With regard to lifelong learning policy, Piercy (2011) argued that more needed to be done to adequately address the needs of diverse peoples and especially to engage with the politics of biculturalism. She argued that in industry training, participation targets set by the government for Māori and Pasifika men have made a difference in practice. However, she argued that wider social justice issues needed to be addressed if gender and ethnic power relations were to be challenged. She claimed that the social goals of the UNESCO 1970s rhetoric had been taken over by marketised goals as lifelong learning was increasingly linked to the workplace. While still acknowledging that learning in the workplace could have wider social returns, there remained issues around equitable access to learning between diverse groups. She argued that more

research was needed to look at participation levels across groups. She went on to say that participation in lifelong learning replicated wider social inequality and this was a social justice issue that required government support.

3.5 Conclusion

To summarise, the need for adult literacy provision was not identified as a state need in the 1970s. However, in the 2000s, it was cited as essential for the wellbeing of the nation's economy and provision was supported by various specific state funds. The articulation of adult literacy was mostly functional, however, with literacy's social benefits being mentioned, but not emphasised in state policy. Thus, the state did not rigorously attend to a more critical literacy perspective which would have acknowledged the structural barriers to adult literacy participation. Overall, on a macro-political level, the period from 1973 to 2009 witnessed a re-structuring of a welfare state built on Keynesian economics in the 1970s, a more punitive economic reform agenda in the 1980s, and the institutionalisation of a third way, partnership model in the 2000s. Thus, Literacy Aotearoa has had to negotiate a rapidly and dramatically changing political climate where literacy needs were now recognised by the state, but focused on workplace and work-ready literacy needs.

Now that I have outlined the major political, social and economic factors that contributed to Aotearoa New Zealand's adult literacy state policy, I will now turn to discussing the methodological frameworks I use to analyse Literacy Aotearoa's publicity.

Chapter 4

Methodological framework and data "construction"

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses how the case study was constructed, how the data sets were collected, and how discourse theory was used as a methodological guide. The case study was a fairly complex one in which publicity practices, akin to that in many other nonprofit organisations, were fragmented and at times hard to trace and identify. This chapter, therefore, itemises the decisions made as to what data sets were collected and from where, as well as discussing the ethical considerations around Pākehā conducting bicultural research in the nonprofit sector.

I then discuss how Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory was used as an analytical guide. Discourse Theory is interested, from a post-structuralist perspective, in how individuals, groups, and institutions identify with discourses and thus construct their identity, particularly within a context of capitalist hegemony. It provides a framework for understanding the social and political influences on the case study's organisational identity and that of its publics such as learners. Discourse Theory can then account for both change and continuity in discourse, in understanding how Literacy Aotearoa, since its early days as part of the adult literacy movement, has publicised to its learners and other publics over time. It also offers a framework for analysing how structuring influences such as welfarism, neoliberal reform, liberal humanism and meritocracy have had an effect on adult literacy publicity, but recognises how identities can make decisions, within malleable structures, about how best to publicise.

4.2 Building the case study

This thesis takes the view that instead of simply "collecting" data, researchers have a role in "constructing" data, meaning researchers

ultimately decide what data sets are collected, the rationale behind this, and the methodological frameworks used (Alvesson, 1999; Stake, 1995). This section describes how I borrowed from case study literature in building the research project and how decisions were made as to the data collected.

Stake (1995) gave a useful summary of the case study's aim to be a "study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances" (p. xi). This case study is a mixture of two of Stake's three different types of case study. His descriptions of the intrinsic case study and the instrumental case study are pertinent for this research. For Stake, an intrinsic case study is chosen because the researcher is interested in the particular case and the instrumental case study is when the researcher has a question that may be investigated by researching a particular case. As discussed in chapter one, my research problem was how a literacy organisation communicates critical literacy discourses in a context dominated by skills-based, and 3R literacy definitions. Thus, I had a general problem that I wanted to investigate. When my attention was brought to Literacy Aotearoa, I was particularly intrigued as to how an adult literacy organisation with a Treaty-based identity managed to publicise to its audiences.

Two of Yin's (2009) categories can help further explain my rationale. I chose a "representative" case in that Literacy Aotearoa was an organisation trying to maintain a social justice mission in an environment that was not necessarily antagonistic to its concerns, but not always conducive to Literacy Aotearoa's student-centred provision. However, this case was also a "revelatory" case, because little had been written about the specific problems of adult literacy publicity before. As I go onto discuss below, the research on Literacy Aotearoa also utilised further case studies on four ngā poupou (member groups). In

case study theory, these are described as further "units of analysis" (Yin, 2009, p. 50).

Literacy Aotearoa in 2009 comprised 45 member groups, a national office and a governance group. Listed in its 2009 Annual Report, its mission was to "develop, promote and deliver accessible quality literacy services designed to ensure the peoples of Aotearoa are critically literate" (Literacy Aotearoa Inc, 2010, p. 4). Given Literacy Aotearoa's Treaty-based identity, and the argument that adult literacy practice has been affected by processes of colonialism (Shore, 2004; Yates, 1996), like other adult literacy researchers in adult literacy in Aotearoa (Sligo & Tilley, 2009, 2011), I felt that I had to be particularly cognisant of my position as a Pākehā researcher.

In deciding to undertake research in adult literacy and pay attention to the particular issue of Treaty-based relations in adult literacy practice, I borrowed from Tolich (2002) and Bell (2004). Tolich warned that Pākehā can suffer from paralysis in academic research in that some assume they have no place to research Māori practices and lack sufficient knowledge to undertake research on the general population in a sensitive manner. This, he argued, meant that Māori have often been left out of state-funded research. Tolich argued that a process of cultural reflexivity on behalf of the researcher would go some way to helping Pākehā get past this paralysis and help to ensure that research on the "general public" would not exclude Māori. Bell discussed her own personal challenges in deciding to research a topic on bicultural communication. She argued that there are times when Pākehā should act, and times when they should step back. She decided that given the unequal power relations between Pākehā and Māori, and her knowledge and interest in her topic, she was deigned to act.

Taking Tolich's (2002) and Bell's (2004) advice on board, but still being cognisant of L. Smith's (1999) argument that many research paradigms come from an unconscious colonialist lens, I decided to undertake this research, with particular strategies in place. The first was to ensure that I had appropriate cultural supervision, which I was kindly given by Te Kaiwawao, Senior Manager Māori at Massey University Wellington. The second was to ensure that I had my own systematic processes of cultural reflection in place that encouraged a process of bringing any assumptions I had about research practice to the fore. I did this in the form of a research diary that had a specified section for my thoughts on my position as a Pākehā researcher. During data collection and analysis, I also developed relationships with some of the participants in this research that allowed for lengthy discussions on the relationships between Māori and Tauiwi (non-Māori, not limited to those of European descent) both within research, adult literacy and publicity contexts. These conversations influenced my thinking and how I went about my research practice.

With regard to when data collection "begins", Stake (1995) noted that in case study research, there is usually no exact point when the researcher starts gathering data. Instead, there is a process of relationship building and getting to know "the case". Ezzy (2002) argued that within participatory research participants are involved fully in the research process and have some control over the direction of the research. Given that this could not, under the confines of a PhD, be participatory research, I still borrowed from these guidelines in trying to ensure that the project would be of some use to the case study organisation. Thus, before fully conceptualising the case study, I began meetings with Literacy Aotearoa personnel in order that I could, within the limitations of doctoral study, ensure that the project would be of value to the participants. Although the end result is, of course, my own work, it was important that some of Literacy Aotearoa's key publicity concerns were addressed in the project. However, these key informants, and indeed all

participants in the project will, of course, have their own opinions on whether these concerns were addressed in the final analysis. From these initial meetings with these key informants at the organisation, I continued a relationship with these research participants that included formalised feedback methods, but more importantly, included personal relationship-building based on trust.

With regard to institutional ethics approval, I applied for, and was later granted, consent by Massey University Human Ethics Committee to collect data by interviewing adult literacy practitioners, conducting a publicity search, and organising focus group interviews with adult literacy students. These methods are described in more detail in the following sections. In my research proposal and affiliated ethics application, I also incorporated feedback channels to Literacy Aotearoa. These included writing a final report for the organisation summarising the research findings. The intention of this report was to provide the organisation with a more reader-friendly account of the analysis in comparison to the full thesis document. Following Massey University ethics consent, I formally requested, and was granted, access to Literacy Aotearoa by Te Tumuaki (CEO) for the purposes of conducting publicity research.

One of the key ethical issues considered was whether or not Literacy Aotearoa should be named in the thesis. From the start of data collection it was agreed that no individuals or specific ngā poupou would be identified, but as the participant permission slips noted, the national organisation could conceivably be identified in the thesis. As initial analysis and writing of the thesis progressed, it became clear that it was hard not to explicitly identify the national organisation's name. Both the researcher and key informants at Literacy Aotearoa agreed that it was untenable that Literacy Aotearoa could not be named, thus it was

decided to name the organisation clearly from the beginning of the thesis.

I continued to reflect on ethical considerations throughout the research process. On one particular occasion, I re-engaged with the Massey University Human Ethics Committee. When I was developing the formal research proposal and building relationships with Literacy Aotearoa, in 2008, the senior management team asked me if I would lead a workshop at its National Planning Hui (conference) on how to reach learners. I was pleased to be given the opportunity to directly engage with some of the challenges facing Literacy Aotearoa and perhaps help in a practical way, but I was also cognisant of my position as a researcher: I did not want my own opinions on best practice, which I may promote in a workshop, affect my later research in that participants may respond in different ways if they to know, more intimately, my (albeit limited at the time) ideas for best practice. In addition, I knew that although I was not formally collecting data at this stage, anything that I learned in the workshop would probably inform my specific research proposal to the organisation, as I could not un-know what I now knew. Therefore, I worked with Literacy Aotearoa senior management team and engaged in peer review with my supervisors, and members of the Massey University Ethics Committee, in developing a workshop framework that would *facilitate* ideas from participants regarding reaching learners, rather than offering my own opinion as "expert". I was also clear to acknowledge in the workshop that I was in the early stages of my doctoral research.

As Stake (1995) went on to describe, in a case study, the researcher is very often working within someone else's space and sometimes the researcher can be a burden. I was very cognisant of this and went to some lengths to try to ensure that my research did not create undue work for the workers and students of Literacy Aotearoa. However, given the

nature of research, it did create some extra effort on an already-stretched workforce, which, because of a tight budget and ethical considerations, I was unable to recompense. A particular concern for this study was that I was researching publicity and promotional practices, which could be considered a commercially sensitive practice for any organisation. Because of the increasingly marketised publicity practices in the nonprofit sector, mostly designed to ensure organisations like Literacy Aotearoa could appear as credible and legitimate fundees, this research covered a particularly sensitive area. It was through on-going reflection with supervisors, ethics committee members and key informants at Literacy Aotearoa that I wanted to produce a thesis that brought no harm to the organisation and could also publicly illuminate the challenges it faced in its publicity practices.

4.3 Data gathering methods

The types of data collected were affected by Discourse Theory's (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985/2001) assertion that discourse is constitutive of *all* social practice: in other words, there is nothing socially constituted "outside" of discourse. The implications for this study are that the texts analysed (publicity materials and interviews) are thus all forms of discourse. The process of selecting appropriate theoretical frameworks and studies in which to conduct the analysis was done via articulatory practice (Glynos & Howarth, 2007; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985/2001). Articulatory practice relates to the way discourse is created. As well as being used as a conceptual category to analyse empirical material, this practice can also be used to account for the social science practice of constructing a research object in a particular way (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). This means that I drew on a variety of different approaches from different disciplines to make sense of adult literacy publicity. I used interviews and focus group techniques from social science literature, a

communication audit from business and organisational studies and Laclau and Mouffe's political theory of discourse.

4.3.1 Interviews and focus groups

There was no single person responsible for publicity, communication or public relations at Literacy Aotearoa during the year of data collection. Jensen (2002) advised that researchers should aim to include research participants who were well-placed to provide information about the "social system" (p. 237) in question. Therefore, my aim was to interview as many people as possible who contributed to publicity as part of their job description. My research began with interviews with key informants at Literacy Aotearoa which led to interviews with others in the national office and governance board. Following these interviews, I became aware that much of the organisation's publicity, especially that which directly targeted learners, was undertaken at a local level, by ngā poupou, or member groups. Thus, I chose, out of the 45 member groups at the time, four sub-cases, or further units of study, in order to study Literacy Aotearoa publicity in more depth.

These ngā poupou were chosen in order to garner as diverse a view as possible within the budgetary and time constraints of the thesis. I chose ngā poupou on account of their diversity in geographical location and the types of adult literacy programmes they ran. Ngā poupou approached for participation in this research can be characterised as follows –

Te poupou A   Relatively large poupou operating within major city in the north island.

Number of students in 2009 – 166

Number of workers (paid and unpaid) - 48

Te poupou B   Small poupou with close relationship with iwi provider in north island town.

Number of students in 2009 - 49

Number of workers (paid and unpaid) - 3

Te poupou C   Diverse provider in large town in the north island

Number of students in 2009 - 961

Number of workers (paid and unpaid) - 14

Te poupou D   Small poupou located in rural setting in south island

Number of students in 2009 - 36

Number of workers (paid and unpaid) - 24

Thus my interview schedule comprised -

Literacy Aotearoa senior management - interviews with six workers.

Literacy Aotearoa governance board - interview with one member.

Advertising agency used by Literacy Aotearoa - interviews with two agency partners.

Other literacy organisation - interview with communication manager.

Interview with adult literacy learner from the 1980s.

Te poupou A	Interviews with co-coordinator/manager and tutor
	Focus group with nine adult literacy students
Te poupu B	Interviews with co-coordinator/manager and tutor
	Two focus groups with total of 14 students
	Interview with one student
Te poupu C	Interviews with co-coordinator/manager and tutor
	Focus group with 10 adult literacy students
Te poupou D	Interviews with co-coordinator/manager and tutor
	Interviews with three adult literacy students

The differing number of interviews and focus groups undertaken above can be explained by factors such as ensuring that a diversity of voices was gathered, the availability of students, and the culture of programmes at different ngā poupou. Thus, firstly, if I felt that there was either a lack of voice articulated by some in a focus group, or if some representative identities were not present at the focus group, I attempted to conduct more focus groups or request interviews with students. Secondly, I was only able to organise interviews with students when I was on-site at te poupou. Therefore, I had to rely on the availability of students during the week of data collection. Thirdly, as with te poupou D, the tutors advised me that students may be reluctant to participate in a group setting given that the town was small and they may not want to be identified to other students. Therefore, I conducted interviews, rather than focus groups in this area.

Semi-structured qualitative interviews and focus groups were chosen as a data gathering technique that would elicit participants' perceptions on the research problem studied and their own constructions on what the research problem could look like (Kvale, 2007; Yin, 2009). This involved asking "why" and "how" questions (Yin, 2009) as to how publicity was practiced in the organisation. As Becker (1998, as cited in Yin, 2009) argued, "why" questions can be problematic in that they are often met with defensive responses, instead, asking "how" a practice came about, can often elicit better communication between researcher and participant.

In conducting my interviews and focus groups, I borrowed from Deetz and Alvesson (2000) in combining more open and "honest" interview techniques, but not emphatically engaging with the participants' responses. "Open" and "honest" interviewing allows flexible engagement between researcher and interviewee, where the former may, fairly explicitly, reveal their own ideological viewpoints and opinions. For example, in the interviews I was open about where some of my interest in adult literacy lay in that I had close personal relationships with individuals who had felt stigmatised by their difficulties around reading and writing, but that I also recognised them for having sophisticated coping mechanisms and a wealth of other "literacies". In the interviews with practitioners, I was also explicit about my own positioning as a former nonprofit communication practitioner. This practice, however, had to be managed alongside a need to keep the interview, and particularly in the case of the focus group, flowing, and ensure that although cathartic responses were important and should be acknowledged, we also stayed with the topic in question.

As one of the aims of this study was to garner learners' perspectives on effective publicity practices, focus groups were chosen as a method for engaging with adult literacy students in order that a diversity of opinion could be gathered, while at the same time encouraging collaborative opinions (Krueger, 2009). A maximum of twelve participants took part in any one focus group. The focus groups took place inside adult literacy class time, as a way of not impeding the learners' time, but also for ease of co-ordinating the group within the research time period. In consultation with tutors, I suggested that classes be used for focus groups as the learners already had relationships with one another in the group (Krueger, 2009). In order that participants had time to think through their participation, the tutors proposed the research to the class members some weeks before the focus group was suggested to take place. I also asked participants, as I did with interviewees, to fill out ethics participation forms before the focus group. Participants were informed that I would be audio-recording the group so I could accurately capture the opinions expressed. Interview participants were given the choice of being audio-recorded or not. Two interviewees chose not to be audio-recorded.

In addition, focus groups were chosen as a method because of their potential to empower participants through the processes of vocalising and sharing experiences in the group (Barbour, 2007). However, as Barbour (2007) also noted, focus groups can be cathartic in that sensitive stories can be aired. In my experience, this did occur during focus groups. Learners shared difficult parts of their lives with the group. I prepared for this possibility by telling the participants that I had contact information for support people on-hand if participants required this, and encouraged them to talk through any issues that came up with them during the focus group, with their tutor or someone else. Alongside the information sheet detailing the research project, I also provided participants with my own contact information should they have anymore questions, or wish to talk through any issues further. To appropriately

close the session and to continue the relationships, if even temporarily, following the focus groups I provided tea, coffee and cakes in order that we could mingle in a slightly less formal manner with the audio-recorder switched off.

A schedule of interview and focus group themes is available in appendix two. I mostly stayed to this schedule. However, as Hamilton and Hillier (2006, p. 26) noted in their research, "Subsequent interviews were informed by what had gone before". This meant that I knew what had "worked" in interviews, especially in the more sensitive interviews with learners. Furthermore, interviews with Literacy Aotearoa personnel also grew more sophisticated over the period of data collection as I began to understand the nature of the work of Literacy Aotearoa better, hence I could ask more informed and specific questions.

While most audio-recorded interviews were transcribed by a contracted transcriber, I chose to transcribe two of these to allow me to understand more about what could be learned from such close contact with the data. Workers at Literacy Aotearoa were given the opportunity to review their transcribed interview. If they requested this, they were given two weeks with which to review the transcription and make any changes. Literacy learners were given 48 hours with which to get in contact with me if they wanted to change or add anything that they had said during the interview.

4.3.2   Publicity search

I also conducted a search for Literacy Aotearoa's publicity materials. I borrowed from traditional communication audit methods to enable this search (Tourish & Hargie, 2000). I added D. Jones' (2002) interpretive

lens that argued a communication auditor should be an expert listener that not only looked for "problems" that had to be fixed, but also drew on the expertise of the practitioners in terms of understanding more about communication practice. Both these guides were adapted to ensure that my expansive conception of publicity yielded a diverse range of publicity sources. For example, there were very few written public relations/publicity/communication strategies identified during the search. Thus, I relied on other "found documents" to point me toward how the organisation practised publicity. I was especially reliant on archived material for the historical periods of 1973 to 1998. Thus, I searched through minutes of meetings of NCAE, archived newsclippings, notes from seminars and letters between the ARAO, public relations company, and literacy schemes to identify the nature of publicity at the time.

I searched for publicity-related materials from the following sites –

- Literacy Aotearoa national office current and archival files (dating back to 1980)

- National Council of Adult Education and ARLA archived files at National Library, Wellington (dating back to 1973)

- National Council of Adult Education and ARLA archived files at Archives New Zealand, Wellington (dating back to 1973)

- Ngā poupou current and archived publicity files on-site in each area (dating back to 1980)

- Back-copies of *ARAN*, *Ngā Kete Korero* and *Tui Tuia* (newsletter/journal of ARLA and then Literacy Aotearoa) located in Massey University library and online at www.literacy.org.nz .

- Media coverage using online database Newstext and New Zealand National Library microfiche for keywords "adult literacy". This search was primarily for contextual discourses. A detailed analysis of how adult literacy was articulated in media items was not included

in this study, although I offer suggestions for further research in this area in chapter eight.

4.3.3 Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS)

Following the data collection and archiving of my own electronic and hard-copy files, I used computer-assisted qualitative analysis software (CAQDAS) Hyperresearch to help identify themes in the data collected (Lewins, 2008). As I analysed audio-visual as well as printed material, Hyperresearch was used as a CAQDAS tool because of its ability to deal with mixed media (Ezzy, 2002). Recurrent themes were coded in relation to what I identified as representative of the various social logics present in the data. I identify some of these in section 4.7. Like Hamilton and Hillier's (2006) research on the historical emergence of adult literacy provision in the UK, I found that the codes used were useful in capturing the data, but also helped to catalogue the ways that my thinking was developing as I made links to the ways certain discourses were being articulated, and their relationships to each other.

Although not ideal, given the large number of texts collected, and the time period available for analysis (Jeffares, 2008), I did not employ a CAQDAS analysis on all the material gathered. Instead, I read all documents for their general content and themes, cataloguing these in a database. I then identified some as "key texts" given their production at specific times in the organisational history, state policy history, the nature of the topic, and where material was located. So, for example, the ARLA Workbase Information Kit (ARLA Workbase, 1994) was identified as a key document warranting close analysis because it was a specific promotional kit produced at a time when the organisation was developing its workplace literacy programmes.

CAQDAS, as a tool, was helpful in the initial stages of this project, but the writing-up of the research analysis was when a more in-depth and complex account could be expressed. CAQDAS only really served as a heuristic device to begin reducing the data (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The in-depth analysis of how the social and political logics of adult literacy publicity interacted with each other only emerged in the writing of the thesis, where the complexities of the issues raised in chapters two and three could be articulated alongside the data in a more sophisticated way. This can be seen as part of Glynos and Howarth's (2007) process of retroduction, when theory and data become suitably inter-meshed. Using retroduction as a methodological guide discourages analysis which separates theory and empirical data. Instead, the inter-related and dialectical relationship between the two is explored. Therefore, the context in which the data sets are collected and "constructed" is seen as having an impact on the theory used, and vice versa.

This process of retroduction was also aided by Glynos and Howarth's (2007) advice about immersion in the discursive field of the research project. They argued that it is only through this process that the researcher can have the authority to make judgements on whether a particular phenomenon can be ascribed a Discourse Theory category and then judge whether this is important for the research problems being investigated. Glynos and Howarth characterised this process as one of *articulating* a research object and problem, which is "the practice which links specific theoretical and empirical elements together so as to account for a problematized phenomenon" (p. 184).

As the data sets have now been characterised in terms of their locations and collection methods, the next section introduces how Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory was useful in analysing the data.

4.4 Discourse analysis in literacy research: Introducing Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory as a methodological guide

Discourse analysis has been conceptualised in different ways. Much of the adult literacy discourse analysis has been informed by critical discourse analysis theorised by socio-linguists such as Fairclough (1992, 2000, 2003) and Gee (1990, 2004, 2005, 2008). Demonstrating the salience of discourse analysis as a useful method to analyse the concerns of this thesis, Rex et al.'s (2010) review found that access and equity issues were major themes in literacy studies using a discourse analysis approach. Reminiscent of a social practices approach, Rex et al. (2010) noted that many studies had asked questions around "Which literacy(ies) count and whose literacy(ies) count?" (p. 97).

Hamilton and Pitt's (2011) comparison of adult literacy policy documents from the 1970s and 2001 is an example of how critical discourse analysis has been used in historical investigation of literacy identities. Hamilton and Pitt (2011) mostly relied on Chouliaraki and Fairclough's (1999) approach in identifying the relationship between genres and discourses in the policy texts. For example, the influence of marketised genres, such as that of commercial company documents, was said to have impacted on the appearance of adult literacy policy documents in the 2000, compared with the relatively low-key text they analysed from the 1970s. The corporatised appearance of the text was part of a set of broader discursive relationships that Hamilton and Pitt argued served to identify learners as citizens with rights to adult literacy, but by the 2000s these rights had duties and responsibilities attached, such as participating in the knowledge economy.

Contributing a post-structuralist lens to the literacy field's historical reliance on a critical discourse analysis approach[1], Discourse Theory has been chosen as an analytical framework as it emphasises how meaning is historically and temporally constructed. Laclau and Mouffe's framework is particularly useful given the historically contested nature of literacy. Influenced by continental theorists like Foucault, Derrida and Lacan, Laclau and Mouffe engage with a macro-political definition of discursive struggles which acknowledges the relatively enduring, but unstable, nature of macro-discourses such as capitalism, but also recognises the relative agency of identities who can construct their own identity within the structuring limitations of available discourses. Discourse Theory is thus able to acknowledge how hegemonic projects help to constitute identities, but also how agented identities such as Literacy Aotearoa make discursive "decisions" within the malleable discursive structures available, and are thus not "consumed" by dominant political projects such as, for example, neoliberalism.

Laclau and Mouffe's theory has been criticised for being too abstract to be employed in empirical analysis (Howarth, 2004). Laclau (2004) responded to this criticism by saying that practical work should be undertaken by other, more empirically-orientated theoreticians. Glynos and Howarth published *Logics of Critical Explanation in Social and Political Theory* (2007) in answer to this call for a more empirically-driven Discourse Theory framework. Their methodological guides are based on a theory of articulation rather than subsumption. For example, a subsumptive analysis could see the professionalisation of adult literacy publicity as a *necessary* consequence of neoliberalised state policy. However, in considering how objects have been *articulated*, professional adult literacy publicity is seen as a contingent phenomenon that has been

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[1] It should be noted that Fairclough's work has been influenced by post-structuralism (Fairclough, 2003). In addition, research describing itself as post-structuralist has used Fairclough as its main methodological guide. For example, Ryan (2009) used Fairclough as a post-structuralist guide in her research of children's multiliteracies practices. Laclau and Mouffe offer the opportunity to engage with a more thorough exploration of post-structuralist analysis.

produced by a variety of social and political logics, not just limited to marketised and neoliberalised ones. Discourse Theory offers a "conceptual grammar" (Glynos and Howarth, 2007) which is altered on "application" to particular empirical sites. So, for example, the political and social logics discussed in the literature review are altered slightly when using them to examine Literacy Aotearoa's publicity. Human rights logics, for example, were articulated in different ways in the first two time periods studied here. In the 1970s and early 1980s, human rights were defined by mostly liberal humanistic concerns; whereas the articulation of human rights in the 1980s and 1990s, although still having elements of a liberal humanist logic, was also inflected by critical literacy logics that highlighted the structural impediments that learners experienced to literacy provision.

For Laclau and Mouffe (1985/2001), discourse is not restricted to that represented in text, but is constitutive of *all* social practice. It is therefore not reliant on a linguistical textual analysis, which the critical discourse analysis tradition is better known for. Fairclough (2003, 2006), in comparison with Laclau and Mouffe (1985/2001), does not collapse the two categories of discourse and social practice, instead, for him, the two have a dialectical relationship, where each informs, and helps constitute, the other.[2] To illustrate how Laclau and Mouffe's more macro account of discourse informs this research, the liberal humanist assumptions that informed the early adult literacy movement's identity (Sutton & Benseman, 1996) are considered as discourse.

However, Laclau and Mouffe and Fairclough's work should not be identified as antagonistic to each other. Fairclough (2003) has acknowledged Laclau and Mouffe's influence in his own work. Likewise, in the case study presented here, I reference specific textual

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[2] For more on the ontological differences between Fairclough's and Laclau and Mouffe's account of discourse see Phelan & Dahlberg (2011).

material in order to make the thesis more coherent and grounded in the everyday realities of adult literacy publicity practice.

In including all social practice in the category of discourse, Laclau and Mouffe (1985/2001) construct material objects as only able to be known through discourse. This is not to say that there are no material objects outside of discourse; rather that we can only know objects and spaces, such as classrooms, for example, in terms of how they are constituted and rendered meaningful through discourse. For many of the adult literacy learners interviewed in previous research (see, for example, Murray et al., 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006), they described adult literacy classrooms as productive, welcoming spaces where they could engage in the sharing of knowledge. However, many also acknowledged that prior to attending adult literacy programmes, they had been afraid of a classroom environment, because of fears it may construct them as "dumb" and unwilling to participate. Therefore, we can see how the same object can be constructed (even by the same identities) in quite different discourses. One discourse sees classrooms as important and conducive to learning, and the other sees classrooms as a barrier to learning, and potentially affecting learners' self esteem.

In order to be able to capture this macro account of discourse, this thesis deploys a logics approach to discourse analysis. For Discourse Theory, *logics* are the "basic unit of explanation" of discourse (Glynos & Howarth, 2007, p. 8). Logics are what make a discourse "tick" (p. 15) and give it coherence. They can be defined as the macro-contextual stimuli that activate particular discourses at particular times and ensure that the discourses make sense in a given setting.

For Discourse Theory, discursive logics are divided into two main categories; social logics and political logics[3] (Glynos & Howarth, 2007; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985/2001). Social logics describe the sedimented or taken-for-granted values and beliefs operating in particular empirical sites. The themes identified in the literature review, such as marketisation, competition, welfarism, meritocracy and liberal humanism, provided a heuristic structure that informed the subsequent empirical analysis of the social logics structuring Literacy Aotearoa's identity.

Political logics explain how "the social" is constructed, contested, and shaped (Glynos & Howarth, 2007; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985/2001). It is these logics that can challenge, re-shape, and institutionalise the social. For this thesis, political logics critically explain how sedimented notions of literacy and publicity have come into being. A logics approach can therefore track how Literacy Aotearoa's publicity has been constructed over time.

In their review of discourse analysis in literacy (including preschool, childhood and adult literacy), Rex et al (2010) identified macro, meso and micro levels of literac(ies) in discourse analysis. Macro literacies can be related to Fairclough's orders of discourse, in that, at a macro level, discourse analysts tend to look at "global educational policy, institutional procedures and school curriculum" (Rex et al., 2010, p. 96). Micro literacy practices are the situated ways in which literacy is practiced in particular sites such as specific classrooms and other local environments. Meso literacy practices identify the ways in which local or micro practices may be characterised across different empirical sites.

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[3] This thesis is not using Glynos and Howarth's fantasmatic logics as a unit of analysis. These logics help to explain how identities are compelled to identify with particular discourses. Given the complex psychoanalytical aspects of this set of logics, there is not room to fully explore their effects on adult literacy publicity. I suggest in chapter eight how these logics could be put to use in future research.

For example, in Aotearoa New Zealand, some particular Māori literacy practices could be said to exist across sites such as the classroom, the family, the marae (meeting place/house of local tribe/iwi). Laclau and Mouffe's (1985/2001) and Glynos and Howarth's (2007) logics approach to discourse theory means that this thesis analyses the interrelations between all three levels of literacy publicity practice – micro, meso and macro - and, in particular, attends to how the macro discursive level informs and helps constitute the meso and micro levels.

This logics approach goes some way in explaining how, for Laclau and Mouffe, discourse is contingent and there is always the possibility for change. Given their post-structuralist approach, there is no "foundation" or "necessary" meaning attached to objects; instead they are socially and politically constructed. In the previous two chapters, I discussed the argument that through new funding regimes, a focus on the knowledge economy, and a managerialist discourse, adult literacy agencies and learners were constructed in particular ways, and important needs were being left out of the nonprofit sector generally (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004; Wolch, 1999), and adult literacy sector specifically (Gee, Hull & Lankshear, 1997; Isaacs, 2005). Laclau and Mouffe argued that all discourse is a result of the compromise of differing, and competing, political demands. I suggest that Discourse Theory is in a position to help illuminate what has informed the creation of these new identities, and the consequences these new discourses have for adult literacy publicity.

4.5 Hegemony, the contingency of discourse, and nodal points

Adult literacy discourses have changed and continue to be contested today. Laclau and Mouffe (1985/2001) argued that social relations are contingent because of a lack of an essential core at the centre of

meaning. This means that different hegemonic projects compete for the empty place of power that can never be fully filled and that power can never be pre-determined (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). This suggests that the nonprofit publicity has not been constructed by pre-determined, fully-constituted power relations, such as that between the state and the sector. Instead, publicity has been co-constituted by historical and contemporary social and political logics that are structurally precarious and vulnerable to contestation.

To give some background to their theory, Laclau and Mouffe's (1985/2001) influential text, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* offered a post-structuralist re-reading of classical Marxism. Still concerned with Marx's problem of the unfair distribution of capital, Laclau and Mouffe challenged Marx's class essentialism in determining the site of power relations. The authors took their cues from Foucault in analysing the genealogical and archaeological make-up of discourse, and emphasising that power relations come into being over time as a result of historical and contemporary power relations that cannot be reduced to class relations.

Laclau and Mouffe's (1985/2001) emphasis on the contingency of meaning can also be seen through their post-structuralist re-reading of Saussure's account of linguistics. Saussure argued that signs attained meaning through their difference from other signs. Laclau and Mouffe gave Saussure's structuralist theory a post-structuralist inflection arguing that the very structure guiding these differentiated relationships was unstable. These relational differences, therefore, should be seen within discursive structures that were also subject to ongoing ruptures. Widening and deepening the analytical lens, Laclau and Mouffe therefore conceptualised discourse as being made up of differential relationships between signs which, in turn, have a differential relationship to other discourse(s). To bring this into focus for this

research, the early adult literacy movement explicitly identified "deserving" learners in a differential relation to the implicit category of "undeserving" learners. The former were cast as those who had missed out on literacy training through no fault of their own, perhaps through childhood sickness; whereas the undeserving could be perceived to have been, for example, too lazy, or unwilling, to engage in literacy learning. Therefore, these two types of learners were understood within this discourse by their commonsense differences from each other. However, if these relations of difference are theoretically re-structured in a different political project, such as literacy as social practice discourse, the learners form a different differential relationship to each other. For example, literacy as social practice recognises different learners with different needs, and raises the possibility that all individuals are ("deserving") learners and have diverse literacy skills.

Yet over time, there has still been an enduring notion of what literacy is: this shows that discourses are not continually in flux, or else we would live in an incomprehensible world without any stable horizon of meaning. For Laclau and Mouffe (1985/2001), articulatory practice stabilises the ultimate contingency of meaning and discourse(s) is what results from this articulatory practice. They described articulatory practice as the temporary or contingent fixing of meaning between privileged signifiers, called nodal points, in an ideologically coherent fashion. However, in this fixing together, nodal points are in turn altered (however minimally) in each articulation. For example, when adult literacy publicity articulates different literacy discourses together, such as liberal humanist, critical, and welfarist, these discourses are somewhat modified as a result of their re-amalgamation in new articulatory practices. As a result of the combination of different discourses, new identities can be formed and old ones can be reconstituted. This thesis is interested in how new combinations of seemingly contradictory discourses can impact on providers' and learners' identity.

The meaning of literacy cannot be *finally* fixed, either in publicity, or elsewhere, as there is an "empty" space at the centre of meaning (Laclau, 1996, 2005; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985/2001). Instead, the dominant skills-based literacy discourse, which policy makers and others reproduce, can only be seen as temporarily "suturing" meaning in a particular context and this contingent meaning will always be potentially threatened by other competing discursive formations, such as literacy as social practice. The temporary suture and closure of a discourse is as a result of power relations (Laclau, 1996). The nodal points that give structural coherence to a discourse come from the ever-abundant *field of discursivity* (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985/2001). This field of discursivity is a bank of potential discursive formations where signifiers are taken from and articulated into a given discourse as linked nodal points.

The question remains, however, if contingency is central to Laclau and Mouffe's theory of discourse, how has a narrow skills-based literacy discourse become dominant over other competing discourses which identify a plurality of literacy needs? The process of hegemony helps to explain this process of relative dominance. Laclau and Mouffe (1985/2001) drew heavily from Gramsci in their conceptualisation of hegemony. In rudimentary terms, hegemony is the name given to the process in which a dominant group exercises power over another group through some amount of mutual consent and negotiation.

Laclau and Mouffe (1985/2001) criticised Gramsci's account of hegemony for restricting the conception of hegemonic struggle to class struggle. They theorised a more constructivist definition of hegemony (Torfing, 1999) which is concerned with how different competing hegemonic projects, not restricted to the political category of class, attempt to "name" the world through discursive combinations of social and political logics. By identifying with a particular hegemonic project, identities can make sense of the world, thus hegemony is essential to

politics (Laclau, 1996; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985/2001). For adult literacy publicity, this means that an adult literacy provider may strategically identify with functional literacy discourse in order to successfully communicate its services to the widest possible set of audiences. Hegemonic discourses attempt to incorporate as many needs as possible into their discourses in order to alleviate the chance of a takeover by a competing discourse. For Literacy Aotearoa, therefore, it was faced with the opportunity of identifying with different literacy discourses, but it also had to consider just how these could be reconciled together in publicity, especially those that appeared to be contradictory. For example, dominant deficit literacy discourses, often associated with functional literacy accounts, can be seen as contrary to more emancipatory literacy discourses that construct literacy as a strengths-based process, where learners build on their existing multi-literacy competencies.

4.6 Dislocation

The ability of Literacy Aotearoa practitioners and other identities in this thesis to be able to identify with different, sometimes seemingly competing notions of adult literacy can, in part, be illuminated using Laclau and Mouffe's concept of dislocation. Laclau discusses two forms of dislocation that are relevant to this thesis. Firstly, he argued that "every identity is dislocated" (Laclau, 1990, p. 39). By this he meant identities can be conceptualised as always having a "lack" and continuously engaging in the search for discourse to suture the lack at the centre of meaning. Therefore, all identities, including organisations such as Literacy Aotearoa, are continuously engaging with discourses in an attempt to appear as a "whole" and concrete identity articulating salient and convincing literacy discourses. For Literacy Aotearoa, this stabilised identity helps it to communicate to its publics. Counter-hegemonic discourses will be continuously vying to be the "suture" that

temporarily, completes an identity. Thus, Literacy Aotearoa is constantly involved in a hegemonic struggle over where it locates its identity in terms of deficit-based and critical literacy discourses. As is discussed in part two of this thesis, for Literacy Aotearoa, the search for identity included one that was able to articulate its critical literacy mission, attract learners, and also appear as a credible and legitimate recipient of state funds.

Laclau and Mouffe's second conception of dislocation relevant for this thesis can help identify the opportunities and limits of how individuals and organisations identify with different literacy and publicity discourses. Laclau (1990) and Laclau and Mouffe (1985/2001) discussed the dislocatory effects of capitalist discourses such as commodification, bureaucratization and globalization (see also Glynos & Howarth, 2007) on different social identities and practices. When identities are dislocated, the contingency of the social relations that have helped suture their identity are more clearly visible. In this process opportunities arise for new hegemonic and discursive identifications. The category of dislocation is important for the case study I present here as chapters two and three can be understood as discussing the dislocatory effects of the crisis of the welfare state and the introduction of marketised state policies such as competitive funding on the adult literacy movement. In response to the dislocatory effects of economic and social reform in the mid-1980s, I analyse how Literacy Aotearoa, had the opportunity to (re)articulate literacy as key in upskilling workers. But in this rearticulation, it also sought to maintain its social-justice-based roots in providing literacy programmes for all New Zealanders, not just those seeking to improve their employment opportunities. Dislocation provides this opportunity for rearticulation in that previously sedimented signifiers are able to "float" and be rearticulated within competing hegemonic discourses (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985/2001).

In order to make sense of discourse and to link together as many needs and demands as possible, nodal points are articulated as "privileged signifiers" in a discourse (Laclau, 1996, 2005; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985/2001). For example, Literacy Aotearoa used the nodal point "literacy" to link different demands such as learners' needs to pass their written drivers' test and the need for Māori to be able to identify with their colonial past. Nodal points knit together a range of needs or demands in order that a coherent discourse can be formed. Without key signifiers to link needs, Laclau argued that politics would not exist; instead there would just be a range of unrelated demands (Laclau, 1996). Nodal points thus operate in two ways: they can identify particular needs, and also come to represent a variety of needs (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985/2001). For example, in chapter five, I discuss how the signifier "reading" is used by the adult literacy movement to also signify a variety of other 3R literacy skills.

As indicated above, one of the main contextual issues in part two of this thesis is how the signifier "literacy" became increasingly co-opted into many different discourses, including one emphasising the need for literacy in critically evaluating one's world (Freire, 1970/1993; Freire & Macedo, 1987) and another constructing literacy as an aid for boosting the nation's economic productivity (for argument regarding Aotearoa New Zealand see Isaacs, 2005). Other studies have pointed to the way signifiers located in social justice discourses can be rearticulated into more marketised settings. In an interesting story of how sustainability signifiers can be incorporated into a discourse on economic growth, Carvalho (2008) nominated "nature" and "environment" as key signifiers in the marketing of the Portuguese city *Braga*. She discussed the commodification of nature in advertising discourse and the ironic development of housing complexes that actually impeded on the "nature" that the advertisements were promoting. What is pertinent

about this research is how signifiers from quite different discourses can make sense in very different contexts. This is similar to how literacy can function in quite different political projects.

In another interesting example of how signifiers are not essentially tied to their signified, or even to a particular political project, Boje & Cai (2008) showed how a counter-hegemonic project can articulate signifiers from a hegemonic discourse to actually contest neoliberal work practices. The authors discuss how the signifier "McJob" has come to signify a low-paid, low-skilled job with not much hope for progression, and how activists, despite the contestation from the global corporate fast-food outfit McDonald's, managed to get this definition in the dictionary. The research demonstrated the potential for counter-hegemonic projects to access and rearticulate dominant signifiers into a more emancipatory political project.

Identities are, however, restricted in their "choice" of discursive identifications. They can only choose discourses that are "available" and "credible" (Laclau, 1996). Literacy Aotearoa has clearly identified "literacy" as a credible signifier, and articulates its needs and demands with reference to it. Literacy is credible because, in reference to the discussions in chapters one and two, there are sedimented notions around the usefulness of reading and writing in society. It is hardly conceivable that anyone would be "against" literacy because of the commonsense perceptions around the necessity of these skills for contemporary life and the good outcomes they are wrought to bring.

4.7 Practices, regimes and logics

In order to characterise the different aspects of discourse, and taking cues from Glynos and Howarth (2007), this research engages in an analysis of practices, regimes and logics. Firstly, for social practices, Glynos and Howarth (2007) described this category as the sedimented or "taken for granted" ways people go about their daily lives. Therefore, this kind of practice is evident in routinised ways of working that are often not questioned. So, for example, a social practice in the nonprofit sector could be the taken-for-granted ways learners are now referred to as "clients", indicating a corporatised relationship between the organisation and the learner that is a product of the neoliberal politics of the 1980s. Social practices, however, are liable to dislocatory moments, as described above, when the taken for granted practice is called into question and seen as a contingent practice by political logics and interventions. These political logics seek to challenge and/or transform social norms using a general principle that signifies the possibility of a different kind of social practice.

Borrowing from Foucault, "regimes" have structuring effects on social practices (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). Staeheli et al. (2009) summed up the concept of a regime as "a prevailing system of laws, practices and relations; it is a relatively settled and socially agreed upon set of rules that reflects and shapes the deployment of power" (p. 640). The increasing salience of Literacy Aotearoa's professional publicity can be seen as part of a more general professionalised publicity regime in the nonprofit sector.   Regimes and social practices have a dialectical relationship with each other in that "a regime is always a regime *of* practices" (Glynos and Howarth, 2007. p. 106). The professionalised publicity practices, such as the use of branding techniques, or the

contracting of communication experts, can then be seen as *constitutive* of a wider changing publicity regime.

As discussed in chapter two of this thesis, adult literacy theory also has a discourse around "social practices". Barton and Hamilton (2000) argued that literacy practices are "cultural ways of utilising literacy" (p. 8). They argued that a social theory of "literacy is best understood as a set of social practices; these are observable in events which are mediated by written texts" (p. 9). Discourse Theory offers another theoretical layer to the study of adult literacy social practices as it helps us understand how adult literacy (publicity) practices came into being as politically contingent constructions.

Social and political logics help to explain both the conditions of possibility and the limitations of particular social practices and regimes. Glynos and Howarth (2007) described logics as capturing, "*the rules or grammar of the practice*, as well as *the conditions which make the practice both possible and vulnerable* [original emphasis]" (p. 136). These logics are the processes that make particular discourses "tick" (p. 15), meaning that they are the sedimented ways of being and knowing that inform and construct adult literacy publicity. Logics take on an ontological as well as an empirical status in that they ask "how" things came to being as "things" in the first place. For example, in this thesis, examining the social and political logics that helped construct Literacy Aotearoa's adult literacy publicity analyses both the context in which it was produced and the raw discursive material available from which it could be fashioned.

To put into focus how social logics can be used to help critically explain how Literacy Aotearoa's publicity came into being and the effects this has had on practice, I will discuss Glynos and Howarth's (2007) account of social and political logics in Higher Education (HE) in the UK.

Glynos and Howarth (2007) examined the social logics influencing the reform of UK higher education and academics' lack of effective political resistance to such measures despite ritualistic grumbling about the changes on campuses. They identified four social logics; "competition, atomisation, hierarchy, and instrumentalization" (2007, p. 171) as crucial to how control was being administered in HE in the UK. The authors discussed how these logics were "artificially triggered" (2007, p. 171) in universities by way of audit practices that were institutionalised in various methods of accountability, such as that related to research funding. One of the suggested explanations for how these practices were sustained, despite the often private rumblings from academics, was how "competition" could be reconciled with academics' own identities in that they were generally used to operating in a competitive environment where arguments based on findings and research were pitted against others. Therefore, a logics account can help explain and locate the agented dimension of discourse, in that identities work within given structures, forming their own practices based on what is available.

The scenario for Higher Education in the UK can be seen as broadly similar to that described for adult literacy organisations in chapters two and three of this thesis. Practices have become increasingly marketised in the nonprofit and education sectors and for the adult literacy sector specifically. Authors have argued that nonprofit organisations have adopted commercialised management methods from the for-profit sector in order to appeal to funders (see, for example, Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004; Salamon, 1987). However, a logics approach can also illuminate how identities articulate their own discourses within these hegemonic structures. This means that light can be shed on how dominant discourses are contested, even if in only low-key ways, and offers the chance to articulate different discursive possibilities. This thesis, in engaging with Literacy Aotearoa's 30 year history, makes some suggestions for the case study organisation and state policy based my analysis.

However, within Discourse Theory, identities are not able to simply "freely" choose and change their identities, as if they existed in context free of structural impediments. Mouzelis (1988) criticised Laclau and Mouffe (1985/2001) for not accounting for the enduring nature of discourse, for example, how capitalism has retained hegemony, and re-invented itself in the face of many crises. Because of their "excessive fear of essentialism" (p. 121) Mouzelis accused Laclau and Mouffe of ignoring the enduring hegemony of capitalist relations and institutions and of privileging an interest in a politics of identity. Laclau responded to Mouzelis in *New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time* (1990), arguing that his and Mouffe's theory accounts for how identities are constantly engaged in articulation and rearticulation within the structuring effects of hegemony. Identities, such as Literacy Aotearoa and its learners, are able to create new identities, but only using an amalgam of available social and political logics. This conceptualisation of the structuring effects of dominant, enduring discourses helps explain the enduring presence of certain aspects in Literacy Aotearoa's publicity, such as the deficit learner.

4.8 Sedimented influences on adult literacy publicity: Social logics

Social logics underpin the sedimented norms of how identities make sense of the world. Social logics characterise the taken-for-granted values and beliefs that structure identities at the empirical or ontical level. They can be described as the "rules" that guide how identities live their lives at a general level and also enable different interpretations and articulations of these rules. These logics determine the structural limits of discourse, or in other words, the practices deemed acceptable and unacceptable in a particular social context (Laclau, 2005). The social is

the site where, through articulation processes, discourses become sedimented, excluding other possible practices and regimes. Within the social, discourses are de-historicised in that their institutionalisation, that is, the contingency of their foundational moment, can often be forgotten. In other words, the contingency of the discourse can become obscured and the discourse appears objective and natural. Social logics help to both describe and characterise how these discourses are reproduced. Because of their contingency, they do not exhaust the description and understanding of a particular social practice, rather they help us make sense of the general character of the discourses that structure social practices at a particular time. (Glynos & Howarth, 2007).

Social logics can be seen as something akin to Gee's (1990) Discourse, with a capital *D*. For Gee, Discourse is "a sort of 'identity kit' which comes with the appropriate costume and instructions on how to act, talk, and often write so as to take on a particular social role that others will recognise" (p. 142). In comparison, Gee's discourse with a lower-case *d*, characterises more micro-levels of interaction such as that between a tutor and learner.

The social logics pertinent for this research were at first identified following the literature review detailed in the previous chapter. The understanding of these was altered, through recourse to research participants' "self-interpretations" (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). Glynos and Howarth (2007) argued that research participants' voices should not be subsumed under an a priori grand concept, such as neoliberalism, but rather that the researcher should first seek to understand agents' own self-interpretations of their practices. Logics, then, provide another layer of analysis for the researcher in that s/he is in a privileged position to be able to combine the interview data with other literature and data sources in order to examine the social and political logics at play in the research constructed. Glynos and Howarth argued that the social logics used in

research should not be completely generalisable across contexts as the way they are articulated varies from setting to setting. Thus, social logics can only be accurately characterised through the self-interpretations of participants, because phenomenon such as adult literacy publicity may be understood in different ways from context to context (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). Glynos and Howarth argued that social logics are "also *constructed* and *named* by the analyst [original emphasis]" (p. 139). It is important to recognise that the researcher has a different and, perhaps in certain ways, privileged role in examining the discourses in the data sets compared with the participants. Therefore it is to be expected that there may be differences in the ways researchers and participants view the categorisation and naming of social logics in the research.

From chapters two and three, I can briefly conclude that there were several social logics that could be potentially articulated in adult literacy publicity. I list these now, with the caveat that these are of course articulatory logics in that how they are articulated changes each time they discursively appear. How these social logics are altered and contested by Literacy Aotearoa is discussed in part two of this thesis. However, for now, examples of these logics are –

- Competition – for example, the introduction of competitive funding in the adult literacy sector, which meant that adult literacy organisations were required to compete in a marketplace that demanded they differentiate their services from other providers, and offer "good value for money".
- Professionalisation and formalisation – for example, the formation of the adult literacy movement into formalised organisations; the production of glossy, highly professionalised publicity; the use of public relations professionals; and the (re)articulation of NPM

signifiers such as "quality" in the internal assessment of organisational practices.

- Meritocratic liberal humanism – for example, the assumption that adult literacy learners are responsible for their own learning; that adult literacy training is a worthwhile individual endeavour in itself, without much consideration of the end result; and that adult literacy helps learners become more fully human.

- Welfarism – for example, the idea that the state should fund adult literacy provision because of its obligation to support those struggling in a capitalist economy.

- Social justice – for example, the idea that (critical) literacy should be used as a pathway for social justice in that the power relations in society should be acknowledged in order that progress can be made for greater equality amongst peoples. More generally, the idea that injustices experienced by one set of people in society means that society is unfair. Thus, injustice is understood as a social, or collective, concern rather than an individual pursuit.

These social logics do not operate in isolation from one another; instead they are articulated together in ways that can be both patterned and sometimes paradoxical. For example, later I discuss how Literacy Aotearoa utilised the logics of competition in emphasising how it was best-placed to meet the critical literacy, and social-justice-based needs of learners, because of its unique Treaty-based approach. How these social logics were re-articulated and contested can be understood by looking at the political logics at play in discourse (Glynos & Howarth, 2007).

4.9 How discourses change: Political logics

Political logics concern how adult literacy publicity social practices have been institutionalised by excluding other possible hegemonic

identifications (Laclau, 2005). For Laclau, the broad category of "the political" is not restricted to parliamentary activities but is a concept used to describe the acts and decisions that result in particular configurations of social relations, and the exclusion and marginalisation of others (Glynos & Howarth, 2007; Laclau, 1996). Political logics, therefore, help illuminate how practices and regimes are constructed, contested, shaped and naturalised and what "needs" are excluded from these. These logics help explain particular objects and how they are related to other objects and identities within institutional parameters (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). Political logics can thus help to explain the continuities and changes to adult literacy publicity over time and identify how literacy needs were shaped, and can also help identify the literacy needs that were not prioritised in Literacy Aotearoa's publicity

Political logics exist at a more formal level than social logics. They occur at the ontological level of analysis in that they have a more formal structuring effect on how social practices are organised. Glynos and Howarth (2007) explained that the political logics of equivalence and difference are those which make possible the institutionalisation, maintenance and change of social practices and regimes.

For Laclau and Mouffe (1985/2001), the logic of equivalence is the hegemonic glue that links together nodal points in an ideologically coherent fashion. The logic of equivalence works in a dialectical relationship to the creation of an antagonism constructed in opposition to those identities deemed equivalent to one another. Lowrie's (2007) research demonstrated how an analysis of the logics of equivalence and difference operating in discourse can illuminate who is identified in university branding. Lowrie argued that the university's brand had articulated the signifier of "student identity" as primarily concerned with reconciling the needs of business and students. This meant that other possible student needs, such as a need to engage in critical analysis of

societal structures, were de-emphasised. He argued that this marketised simplification of the university brand limited relationships with other stakeholders, which were not business-orientated.

The operation of the logic of equivalence in state policy documents can help to illustrate some of the problematics in the study presented here. Although these documents were not the empirical focus of this study, and a much closer analysis would be required to make this investigation more nuanced, a cursory analysis can demonstrate how deploying the analytical category of the logic of equivalence could illuminate power relations articulated in these documents. Aotearoa New Zealand's first adult literacy strategy *More than Words* (Ministry of Education, 2001) identified a lack of professionalisation in the adult literacy sector as a barrier to its goals of increasing participation in programmes, with professionalisation implicitly understood as the implementation of quality assurance standards and formalised tutor training. Adult literacy organisations that were not professional, or might subsequently refuse to professionalise, were thus equivalenced in the document with amateurism, and ultimately creating a barrier to adult literacy students accessing employment. Thus this policy document divided the sector into two opposing camps; the organisations that chose to professionalise versus those that did not.

The logic of equivalence always works dialectically with the logic of difference. However, a discourse that emphasises the logic of difference, seeks to break the links between established nodal points, highlighting the particular needs in a discourse, rather than the universalising aspects (Laclau, 1985/2001). For example, the discourse of "literacy as a social practice" (see, for example, Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Street, 1984) equivalences literacy *as* "social practice". However, within this discourse, authors emphasise the *different* social ways citizens practice literacy. They are particularly concerned that literacy,

in a strictly functional discourse, is limited, and that some literacy practices are occluded, because of an emphasis on *skills*, rather than practices.

These examples are not intended to argue that either the logic of equivalence or the logic of difference take a fixed form or that either logic is inherently more progressive than the other (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). It should be noted here, especially as it is an important contextual aspect of this research, that hegemonic discourses prioritising a logic of difference aim to incorporate as many needs and demands into their discourse in order to eliminate a fundamental challenge to the discourse. The prioritisation of the logic of difference can elicit ideological closure in that the discursive space becomes increasingly differentiated until no alternative can be imagined because of a perception that all needs are already catered for (Laclau, 2005). How this has occurred in relation to hegemonic adult literacy discourse can be seen as state discourse has made the effort to "mainstream" critical adult literacy (Hamilton & Hillier, 2006; Luke & Freebody, 1996) to communicate a self-serving idea of the state as an agent of critical literacy.

4.10   Conclusion

This chapter examined the methods used for data gathering such as the case study approach, interviews, focus groups, publicity search and subsequent analysis through CAQDAS. It also considered the ethical considerations in conducting bicultural research from a Pākehā perspective.

Discourse Theory was offered as a methodological guide to analyse Literacy Aotearoa's publicity.   I argued that the process through which Discourse Theory accounts for the contingency of social relations, and how social and political logics relate to one another in order to articulate a coherent discourse, offers theoretical resources that can help analyse the contested nature of adult literacy discourses and the effects on Literacy Aotearoa's publicity.

Now that I have described the methodology used in the analysis of Literacy Aotearoa's publicity, part two of this thesis goes on to discuss how Literacy Aotearoa practiced publicity over the time period 1973 to 2009.

Part 2

Empirical Analysis

Chapter 5

The early days: Reaching learners and establishing adult literacy provision as a state need

Adult literacy publicity in Aotearoa New Zealand 1973-1983

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses how the early adult literacy movement sought to bring attention to the need for adult literacy provision and reach learners during a time of political, economic and social change in the mid-1970s to the early 1980s. The changes occurring in this period in Aotearoa New Zealand were discussed in chapter three. Like other comparable countries such as the UK and the US, this period saw early disruptions to the Keynesian welfare state as the government began to question its role as welfare provider in the face of the 1970s oil shocks and a changing global economy (Kelsey, 1995; McClure, 1998). Aotearoa New Zealand's relationships with the UK were challenged with the latter forming closer ties to Europe (Belich, 2001; Kelsey, 1995). More visible Māori sovereignty claims also made an impact on the changing political landscape (A. Harris, 2004).

This chapter discusses how the early adult literacy movement worked with the opportunities and challenges that these dislocations provided. Adult literacy was not identified as a concern at a state level at this time (S. Watson, 1999), thus the adult literacy movement had to convince the state of the need for provision. The media generally discursively linked good literacy skills to a productive workforce and a healthy economy (see, for example, Leversledge, 1976 and "PM looks at lack of language, learning", 1978). The media, like the state, identified a need to increase the quality of childhood education (Openshaw & Walshaw, 2010). Graff (1995) and Gee (1996) argued that in other countries this un-problematic identification of "literacy" as "the answer" concealed more complex political problems.

I examine, using textual examples, how the movement articulated the nodal points (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985/2001) "literacy", "reading", "student-centred", and "community based", and located these alongside sedimented social logics such as professionalisation, formalisation, liberal humanism, meritocracy and human rights, in order to argue for the need for adult literacy provision and meet learners' needs. The adult literacy movement thus used these nodal points and social logics in order to operate between the public spheres of the state and learners. State public spheres can be implicitly understood as that which would have been receptive to fairly formalised submission processes at this time, and being increasingly interested in marketised forms of communication, but not being necessarily antagonistic to the concerns of community-based learners. The public spheres learners practised within could be conceptualised as geographical and culturally-based. As Squires (2002) suggested, publicity sites could be as diverse as pubs, parks, churches, and shopping malls. In communicating *between* state and learner spheres, the movement managed to identify state needs in its publicity, but also challenge a wider hegemonic literacy discourse that tended to focus on childhood literacy and the basic 3Rs. For example, this counter-hegemonic account could highlight how individuals use literacy practices in their everyday lives such as counting change for buses and speaking at meetings.

In combining commonsense notions of literacy, with a counter-hegemonic discourse that argued for the extension of literacy provision to adults and the use of adult literacy for everyday situations, this chapter suggests that the early adult literacy movement maintained a social-justice-based mission. It did this at the same as responding to wider hegemonic literacy discourses that tended to focus on the economic benefits of literacy and the deficit learner. However, the stubborn nature of deficit discourses was still evident in the movement's publicity, especially when it had to strategically appeal to the state for funds.

5.2 Articulating a student-centred identity alongside the logics of professionalisation and formalisation

The early adult literacy movement's formalisation refers to how community-based adult literacy schemes became increasingly connected and co-ordinated, usually with assistance from the National Council for Adult Education (NCAE). However, adult literacy teaching existed before these more formalised moves. For example, Somerville and Chapman (1979) stated that, prior to the emergence of a co-ordinated community-based adult literacy movement in Aotearoa New Zealand, individuals had been receiving help with reading and writing in more informal ways for some time. Authors have also discussed how Māori have been teaching and learning a wide range of literacies in various settings (Bowl & Tobias, 2011; Hohepa & Jenkins, 1996/7; Isaacs, 2011; Rāwiri, 2005). Indeed, connecting a multiliteracies (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000) or social practice (see, for example, Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Gee, 2008) concept to the more general population's learning sites, would indicate that literacy learning had been going on for the general population in diverse sites such as television and radio for some time too. In terms of specific organisational provision, since the 1970s there were reading classes for adults in institutions in Christchurch and Wellington (Hill, 1990). In addition, and mechanics' and working mens' institutes and their corresponding libraries had print literacy as one of their aims since the 19th century (Thompson, 1945).

The first moves toward a connected community-based adult literacy movement were initiated by Rosalie Somerville, who had been helping adults to read in the Hawke's Bay.[1] She contacted David James (NCAE Director, circa 1968-1978), to enquire if he knew of other adult literacy

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[1] Hawke's Bay is a region on the east coast of Aotearoa New Zealand's North Island.

work in the country (Hill, 1990). As evidenced by the data collected for this study, this early contact between Somerville and NCAE was the first step in an on-going relationship between the state-appointed national body and the community-based adult literacy movement. In 1974, Somerville began co-ordinating what has been considered the first community-based, non-institutionalised, adult literacy scheme[2] in Aotearoa New Zealand (Hill, 1990).

For the Aotearoa New Zealand adult literacy movement, "community-based" literacy provision signified non-institutional, informal education in local areas, whether small towns or cities (Somerville & Chapman, 1979). The earliest literacy needs articulated by the movement were for reading and writing support for adults in community settings (Hill, 1990). Local people provided literacy teaching, usually on a volunteer basis (Hill, 1990). As the movement grew and consolidated, local schemes' autonomy was still maintained (Hill, 1990).

Although each literacy scheme had autonomy over its provision, the data suggest that the signifier "student-centred" served as a nodal point in linking the community-based schemes and was an important signifier in ensuring that adult literacy provision could respond to learners' needs rather than be prescribed by institutional agendas. The adult literacy movement's underlying principles and philosophy, written by Somerville in 1977 and cited in Hill (1990), stated: "Students should be encouraged to be independent and given freedom to make their own decisions about their learning" (Hill, 1990, p. 132). This quotation demonstrated an emancipatory learning philosophy which could be

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[2] The signifiers the adult literacy movement used to describe autonomous group providing adult literacy in specific areas, changed over the time period analysed in this thesis (1973 to 2009). In the early days of the movement, up until around the time the federation was formed, the movement mostly used "schemes" to describe these groups. From then on, "member groups" was used and from 1998 "ngā poupou" was used. In the chronological analysis presented here, the most appropriate signifier for the time period being discussed is used, with the caveat that these signifiers were sometimes used interchangeably throughout the given period.

contrasted with a more instrumental educational environment in state schooling (Openshaw & Walshaw, 2010). Therefore, the nodal point "student centred" served to link schemes together in a semi-formal structure, but at the same time ensure that different literacy provision was available for the different needs of students.

NCAE had a key role in connecting the different geographical public spheres of community-based, student-centred schemes and also offered professionalised services. The body was in a strategic position to be able to offer the adult literacy movement professional publishing support and to facilitate a relationship with state actors as it was an established, state-appointed organisation with a record of engaging in publicity and publishing activities (Dakin, 1988). NCAE was set up in 1938 by the Education Amendment Act (Dakin, 1988; Hall, 1970; Tobias, 1990). Its main duty was "to co-ordinate the activities of organisations concerned with adult education and generally to promote adult education" (Dakin, 1988, p. 8).

There is evidence to suggest that the Adult Reading Assistance Officer (ARAO), NCAE appointed in 1978, was imperative in the early semi-formalisation, co-ordination, development, and publicising of the literacy movement at local and national levels. This position was formed to support existing literacy schemes and to give advice for emerging programmes; including assistance with publicity (Hill, 1990). From one programme in 1974 to 104 programmes in 1982 (Hill, 1990), the movement grew rapidly over the time period covered in this chapter. There is evidence that schemes supported these new levels of formalisation, as 100 per cent of the schemes returned to the ARAO with statistics from their work (Somerville, 1979b, p. 3). Support for the ARAO was further confirmed by the movement's campaign to the state for funding for the ARAO position in 1979 (NCAE, 1979d, 1979e).

The only person to hold the ARAO position was the former community-based adult literacy practitioner Rosalie Somerville, mentioned above. Therefore, the movement was co-ordinated by someone with direct knowledge of community-based, nonprofit public spheres. The ARAO was thus in a position to act as a facilitator between the public spheres of the non-government, community-based adult literacy provision and that of the state-appointed NCAE. Employing an adult literacy worker from the community suggested NCAE's support and acknowledgement of the usefulness of community-based knowledge and co-ordination. The ARAO was supported by NCAE's Adult Reading Assistance Committee (ARAC).

Through analysis of NCAE files, it appears that the ARAO facilitated a close relationship between NCAE and the adult literacy movement. In terms of publicity analysis, it was difficult at times to separate NCAE as a distinct identity from the wider movement. NCAE co-ordinated much of the movement's national publicity activities and represented the movement in its campaign literature. "The movement" is thus identified in this thesis as constitutive of NCAE and the literacy schemes with which it associated.

When the movement began forming, there was little state recognition of the need for adult literacy provision and no public funding was available (Hill, 1990). Therefore, NCAE needed to raise nongovernment funds for the ARAO (Hill, 1990). This position was funded for three years (1978-81) by the McKenzie Education Foundation (Hill, 1990). The Foundation cited social justice as its aim, stating in 2010 that its objectives were to "increase social justice and inclusion" (J. R. McKenzie Trust, 2010a, p. 3). The trust's concerns with social justice and inclusion meshed with the adult literacy movement's need to

provide adult literacy programmes that aided learners' participation in varying social and economic public spheres. This Foundation was set up by Sir Roy McKenzie in 1966 (J. Watson, 1987). It was a subsidiary of the J.R. McKenzie Trust which is still in existence at the time of writing. Demonstrating a re-distributive model of wealth, the philanthropic trust was originally formed to reallocate profits from the well-known chain of McKenzies' department stores in Aotearoa New Zealand (J. R. McKenzie Trust, 2010b). When this funding ran out in 1981, NCAE funded the position for another two months (Hill, 1990). NCAE's and the wider movement's requests to the state for continued funding of this position were not successful, which demonstrated a continued lack of state support for adult literacy provision (Hill, 1990).

NCAE used a professional public relations company to publicise the need for adult literacy provision to the state (see, for example, NCAE's press release and related submission to the government analysed later in this chapter: NCAE, 1979c, 1979f). Using communication professionals can be seen as part of a changing publicity regime when the mainstream public sphere was starting to expect a more strategic approach to publicity (Fairclough, 1992; Habermas, 1989). I could find no specific data with regard to how common it was for nonprofit organisations or social movements in Aotearoa New Zealand to contract public relations companies in the late 1970s and early 1980s. However, it can be assumed that, given most social movements' lack of resources, and the fairly non-professionalised social movement publicity at the time, this practice was fairly uncommon. I suggest that contracting a public relations agency to support the movement's publicity was likely to have been enabled by NCAE's financial and expert support.

In more evidence of NCAE's professional support in helping to increase networking and formalisation of the movement, the body published the *Adult Reading Assistance Newsletter* (*ARAN*) from 1976 to 1982. This

publication helped to symbolically co-ordinate the movement. An article in *ARAN* ("A background to voluntary adult reading assistance in New Zealand", 1979) claimed that the magazine "keeps those involved in ARA [Adult Reading Assistance] work in touch with one another, other schemes, the national scene, overseas news, publications and articles" (p.7). Analysis of the journal contents over this period corroborates this claim as the issues covered included: other schemes' activities, any national developments on submissions to the government, national publicity campaigns, and news of any upcoming seminars and events. International articles were also reprinted from time to time in the newsletter, covering pertinent literacy issues. During the time period examined in this chapter, the newsletter design was a typical community organisation-style format with low production values, similar to that produced by other similar organisations at the time (see for example, *Broadsheet*, published by the feminist movement, from 1972 to 1990).

As well as offering professionalised services such as access to public relations companies and a publishing service, NCAE also helped facilitate key relationships between the community-based, nonprofit and state public spheres. For example, David James, (NCAE Director circa 1978-1988) met with government ministers when the movement was first forming (Hill, 1990). From then on, meetings continued to be held between state agents and NCAE (Hill, 1990; NCAE, 1979e). NCAE media releases and campaigns were also often specifically targeted towards the state (NCAE, 1978b, 1979c).

NCAE also helped to co-ordinate semi-formal, locally-based appeals to the state for funding. For example, in the movement's 1979 funding campaign, programmes were encouraged to send submissions to local decision-makers and central and local government (NCAE, 1979e). In addition, Peter Creevey, NCAE Director, indicated in an article published in *ARAN* that he would provide publicity advice to the wider

movement. He commented that main areas to focus on were informing the general public and policy makers about the need for state funding (Creevey, 1981). NCAE's facilitation and co-ordination of locally-based publicity is interesting in three ways. Firstly, it demonstrated the strategic and useful position NCAE had in co-ordinating and facilitating semi-formalised relationships between the state and nonprofit community-based programmes. Secondly, this publicity activity confirmed the need for a co-ordinated and determined approach to raising state funding for adult literacy provision. Thirdly, community-based publicity work would have been mostly undertaken by volunteers alongside voluntary and labour-intensive teaching.

NCAE placed importance in maintaining good relations with the state and in publicising an identity that was sympathetic to the need for professionalised practice. For example, in 1978, NCAE assured the Director General of Education at the time, Bill Renwick, that training and accountability were in place for tutors. These comments were made following Renwick's concern over "scrutiny" of tutors in the absence of formal qualifications (NCAE, 1978a, p. 2). This communication was indicative of the need for the movement to respond to the hegemonic discourse that equivalenced volunteerism with unprofessionalism and ineffectiveness (Bortree, 2008). In this example, NCAE challenged this discursive link by establishing its own mechanisms of quality assurance and accountability and therefore rearticulating volunteerism as professional and effective.

However, although, on the one hand the movement equivalenced volunteer literacy teaching with professionalised practices, the movement also publicised its *differentiated* position from mainstream professional education. In its 1979 submission to the state, which a professional public relations company helped to write, NCAE stated: "It is [...] much more economical to support a programme relying heavily

on voluntary workers than to provide one relying exclusively on institutions and professionals" (NCAE, 1979f, p. 7). NCAE thus argued, on economic grounds, for the usefulness and attractiveness of a volunteer service, rather than a "professional" and institutionalised service, at a time when the state was looking for cost-effective social services (McClure, 1998). The movement, therefore, although articulating the logics of professionalisation alongside volunteerism, was also careful to ensure that its provision was still identified as qualitatively different from mainstream professional educational institutions.

The movement's differentiated approach to the hegemonic "professionalised" literacy discourse was also evident when the movement identified its student-centred approach. Writing in *ARAN* on behalf of the Hawke's Bay Adult New Readers Programme, E. Griffiths (1976) argued that, having known failure at school, learners often did not appreciate a professionalised "distant" teaching attitude. Instead they valued down-to-earth instruction that related to their real lives. Griffiths defined qualified, childhood teachers as "professional" in contrast with volunteers in the adult literacy movement who did not have qualifications. At this time most adult literacy tutors were volunteers, with only a few exceptions. In a similar vein, Baker (1982), also writing in *ARAN*, commented that volunteerism was very important when working with those who are "alienated from the whole education process" (p. 15). In challenging the dominant discourse, identities within the movement, therefore, unfixed the discursive link between volunteerism and ineffectiveness, arguing that volunteer provision was especially appropriate when working with students who felt alienated from mainstream education.

The early adult literacy movement also used mass media as a way of formalising publicity in order to publicise the need for adult literacy

provision and to reach learners. In a US context, Tierney (1982) claimed that media were important at this time in bringing attention to, and naming, social problems. When it was first launched, the UK adult literacy campaign used mass media as the main way to reach learners (Hamilton & Hillier, 2006; Hargreaves, 1980). David James' successor Peter Creevey (NCAE Director, circa 1978-1988) led NCAE-designed publicity campaigns in the late 1970s (Hill, 1990). Hill argued that Creevey was well placed to attend to mediatised publicity as he had been a journalist previously. Hill described Creevey as having "an acute political awareness of the power of the media and [being someone who] became a driving force behind the campaign" (p. 55). Hill's comment suggested a professed need for the adult literacy movement to have a strategic mediatised identity and to manage public relations effectively in order to gain attention in public spheres increasingly marked by promotional discourses, including the nonprofit public sphere (Salamon, 1987).

The ARAO was again key to facilitating relationships between different public spheres, this time between community-based schemes, NCAE, and mass and local media. Sommerville was quoted and photographed in many newspaper reports during her time as ARAO (e.g., "Adults – help with reading", 1978"). Hill (1990) commented that: "She became very used to radio and newspaper interviews and TV appearances, never missing an opportunity to discuss the national and local importance of the pioneering work that was being done" (p.44).

Formalised media logics also enabled the movement to use the media as a teaching tool and reach learners in their homes via television and radio. This is similar to how adult literacy teaching tools were broadcast on the UK's public broadcaster, the BBC, and demonstrated the usefulness of access to the public broadcasting model to bring attention to social issues (see Hamilton & Hillier, 2006, for a discussion of the historical

relationship between public broadcasting and the UK adult literacy movement). For example, ARAC liaised with TV1 in producing a programme dedicated to adult literacy within the channel's *Good Day* series. The programme served as publicity for the movement's services and as educational material for tutors (Chapman, 1979). Showing the advantages of public broadcasting resources in funding and producing appropriate material for adult literacy teaching, NCAE made the BBC's *Move On* series available for schemes to purchase. In addition, at a local level, adult literacy workers in Nelson and Taupo, with radio stations' help, made programmes for radio in 1978 (Crutchley, 1978).

An adult literacy student from the 1980s, whom I interviewed for this research, identified local media as useful in his engagement with provision. This learner first learned about a local adult literacy programme in 1980 via a relative who had heard an item on the local radio channel. This finding supports literature from this period published in the US, that argued media and word of mouth publicity could work together in targeting learners (Esposito, 1983; Irish, 1980; Martin, 1989). Therefore, formalised media channels appeared to be useful not only for promoting adult literacy programmes, but also in creating teaching material for students and learners.

At times, however, reconciling mediatised logics together with the sensitive needs of learners presented a dilemma for the movement. Somerville reported from an ARAC meeting that, "There was some concern at [sic] uninformed press coverage and we agreed we had a slow and uphill task to educate the public about non-readers" (NCAE, 1978a, p. 2). In similar concerns about sensationalised publicity, considering its involvement in a 1983 Telethon[3], the newly formed ARLA Federation

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[3] Telethons held in New Zealand, like those in other countries such as the US and the UK, were day-long television entertainment events designed to encourage viewers to donate money to specific charities sponsored by the Telethon producers (Boughey, 2009).

designated television coverage as potentially "too damaging" (ARLA Federation, 1982, p. 28). There was no more information in these minutes of meetings that could illuminate the committee's exact concerns. However, given the dominance of a deficit literacy model at the time (Openshaw & Walshaw, 2010), these comments were plausibly made in relation to NCAE's anxiety that alarmist publicity could promote a deficit-based learner identity, which saw learners as having inadequate skills to perform everyday tasks and could potentially further shame the learner.

Therefore, in trying to publicise the need for funding through mass media, the movement had to negotiate dominant perceptions of the learner as deficit. Engaging with commonsense literacy discourses meant possibly further stigmatising learners and paradoxically, preventing learners from accessing programmes. This stigma associated with literacy, and its effect on how learners participate, or do not participate in adult literacy programmes has been identified by authors in more recent times both in Aotearoa New Zealand (Murray et al., 2007; Sligo, Tilley et al., 2006; Sligo et al., 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006; Tilley, Sligo et al., 2006) and in the UK and the US (Fingeret, 1983; Quigley, 1990; Tett, 2007). The analysis in this chapter adds to previous work in that participants in the adult literacy movement in Aotearoa New Zealand were considering the effects of mediatised representations of this stigma as early as the 1980s.

This challenge of trying to reach learners but not further stigmatise them was evident in concerns about the movement's national logo. Adoption of the UK BBC adult literacy logo in 1976 was another signifier of the movement's semi-formalisation. The use of this logo can be described as a form of low-key "branding". NCAE used the logo in communication materials such as letterheads, identifying appropriate books in the library, and encouraged local schemes to use it in their

publicity by selling stickers and rubber stamps for this purpose (NCAE, 1979d).

Figure 1. *BBC adult literacy logo from NCAE letter-head (NCAE, 1979b).*

Demonstrating the movement's up-take of this logo, there is evidence that local schemes used the BBC adult literacy logo as a key part of their publicity. The poster below was distributed by local literacy schemes.

Figure 2. Adult literacy poster (NCAE, 1982).

As discussed in chapter three, over the past few decades, nonprofit organisations are increasingly using branding strategies (Sireau, 2009). However, in comparison with professionalised publicity which explicitly target funders (Dixon, 1997; M. Griffiths, 2005), NCAE and adult literacy schemes throughout Aotearoa New Zealand used the BBC adult literacy logo in fairly understated ways in order to connect, as discreetly as possible, with the learner, and also to identify the movement on official communication material.   For example, the logo was used primarily to signify to people of low literacy where they could get assistance in particular situations.   It was used on badges to identify

tutors; as a sign in post offices, signifying that the assistant could help with reading and writing; and it was used to identify books in the library that may be particularly useful to people with low literacy in English. Therefore, the data show that at this time, the logo was used as branding to publicise services to potential users in a pragmatic, localised way. Simultaneously, it was used to help consolidate the movement and link it to other literacy movements overseas.

However, there were some tensions in the use of such branding tactics. In *ARAN*, Brown (1981) argued that the symbol had the potential to stigmatise learners. She commented that learners could be hesitant, for example, to pick up a book with such a sign, or be seen at a bank or post office booth that displayed it prominently. Brown's argument demonstrated a tension between the movement's increased formalised publicity and the negative effects this may have had in bringing unwanted attention to learners' literacy difficulties.[4] Because of the dominant discourses that saw learners as "lacking" and sub-normal, target audiences could be reluctant to be seen to be accessing services. The signifier "literacy" can thus be seen as both compelling and problematic for the movement. At the same time as being useful in discursively naming and linking various learner needs, it was also associated with shame and embarrassment.

The mostly national-led NCAE publicity activities described so far were primarily designed to raise awareness of the need for adult literacy provision. In addition, they helped to develop relationships between geographically-placed, community-based schemes and the state. Responding to the need to sensitively publicise to learners in their particular geographic public spheres, the NCAE considered local publicity important and that this work required a careful approach, so as

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[4] "Literacy difficulties" is used here as this appeared to be the common way that the movement articulated the needs of learners at the time.

to not risk further shaming the learner. The ARAO stated in *Clear Reception*, a booklet designed to help local schemes with publicity, that "publicity is a necessity, not an optional extra. It should be built into your scheme" (Somerville, 1979a, p. 11). Likewise, in an article in *ARAN*, she urged that "publicity must be kept up" (Somerville, 1978, p. 12). In *Clear Reception*, Somerville went on to say, "Publicity should always be low-key in keeping with the small, unspectacular, quiet, personal work we are doing" (Somerville, 1979a, p. 11). Somerville also commented on the need to gently engage with the often "hidden" nature of learners' needs (Somerville, 1979c, p. 12). Somerville commented if schemes did not have many learners, it was possible need was low in the area, but it was more likely the scheme was not successfully targeting learners (Somerville, 1978b). The quotations above suggest that publicity had to be designed to foster a student-centred approach that was sensitive to the learners' literacy needs in light of the stigma associated with literacy provision.

Somerville recommended schemes engage in learners' multiple public spheres by using different methods such as word-of-mouth, personal relationships and some amount of printed material such as posters. For example, Somerville advised tutors to use radio interviews, talks to community groups and personal contact with key people in the community (Somerville, 1978b). Networking was also shown to be a key publicity activity for the movement. A survey conducted by NCAE in 1979 demonstrated that the community-based movement was networking with local government departments, medical professionals and other local organisations in their areas (NCAE, 1979f). In addition, libraries were a key audience for many agencies in promoting awareness for adult literacy and providing practical help for learners (Hill, 1990; Somerville, 1980). Learners were also recommended as important in reaching other learners. Sommerville (1979a) stated in *Clear Reception* "Encouraging students to meet and take part in planning for the scheme, will bring fresh ideas for publicity too" (p .7). The use of these publicity

practices supports research undertaken with more recent adult literacy practice in Aotearoa New Zealand that has shown word-of-mouth publicity is effective in targeting adult literacy learners (Murray et al, 2007; Tilley, Comrie, 2006). The data also demonstrate the strategic way in which NCAE and schemes worked with identities with access to learners' public spheres, such as other learners and community groups in aiming to communicate meaningfully with students.

It should also be noted that this type of publicity, based on engaging with learners' particular needs on a more individual basis and locating learners in their own lifeworlds, would have been relatively labour-intensive work and practised by mostly volunteer tutors on top of the fairly demanding task of teaching adults to read and write. Therefore the contribution of volunteers to progressing and publicising a student-centred account of literacy should be acknowledged.

Local schemes also produced local newsletters to distribute specific information on their own programmes to workers and interested parties. Reproductions of these are shown below.
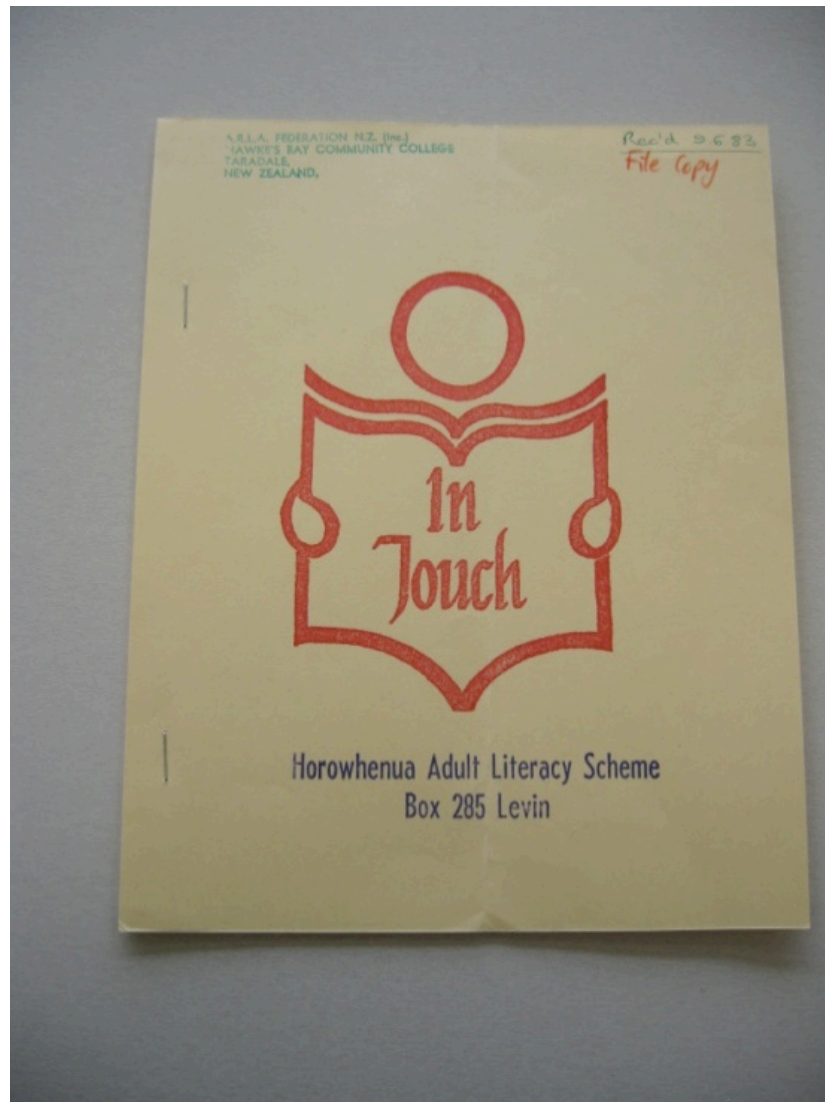
Figure 3. *Horowhenua Adult Literacy Scheme newsletter (1983).*

Figure 4. *Nelson ARA newsletter (Nelson ARA, 1980).*

The newsletters were relatively low-production, basic community-organisation-style publications that offered teaching tips, stories about learners and national movement news. The regionalised nature of the newsletters demonstrated the autonomy locally-based programmes had over their practice. However, the use of the BBC's adult literacy logo demonstrated tutors' support for the movement's national formalisation and low-key branding.

Alongside this low-key publicity, designed to meet the specific and often sensitive needs of learners, there was also evidence of the pervasiveness

of consumerist signifiers. In the *Clear Reception* booklet cited above, Somerville (1979a) stated, "One 'satisfied customer' tells another potential student" (p. 7). Arguably, this articulation of the marketised signifier "customer" demonstrated how corporatised signifiers were, at times, useful for the movement in identifying how to engage with learners.

Predelli (2003) argued that the use of scare quotes can point to an apologetic use of a term in that the author is knowingly using a word not really suitable for the context in which s/he is writing. By putting scare quotes around a term, the author can somewhat distance herself from its application. Thus, Somerville's (1979a) use of the typically corporatised signifier "customer" in scare quotes problematised her articulation of a marketised learner identity as she distanced herself from its unqualified application. She also went on to substitute "customer" with "student" later in the sentence. The ambivalent use of these signifiers could arguably be linked to the movement's response to a changing welfare regime. Community and welfarist service users were beginning to be identified more widely as "consumers" making self-interested choices, rather than citizens engaging with the collective and social character of services (J. Harris, 2009). In terms of adult literacy provision, like that in the nonprofit sector (Eikenberry, 2009), a possible consequence of a dominant consumerist discourse is that it has the potential to undermine learner agency by identifying the learner as an individual with *consumer* rather than a *human* rights to literacy provision. NCAE's self-conscious use of these terms is suggestive of wider social struggles as social-justice-based discourses tried to communicate in public spheres increasingly concerned with marketised principles such as value for money (Rudd, 1997).

As identified in much of the discussion above, although Somerville was key in facilitating the relationship between NCAE and local literacy

schemes, there is evidence to suggest that she did not always experience an easy transition in moving between the different public spheres of the state-sanctioned NCAE, which required some acknowledgement of professional and bureaucratic practices, and that of the more informal community-based settings, which would conceivably have been happier practising more informal publicity. In the tellingly entitled report, *The Fragile Web*, Sommerville (1979, as cited in Hill, 1990) disarticulated the adult literacy movement from wider professionalised practices, expressing a concern that programmes should be able to autonomously provide for learners' particular needs, rather than responding to target groups in homogenised and institutionalised ways. She wrote in the report to the McKenzie Foundation, which was funding her position at the time:

> The web [the adult literacy movement] must be protected carefully from the bumbling fingers of bureaucracy; from the rigid framework of institutions; from the devastating effects of 'user pays' waves; from the 'professional' broom; from the 'show us results' knife of statistical experts; from the insidious ice of preoccupation with finance. (Somerville, 1979 as cited in Hill, 1990, p. 135)

She added, "How can we foster flexibility so that it can adapt to changing conditions without becoming limp and ineffective?" (p. 135). These quotations suggest a tension between the need for a community-based literacy movement that remains flexible, autonomous and student-centred, but also engaged with the increasing salience of professionalised and economistic logics of the time.

Somerville (1979, as cited in Hill, 1990, p. 133-136) articulated a more explicit desire for deliberative publicity in this report. She gave her vision of the movement as,

> the weaving of a harmonious web of human relationships which will be strong and balanced enough to withstand all tensions; free to move with the winds of change; enduring enough to benefit all who will be joined by these cords of trust. (p. 136).

The metaphors "weaving" and "joined by cords of trust" hinted at a more egalitarian and dialogic style of publicity rather than a more one-directional mode of promotional practice. Publicity is implicated in the quotation as Somerville voiced a desire for "human relationships" that were, implicitly, able to critically discuss the need for adult literacy provision, free from the more economistic concerns of a state public sphere increasingly concerned with marketised issues such as being a competitive nation state (Kelsey, 1995).

NCAE and local schemes have so far identified publicity as an important activity for increasing awareness of the need for adult literacy provision, raising funds, and for reaching learners. However, some identities in the movement argued that "too much" publicity could have a detrimental effect on literacy provision. This is reminiscent of a similar concern in the UK adult literacy movement (Hamilton & Hillier, 2006) discussed in chapter two. In NCAE's appeal to the Minister of Education for funds, it stated: "Schemes that have been in operation for some time find that they have to keep their publicity to a minimum so that the demand does not exceed what the scheme can reasonably offer (waiting lists have been found to be undesirable)" (NCAE, 1979f, p. 9). Similar sentiments were offered in NCAE's summary of the adult literacy movement written for school teachers (Somerville & Chapman, 1979).

Furthermore, the ARAO recorded that the response some schemes received following their International Literacy Day publicity had been overwhelming, and that there were more enquiries than they could manage (NCAE, 1978a).

Publicity practices, therefore, presented a paradox for the movement. NCAE wanted to reach as many learners as possible, respond to their individual needs and engage in the particular public spheres of the learner. At the same time, it needed to publicise to the state the need for adult literacy training at a time when the state was questioning its welfare approach (McClure, 1998; Rudd, 1997).   However, if it proceeded with a great deal of publicity, including either widespread promotional practices, or more low-key interactive methods, it risked being overwhelmed with demands and losing learners' interest and confidence because it was not able to support them in a sufficient timeframe.   This paradox highlights the movement's vulnerable economic position at the time, as tutors feared that they would not have the resources available to quickly provide for the potential large demand. In the US in the 1980s authors were discussing how adult literacy students were "hard to reach" (Darkenwald, 1980; Irish, 1980), and more recent research in the UK has noted that, turning this argument around, literacy organisations can be hard to reach (Hannon et al., 2003). The evidence here offers reasons for this disconnect between learners and literacy organisations in that, although practitioners had the skills and networks to engage with adult literacy learners, relationships between learners and practitioners were hampered by a strategic limiting of publicity in the face of insecure funding.

Thus far I have identified NCAE and its employees as important in both the formalisation and professionalisation of the early adult literacy movement and its ability to meet learners' needs in more low-key and responsive ways on a local level. However, NCAE's formal support

came to an end in 1982 when state financial support was cut as part of wider reductions in educational funding, such as that to the Workers' Educational Association (Dakin, 1988). The movement strategically responded to the McKenzie Education Trust funding's conclusion and NCAE's demise by formalising into a federation in 1982 (Hill, 1990). Hill nominated this time as signifying a "desperate need for national co-ordination and leadership in a climate of political antagonism towards adult literacy work" (Hill, 1990, p. 101). Thus, the organisation's need to reconcile formalisation with service provision was integral to its survival and was a pragmatic step to secure a centralised aspect for the movement so that it could apply for funding from various bodies, and negotiate with the state. Staggenborg (1988) argued that the formalisation of social movement organisations helps to maintain momentum in challenging political and economic times. In addition, the new structure also provided a mechanism that preserved the autonomy and input of the separate schemes throughout the country. The name "federation" was chosen instead of "association" as the majority of the movement felt that the former signifier was more sympathetic to the desired organisational model comprising autonomous local schemes throughout the country (Hill, 1990).

There were some anxieties in the movement as to how this formalisation into a federation could be reconciled with a student-centred approach. Some members felt that they had not been consulted adequately and some had reservations about the move and the likely encroachment of bureaucratic systems that "had already failed students once" (Hill, 1990, p. 102). However, Hill argued that not all members realised that NCAE's ability to support the movement had come to an end. This demonstrated the challenges in formalising the movement into a federation in that the move was taken to try to ensure the continuation and development of adult literacy provision and to increase the likelihood of state support, but, at the same time, some members felt that

this move compromised the ability of the movement to respond and represent adult literacy learners' needs.

ARLA Federation was fraught with resourcing problems at the beginning of its journey which made it difficult to co-ordinate the movement (Hill, 1990). Despite tight financial times, publicity was still identified as a key activity by the governance committee (Hill, 1990), which suggests publicity's importance in gaining funds and recruiting students.

The early adult literacy movement thus articulated the logics of formalisation and professionalisation, but identities were also cognisant of some the limits of these strategies in reaching learners' needs. Therefore, more low-key publicity practices were used as ways of connecting more closely with adult literacy learners' public spheres, given the risk that formal publicity could alienate the very people the movement wanted to serve. In advancing its demands to the state for adult literacy funding, the next section demonstrates how the movement appealed to sedimented social logics such as liberal humanism and meritocracy in arguing that literacy was a human right that *adults*, as well as children, were entitled to.

5.3 Literacy as a human right: Extending and challenging narrow hegemonic discourses

In order to gain attention for the necessity of adult literacy provision, the early adult literacy movement challenged the state's standard response to "literacy crises" (Openshaw & Walshaw, 2010) by claiming that *adults*, as well as children, were entitled to literacy. Linking the nodal points of "human rights", "adults" and "literacy" in a discourse activated by the

social logics of welfarism and meritocratic liberal humanism, the movement demanded state funding for adult literacy programmes.

As discussed in the introduction above, the articulation of the need for adult literacy provision was fairly radical at the time as there was a hegemonic belief in Aotearoa New Zealand, like other countries (such as the UK and the US), that universal schooling had resulted in full adult literacy (Openshaw & Walshaw, 2010; Wickert, 1992). Aotearoa New Zealand was not alone in its hesitancy in recognising adult literacy needs at this time. Limage (1987) claimed that it was not until the 1960s (and for some it took much longer), that industrialised countries began to recognise adult literacy provision as a national need.

Three examples below show how the movement both rearticulated and extended the hegemonic literacy discourse in order to develop a coherent argument for adult literacy provision. These examples were taken from: the movement's underlying principles written in 1977 (as cited in Hill, 1990); a funding submission made to the government by NCAE in 1979; and a newspaper article that appeared in the *Auckland Star* in 1981.

> Each person has infinite worth. Everybody is worth helping. Reading and writing are necessary for full participation in our society, therefore it is a social right. (Somerville, 1977, as cited in Hill, 1990, p. 132)

> Every New Zealander has a fundamental right to literacy. (NCAE, 1979f, p. 7)

> Co-ordinator of the adult literacy scheme in Auckland, Mrs June Matthews, believes the Government should recognise the *right* [emphasis added] of people to have such basic education and the

services of so many volunteers by granting just one national position[5]. ("Adult literacy groups at risk", 1981, p. 9)

The equivalencing (Laclau, 1985/2001) of the signifiers "each person", "everybody", "every New Zealander", with "the right of people", "social right", and "fundamental right", in the above quotations, arguably, cancelled out the differences between adults and children in terms of their right to literacy education. The direct appeal to the government to fund literacy provision demonstrated an appeal to a welfarist logic, alongside an appeal to human rights.

NCAE utilised UNESCO, as an established and credible organisation, to legitimise its human rights requests for state funding of adult literacy provision. In a submission to the Minister of Education, NCAE referenced UNESCO's (1976) adult education recommendations when it challenged the state to meet its "international responsibility" (NCAE, 1979f, p. 8) to provide literacy teaching. The claim that the government was not taking its international obligations to literacy seriously was again articulated by Somerville in 1979. Somerville (March, 1979, as cited in Hill, 1990) stated in a report to the McKenzie Education Foundation (which funded her ARAO position with NCAE):

> There can be no permanency, and therefore little progress, until staffing [for literacy schemes] is at a realistic level. Meanwhile, we play with the problem of adult literacy, in spite of our lip service to the UNESCO priorities for continuing education. (March, 1979, as, cited in Hill, 1990, p. 50)

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[5] The spokesperson is referring here to the movement's request that the government fund a national co-ordinator or field worker for the adult reading and learning assistance movement.

Not only did the movement draw on UNESCO discourses of human rights to "underwrite" and legitimise human rights demands explicitly in publicity, UNESCO also helped fund the first national seminar NCAE held on literacy and continued a supportive relationship with the movement, offering grants and resources to the organisation until it formed a federation in 1982. The confidence the movement had in UNESCO was summarised by Somerville and Chapman (1979) who claimed that UNESCO was interested in adult literacy when there was little interest from other bodies. From then on to the time of writing, especially through the ARLA Federation's commitment to International Literacy Day, UNESCO was still present in the organisation's publicity.

UNESCO provided the adult literacy movement with a credible human rights discourse, on which to base its demands for adult literacy provision, and thus helped enable the movement to appeal to the state for the funding of adult literacy provision. As discussed in chapter two of this thesis, it was not until 1976 that UNESCO officially acknowledged the need for adult literacy provision in so-called "developed" countries (UNESCO, 1976). Thus, publicly appealing for adult literacy in a country such as Aotearoa New Zealand, was fairly novel.

P. Jones (1999) argued that, as a multilateral international organisation which had to take state objectives into account, UNESCO tended to focus on a consensus-based account of adult literacy rather than articulating adult literacy training's consciousness-raising potential (for example, see, Freire, 1970/1993). Jones also contended that as a result of its under-resourcing, UNESCO's role had largely been that of coaxing states, rather than enforcing governments to increase literacy rates. Arguably, the movement used the legitimate nature of UNESCO's international status to publicise the fairly radical notion that Aotearoa New Zealand required adult literacy provision. Thus, an arguably

conservative and establishment partner, helped the movement to gain legitimacy for its, fairly radical, needs at the time.

The movement's demands for adult literacy provision were legitimised by its rearticulation of meritocratic, liberal humanist and welfarist social logics. The movement articulated a meritocratic liberal humanist logic by, for example, stating, "Each person has infinite worth. Everybody is worth helping" in the citation above from the movement's underlying principles written in 1977 (Somerville, 1977, as cited in Hill, 1990, p. 132). Meritocratic liberal humanist assumptions were also evident in NCAE's rejection of a "user-pays" system in its 1979 submission to the state, when it argued adult literacy provision should be free because of "the birthright of every New Zealander to be adequately equipped by the community with basic survival skills" (NCAE, 1979f, p. 7). These statements used an appeal to the sedimented meritocratic liberal humanist and welfarist notion that everyone deserves a helping hand from the state, and combined this with an appeal to all New Zealanders' human right to literacy.

A Literacy Aotearoa worker commented in an interview for this research that the early days of the adult literacy movement were "pioneering times", which suggested that the movement managed to articulate a relatively new demand within the structuring effects of the dominant social logics at the time. It did this by appealing to universal literacy rights, while combining this with meritocratic liberal humanism. This combination of logics opened up the possibility for arguing that particular people, such as adults, needed dedicated literacy training.

Following the discussion in chapter three of the limitations of meritocratic liberal humanism (see, for example, Hickox, 1995) the movement's use of meritocratic liberal humanist and welfarist logics in

its publicity ran the risk of limiting a critique of structural oppressions and their effects on low literacy. However, borrowing from Marginson's (1999) argument that although liberal humanist assumptions tend to suppress difference when activated in a human rights framework, an appeal to universal rights can actually expose discrepancies in who has access to these rights, and who does not. The early movement's appeal to *universal* rights, thus paved the way for the subsequent articulation of *particular* rights.

Mouffe (1988) explained that when an appeal to universal equality is made, identities can be contradictorily interpellated as equal and unequal, which can help provide the circumstances for new contestations based around equality.[6] Laclau (2005) similarly argued that "equality" was being increasingly used as the key claim that new social movements of the 1970s and 80s were being founded upon. Therefore, the early movement's appeal to universal equality through a UN discourse actually encouraged new contestations to arise and facilitated new demands in the name of equality. Particular groups, such as adults, could then argue that they *were not* equal in literacy provision. In this way, universalism can actually lead to a focus on *difference* since the gap between the universal political demand and the socio-economic condition of particular groups is highlighted (Marginson, 1999).

By arguing that literacy was a right that was not being delivered to *all* New Zealanders, the movement tacitly suggested that there were structural impediments to literacy provision, although it stopped short, at this stage, of discussing these in more depth. Section 5.6 discusses how internal publicity presented a more useful forum for the movement's

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[6] Mouffe (1988) provides suggestions for how claims for universal equality can facilitate new contestations: for example the women's movement arose in part because women were contradictorily interpellated as both equal and unequal – equal in the sense that they were included in the common value "all men are equal", but unequal in terms of their experiences of everyday life and the way they were identified by particular institutions.

discussion of inequalities in society and their relation to literacy levels and provision. In addition, Benseman (1998) argued that if the movement appeared to be critical of societal inequalities it may have limited its ability to gain state attention in this period. The early adult literacy movement thus used a human rights framework to argue for the specific funding of adult literacy provision. However, the next section discusses how it also had specific publicity strategies for ensuring that literacy was promoted as immediately relevant for state and learners' needs.

5.4 Making publicity relevant for learners and the state: The movement's rearticulation of hegemonic functional literacy signifiers

In ensuring its services were seen as important for learners and the state, the movement used commonly-used literacy signifiers to name its services and activities. For example, NCAE created the position of "Adult *Reading* [emphasis added] Assistance Officer" in 1977 to co-ordinate literacy schemes around the country and the team supporting her was named the "Adult *Reading* [emphasis added] Assistance Committee". In addition, the first national seminar, held in 1976, and run by NCAE and UNESCO, was named, "Seminar on Assisting Adults with Reading Problems" and the newsletter that was produced for the movement by NCAE was titled the *Adult Reading Assistance Newsletter* (*ARAN*).

Furthermore, the movement was often referred to as the "adult reading assistance field" and literacy programmes as "adult reading schemes". The names of schemes such as the "Hawke's Bay Adult New Readers' Group" and "Wellington Saturday Morning Adult Reading Clinic", further testified to the reliance on the signifier "reading". Students in

schemes were also often referred to as "new readers" (see, for example, Somerville, 1980).

The use of the signifier "reading" was also evident in the literacy discourses that the movement borrowed from the UK. The historical colonial relationship Aotearoa New Zealand had with the UK meant that it was little surprise that the movement looked to UK adult literacy campaigns. NCAE files showed that David James, NCAE Director, visited UK adult literacy programmes twice in the 1970s and returned both times with resources for the schemes in Aotearoa New Zealand. In the mid-1970s, the BBC launched an adult literacy campaign and resources from this were used in Aotearoa New Zealand. One of the most notable of these was the BBC Adult Literacy Handbook (Longley, 1975). Hill (1990) claimed that the handbooks were "an essential tool for New Zealand literacy programmes" (p. 34). The involvement of the public broadcaster, the BBC, signalled the British government's support for the UK literacy campaign, which was in contrast to the state's relative lack of support in Aotearoa New Zealand. As mentioned previously, NCAE and adult literacy schemes in Aotearoa New Zealand adopted the BBC's adult literacy logo in 1976. The use of this logo linked the movement to the un-controversial notion of reading as a skill.

NCAE challenged the hegemonic functional discourse on literacy by also rearticulating "reading" as a nodal point to link together a 3Rs literacy discourse with a broader set of literacy needs. For example, local schemes publicised that they could help learners with individual goals that went beyond basic descriptions of reading, 'riting and 'rithemetic such as helping learners to: pass their drivers' licence; follow recipes; and write a job application (for example NCAE, 1978b; Risman, 1977; Somerville & Chapman, 1979). Situating literacy practices within the social worlds of citizens was suggestive of a social practice account of literacy that argued that literacy was not just a set of skills that could

be enacted unchanged in different contexts, but that literacy was meaningful within learners' particular social worlds (see, for example, Street, 1984).

Using the credible signifier "reading" would arguably have appealed to the widely articulated sedimented logic, and uncontroversial notion, that everyone had the right to be able to *read* and that reading was an essential life skill. By rearticulating the most basic literacy needs the adult literacy movement thus appealed to those socially conservative identities who supported a "back to basics" approach to education, without highlighting some of the more liberal (student-centred) teaching methods that the movement advocated. Whether or not it was a deliberate choice, the movement's use of the nodal point "reading" in its publicity was arguably useful in linking other, less-obvious literacy needs to a credible demand for literacy funding. The use of reading therefore clarified the somewhat nebulous notion of "literacy" (as discussed by Bormouth, 1973-1974; Cervero, 1985 de Castell, 1981; Hill, 1990; Hillerich, 1976; Scribner, 1984; Van Norden Peck, 1977)

However, while regularly using the signifier "reading" in its publicity to learners, the term "literacy" became increasingly salient for the movement in other ways during the time period examined here. The public relations agency advising NCAE during this time argued that "literacy" was an important term to use in official submissions. In a letter seeking ARAC's approval for a submission to the government that the agency had helped write, the public relations practitioners wrote:

> Throughout the submission we have substituted the term 'Adult Literacy Programme' for the term 'Adult Reading Assistance' as we feel it provides a link with overseas campaigns and indicates more clearly to the uninitiated the concept of a national network of

organised schemes providing direct tuition for adults with literacy problems. (C. Wilson, 1979, p. 1)

This quotation established that the agency sought to link the Aotearoa New Zealand adult literacy movement with overseas literacy discourses, which again, can be linked to the formalisation and professionalisation of the movement and the assertion of a more credible and legitimate identity in a national context.

In its appeals to the state and in identifying with learner needs, the movement thus borrowed from sedimented notions regarding the need for 3R literacy skills. The next section explores that in doing this, the movement also had to negotiate other, perhaps less-empowering aspects of dominant literacy discourses.

5.5 The "magic" of literacy

Textual analysis of the data collected suggests that, in order to appeal for funds, the early movement's publicity hooked into the sedimented notion that literacy was essential for participation in society in general, and preparing citizens for the workforce (Openshaw & Walshaw, 2010). The following example, from NCAE's 1979 submission to the government, demonstrates the strong links made between literacy and economic and social gains:

In helping adults with their literacy problems there are direct economic benefits both to the individual and to the community. A literate person is more able to undertake job-training, skilled work and managerial responsibility. (NCAE, 1979f, p. 7)

Similar claims were made in the *Keep Left* leaflet NCAE (1979a) produced in order to raise awareness and funds for the movement. The leaflet observed the consequences of low literacy: "They're missing out socially and they're missing out economically". Rearticulating the hegemonic associations of literacy with good social and economic outcomes alongside the need for *adult* literacy would have been a compelling publicity strategy when the state was looking for ways to solve economic and social problems.

However, by engaging with wider beliefs in literacy as an answer to social and economic problems, and aiming to progress a social justice and empowering learner-based account of literacy, the early adult literacy movement faced the challenge of inadvertently articulating a deficit learner discourse. Graff (1979) referred to the "literacy myth" and, in a similar way, Barton (2005) referred to the "magic" of literacy as the way in which de-contextualised functional literacy skills are un-problematically identified as a straightforward answer to society's problems (see chapter two). These authors argued that this strategy limits a more deliberative debate on the structural causes of complex social and economic problems such as inequality and low functional literacy levels. In addition, Hull (1993) also argued in a US context that that the link between increased functional literacy skills and increased productivity was fairly tenuous in practice. Arguably, giving "literacy" as the straightforward answer to participation in social and economic life could also have limited debate on more complex aspects of work and social life. For example, this discourse risked repeating the myth that if one had "adequate" literacy skills, then there were jobs available (Hull, 1997) and, once in employment, adequate income for their basic needs (Stephens, Frater & Waldegrave, 1995).

Section 5.2 established that the early adult literacy movement promoted a student-based identity in its publicity and it was evident, at least in NCAE's recommendations, that learners should be used in publicity to reach learners. Thus, by engaging with learners' public spheres in an intimate way, the early movement could be said to have mitigated the potential problem of being consumed by wider hegemonic discourses. In taking on board students' lifeworlds in this way, and explicitly working in a student-centred fashion in publicity practices, tutors were thus in a position to be able to work with the students' identification of *their* literacy needs. In a retrospective historical analysis, it is difficult to ascertain how tutors and students worked together and the exact nature of the local publicity that occurred on a more intimate level between the tutor and the learner, but it was clear from broader publicity that there was at least a determined strategy to work in a student-centred way.

However, the movement still had to push against the dominant notion of the learner as "deficit", as someone requiring skills in order to participate in society. This hegemonic deficit notion, espoused by the state and media (Openshaw & Walshaw, 2010), tended to focus on the need for individuals to be upskilled to a "normal" level, rather than engaging in a more complex dialogical process that worked with students' expressed needs. In addition, this straightforward approach that excluded consideration of learner agency meant that a broader discussion of the literacy demands of everyday life was potentially limited (Quigley, 1990). For example, this discussion could have included other agents of change such as the state and business in ensuring that workplaces and democratic processes such as voting took account of the individuals' literacy levels and ensured information was in a useful format. Despite the problems in engaging with such an approach, the early adult literacy movement would likely have been compelled to do so, whether consciously or not. In articulating a "need" for adult literacy provision, the movement had to connect with the hegemonic idea that learners were "lacking". Thus, in the examples

above, NCAE identified learners as needing literacy training so that they could be "more able" (NCAE, 1979f) and to ensure that they were not "missing out" (NCAE, 1979a). Indeed, it is possible that learners themselves would have identified with such needs.

NCAE's publicity did celebrate the existing strengths of the learner. The "Keep Left" (NCAE, 1979a) leaflet cited above stated:

> What is surprising is the number of people, unable to read or write adequately, who have made amazing adjustments socially and in their jobs. How much fuller their lives would be socially, as parents and in their work, if they could improve their reading and writing.

This passage constructed a strengths-based learner identity by celebrating the achievements of those with low literacy. However, the student's literacy skills were still identified as in need of "improve[ment]" if "fuller" participation in society was to be achieved. This demonstrated the salience of a commonsense needs-based discourse when having to argue for state funds. By arguing for the "need" for literacy, learners were still cast as lacking, which demonstrated the limitations of the wider hegemonic deficit literacy discourse, as opposed to a social practice account which emphasises the strengths of learners' existing literacy practices.

Again, in necessarily engaging with the economic benefits of literacy in order to consider the potential fuller benefits of literacy provision, the movement's publicity at times identified learners as a cost to society. NCAE stated in its above-cited 1979 submission to the government, "Under-used human resources are economically wasteful" (NCAE,

1979f p. 7). This was an example of where individuals with literacy difficulties were characterised as inefficient units of human capital, and made different, through the logic of difference, to those *with* literacy skills and *in* work. In another illustration, the *Keep Left* leaflet stated, "What's more many of them [those with literacy difficulties] cost the community dearly in terms of social services, emotional and family problems, prisons and unemployment" (NCAE, 1979a). Therefore, greater social problems and an increased cost to society both in monetary terms and the social price paid were cited as the consequences of literacy difficulties, and cognately of not funding literacy. Hamilton and Pitt (2011) identified a similar construction of the learner as an economic and social problem in historical and contemporary UK adult literacy campaigns.

As a consequence of having to engage with these dominant notions of the learner as "lacking", the evidence shows that the movement implicitly identified different learners; those who were "deserving" and those who were "undeserving" of literacy provision. The *Keep Left* leaflet (NCAE, 1979a) provided the following reasons for low literacy: "family stress; the extreme mobility of some families; problems at school; learning difficulties which continue into adulthood; ill health as a child, e.g., hearing, sight, prolonged sickness; and emotional problems". NCAE described those with literacy difficulties as having "missed out on acquiring the skills" (NCAE, 1979a) and as "hard-working citizens" (Somerville, 1980, p. 41). NCAE, therefore, did not blame individual learners for being of low literacy. Instead, NCAE implied, again activating welfarist and liberal humanist logics, that *different* individuals experienced *different* circumstances and, because they had been disadvantaged, it was implied that the welfare state should equalise the differences between individuals. NCAE suggested that if funding were provided by the state, individual learners should be able to achieve their own goals and contribute to society.

However, this construction of the learner as "deserving" of help, arguably, had implications for constructing, by exclusion, another group as "*un*deserving". This was again an example of the conspicuousness of the hegemonic discourse of welfare provision that identified deserving and un-deserving citizens (Rudd, 1997). Learners were identified as those who wanted to improve their social and economic situation because they had "missed out" through "no fault of their own" (NCAE, 1979f, p. 7). This construction of the deserving and the undeserving was the guiding principle of early twentieth century public assistance schemes in Aotearoa New Zealand and can be traced back to nineteenth century poor laws in the UK (Rudd, 1997). The "undeserving" can be understood in the case of adult literacy, as those who had *not* taken advantage of opportunities presented to them; or, through the gaze of a socially conservative moral judgement, had somehow contributed to their own disadvantage. Therefore, although not wanting to attribute blame to individual learners, by identifying with aspects of the dominant values of meritocracy and liberal humanism, this analysis shows that NCAE inadvertently constructed a particular type of learner as desirable in its publicity to support the objective of state funding. The logic of difference in constructing differences between "deserving" and "undeserving" learners could also have undermined the movement's appeal that literacy was a human right for all (section 5.3).

The creation of the "deserving learner" can be seen in this context, whether deliberate or not, as a useful discursive manoeuvre by the movement to garner sympathy for learners and to reassure its publics that any funding invested in literacy provision would be well spent. The motivation for linking this deficit identity to adult literacy's economic benefits (for the individual and society) can thus be better explained in the context of the movement's vulnerable economic position at a time of

reduced welfare spending and its consequential need to "market" its services as "good value for money".

Alongside its student-centred publicity efforts, the movement also engaged with the practical and pragmatic economic benefits of adult literacy. These can be compared to the grand claims in the national publicity cited above. For example, several articles were published in *ARAN* that advised tutors and co-ordinators how they could help their learners with literacy skills in order to gain qualifications needed for work, or generally help learners with the literacy skills required in the workplace (James, 1979; "Trades certification board examination – special provisions", 1977; "Special assistance for TCB examination", 1981).

In addition, an article in *ARAN* summarised an adult literacy workers' seminar item entitled, "Working with Industry" ("Lopdell house course", 1981). The author described how guest speakers from various industries, including a Trade Union research officer and an industry chaplain, had led discussions on how to address reading and writing problems in the workforce. Furthermore, the response to practical needs was also evident in the wider relationships that NCAE sought. For example, NCAE wrote to the Vocational Training Council seeking to be included in its annual conference so that it could discuss literacy needs in the workplace (NCAE, 1980).

Alongside the movement's strategic engagement with the "magic" of literacy, therefore, there were examples of the pragmatic and everyday concerns of learners' needs. The next section explores how internal publicity provided another space that was more conducive to discussing the challenges in engaging with empowering literacy discourses (for

example that of Freire, 1970/1993) compared with an external environment seduced by deficit literacy discourses.

5.6 Opportunities in internal publicity for fuller debate on key philosophical tensions

Compared with external publicity mostly designed to raise the profile of literacy provision and attract government funds, internal publicity between schemes, especially through *ARAN*, provided a forum for wider explorations of the differentiated nature of student-centred literacy provision and the difficulties in engaging with hegemonic, functional discourses. For example, M. Harrison (1977), a member of the Auckland literacy group, published an article in *ARAN* that urged for more discussion around the philosophy of adult literacy work. Under the sub-title "What is Literacy?", he stated:

> We feel that the idea of literacy is very wide indeed, and will always be differently understood by different groups of people. Yet we feel that literacy should include a much wider range of activities than reading and writing per se, no matter how 'competent' that reading and writing might be. Reading and writing are the only [sic] means, the medium of literacy. A person's literacy is more properly understood as <u>informed and active awareness</u> [original emphasis] of the world around them. To be literate suggests a whole range of qualities – to be able to express, to be able to criticise, to be able to understand one's experience, to be able to cope with a variety of practical cultural demands and so on...A largely functional understanding of literacy – no matter how relative the standards used – seems to us simply to ignore the actual complexities of literacy as a cultural practice. (p. 14)

In this quotation, Harrison (1977) criticised over-identification with a narrow functional understanding of literacy and advocated for a wider and more contextualised use of the term. Harrison discussed the cultural practice of literacy, comparing it to a mere skills-based approach. This demonstrated traces of a Freirean account of literacy practice where learners critiqued their social positioning. Harrison implied that the "informed and active awareness [original emphasis] of the world around them", did not automatically occur when a strictly functional understanding of literacy was articulated. A Freirean account of adult literacy would, arguably, have become more available and recognised in the 1970s following Freire's visit to Aotearoa New Zealand in 1974 (Armstrong, 1999).

The movement's student-centred approach to provision was located within the structuring effects of society's expectations in an article published in *ARAN* in March, 1978. The unknown author stated:

> The common values shared by schemes become evident when considering the student. There is concern for his [sic] expectations, a shared approach to achieving his goals and the need to accept his decision as to when he attains these goals.
>
> Thought needs to be given to whether we stay with the student and his [sic] wishes – or whether we want to effect changes in the standards and attitudes of the literate society in which we live. Is it fair that individuals are faced with the stumbling block of literacy, often with its extremely high and perhaps unnecessary standards, before they can achieve a certain situation? Examples which spring to mind are obtaining a driver's licence, having a telephone connected, filling in a tax form. ("Through the student's

eyes: A report on the Adult Reading Co-ordinators' workshop held
in Masterton from 3-5 March, 1978", p. 6)

In the first sentence of this quotation, the author acknowledged the movement's universal student-centred identity. They went on to advocate a student-centred approach, yet one which questioned the student's capacity to articulate their literacy needs. The author also interrogated society's demand for a level of high literacy skills in social practices. As discussed in chapter two of this thesis, Law and Sissons' (1984) discussion of adult education argued that a "needs-based" approach should be challenged because what they termed (borrowing from Freire, 1970/1993) students' "felt-needs" (p. 72), were ideologically constructed by dominant notions of what adults require from education, including adult literacy. The appearance of this discussion within internal publicity (the movement's internal newsletter), also suggests that it was easier to discuss the learners' complex identity in this forum rather than external publicity aimed at raising awareness, and funds, for the movement's activities.

Internal publicity, therefore, offered the movement the opportunity to discuss critical issues around the relationships between literacy and the workplace. In an article in *ARAN* ("Work Skills Development Scheme", 1982), the unnamed author discussed the Work Skills Development Scheme rolled out by the Department of Labour under Sir Robert Muldoon's National government. This was described as a scheme for young unemployed people that included "educational activities" (p. 23) for one day a week. Some literacy schemes had been approached about helping with this and the author asked if this contradicted the movement's philosophy. The author asked for discussion of this topic without elaborating on how the scheme was problematic.

Also in *ARAN*, Somerville (1978b) warned that the movement's student-centred literacy philosophy should be safeguarded as literacy gained increasing salience at a state level. In this article, Somerville was worried that because literacy had become a topic of concern for some MPs, it was being co-opted to mainstream discourses. She warned of a dilution of "literacy" in the "back to basics" campaign. It was not clear what she meant by dilution, but presumably she was referring to her preference for a wider discussion of the different sites of literacy practices and the inclusion of a student-centred approach, rather than a focus on the basics, which were most commonly referred to as the 3Rs.

Also in *ARAN*, the editor noted how literacy was now "on everyone's lips" (Roxburgh, 1980, p. 1). Cain and Benseman (2005) noted that in the 1980s, the Labour Party used adult literacy funding as an election issue, assuring that they would dedicate funds if elected (see New Zealand Labour party manifesto, New Zealand Labour Party, 1981). The Literacy Project Working Party, led by the National government's Minister of Education Les Gandar in 1976, also attempted to compose a more plural account of literacy which referred to learners' varying needs (Hill, 1990, p. 35). These examples demonstrated that adult literacy was becoming an issue at a state level. This could be seen as a positive indicator for the adult literacy movement in that the signifier "literacy" was being articulated and recognised as a demand worth responding to, but it also meant that the movement had to be vigilant in ensuring *its* (student-centred) articulation of literacy was the most salient in public policy discourse and that it would not be subject to a hegemonic takeover by a more functionalist account of adult literacy.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated how the early adult literacy movement made use of the social logics of professionalisation and formalisation in order to make credible appeals to the state for funds and at the same time expand its capacity to reach learners. This meant that the movement could, using other available social logics such as meritocratic liberal humanism, welfarism and human rights, appeal to sedimented notions of the benefits of literacy and challenge the state to help fund *adult* literacy programmes because of its obligations to uphold human rights for all.

By using the nodal points "student-centred" and "community-based" alongside more uncontroversial signifiers "literacy" and "reading", the movement was able to retain its social justice philosophy while also connecting with common sense notions of the learner. There were challenges in engaging with dominant notions in that the movement sought to extend a narrow hegemonic literacy discourse that focused on the 3Rs in order to take account of the social practice of literacy. In addition, the movement had to engage with dominant deficit learner discourses, and it potentially differentiated between "deserving" and "undeserving" learners in its publicity, which could have undermined its appeal to universal human rights.

However, by practising publicity that engaged on a more intimate level with learners' public spheres such as using learners to recruit other learners and networking locally to connect literacy programmes with other community groups and services, the movement, alongside the need to speak to dominant notions of learners as lacking, could also work with students on their identified needs. The movement thus faced challenging times, but with a publicity strategy that identified a diversity of needs, it

formalised a coherent organisational identity that was able to both engage with learners, and argue for funding.

Chapter 6

Retaining a student-centred identity in times of radical economic reform

Adult Reading and Learning Assistance and Literacy Aotearoa's publicity 1984-1998

6.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses how ARLA, and then Literacy Aotearoa, managed to maintain and grow their literacy provision by promoting diverse needs in their publicity and engaging with audiences in different public spheres. The first section focuses on the increasing salience of a Treaty-based[1] identity in publicity, and how the newly-formed Literacy Aotearoa practised publicity that was more able to engage with an even greater diversity of learners and literacy needs than before, especially with Māori learners. The chapter discusses how ARLA publicised workplace literacy as a way to further its student-centred goals and how ARLA and Literacy Aotearoa articulated a critique of societal inequalities in its publicity. The final section considers the impact of competition on the publicity for community-based programmes.

Brief political overview 1984-1998

Chapter three provides a more in-depth account of political changes in Aotearoa New Zealand that occurred during this period and the concurrent rising state interest in adult literacy. However, this section will give a quick overview of the key political moments that occurred at this time that were influential on the publicity context.

Following from the challenges to the welfare state noted in chapter five, like other countries such as the US and the UK, in Aotearoa New Zealand, a market logic was increasingly articulated by the state as the institutional horizon where social problems should be addressed (Kelsey, 1995; Lauder, 1990; McClure, 1998). The state rolled out radical

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[1] Treaty-based refers to the organisation's move to use Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the founding document of Aotearoa New Zealand, as a basis for the organisation's philosophy and practice. For more information on Te Tiriti o Waitangi and how it relates to this thesis, please see chapter one.

economic and social reform from 1984. The education sector came under the spotlight in 1987, when the state questioned the link between education and welfarism and advocated reduced state management of schools (The Treasury, 1987).

The lack of economic growth in Aotearoa New Zealand at the time was linked to the lack of skills in the workplace (Cain & Benseman, 2005). The *Skill New Zealand Strategy* attended to literacy needs for business (Sutton & Benseman, 1996). The International Adult Literacy Survey was conducted in Aotearoa New Zealand and the report's authors argued that across all the countries surveyed, a larger percentage of New Zealanders than had previously been recognised had low functional literacy (OECD, 1997).

The results from Aotearoa New Zealand showed that one in five adults were at the first level of literacy and, overall, nearly half of the working age population were below level three which was considered the minimum required for participation in social and working life (Cain & Benseman, 2005; S. Watson, 1999). Despite the survey results, there was no official state adult literacy policy developed at this time. In addition, there were clearer claims to Māori sovereignty during this time (Belich, 2001) and te reo Māori was acknowledged as an official language (A. Durie, 1998).

As detailed in chapter five, the adult literacy movement formed a legal organisation in 1982. Over the time period discussed in this chapter, the organisation gained notable state attention. Although the fourth Labour Party government (1984 to 1990) engaged in radical economic and social restructuring, ARLA gained financially from the party's residual commitment to social democratic policies. In 1985, the government began annually granting the organisation a fund for a full-time national

co-ordinator.[2]   National office income from the government increased over Labour's time in government from \$38,000 in 1985 to \$400,000 for the financial year 1989/90 (Hill, 1990).   ARLA, and then Literacy Aotearoa's, income continued to increase throughout the 1990s, even through the centre-Right National (1990-1996), and National-led coalition governments (1996-1999). By 1998 Literacy Aotearoa's overall income from the government was \$1,550,000 (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 1999).   Indicating that this funding was not sufficient for their work, Literacy Aotearoa continued to apply for grants from other bodies to fund its services (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 1999).

6.2 Engaging with the literacy needs of "all New Zealanders" with a Treaty-based approach

The most notable organisational change in the period covered in this chapter was the restructuring of the ARLA Federation to create the Treaty-based organisation Literacy Aotearoa. The moves to restructure the organisation and the connected publicity suggested that ARLA Federation's mostly monocultural identity was limited in its ability to articulate Māori literacy needs, thus there was a need to substantially restructure the organisation. This restructuring took place against the background of increasingly mainstream visibility of the claim to Māori sovereignty in Aotearoa New Zealand at this time (Te Awekotuku, 2004).

To give some background to the restructuring of the ARLA Federation, it should be noted that Māori literacy needs were very rarely mentioned in the early days of the adult literacy movement. The articulation of Māori literacy needs in ARLA's publicity was gradual in the mid-1980s.

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[2] ARLA also received a grant from the Lottery Board in 1985 to fund another part-time national co-ordinator (Hill, 1990).

The organisation's identification with Māori literacy needs was at first limited to discussion in internal publicity. An example of this was an article in *ARAN* in 1986 (Huirua, 1986), which explored how ARLA could work with Māori. The article made reference to the renaissance of Māori identity in the 1980s and mentioned that "groups in all facets of the Māori community seem to be taking control of their own circumstances, in some cases throwing off paternalistic institutional care that they once sheltered under" (p. 6). This description of a change from, what could be conceptualised as, paternalist logics to a logic of self-determination is reflective of the increasing visibility of claims to Māori sovereignty in wider society during this time (see chapter three).

The adaptation of the UK BBC adult literacy logo to incorporate Māori imagery appeared to be the first clearly publicised *graphic* evidence of a change to ARLA's mostly monocultural public identification of literacy needs. The ARLA Federation altered the symbol to include a Māori design on the top of the book cover (see figure 5 below). This appeared in ARLA and Literacy Aotearoa's publicity from 1988 until 2000. This adaptation of one of the original forms of branding for the early adult literacy movement in the 1970s was interesting in that it indicated moves within the organisation to more explicitly publicise its desire to take better account of Māori literacy needs.

Figure 5. *BBC logo adapted to include Māori imagery (ARLA Federation, 1997).*

At the organisation's biennial general meeting in 1988, a remit was passed which urged ARLA to look at how the organisation could be Treaty-based (Yates, 1996). Both Caunter (1990) and Yates (1996) attested to tensions during this time, when the power held by Pākehā in the organisation was challenged. Following this remit, various initiatives were introduced in the organisation such as Treaty-based training[3] for the national committee; co-opting Māori members to the national committee; and increasing Māori staff (Yates, 1996).

Given these were tense times in the organisation's history (Caunter, 1990; Yates, 1996) it is likely that there would have been considerable labour involved for those arguing for a Treaty-based organisation. As Yates (1996) said of this time;

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[3] These workshops were designed to facilitate and guide ideas on how the Treaty of Waitangi (please see chapter one) could be used in the workplace as a guide for relations between Māori and Tauiwi. These type of workshops were becoming more popular in the community and state sector at the time (Huygens, 2007).

Day after day for six years has been hard work for all those involved, Maori and Tauiwi, grappling with concepts, frustrations, anxiety and anger. Set against a history of systematic loss of language, cultural practices and rights as tangata whenua, the achievements to date and the progress made can only be seen as a beginning and require review at the implementation level. (p. 106)

This quotation demonstrated the internal struggles over the gradual shift in power occurring in the organisation and the tensions as Tauiwi were increasingly requested to engage with the public spheres of Māori literacy practitioners and learners. Māori public spheres can be differentiated from Pākehā-controlled publicity by the former's particular experience of colonisation and strong identification with traditional oral practices (see, for example, Rāwiri, 2005). As discussed in chapter two, public relations research has identified the particular usefulness of word of mouth, and relationship-based publicity for Māori audiences (Comrie et al., 2002). In addition, challenged to engage with a public sphere that many Pākehā did not know much about, there would have been a steep learning curve for some practitioners and ultimately, Māori may have had the added task of "teaching" Tauiwi about Māori publicity practices. Yates (1996) attested to the intense, complex, and mostly un-paid work of Māori literacy workers. This re-formalisation of the monocultural structures within ARLA would most likely have added strain to this already-stretched group of Māori workers.

In 1989, ARLA split the national government grants it received equally between Māori and Tauiwi literacy provision (Yates, 1996). However, Yates (1996) stated that this agreement did not extend to the funding that local schemes received through other government departments. She commented, "Maori literacy provision at the local level remains largely

unfunded and reliant on local funding sources" (p. 105). Thus, the national re-structure was limited in its effectiveness at a local level, which may have affected the ability of locally based schemes to engage with the public spheres and literacy needs of Māori learners.

As described in chapter three, there was increasing public recognition of the need for Māori sovereignty during this time period. This was demonstrated through recognition of te reo Māori as a national language in 1987 (A. Durie, 1998), growth of Kohanga Reo (Māori language pre-schools) and Kura Kaupapa (Māori language schools) (May, 1996) as well as notable Māori protest during this time (Moon, 2009; Te Awekotuku, 2004).

The formation of Te Whiri Kaupapa Ako, the Māori literacy development arm of ARLA, in 1990 was integral to the increased salience of Māori literacy needs in ARLA's publicity. Te Whiri Kaupapa Ako's committee worked "according to the premise that literacy for Maori by Maori is an expression of tino rangatiratanga", with tino rangatiratanga being understood as self-determination (Te Whiri Kaupapa Ako, 1995b, p. 1). Funding for specific Māori literacy development was aided by an $80,000 grant from the Ministry of Education in 1990 (Caunter, 1990), demonstrating the government's support of such a dedicated strategy.

Demonstrating the impact this body had on ARLA's publicity, the above examples can be compared with ARLA Federation's brochures from 1985 and 1987 (ARLA Federation, 1985, 1987) which gave no indication of a Treaty-based structure, nor any specific articulation of Māori literacy needs. However, in 1991, a brochure encouraging membership subscription stated "Work is now underway to make schemes Treaty-based" (ARLA Federation, 1991). The brochure said

"Maori are tangata whenua o Aotearoa. ARLA will seek to reflect te Tiriti o Waitangi throughout its philosophy and in all aspects of its practice". Tangata whenua is usually used to describe Māori as being people of the land, or Indigenous.

In another example of explicit attention paid to Māori literacy needs, to celebrate International Literacy Day in 1995, the committee held a book launch for *The Basketball Girls*, authored by Ngahuia Te Awekotuku. The book was described by Te Whiri Kaupapa Ako as including "Positive stories reflecting Maori achievement" (Te Whiri Kaupapa Ako, 1995b). This, the body advised, was in contrast to negative media representations of Māori. This was an example of how the formation of Te Whiri Kaupapa Ako facilitated specific national publicity activities targeted at Māori learners, which were not evident before this arm of the movement was created. From the quotation above it is also notable that Te Whiri Kaupapa Ako not only aimed to publicise its own activities, but also aimed to participate in broader mediatised representation of Māori.

In evidence of the increasing visibility of Māori imagery in ARLA's publicity, Te Whiri Kaupapa Ako published posters for the UN International Year of World Indigenous peoples in 1993 and re-released the images for greetings cards and t-shirts celebrating Te Tau o te Reo – The Year of te Reo Maori in 1995. The series included two images and whakatauki (Māori sayings or proverbs) shown in figures 6 and 7 below.

Figure 6. Image and text from Te Haa o te Reo card. Poster issued 1993 in celebration of UN International Year of World Indigenous People and then re-issued as cards and t-shirts in 1995 in celebration of Te Tau o te Reo. Artist – Gabrielle Belz (Te Whiri Kaupapa Ako, 1995a).

Unuhia te Reo

Unuhia te reo
ka parekareka te mohiotanga
mai te whakamataratia i te reo
mai te tahuuhu o te whare
whakaheke i nga heke o te whare
taea iho ki te papa o te whare
ka whaakina nga korero huna
o nga tuupuna maatua
whakarongo titoro korero
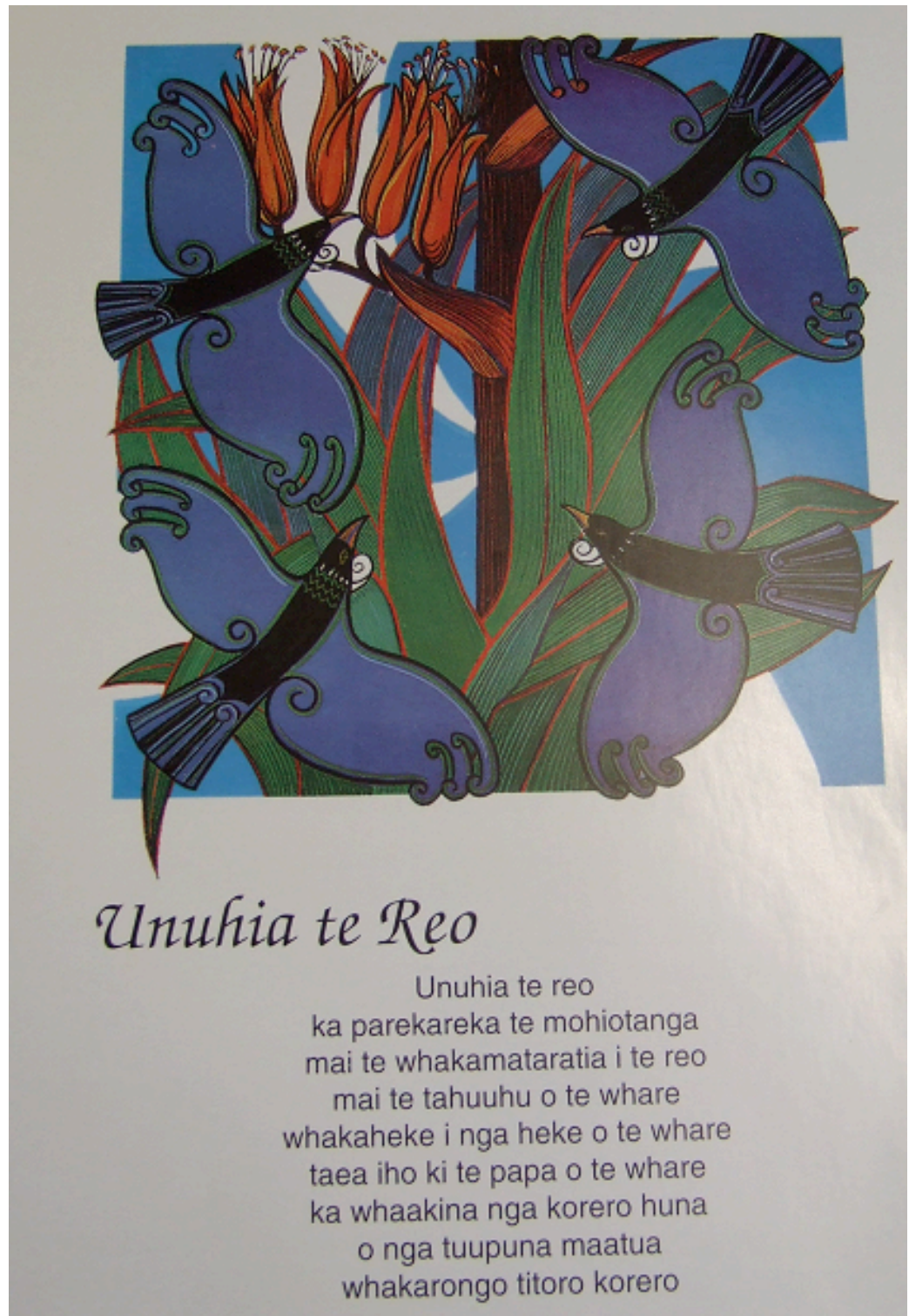
Figure 7. Image and text from Unuhia te Reo card. Details as above in Figure 6. (Te Whiri Kaupapa Ako, 1995c).

The images above clearly identify with Māori imagery and te reo Māori. This publicity for the UN Year of Indigenous Peoples and Te Tau o te

Reo exemplifies Te Whiri Kaupapa Ako's efforts to publicise the importance of Indigenous literacies in ARLA's identity, including the need for te reo Māori to be included as a literacy component. Participation in the UN Year of Indigenous Peoples also linked Māori needs and ARLA with Indigenous peoples internationally. Thus, Te Whiri Kaupapa Ako challenged the wider hegemonic literacy discourse that focused on literacy in English, and extended it by including Māori literacy needs and specifically, te reo Māori.

An analysis of the text in the examples above from Te Whiri Kaupapa Ako's publicity also shows how the organisation reconciled Māori literacy needs with those of all New Zealanders. English translations were given with the cards. The first, Te Haa o te Reo read, "The Inspiration of Language. Language opens the storehouse of knowledge. The sharing of knowledge provides inspiration for all". The translation for Unuhia te Reo read; "The Language Unfolds. As we learn, we unravel the nature of language and come to taste the sweetness of understanding". The translations also illuminated a desire for the sharing of the power of language. The text linked "language", "knowledge", and "understanding" alongside the collective pronouns "all" and "we", signalling an appeal to a collective approach to literacy provision and, by extension, the ability of Māori to self-determine their literacy practice.[4] Therefore, in making recognisable requests for Māori to be included in literacy provision, as peoples with particular rights to their own literacy, Te Whiri Kaupapa Ako also linked Māori literacy needs with that of the needs of all citizens.

The items reproduced above also illustrate how important professionalised publicity was becoming during this period. As discussed in chapter two of this thesis, increasing demands on the

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[4] Given my limited understanding of the language, culture and norms of Māori language, I felt it inappropriate for me to undertake a discourse analysis of the re teo Māori versions of these texts.

nonprofit sector to professionalise had put pressure on nonprofit organisations' resources (see, for example, Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004). Professionalised publicity at times resulted in tensions between organisations' social justice missions and the need for them to appear as marketised entities (M. Griffiths, 2005; Sireau, 2009). At the same time, the increasingly professionalised publicity regime in the time period discussed here can be seen to have enabled Te Whiri Kaupapa Ako to produce publicity that signalled a Treaty-based identity that was simultaneously professional and formalised. Therefore, the linking of professional and social-justice-based logics was helpful in maintaining the organisation's legitimacy in the eyes of the state when the public sphere was demanding increasingly formalised and professionalised publicity (Fairclough, 1993; Habermas, 1996). At the same time, the organisation was able to promote the strengths of Indigenous literacies.

To give some background to this publicity, and to illuminate the structural changes occurring at an organisational level, ARLA's 1990 policy document (ARLA Federation, 1990) listed specific policies to facilitate Māori sovereignty in the organisation. For example, literacy was described as including "Maori, English and mother tongue"; the Indigenous name for New Zealand, "Aotearoa" was used alongside the English name; Māori were listed as tangata whenua of Aotearoa; Te Tiriti o Waitangi was cited as a guiding document for the organisation's "philosophy and in all aspects of its practice"; and literacy provided by Māori for Māori was cited as a move toward tino rangatiratanga.

This policy document (ARLA Federation, 1990) thus articulated some major changes in the core principles of the organisation. Māori were positioned as partners to Tauiwi at the centre of the organisation, rather than at the periphery. Literacy was linked to tino rangatiratanga via te Tiriti o Waitangi. The third principle of the document stated that "The Government, in accordance with te Tiriti o Waitangi, and as a signatory

of the Declaration of Human Rights has a responsibility to promote and support the provision of literacy learning at all levels". These policies pointed to ARLA's attempt to displace a monocultural, Pākehā-based organisational structure in the organisation by emphasising that different peoples, especially the differences between Tauiwi and Māori had different literacy needs, but at the same time, the same human right, as Tauiwi, to literacy training.

Examining how the logics of equivalence and difference are operating here in relation to human rights appeals can, like the last period, illuminate how both particular and universal rights are being appealed to but, this time, a different group is identified as having particular (previously unsatisfied) rights. Human rights in the 1970s and 1980s were used to signify how all New Zealanders, not just children, were entitled to literacy provision and this, the last chapter argued, was one of the main arguments the movement made for state funding. However, in the period analysed in this chapter, human rights were invoked as a logic necessary for the provision of literacy rights for Māori, who were specifically identified as having missed out on forms of provision suited to their particular needs.

By the mid-1990s, ARLA workers were explicitly challenging the impacts of colonisation on Māori literacies. Both Yates (1996), who was Te Apiha Kaiwhakahaere o te Motu (National Co-ordinator) of Te Whiri Kaupapa Ako at the time, and M. Jackson (1997), advisor to Te Whiri Kaupapa Ako, argued that Māori literacy had been subject to colonisation and that the only way to redress the inequalities colonisation had produced was for Māori to obtain autonomy in literacy provision.

In a chapter entitled *Striving for Tino Rangatiratanga,* published in a book exploring adult and community education in Aotearoa New Zealand, Yates (1996) argued, "We are part of a vast number of networks of Maori working hard on the field of literacy because this is where we have identified that we can make our contribution to addressing the impact of colonisation on te iwi Maori" (p. 96). Literacy was thus identified by Yates (1996) as a particular site, or nodal point, within the colonial struggle for Māori. She directly linked literacy to tino rangatiratanga:

> Maori literacy development cannot be seen separately from other aspects of life in Aotearoa, but rather as integral to the ability to participate and determine one's destiny within the activities and dynamics operating in today's society and that of the future. Maori literacy development is set within the multitude layers and strands of factors external and internal to Maori dynamics. The factors exist to enhance and hinder Maori development. (p. 98)

Literacy was here articulated by Yates (1996) as one of the pathways to Māori self-determination. Yates' discussion of the empowering and disempowering effects of literacy espoused a Freirean discourse and, later in the same chapter, Yates explicitly linked her discussion of literacy to Freire saying that Freirean pedagogy, out of other available literacy models, is most similar to Māori pedagogies. She went on to explain that this was because Freire's model underscored the need to be "critically aware". Yates therefore linked Māori pedagogies with a critique of power. As discussed in chapter two, G. Smith (1999) also discussed the similarities between Freirean and Māori pedagogies. This discussion of the colonial impact on literacy practices in Aotearoa New Zealand provided a different critique of power than that evidenced in chapter five, where in literacy publicity, literacy was cited as at least one of "the answers" to the socio-economic problems a culturally

homogenous New Zealand was facing. In the example above, however, Yates suggested it was possible that (colonised and ethnocentric) literacy practices could be a hindrance to Māori achievement. Literacy was thus more concretely identified as a potential site of political struggle with implications for Māori self-determination.

Moana Jackson, a prominent Māori lawyer and academic, who has advocated for decades for Māori sovereignty, argued for ARLA's constitutional change in *Te Whiri Kaupapa Ako: Reframing the Debate for Institutional Change* (1997). Like Yates (1996), Jackson situated literacy within the context of the colonisation of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. Jackson used te Tiriti o Waitangi as a framework for change, but emphasised that it was important to understand the wider context of colonisation. His main argument was that Māori should be able to set up their own structures rather than conform or adapt to Tauiwi structures or processes, no matter how "bi-cultural" these may seem to be. Both Yates (1996) and Jackson (1997)'s arguments challenged ARLA's original monocultural identity by underlining the links between literacy and Māori aspirations towards Tino Rangatiratanga.

ARLA's *internal* publicity also demonstrated increasing recognition of the need to more clearly promote a Treaty-based identity. *ARAN* was renamed with a Māori language title, *Nga Kete Korero,* in 1995. Discussions about Māori sovereignty were also increasingly evident in the magazine from the mid-1990s. For example, it published a speech by Pita Sharples to the Foundation of Peace Studies (Sharples, 1996) in which the education academic (now co-leader of the Māori party which was formed in 2004) discussed colonisation's impact on Māori including suppression of knowledges, beliefs, language, education and land theft. Another example of an increasing articulation of Māori literacy needs was an article by Hohepa and Jenkins (1996/7) on the connection between Māori literacy and racism. More generally, the journal started

using much more te reo Māori; for example, dates were listed in Māori and in English. The re-branding of the organisation's journal to identify more clearly with Māori literacy needs further demonstrated the organisation's commitment to Māori sovereignty in its publicity.

The ability of the ARLA Federation's existing structures to accommodate a Treaty-based identity altered when the organisation restructured and re-named itself *Literacy Aotearoa* in 1998. In Literacy Aotearoa's 1999 Annual Report, this restructuring was described as facilitating a better response to "the Treaty-based heritage of Aotearoa and the breadth of the work of members of the organisation, which encompasses far more than reading and learning assistance" (Literacy Aotearoa Inc, 2000, p. 4). This description shows both a commitment from Literacy Aotearoa to Treaty-based goals, and a justification of the move to continue to broaden the organisation's articulation of literacy beyond a straightforward 3R functional literacy discourse.

The actual structural changes included renaming member groups as ngā poupou and changing the organisational structure to represent the structures of the marae wharenui, or meeting house (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2003). The keeping of the organisation's legal structure as an incorporated society however, shows accommodation with what Jackson (1997), in his advice to Te Whiri Kaupapa Ako, nominated as a Pākehā structure. This different articulation of formalisation logics can be seen as reconciling concepts from Māori public spheres and (previously) dominant Pākehā structures. Literacy Aotearoa outlined its structure in its 1999 annual report thus;

> *Literacy Aotearoa inc.* [original emphasis] is a Treaty-based organisation, based on Tino Rangatiratanga and guided by the principles of manaaki tangata. This means that it provides a

service to all adults needing literacy assistance and works actively to increase meaningful participation of Maori both as providers of literacy programmes and as students wanting to improve their literacy levels. (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2000, p. 4)

In the quotation above (and as demonstrated in some of the publicity examples shown earlier), Literacy Aotearoa included *"all adults* [emphasis added] needing literacy assistance" in its key publics and used the Māori concept of "manaaki tangata" to describe its philosophy which alludes to hospitality and the care of people (Pipi et al., 2004). By using concepts from Māori ways of knowing, Literacy Aotearoa thus publicised that a Treaty-based organisation meant that *all* New Zealanders' literacy needs could be responded to, not just Māori, as was often the perception of an organisation basing its structure on Te Tiriti (Yates, 1996). Other learners' needs were still made equivalent to Literacy Aotearoa's articulation of the nodal point "literacy assistance". Yet, by using te reo Māori to describe some of Literacy Aotearoa's philosophy, the logic of difference articulated that different learners may have different needs. In addition, the logic also suggested Māori and Pākehā identities could be reconciled within the same organisational structures, thereby challenging antagonistic discourse that construct Māori as other to Pākehā.

This strengths-based equivalencing of Māori concepts to literacy provision can be compared with the deficit notions of Māori literacy needs articulated in the popular press at the time, which also did not acknowledge Māori's special rights as Tangata Whenua (see, for example, "Minorities below par in adult literacy", 1997). Therefore, in identifying Māori concepts such as tino rangatiratanga and manaaki tangata, Literacy Aotearoa's publicity interrupted dominant discourses around deficit Māori learners.

Larner (2002) suggested that, although Māori were often subjugated in neoliberalised discourses, there were similarities in tino rangatiratanga and neoliberal discourses in that both advocated for self-determination and challenged the assimilationist tendencies of a welfarist discourse. The convergences between Literacy Aotearoa's desire to be autonomous and provide student-centred literacy programmes that catered for different literacy needs and learners, and the state's increasingly hands-off approach to community and welfare provision, thus laid the ground for a partnership approach to adult literacy services.

This section has canvassed evidence suggesting that Literacy Aotearoa's offer of Treaty-based literacy provision, positively articulating Māori signifiers, demonstrated the organisation's ability to transcend the public spheres of the state, Māori, and community-based adult literacy provision. The organisation can be seen here as embodying a public knitting point between these different spheres, drawing on the knowledges and discourses of each sphere in order to reach a diverse student body. Although this study does not examine adult literacy participation, rather it focuses on representation of learners in publicity, from the early 1990s, when ARLA was beginning to more clearly identify Māori literacy needs in its publicity there was a marked increase in the diversity of participation in the organisation's programmes in that Māori and female participation grew at this time (ARLA Federation, 1993).

6.3 Remaining student-centred in workplace literacy publicity

In an article in *ARAN* following the National party's successful election in 1990, Brooks, executive officer of ARLA at the time, criticised the

state's increasingly monetarist policies and the effects these were having on the nonprofit sector and adult literacy learners (Brooks, 1990, 1991). For example, she stated; "This market driven philosophy rejects the idea of equity and empowerment" (Brooks, 1991, p. 2). Brooks' article condemned benefit cuts, structural unemployment, the threat to volunteerism through increased work hours as people worked longer to make ends meet, and the risks to enfranchisement brought about by the National government's reforms. In an earlier article in *ARAN*, she said that ARLA could no longer rely on the "welfare cocoon" (Brooks, 1990 p. 20) that it had benefited from under the Labour government (1984-1990). Thus, Brooks identified the challenges in engaging with marketised state discourses from the point of view of a social justice-based organisation. Like the examples cited in chapter five, this discussion of the challenges of working in a time of fairly punitive neoliberal reform demonstrated how internal publicity, such as *ARAN,* provided a space for such debates.

However, despite criticising the negative effects of the state's policies, Brooks (1991) also identified *opportunities* for ARLA within the structuring effects of the state's neoliberal policies. Brooks positioned ARLA as a key player in ensuring the state's marketised goals were reconciled with social justice concerns. She stated that although the state's emphasis was on economic rather than social justice concerns, ARLA had a "vital role" (p.2) now that the state was increasingly valuing Adult Basic Education (ABE). Thus, Brooks both challenged and accommodated the state's needs by rearticulating literacy as a nodal point for both the state's economic goals *and* ARLA's social justice mission of improving access to adult literacy provision. She commented, "We're walking a tightrope when progress depends on monetary considerations, and economics overlap more and more with social and personal development, human rights and quality of life. But the time is now ripe for the development of literacy provision" (p. 2).

Brooks continued, "Playing the economic cards now, will, we hope, ensure social justice in the end" (p. 2).

Like the practitioners described in the previous chapter and in the section on publicising a Treaty-based organisation (6.2), Brooks' (1990, 1991) considered, tactical, approach to adult literacy provision in ensuring that ARLA survived these difficult times, is reminiscent of Larner and Craig's (2002) figure of the "strategic broker". These authors identified this role in community organisations that provided welfare provision in partnership with the state. The authors argued that strategic brokers practised tenacious networking skills in order to maintain their organisations' legitimacy in the eyes of the state and, at the same time, meet its service users' needs. Larner and Craig argued that these brokers learned much about how to maintain organisational funding in the tight fiscal times of the 1980s and 1990s. The authors went on to argue, however, that this work was often at a cost to the individual in that workers were rarely remunerated adequately and pointed out that the work was usually gendered as it was often carried out by females. As the comments above from Brooks above indicated, strategic brokers have to learn to compromise and negotiate in harsh financial times so that their organisations survive and develop. The careful and thoughtful internal publicity engaged with critique of the restructuring of the welfare state, but also positioned ARLA as important in reconciling the nation's social and economic needs.

Arguably, the formation of ARLA Workbase and its associated publicity was a move by the organisation to "walk the tightrope" (Brooks, 1991) between the public spheres of the state and the learner. This meant that the organisation could engage with learners' needs in different but, potentially, more engaging ways. ARLA formed ARLA Workbase in 1990 to "develop literacy programmes in the workplace and to use the evidence from these programmes to promote development of practice

and policy in literacy and basic education in industry" (ARLA Workbase, 1993, p. 12). In practice this meant providing literacy, language and numeracy programmes in workplaces and training tutors to be ready for workplace literacy tuition. The formation of ARLA Workbase was aided by a grant from the government (Sutton, 1996).

Sutton (1996) commented that some practitioners within the ARLA Federation saw the development of ARLA Workbase as a threat to community provision because it was seen to focus on business, rather than student needs. In this time period, evidence of ARLA's student-centred approach was clear from its guiding principles, which under number 12 stated: "All tuition should be student-centred and that students should be encouraged to direct their own learning and share responsibility for it" (ARLA Federation, 1990). In addition, in a press release issued in 1986 for International Literacy Day, ARLA described student-centred philosophy as when "The tutor is guided by the needs and expressed desires of the students who, probably for the first time in their lives, take responsibility for their own learning" (ARLA Federation, 1986, p. 7).

Sutton (1996) stated that the organisation decided to accept government funding for workplace literacy so as not to offend the minister who had taken a personal interest in the organisation's work. Moore (1990a) also mentioned that it could be difficult to meet the needs of employers, unions and employees at the same time. The reasons for accepting these funds suggested the urgent need for the organisation to stay on good relations with the state.

Although there was some discussion and disagreement about how student-centred literacy provision could be reconciled with workplace literacy, ARLA Workbase articulated its student-centred, community-

based experience and expertise as a competitive advantage in the marketplace. This was, arguably, a strategic response by ARLA to maintain and strengthen its position as a leader in student-centred adult literacy provision. In addition, it aimed to ensure its survival in a time of increasing marketisation of state education policy and communicate with diverse learners.

ARLA Workbase received some funding from the Ministry of Education. However, it also operated as a competitive workplace literacy provider in the marketplace, seeking paid contracts with business, because it could not rely on ongoing government funding (Sutton, 1996). As discussed in chapter two, providing paid-for services had become increasingly common at this time (see, for example, Eikenberry, 2009; Salamon, 1987). This competitive activity required particular promotional publicity that had to appeal to state and business needs, as well as stay true to ARLA's social justice goals of increasing access to literacy provision and providing student-centred learning. Local schemes were encouraged by authors in ARAN to publicise the benefits of workplace literacy to employers (Moore 1990a; Scott, 1991). The discussion that follows primarily uses examples from the *ARLA Workbase Information Kit* (ARLA Workbase, 1994), alongside examples of other publicity from ARLA Federation and ARLA Workbase.

ARLA Workbase articulated "student-centred workplace literacy" as a nodal point in equivalencing both business and learners' needs. It also used its student-centred approach as a competitive advantage in comparison with other providers. In an information kit (ARLA Workbase, 1994) designed to publicise ARLA Workbase services to employers, the organisation criticised school-style, compulsory training. It rejected "traditional" teaching practices, but also appealed to employers by drawing equivalences between their business needs and

that of the learner. The information kit stated, "The worker, as a student, is usually motivated to learn by a desire to do a better job, and so employer-employee needs meet at that point". ARLA positioned itself as an expert in this area by stating that it wanted "to ensure, based on its 12 years' experience in the field, that the workplace literacy made available is of the highest quality" (p. 4). ARLA Workbase's objective (ARLA Federation, 1995, as cited in Sutton, 1996, p. 83) was "[to] be a national resource centre promoting best practice in Adult Basic Education in the workplace". Thus, ARLA drew on logics of expertise and competitive advantage, and equivalenced these with a social justice-activated logic of student-centered learning. In doing this, ARLA was able to use its student-centred approach to differentiate itself from other providers in the marketplace.

ARLA attempted to retain its goal of providing student-centred literacy programmes by using workplace literacy as another publicity channel to reach a diversity of learners by getting to know their workplace public spheres. The *ARLA Workbase Information Kit* (1994) produced primarily for employers, but with information for union representatives too, stated that ARLA's main reason for engaging in workplace literacy was to "extend the range of choices for literacy learners" (p. 4). Along with Scott (1991) writing in *ARAN*, this document stated that some voluntary literacy schemes were not able to take on workplace literacy within existing structures, because they were already under-resourced. Therefore, there was a need for a new structure within ARLA to cater for this literacy need. Hitchings (1990), writing in *ARAN*, similarly described a workplace literacy project in Nelson as increasing "choice" for learners. By articulating the signifier "choice" as an important part of provision, ARLA Workbase reconciled its social justice aim of wider provision for excluded audiences with a neoliberal discourse; where the underachievement of certain groups is blamed on the lack of "choice" available to individuals rather than any structural inequalities in society (Law, 1998).

ARLA's community-based provision and expertise were also used as a publicity channel to help to reach adult literacy learners in the workplace. Sutton (1996) stated that local workplace literacy schemes got "customers by virtue of their reputation as long-standing community literacy providers" (p. 88). ARLA also recommended more targeted publicity for workplace literacy; in *ARAN*, Moore (1990a) urged local schemes that "marketing/publicity needs to be good to 'sell' the idea to workers" (p. 13).

Like the examples noted in chapter five, at times learners were given a marketised identity in this time period. For example, in the quotations above, learners were identified as "customers" (Sutton, 1996, p. 88) who ARLA was to "sell" to (Moore, 1990a, p. 13). In at least one of the examples above, Moore (1990a) used scare quotes to distance herself from the articulation of these signifiers. The use of scare quotes thus can be seen as Moore's acknowledgement that this signifier was being both problematically and reflectively used in a nonprofit setting. Nevertheless, these signifiers suggest the increasing salience of a marketised discourse in nonprofit public spheres. This is important to consider as it demonstrated the challenges ARLA had in engaging with welfarist discourses that were increasingly identifying individuals with consumerist logics, rather than citizen rights. This changing discourse ran the risk of engaging with notions of what was important for individuals, rather than considering the social and public nature of welfare provision (J. Harris, 2009).

However, ARLA Workbase attempted to alleviate the potential of a hegemonic take-over by marketised discourses by ensuring that it identified the needs of *particularly vulnerable* learners in workplace literacy publicity. For example, in its Information Kit ARLA Workbase

(1994) used an appeal to "equal opportunities" to persuade employers that "disadvantaged" employees should be offered literacy training (p. 2). ARLA Workbase commented on the "ageing workforce" and that "increasingly women, ethnic minorities and those workers with obsolete skills will make up a large part of this workforce" (p. 2). Later in the information kit, ARLA Workbase nominated "labourers" as vulnerable in retrenchment and changing work practices (p. 13), and thus in need of literacy training. In these examples, ARLA Workbase thus paid particular attention to groups of learners that were potentially most vulnerable in the shift to a more market-driven economy and society.

Learners were also identified by ARLA Workbase as vulnerable when it came to being able to read health and safety information in the workplace, and thus were entitled to literacy training to keep themselves safe. After citing anecdotal stories of the links between low literacy and health and safety issues, ARLA Workbase (1994) urged that "a number of studies" (p. 9) had suggested that workplace training could result in fewer health and safety breaches. In this example, ARLA Workbase placed responsibility on the employer to take care of his/her employee by providing literacy training. Therefore, employers were jointly identified as being responsible for their employees' ability to engage and understand health and safety regulations. However, the tension in engaging with the needs of employers as well as employees is evident in that the *provision* of training for employees was given as the solution to this problem, rather than a fuller discussion on how employers could design health and safety information to better meet employees' needs. This particular identification of literacy needs, however, should be understood in the context of the information kit which was trying to primarily engage with employers' concerns. The information kit can be seen as one of the first steps in ARLA Workbase's attempt to facilitate a nexus of employee and employer needs within a wider hegemonic discourse that assumed those of low literacy were deficient, rather than

identifying employers as lacking the ability to respond to a diversity of literacy practices.

ARLA also attempted to meet the needs of worker unions in its publicity which demonstrated the organisation's tenacity to serve learner needs and ability to network widely. The importance to ARLA of working with unions was highlighted by Moore (1990a). She commented that local schemes that had not worked effectively with unions had not been successful in workplace programmes. This comment hinted at how important it was for ARLA to ensure it had a good relationship with unions, demonstrating the variety of political relationships ARLA was compelled to forge in its publicity practices. This publicity work, as suggested in earlier sections of this chapter, would likely have impacted considerably on an already underfunded organisation's workload.

The following discussion centres on the character "Jack" in the ARLA Workbase information kit (ARLA Workbase, 1994). He is an example of how ARLA Workbase reconciled the different needs of learners and business, and the challenges in doing so. Jack was a character reproduced from the ABC Television Network.[5]   Jack's story can be summarised thus: his colleagues were made redundant through the introduction of new technology, however, Jack was given an opportunity of promotion if he learned to operate a computer. Ultimately, however, because he could not read or write, he struggled to use a computer and as a consequence he was fired from his job (p. 3). In the information kit, ARLA Workbase encouraged employers to use literacy programmes to prevent situations like Jack's.

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[5] I was not able to discern from the text whether the ABC Network referred to was from Australia or the US. Nor was I able to find out any more information about this programme, for example whether it was a single programme or a series.

Jack's story was used in the section addressing union officials in the information kit (ARLA Workbase, 1994) to highlight the human cost of economic rationalism and to urge unions to work with ARLA Workbase because literacy training could help vulnerable employees like Jack. Activating a social justice logic in highlighting the impact of labour industries' restructuring on employees, ARLA Workbase stated: "There are too many people in New Zealand with stories like Jack's. This is the hidden cost of restructuring. Unions are the only people who can intervene in this cycle of disadvantage" (ARLA Workbase, 1994, p. 13). Under the heading "Rapid Economic Change" the kit stated, "[ARLA] Workbase New Zealand believes that these trends may seriously disadvantage workers, especially manual workers. They are the most vulnerable to retrenchment, and have least access to training and education in the workplace" (p. 13). ARLA Workbase also highlighted changes to industrial relations that disadvantaged workers, "decline in employment protection; threat to real wages and employment; high unemployment; decline in membership; voluntary unionism" (p. 14) were all listed. Like the message to employers, ARLA Workbase literacy provision was given as a possible answer to the problems facing the target group.

ARLA Workbase, therefore, used its publicity to forge discursive links with trade unions, identifying them as important in engaging with learners' workplace public spheres. This can be seen as a fairly brave move by ARLA Workbase because during these times of retrenchment, unions were not given much favour by the government: for example, the Industry Training Act (1992) side-stepped the trade union movement in the provision of workplace skills. The Trade Union Education Authority (TUEA), previously the provider of much industrial employee training, suffered severe funding cuts and instead Industry Training Organisations (ITOs) were set up by the government to provide skills training for workers (Law, 1996).

However, ARLA Workbase's (1994) links with trade unions provided a potential solution to the risks to employees such as Jack, by arguing that adult literacy, or basic skills, was often a pre-requisite for other skills training. The information kit (ARLA Workbase, 1994) stated, "many [workers] through lack of confidence or lack of skills will not be able to participate effectively in retraining. They will require ABE [Adult Basic Education] to brush up on skills and regain confidence" (p. 3). ARLA Workbase therefore publicised literacy training as integral for the up-skilling of the workforce. In doing this, it publicised the need for its services and positioned itself as the link between employees'/learners' needs; union needs; business/employer needs.

As with earlier examples in chapter five, in engaging with state and business needs for literacy, ARLA Workbase had to reconcile its provision with wider hegemonic discourses that constructed learners as somehow lacking. In this publicity, although ARLA Workbase articulated the need for student-centred literacy programmes, Jack was still identified as the one who was deficient. Jack's lack of literacy was described as a "handicap" (ARLA Workbase, 1994, p. 13) and, ultimately, his lack of ability to keep up with new workplace demands meant serious consequences for him and his family.

It is possible that employees identified by employers as having insufficient literacy skills would indeed have been disadvantaged when it came to business cut-backs when employers were looking for ways of decreasing costs. Thus upskilling could have improved the circumstances of some. Quigley (1990) and Hull (1993) argued that if learners are identified a priori as lacking, it is difficult for identities such as ARLA Workbase to reflect critically on *how* the learner engages with literacy provision or why s/he may not engage. However, as

demonstrated above, ARLA Workbase did discuss the structural effects of retrenchment and the impact on groups, rather than articulating the learner's deficit as the *only* cause of his or her lack of employment opportunities. Jack was thus identified as deficit, but also as having been affected by structural changes to employment regimes and markets.

ARLA Workbase explicitly criticised deficit notions of the learner in relation to the use of the signifier "illiteracy". In the *Workbase Information Kit* (ARLA Workbase, 1994), ARLA stated that the organisation nominated "illiteracy" as "derogatory, negative and absolute" and that it "increases stigma" for learners and reduced the likelihood that people would come forward for help because they might feel "ashamed" or "don't identify with the word" (all p. 6). Again, this showed how ARLA opposed a deficit literacy discourse on the basis of the organisation's social justice concerns and recognition of the stigma associated with literacy training. The discussion of a deficit discourse was concerned with articulations of the signifier "illiteracy" and did not engage in wider discussions of more subtle deficit discourses, such as those described above. In the construction of Jack's story, this was because in order to make sense of "the need" for literacy provision in a wider societal context, some account of a deficit identity had to be located.

ARLA also mitigated against a deficit functional literacy discourse by publicising that functional literacy was important, but "inadequate for most individuals and for society as a whole, as the literacy demands increase" (ARLA Workbase 1994, p. 6). The kit went on to state that "active literacy" instead helps "us to actively participate in work and society and to shape its future" (all p. 6). Thus, ARLA Workbase also constructed a dynamic learner identity who was able to both respond to and shape literacy practices in their work and wider social sites.

There is other evidence of how ARLA expanded a narrow 3Rs literacy discourse in order to situate it within the ways individuals practise literacy in their everyday lives. Continuing the early adult literacy movement's strategy of expanding a 3R discourse on literacy, a brochure produced by ARLA Wellington (circa 1988-95) promoted its Training Opportunity Programme (TOPs) literacy scheme using a wide range of literacy needs. TOPs and its predecessor, Access, were pre-employment programmes for the unemployed (Gordon, 1990; Higgins, 1999). These needs included a range of practices such as "reading", "writing", "spelling", "keyboarding [*sic*] skills" and other, more diverse skills such as "self management" and "decision making". Te reo Māori was also listed, acknowledging Aotearoa New Zealand's Indigenous language as a literacy practice. These articulations were akin to a social practice model that identified and encouraged a contextually-based account of literacy for empowering learners (for example, see Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Street, 1984).

In articulating an active, rather than passive learner identity, ARLA Wellington (circa 1988-95) also referred to a Freirean critical literacy discourse. The leaflet stated on the back page, "Literacy helps us to make sense of our world, and to change it". This statement makes clear links to Freire's theory of literacy as a potentially emancipatory practice and alludes to the title of his book which he co-authored with Macedo (1987), *Literacy: Reading the Word and the World*. Some commentators (Gordon, 1990; Higgins, 1999) were critical of the deficit tendencies of workfare schemes such as TOPs and Access in Aotearoa New Zealand. However, this leaflet is evidence that ARLA articulated an expansive, reflective response to what some have considered as a more punitive approach to welfare.

ARLA also used the publication of the International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS) results to voice a critical perspective on the hegemonic literacy discourse. IALS, initiated by the OECD, was conducted in Aotearoa New Zealand in 1996 and soon after the Ministry of Education (R. Walker et al., 1996) began publishing results. The survey evaluated prose, document and quantitative literacy rates in over 20 countries (OECD, 1997). Its results gained salience in many of these countries and in Aotearoa New Zealand results were often cited in adult literacy policy, especially in the 2000s. However, it was also criticised by international commentators for only evaluating functional literacy and for not acknowledging the way citizens use literacy in their everyday lives (Hamilton & Barton, 2000).

ARLA (1997)[6] produced a media release in response to the publication of the IALS results which both noted the usefulness of IALS, but also emphasised that the workplace was not the only social site in which individuals practise literacy. In the first paragraph, ARLA embraced the results saying that it "is not surprised by the findings of the Ministry of Education International Adult Literacy Survey that **one million adults in New Zealand have a major literacy problem** [original emphasis]". Isaacs, then the Tauiwi or non-Māori Executive Officer, stated in the media release that, "people who don't have literacy skills are denied participation in society, not only in their work opportunities, but at the most basic levels" (p. 1). This statement took the results beyond an instrumentalist emphasis on workplace literacy and also located the learner within the structuring effects of a society that "denied" people participation because of low literacy. "Society" was named as the agent denying access, rather than the responsibility for participation being solely placed on the learner.

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[6] It should be noted that by 1997, Workbase had already formed its own independent organisation; therefore ARLA's comments here are only relevant to ARLA and not its workplace literacy division.

The critical inflection in ARLA's media release can be compared with more general media coverage of adult literacy. These press reports tended to focus on the links between literacy and the need for a flexible, skilled workforce, (e.g., Henderson, 1996; "Literacy level shock", 1997; "Minorities below par in literacy", 1997); and the need for more "remedial" ("Minorities below par in literacy", 1997) adult literacy programmes in light of the survey results. The reports did little to explicitly examine the effects of wider power relations on adult literacy. However, a common theme was to identify solutions to the problem in that learners (employees), business and government were responsible for addressing literacy "needs". The state was also identified as important in the funding of programmes ("Literacy level survey shock", 1997).

As well as attempting to reconcile student needs and the market-based needs of business there was also evidence to suggest that ARLA highlighted the explicit business benefits of workplace literacy in its publicity. ARLA Workbase argued in its *Information Kit* (ARLA Workbase, 1994) that workplace literacy would help employers achieve their own competitive aims. ARLA Workbase encouraged employers to "invest in their workers" (p. 2). Literacy was articulated as a way of addressing "competitive challenges" (p. 1) and "technological changes" (p. 2). It was posited as a way to potentially increase productivity (p. 1); and aid "efficiency" (p.1). The information kit's use of US sources such as those from *Time Magazine* and the chairman of multinational corporation Ford, made equivalences with an American capitalist model, which were arguably useful in strategic appeals to business.

In anticipating employers' needs, ARLA highlighted the "cost" of literacy difficulties in the *Information Kit* (ARLA Workbase, 1994). Again, this should be seen as indicative of the need to strategically appeal to business needs. The consequences of this appeal to "cost", however, also risked contributing to the reinforcement of a deficit

learner identity. Quoting Canadian, Australian and American sources, ARLA Workbase listed estimated figures of the cost to business from "illiteracy". Although *illiteracy* was criticised earlier in the kit, ARLA Workbase used a quotation that cited this problematic term. In a newspaper article in the *Sunday Star Times*, the previously-cited Moore, by this time Executive Director of the independent Workbase Literacy Trust (the re-structure of the organisation as an independent body is discussed below) also highlighted the cost of poor literacy for industry (Henderson, 1996). In the section cited here, ARLA Workbase's emphasis on cost was limited to the financial cost to business, and did not include the social cost of literacy difficulties. As chapter five of this thesis argued, citing "illiteracy" as a cost can have the effect of stigmatising the learner and seeing him/her as deficient to the normal societal standards, denying them agency in identifying their own literacy practices and needs (Quigley, 1990). However, as evidenced by the examples above, ARLA Workbase also engaged with the social and individual costs of economic policies and business strategies focused on productivity and efficiency. Thus, ARLA's use of a deficit learner identity should be seen in the context of these challenging political times, and alongside the other, more empowering learner identities that the organisation promoted in its publicity.

The importance of ARLA's need to connect with business was evident in its commissioning of a marketing consultant to undertake a *Feasibility Study on Corporate Funding for the ARLA Federation* (Flook, 1991). The use of a marketing consultant, in itself, suggests the organisation's self-conscious recognition of the need to "market" to business in a competitive and fraught environment, thus signifying a more professionalised publicity regime. The consultant reported that, of those interested in a financial relationship with ARLA, most (four out of seven companies) were interested in workplace literacy programmes rather than corporate sponsorship. Given these results, the marketing consultant recommended that ARLA, "set up a 'Basic Skills' section to

tackle workplace projects on a "company pays' basis" (p. 3). Workplace literacy was thus presented in this report as a way to increase funding.

The student-centred notion that provision should be free to the learner was stressed in the marketing report by Flook (1991). Although the author did not explicitly attempt to reconcile student-centred and workplace literacy objectives, on discussing the emphasis on workplace literacy, the report read, "This need not interfere with the existing policy of free assistance to the end user" (p. 3). It is clear that the research recognised that free assistance to learners was important and did not have to be in opposition to workplace literacy.

However, ARLA did develop relationships with business with regard to using corporate sponsorship as early as 1986 when it formed agreements with Shell in *ARAN* (ARLA Federation, 1986b). Sutton (1996), identifying a potential clash between welfarist and marketised logics, commented that there was a feeling in some parts of the organisation that corporate organisations should not sponsor adult literacy provision as it was the state's responsibility to provide funding because the education system had primarily let these learners down.

In a similar vein, Moore (1987), writing in *ARAN,* listed some suggestions for corporate sponsorship as well as highlighting the possible clash between community and workplace literacy needs. She went on to ask, "How can we retain the essence of literacy as an empowering force, maintain pressure on the government to be the primary funder of provision and also bring much needed funds to our work?" (p. 12). Although ideally wanting to pursue welfarist logics, Moore asked, in the meantime, where other sources of funding could arise from and corporate funding was identified as a possible alternative.

These examples can be seen as evidence of the growing salience of business as a possible partner in literacy provision.

The formation of an independent Workbase organisation

In internal publicity, ARLA engaged in debates on the possible tensions between the public spheres of community-based and work-based adult literacy provision. In *ARAN,* Moore (1987) asked readers to respond to issues around the corporate funding of literacy programmes. Recognising an international context of increasingly work-based adult literacy discourses, she commented, "'Literacy for work' has become the major developmental area in some countries where unemployment, up-skilling and learning how to 'function' rather than challenge the system are distinguishing features" (p. 10). The potential for workplace literacy to undermine an emancipatory literacy discourse was thus identified by a key ARLA figure. Moore (1996) was still debating these tensions nearly ten years later, when she similarly commented that reconciling ARLA's student-centred philosophy and the profit-based motives of business could be a potential problem.

Demonstrating the tensions in the differentiated identity of ARLA, ARLA Workbase formed its own organisation independent of ARLA in 1996. Sutton (1996) described this as a result of Workbase feeling "uncomfortable with the not-for-profit sector" because "the organisational structure under which it had to operate, a structure typical of the not-for-profit sector, limited Workbase's effectiveness in the commercial arena" (p. 84). Here, Sutton signals the tension between the different practices of community-based and commercialised public spheres in that one required more professionalised and marketised approaches, whereas community-based spheres operated in more casual, but still effective, ways.

The ultimate decision for ARLA Workbase to form its own organisation can be seen as a pragmatic response to the need for the workplace division to appeal to a wide sector of audiences. This decision demonstrated the difficulties of reconciling diverse literacy needs, discourses, and cultures, within a nonprofit organisation at the time. The following chapter, which covers the period 1999 to 2009, shows how it became easier for the organisation (then re-formed as Literacy Aotearoa) to reconcile both work-based and community-based publicity within one organisational identity.

In an interview I conducted with a learner from the 1980s, s/he commented that learning to read and write to enable him/her to work more effectively in the workplace was their primary literacy need. S/he identified this as the primary reason why s/he engaged in literacy training in the first place. However, s/he also widened their needs by stating, "I just wanted the opportunity to be able to read and write and have a normal life like everybody else". This quotation pointed to the on-going salience of 3Rs literacy signifiers for ARLA's students. In addition, these signifiers also seemed to be useful, not only in referring to work-related literacy, but because reading and writing were also important for other areas of life, as when s/he expressed a desire to be like everybody else, not just those at work. However, by saying that s/he "just wanted to be like everybody else", arguably, s/he internalised a deficit discourse that articulated him/her as not normal, in contrast to everybody else. On the basis of interviews with current (2009) adult literacy students, chapter seven discusses how a deficit learner identity was both internalised and rejected by students in interviews during that time period.

In summary, the early 1990s saw a marked difference to ARLA's publicity as it was compelled to respond to business literacy needs which involved engaging a public sphere that demanded a different

professionalised and strategic approach. ARLA attempted to maintain a student-centred mission by using workplace literacy as a means to connect with the wider needs of learners in their workplaces. It also used workplace literacy to discuss the effects of retrenchment on vulnerable workers and thus, again, reach learners. There was also evidence that ARLA challenged a discourse that *only* focused on workplace literacy; citing other sites of social literacy practice. ARLA did face challenges in trying to reconcile the needs of business and learners in its publicity. This was evident in slippages that articulated a deficit learner identity and should be seen as symptomatic of a wider problem, where social justice causes still had to engage with a discursive environment favouring marketised social and economic state policy. By the mid-to-late 1990s, the ability of the organisation to meet workplace *and* community based literacy needs proved too much of a challenge when ARLA Workbase went its own way to form an independent organisation.

6.4 ARLA's public critique of societal inequalities

Following earlier examples of the organisation's engagement with the negative effects of labour market restructuring and ARLA and then Literacy Aotearoa's discussion of racial inequalities, this section continues discussion of other ways that ARLA critiqued societal inequalities. Chapter five argued that the early adult literacy movement used an appeal to universal literacy rights as a way of challenging the sedimented social assumption of full adult literacy, while also gaining traction for the movement with the state and wider publics. This appeal to universal literacy rights was backed by a UNESCO discourse that advocated human rights for all. Following the UK's adult literacy campaign (Sutton, 1996; Hamilton & Hillier, 2006), in external publicity the early movement blamed literacy difficulties on individual circumstances such as "family stress; the extreme mobility of some

families; problems at school; learning difficulties which continue into adulthood; ill health as a child, e.g., hearing, sight, prolonged sickness; and emotional problems" (NCAE, 1979a). This section shows how a UN-influenced universal rights discourse on literacy was still evident in this time period, especially in the earlier years from the mid to late 1980s. This universal rights-based discourse also paved the way for the organisation's discussion of inequalities between different groups in society.

The appeal to individual rights was evident in some of ARLA's publicity in the time period studied in this chapter (1984 to 1998). ARLA (1988) produced a press release responding to the *Hawke Report* (Hawke, 1988), the content of the latter included the reduced state resourcing of tertiary education (Lauder, 1990). In its press release, ARLA stated that "Literacy is a basic human right" (p. 1). In addition, the phrase "Each one's right to read and write" appeared at the bottom of several of ARLA's press releases around this time (ARLA Federation, 1986a, 1994d, 1997). Although the motivation behind a universalist literacy discourse was to broaden the right of provision across groups (in particular to include adults as well as children), there was also evidence of the individualisation of human rights. This was evidenced by ARLA's use of the signifiers "Each *one's* [emphasis added]" and "every*one's* [emphasis added]"; rather than nominating particular *groups'* rights to literacy. As discussed earlier, the individualisation of human rights can be located within a liberal humanist logic that prioritises individual needs over a critique of the social and political inequalities in education.

However, in this period, ARLA also began to publicise the need to target *specific* groups for literacy provision, demonstrating how appeals to universal rights can lead to the articulation of particular rights as it becomes easier to argue that some groups have not had equal access to

rights, such as literacy. Sections 6.2 and 6.3 showed how ARLA discussed the specific literacy needs of Māori (6.2) and workers (6.3). This discursive move, to discuss the experiences of particular cultural groups, can also be seen in a more general way in a press release ARLA produced for International Literacy Day (1986a). The organisation stated that because "we believe in the rights of people living in a democracy [...] this seems an appropriate time to step up measures to promote literacy for *disadvantaged groups* [emphasis added]" (p. 6). ARLA's discursive move to target specific groups under an appeal to "rights" not only highlighted disadvantages in society, but nominated these people as belonging to social *groups*. Thus the organisation highlighted the *social and collective* dimension of disadvantage rather than simply focusing on *individuals* who were the victims of circumstance, which was the tendency in ARLA's publicity documented in chapter five. In parallel with this construction of the needs of different groups, universalised by their common need for literacy training, the implicit construction of "deserving" and "undeserving" learners was not as clear in the data collected in this period.

As discussed in chapter three, state policy in Aotearoa New Zealand specifically identified the need to target under-represented groups in education. State policy documents such as *Learning for Life: Two* (Ministry of Education, 1989), which was the government's response to the *Hawke Report* (Hawke, 1988), promoted wider access to post-compulsory education and training that encouraged the targeting of disadvantaged groups. The participation of those normally underrepresented in training was also emphasised by the Industry Training Act (1992) (Moore, 1996). Larner (1997) and Law (1998), writing in an Aotearoa New Zealand context, argued that in neoliberalised state policy, low participation and particular groups' achievement were identified as concerns in neoliberalised state policy, even although these policies were limited in their ability to prevent particular groups' subjugation. Thus, ARLA could target specific under-

represented groups and reconcile their goals with state policy. ARLA was credited as one of a few organisations that provided for those who were normally under-represented in adult and community education (Benseman, 1992).

Acknowledging ARLA's identification of social structures as root causes of low literacy rather than individual circumstances, a press release responding to the publication of Auckland school third formers' literacy levels, (ARLA Federation, 1996) stated; "literacy difficulties are usually a result of *inequalities in educational, social and economic systems* [emphasis added], and the real answers lie in changing those systems" (p. 1). This mediatised citation of structural inequalities was supported by ARLA principles listed in the organisation's first policy document (ARLA, 1990). Principle five read, "Literacy difficulties are usually the result of inequalities in social and economic systems, and therefore not the individual's problem to be confronted alone" (p. 1).

The use of signifiers that can be linked to a Freirean (Freire, 1970/1993) account of literacy, is also evidence of how ARLA engaged with a discourse on literacy that encouraged critical thinking, but also ensured this was located in discourse that would not alienate its audiences of learners, businesses and the state. In a set of leaflets ARLA produced in the early 1990s, there were clear references to a Freirean literacy discourse. These leaflets were a set of three DL, two-sided leaflets with one leaflet headed, "*Literacy is change*" (ARLA Federation, 1994a) "*Literacy is choice*" another (ARLA Federation, 1994b), and another "*Literacy is freedom*" (ARLA Federation, 1994c). The last of these three made a fairly explicit reference to Freire in the body of the leaflet; "Literacy enables us to make sense of the world, be part of the world, and change the world". This had similarities to the book entitled *Literacy: Reading the World and the Word* (Freire & Macedo, 1987) which Freire co-wrote with Macedo. In addition, the use of "freedom"

had links to another of Freire's titles *Pedagogy of Freedom: Ethics, Democracy and Civic Courage* (Freire, 1998). In this publication, Freire was most concerned with the loss of freedom by the standardisation and control imposed in neoliberal societies. Local schemes also included Freirean slogans in their publicity. ARLA Wellington (circa 1988-1995) included the phrase "Literacy helps us to make sense of our world, and to change it". The national body of ARLA adopted the phrase "choice change freedom" in more of its publicity, which continued to appear below its logo in publicity in the time period explored in chapter seven.

The signifiers "choice" and "freedom" are also key signifiers in neoliberalised discourses (Friedman, 2002; Friedman & Friedman, 1990). For Friedman, "freedom" referred to "freedom from", mostly signalling freedom *from* state intervention. "Choice" is another prominent signifier in neoliberal discourse, often linked with freedom, in that individuals should have the "freedom to choose" (Larner, 2000). "Choice" was articulated in Aotearoa New Zealand education policy through the state advocacy of individual choice in education following the Treasury report (The Treasury, 1987). As was discussed in the section on literacy in the workplace, ARLA also publicised the increased "choice" for learners as an important reason for providing workplace literacy. These signifiers, even if only in retrospect, were thus able to *float* (Laclau, 2005) between emancipatory and market-based discourses. This, therefore, helped ARLA reconcile a variety of literacy needs, and hence publics, in its publicity by appealing to logics and signifiers that could be interpreted differently by different audiences.

In the leaflets cited above, ARLA went beyond the bounds of functional literacy discourse, demonstrating the ability to publicise a variety of differentiated literacy needs. Literacy was not just defined in terms of straight-forward reading and writing, but other activities were included in an increasing logic of difference around the signifier "literacy" that

extended its impact to different social and experiential domains. Examples from the leaflet included, "choosing a training course", "deciding to speak up at a meeting", "catching the right bus" (ARLA Federation, 1994b) "voting", "finding a job in the Sits Vac" (ARLA Federation, 1994a). ARLA's expansion of a 3Rs literacy discourse suggests that tutors wanted to appeal to audiences who may struggle with these activities. Thus, literacy was made more relevant to people's lives in straightforward ways and did not alienate potential students, or indeed the state, which may not have been receptive to a more antagonistic critical literacy discourse that critiqued state structures. In this way, a social practice account of literacy helped ARLA publicise a critical literacy discourse that was arguably more meaningful for learners' everyday lives and which did not dismiss a hegemonic functional literacy discourse.

However, the organisation's ability to appeal to diverse literacy needs and target learners was impacted by its fear that publicity would raise demand that it could not cope with under a tight funding regime. As discussed in chapter five, some practitioners within ARLA identified a fear of publicity. For example, in a press release for International Literacy Day, ARLA (1986a, p. 4) stated, "unpaid, over-worked co-ordinators dislike publicity which can result in extra requests for help which schemes may not be in a position to meet".

In addition, in a study into the feasibility of corporate funding for ARLA, Flook (1991) stated in a letter to prospective interviewees regarding a corporate sponsorship feasibility project: "You may have heard of the ARLA Federation […]. If not, the reason is that the Federation has undertaken little or no publicity. It is estimated that there are up to 100,000 adults in New Zealand who have reading and writing difficulties and the Federation has been fearful of opening flood gates that it could not control" (Flook, 1991, p. Appendix 5.2). This fear of

publicity also highlighted a paradox in that professionalised publicity was needed in order that the organisation survived.

The next section, which specifically focuses on community-based publicity, develops this discussion on how the organisation targeted particular groups and a diversity of needs. It demonstrates how ARLA developed and responded to opportunities and challenges in community-based publicity in order to engage with learners with a diversified approach that met various literacy needs that could be reconciled with the market-centric environment of this time period.

6.5 Community-based publicity: Competition, diversity and word of mouth

In the mid-1980s, ARLA's community-based literacy provision was mainly run by volunteer tutors in autonomous and non-formal member schemes either in small towns or in cities (James, 1987). This was similar to the literacy provision of the early adult literacy movement described in chapter five. ARLA member groups also often had relationships with sheltering bodies. For example, Sutton (1996) notes that 26 out of the 52 member schemes in 1995 were based in polytechnics.

Early in this time period, the schemes were linked, according to James (1987), by core values of "literacy as a basic right", "everyone is worth helping", "there is no one right way of teaching and learning", and "anything that works is right" (p. 45). These values demonstrated a rights-based, student-centred approach that prioritised the logic of difference in discourse, in that publicity and provision were flexible and differentiated to meet students' diverse needs. This individualised

rights-based approach actually led the way for a more formalised diversified community-based provision when the organisation's ability to meet specific group literacy needs was publicised.

The nature of ARLA's and later Literacy Aotearoa's, community provision was impacted during this period by new providers entering the field. Organisations that provided literacy and basic skills training for Māori, ESOL, prisoners, and Access and TOPs providers meant that ARLA could no longer consider itself a lone player in the sector (Sutton, 1996). In light of limited, and competitive, funding regimes (Interim Advisory Group on Non-formal Education, 1987), the data in this section show how ARLA publicised itself as both a niche, and diverse provider. However, as an organisation based on responding to learners' flexible needs, it was in a strategic position to reconcile both competitive and social-justice-based logics in its ability to move between the diverse learners' public spheres and respond to a variety of literacy needs.

Whether it was deliberate or not, ARLA and Literacy Aotearoa's diversification of literacy provision attended to a stronger popular recognition of an identity-based politics and can be seen in retrospect as a useful strategy in the face of increased competition. ARLA, and then Literacy Aotearoa were providers of Access/ TOPs schemes (see section on workplace literacy) that made efforts to include diverse groups within general provision and develop programmes for specific groups. James (1987) noted that the "intellectually handicapped, physically disabled, people with cerebral palsy, people in prisons and hospitals, trades apprentices, and others in tertiary institutions" were included in provision.

A special edition of *ARAN* celebrating the International Year of Literacy in 1990 exemplified some of the different programmes that local

schemes developed in order to appeal to differentiated literacy needs. Probation education (O'Connor, 1990); stroke rehabilitation (Newman, 1990); women's group ("West Auckland's Womens Group", 1990); alcohol and addiction programmes (Clark, 1990); ESOL class (O' Reilly, 1990); a class for "intellectually handicapped" people (Frost, 1990) and a programme for mainstream polytechnic students ("Learning assistance for mainstream polytechnic students, 1990) are all examples of ARLA formally diversifying its community provision in this time period. In addition, reflecting the attention paid to Māori literacy needs in the rearticulation of the movement's identity, the early to mid-1990s saw an increased emphasis on Māori literacy needs in publicity for community-based provision. A Māori language literacy programme was promoted by Zammit (1990), and Potaka-Dewes (1990) publicised a Māori women's literacy project.

ARLA's funding and development officer at the time, Moore (1990b) argued that publicising the organisation's diverse capabilities was important for raising the profile of the organisation. In light of new providers in the field, it is also likely that this kind of publicity would have increased the organisation's legitimacy and funding. Although the organisation's capability to address diverse literacy needs would most likely have been developed to address barriers to hard-to-reach learners, promoting these needs in its publicity helped the organisation to be seen as a dynamic and, in the dominant neoliberalised discourse, a more "customer friendly" literacy provider in a marketised environment.

The above examples of differentiated student literacy needs within community-based provision demonstrated ARLA's commitment to put students' specific literacy needs at the centre of provision rather than articulating a more functional autonomous model that saw literacy as a set of homogenous skills to be taught. ARLA's identification of subjectively defined literacy needs that targeted specific groups in order

to increase access could also be reconciled with a state policy regime concerned with widening provision to disadvantaged groups. Thus, ARLA found a strategically effective nexus between the logics of competition, marketisation and social justice in appealing to different social demands and constituencies, while equivalencing these through articulation of the key nodal point "literacy".

The evidence in previous sections highlighted the need for ARLA to publicise itself as a lead player in the field in order to maintain and increase funding. However, as discussed in chapter five and supporting previous research conducted at this time in the US (Irish, 1980; Darkenwald, 1980), it was often word-of-mouth publicity that was most effective in reaching adult literacy learners. James (1987) nominated word of mouth as being an effective publicity method and Huirua (1986) urged in *ARAN* that this form of publicity was particularly useful for targeting Māori, given the stronger oral tradition of Māori peoples. There is also evidence to suggest that the effectiveness of word-of-mouth publicity increased during this period. James (1987) stated that the "widespread stigma" (p. 44) around literacy, where confidentiality was paramount, had somewhat lessened in more recent times as learners were generally less likely to be concerned about confidentiality in the 1980s because of the increased public recognition that some adults could not read and write. Learners, she suggested, were thus more willing to become involved in group learning and publicity.

Word-of-mouth publicity was also supplemented with more formal material such as brochures (see, for example, ARLA Wellington, circa 1988-1995) and schemes also organised specific publicity activities in their own areas for International Literacy Day such as displays in libraries and community events to raise awareness and funds (see, for example, "World literacy day tomorrow" 1994). The mixing of word of mouth and more formal material is akin to that described by authors, in

the US at the time, as effective for targeting literacy learners (Martin, 1989).

As in chapter five, word-of-mouth publicity can be seen to have been flexible enough to address learners' diverse literacy needs. The ways people communicated about literacy within their own community-based public spheres, in sites such as libraries and within their own cultural groups, would have been more able than mass media to take account of the learners' individual and, indeed, social needs. This method of publicity would also have allowed ARLA to engage more effectively in *diverse* public spheres. This finding supports research undertaken with adult literacy providers and students in the mid-2000s, which found that formal publicity was useful, but was not the best method of directly recruiting students (Murray et al., 2007; Sligo et al, 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006).

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter argued that ARLA, which relaunched as Literacy Aotearoa in the late 1990s, further expanded a differentiated literacy and publicity discourse in order to meet the different needs of its audiences including learners, businesses and the state. The organisation re-structured in order to more explicitly acknowledge Māori as Tangata Whenua and respond to their special rights, at the same time as ensuring Tauiwi needs were met within its programmes. The organisation also diversified its publicity practices to engage more with particular groups of learners by providing workplace literacy and specialised literacy groups for particular needs. Literacy thus became a useful signifier to link organisational and learner demands and, at the same time, contest dominant monocultural literacy discourses that usually only equivalenced literacy with the English language.

In this time period, practitioners faced new opportunities and challenges compared with the last era investigated in this thesis (1974 to 1983). As the state and business increasingly recognised a need for adult literacy provision, ARLA was offered the opportunity of engaging with these needs, but at the same time, had to protect its social-justice-based student-centred mission.

ARLA faced the challenge of engaging with business and state literacy needs that tended to prioritise workplace literacy and did not give much consideration to wider literacy needs. The hegemonic literacy discourse did not tend to consider more complex debates on literacy, such as that societal inequalities had impacted on literacy levels. There was also the general view that learners needed to be upskilled, rather than a more reflexive approach that might consider state or business' responsibility to provide information, such as health and safety guidelines, in forms that suit a variety of literacy levels. Therefore, ARLA had to engage with a popular discourse in this time period in order to communicate with state and business, but also critique a deficit learner discourse that identified learners as sub-normal. The organisation did this by articulating the nodal point "student-centred" as the central cog of its identity and expanding publicity networks and discourses that responded to diverse student needs in diverse public spheres such as the workplace and community settings.

However, the diversity of ARLA's publicity appeared to be again impacted because practitioners articulated an anxiety about the effects of publicity. This was expressed as a concern that too much publicity may actually harm the organisation and its learners, creating a demand that it could not service because of a lack of resources.

Although the organisation's funding remained insufficient for its need to respond to a diversity of literacy needs (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 1999), the organisation gained notable funding in this era which demonstrated its ability to work with, and appeal to, state and learners' demands. The relationships that the organisation forged with the state in this time period, and its ability to simultaneously appeal to the needs of the state and learners, would pave the way for the more specific articulation of "third way" or "partnership" governance logic that defined the state in the next period (1999-2009).

Chapter 7

The labour of publicity work in a professionalised and partnership era

Literacy Aotearoa's publicity 1999 to 2009

7.1 Introduction

The first part of this chapter describes how the structuring effect of an increasingly professionalised public sphere meant that Literacy Aotearoa produced and practised strategic and professionalised publicity in order to better communicate with the different public spheres of the state. At the same time, this publicity was sometimes used to directly target learners and their friends and family. Mostly, however, word-of-mouth publicity was seen to be the best method for reaching learners, although material such as advertising could be useful in prompting this word-of-mouth publicity. The chapter then discusses how Literacy Aotearoa continued the strategies of earlier time periods of expanding a hegemonic 3R literacy discourse in order to communicate how literacy, and Literacy Aotearoa's provision, was relevant to its publics' needs. Two prominent literacy needs articulated in Literacy Aotearoa's publicity are then analysed. Māori literacy needs and workplace literacy needs were both featured in earlier chapters as significant literacy needs that disrupted the organisation's previous monocultural and community-based identity. This chapter demonstrates how these literacy needs were able to be better reconciled in this period and that Literacy Aotearoa used both forms of provision to target a wider range of audiences.

There is a detailed discussion of the social and political background that Literacy Aotearoa was operating within during this period in chapter three. However, for now, it is important to note that the institutionalisation of a third-way social partnership ideology in Aotearoa New Zealand, like other countries such as the UK and the US, was extended in the time period examined here (Duncan, 2007). The third way was designed to provide a middle ground between the more punitive neoliberal policies of the 1990s and the "first-way" model of the post-war Keynesian welfare state (Codd, 2002). This governance

model instituted a partnership between the state and the market. Civil society, which included nonprofit organisations such as Literacy Aotearoa, was designated as a partner with the state in providing social services in a market economy (Giddens, 1998). During this time, adult literacy was increasingly recognised in state policy (see, for example, Ministry of Education, 2001; Tertiary Education Commission, 2008b). This recognition of adult literacy as a state policy concern was quite different from the early days of the adult literacy movement when practitioners fought to get their cause acknowledged by the state. However, this chapter demonstrates that, because of its history of working with the state, Literacy Aotearoa was in a position to take leverage from the state's increasing partnership approach.

The adult literacy field was required by state policy documents to professionalise as part of the broader tertiary education sector in order to better meet workforce needs (Ministry of Education, 2001). Wider access to adult literacy provision was a key consideration for the *Adult Literacy Strategy* (Ministry of Education, 2001), which reflected the principal third-way themes of social inclusion and pluralism (Giddens, 1998). The strategy's solution for widening access to adult literacy provision was to increase programme and provider numbers (Ministry of Education, 2001). Funding to providers was awarded on the basis of Equivalent Full-Time Student (EFTS) numbers and how well the institutions met the goals of the Tertiary Education Strategy (TES) (Isaacs, 2005). With the introduction of contestable state funding, Literacy Aotearoa was thus faced with increased competition in the field for students and funding: in effect, providing contestable funding amplified a logic of competition in the sector. Funding for the sector was undergoing reform at the time of data collection for this thesis. The result of this review was an increasing emphasis on vocational literacy needs (Tertiary Education Commission, 2009). Literacy Aotearoa national office received most of its funding from the state in this time period (see Literacy Aotearoa Annual Reports 1999 to 2009). Ngā

poupou (member providers) interviewed for this research stated that around half their local income was from national office and the other half had to be raised locally.

In the country's first state adult literacy policy document, the state's answer to widening participation was to create more providers and programmes, improve quality and capacity in the sector, and to recognise Māori and Pasifika literacy needs (Ministry of Education, 2001). However, the nature of the programmes was restricted because funding was mostly awarded to programmes that focused on functional literacy designed for training people for the knowledge economy (Isaacs, 2005; Piercy, 2011). This meant that some literacy requirements, such as Māori literacy needs, were under-represented in provision because, on their own, these were not considered economically valuable (Isaacs, 2005). Therefore, it could be argued that introducing more provision and competition into the sector did not necessarily meet a wider range of literacy needs. Thus there was a *restricted* pluralism articulated in state policy.

7.2 Reconciling professionalised publicity with the need to reach learners

In this phase of Literacy Aotearoa's history (1999 to 2009), Literacy Aotearoa produced professionalised publicity in order to effectively communicate with state and business in the face of a competitive funding regime administered by a third-way social partnership model of state governance. Literacy Aotearoa's professionalised identity was important in publicising its legitimacy as a credible adult literacy provider worthy of funding. This "branded" identity also increased the organisation's appeal to other possible funders such as business, potentially enabling it to be less reliant on state funding. A significant

part of Literacy Aotearoa's publicity was focused on the organisation's overriding need to secure funding and, by extension, its organisational survival. However, the need for the organisation to engage in professionalised promotional publicity which reconciled with the discourses of new public management (NPM) (see chapters two and three) meant that the funding it received was subject to relatively intensive auditing and accountability procedures which provided challenges to the organisation's ability to reach diverse learners. Publicity, both professionalised and low-key targeting of so-called hard-to-reach learners, was largely undertaken by practitioners and learners, often using their own resources. Subsequent sections of this chapter look in more detail at the specific literacy demands articulated in Literacy Aotearoa's publicity discourse and the dilemmas the organisation was faced with in regards to reconciling the needs of its different audiences.

Literacy Aotearoa explicitly stated that promotional activity, particularly that which targeted the state, was "critical" for its survival. Its 2000 Annual Report read:

> the need to promote our organisation in order to gain Government recognition of the value and contributions Literacy Aotearoa inc. makes to this country is critical (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2001, p. 10).

Promotion addressed to the state was "critical", because of the third way's competitive funding regime, which focused on organisational accountability. This meant funding was contestable and awarded based on student numbers and how well the organisation met the Tertiary Education Strategy (TES)'s goals (Isaacs, 2005). As discussed in the previous two chapters, earlier organisational demands directed at the state were motivated by a welfarist logic and an increasingly prominent

competitive logic. In this later era, competition played a progressively salient part in Literacy Aotearoa's requests for funding and this was reflected in their publicity. To illustrate this point, in a strategic planning special, the organisation's internal newsletter, *Tui Tuia*, cited that some workers had characterised the increased number of providers in the field as participating to the organisation's "vulnerability" (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2004, p.3). In nonprofit management literature, authors have criticised the introduction of competition into the nonprofit sector in that by operating through market objectives, those who are seen as not lucrative can get left out of provision or support (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004; Wolch, 1999).

In this competitive environment, Literacy Aotearoa contracted the services of an advertising agency in 1999, which was useful for the organisation in engaging with the public spheres and needs of the state and business. This relationship was continuing in 2009 when data was collected for this research. As discussed previously, in earlier time periods the organisation used the services of professional communication companies from time to time. However, the *on-going* use of an *advertising* agency, arguably, signalled the emergence of a new environment where concerns about the professional identity and brand image became greater priorities for Literacy Aotearoa amidst the nonprofit sector's general professionalisation (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004).

Given the on-going relationship between Literacy Aotearoa and the advertising agency, the two organisations appeared to work well together. However, the relationship between the advertising agency and Literacy Aotearoa was sometimes a site of tension. Agency representatives articulated a straightforward need for a more professional mindset. Yet some adult literacy practitioners expressed concerns about the effects of this professionalised identity on the integrity of Literacy

Aotearoa's work. These tensions, between the organisational cultures of corporate communication and community-based literacy, came through very vividly in some of my interviews. For example, an advertising agency representative described its contribution to Literacy Aotearoa:

> I think our success with them [Literacy Aotearoa] was that we managed to make them realise that their *brand* [emphasis added] and their level of competencies had to appeal to bureaucrats in Wellington […] and politicians. They had to come across as being credible and not a shower […] we made that point. In other words, for them to contest funding and get funding there had to be a level of credibility there that wasn't there initially. And I think that is where we have been most successful in that we have raised that level of, that mana of, their *brand* [emphasis added] considerably.

This quote is interesting and revealing for several reasons. Firstly, the advisor articulated "professional brand identity" as a nodal point in publicising the organisation's credibility and legitimacy for engaging with state and business public spheres. Successful engagement with these spheres would thus help to guarantee on-going funding. Secondly, using the claim, "They had to come across as being credible and not a shower […]" also indicated how important the agent perceived the risks to Literacy Aotearoa of *not* branding and professionalising. The agency thus warned Literacy Aotearoa that if it failed to adopt the correct professional identity, it could end up looking foolish.

Thirdly, language like "made them realise" pointed to a kind of disciplining identity on the agent's part. This representative, on behalf of the advertising agency, embodied a no-nonsense attitude that was going to sort the "shower" out. These comments alluded to the potential repressive effects that could have followed from being forced into

articulating an identity that appealed to the state, and indeed the wider society's ideals of a professional organisation. This evidence does not necessarily point to a hierarchical relationship between Literacy Aotearoa and the advertising agency, where the agency had the last say on Literacy Aotearoa's publicity. As will be discussed below, there was evidence of a robust and rigorous relationship between the two, where Literacy Aotearoa representatives would disagree with publicity strategies. What this evidence does suggest is that although Literacy Aotearoa and the advertising agency worked well together in the production of professionalised publicity, there were tensions in reconciling Literacy Aotearoa's need to stay true to its community-based identity and, at the same time, reconcile itself with a more corporate style of publicity that engaged more closely with professionalised needs to market its services.

Despite the self-assurance of the advertising professional, Literacy Aotearoa representatives responded cogently to some of the pressures imposed on them by the agency. In one of my interviews, an advertising agency representative said that there had been "robust discussions" between the agency and Literacy Aotearoa. These euphemistic comments, although expressed somewhat playfully in the interview, pointed to previously existing tensions between the two organisations on how to best manage publicity. The tensions mostly related to differences about how Literacy Aotearoa's Treaty-based identity should be publicised. More discussion on these tensions is included in the relevant section below (7.3).

Despite the tensions between the two organisations, there were notable areas of fusion and reciprocity. An example can be taken from the quotation above when the advertising representative re-articulated the Indigenous signifier "mana", which means respect, or integrity, to describe Literacy Aotearoa's brand. The representative also said that

they had learned much from Literacy Aotearoa's consensual approach to decision making, comparing it to their own hierarchical business strategy. The agent said in the interview that the company had subsequently adopted some of these practices in their work with other clients.

In evidence of an increasing acceptance, but rearticulation of professionalised publicity signifiers, branding signifiers were also normalised in publicity produced by Literacy Aotearoa. For instance in a "strategic planning" special in *Tui Tuia* (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2004, p. 2) "branding" was listed as one of the organisation's strengths. In a discussion about a new communication strategy, the organisation's 2009 *Annual Report* cited the importance of "branding and promotion" (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2010, p. 2). These promotional publicity signifiers were thus not just located in the advice of external communication experts, but were recognised in internal organisational communication as increasingly important to Literacy Aotearoa's survival.

There is evidence that Literacy Aotearoa used new public management (NPM) (see chapters two and three) signifiers to publicise its student-centred critical literacy aims and meet the state's need for quality assurance standards. The Ministry of Education stated in its *Adult Literacy Strategy* that one of the main ways that participation could be improved was through increased quality assurance (Ministry of Education, 2001). Literacy Aotearoa responded to the state's need for quality assurance by publicising its own quality assurance standards. For example, in 2001, Literacy Aotearoa's internal newsletter *Tui Tuia* publicised that Marion Hobbs, then Associate Minister of Education, had been impressed by the publication of the organisation's first quality assurance standards. Ngā Tumuaki stated "The Minister regards the QAS Framework and the Kit as setting a benchmark for quality

assurance documentation for the literacy field" (Ngā Tumuaki, 2001, p. 2). The state's approval of the standards was clearly important for the organisation and Literacy Aotearoa took the opportunity to publicise this to the membership and at the same time, reinforce its status as a leader in the field. Like other methods of professionalisation, the articulation of NPM signifiers was no longer so unusual in the nonprofit sector (Alexander et al., 1999).

Literacy Aotearoa also rearticulated NPM signifiers to contest hegemonic assumptions of volunteerism. For example, it used "quality" in order to contest the state hegemonic assumption that linked "volunteer" with "amateur". In its 2001 *Annual Report,* Literacy Aotearoa stated that it was concerned that free (to the student) volunteer community-based services had been linked to "amateur" delivery, therefore, it had a duty to publicise its programmes' "quality" (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2002, p. 10). In this way, Literacy Aotearoa attempted to counter the hegemonic discourse by re-articulating NPM signifiers in a student-centred and social justice-based discourse. A similar concern was expressed by practitioners in the early days of the movement when the state accused the field of lacking professionalism (see chapter five). In this more recent era, Literacy Aotearoa's rearticulation of NPM signifiers helped the organisation challenge these sedimented concerns about the professionalism of volunteer services.

For agencies such as Literacy Aotearoa, it is likely that using the salient NPM signifier "quality" in publicity would have been a compelling way to publicise its services's value to the state and learners, and appeal to the common-sense notion that quality is good. "Quality" was used by Literacy Aotearoa to describe the organisation's social practice philosophy and critical literacy goals. For instance, in its professionally produced 2006 *Annual Report,* the organisation stated:

The guiding Kaupapa of the organisation is that the *quality* [emphasis added] tuition be free to the learner, be student-centred and be provided in a social context relevant to the learner.

We have provided *leadership* [emphasis added] in the fields of Adult Literacy, and Adult and Community Education (ACE), embodying the concept of Rangatiratanga and have become a leading contributor of resources and training programmes to the ACE sector. In doing so we have improved political awareness of the social implications of low literacy skills and have developed a reputation as a *quality*-focused organisation [emphasis added]. (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2007, p. 7)

In this excerpt Literacy Aotearoa linked a social practice literacy discourse as signified by the statement that adult literacy provision had to be "provided in a social context relevant to the learner" with NPM signifiers, "quality" and "leadership" (p. 7). Linking this with the organisation's claim that it had "improved political awareness of the social implications of low literacy skills" meant that Literacy Aotearoa was able to re-articulate NPM signifiers with its own social justice goals.

In an example of how Literacy Aotearoa reconciled its worth against economic concerns, as well as publicising the "quality" of its brand, Literacy Aotearoa also highlighted its economic *value*. For example, in a sponsorship pack aimed at the corporate sector, the organisation stated "Value for money – every dollar invested produces \$3 - \$5 value" (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2005b, coversheet). These statistics were taken from a research project between the international business consultancy PriceWaterhouseCoopers and the New Zealand Federation of Voluntary Welfare Organisations named *Counting for something: Value added by voluntary agencies* (2004). The symbolic meshing of social and

economic objectives in this project was typical of a third-way social partnership. The signification of value within the sector was constrained by the economic arguments espoused by the OECD and New Zealand Treasury Department (Isaacs, 2005). Yet, although appealing to monetary value, Literacy Aotearoa articulated an economic account alongside social justice-based concerns.

This research also found that accountability practices affected the amount of time ngā poupou, or Literacy Aotearoa's members throughout the country, had to undertake other tasks such as publicity. A local poupou co-ordinator commented in an interview for this research: "We have huge piles of paper in our offices. There isn't any space for creativity, only for accountability". However, Literacy Aotearoa also equivalenced notions of accountability with its student-centred approach. Demonstrating how the organisation found NPM signifiers both compelling and restrictive, Literacy Aotearoa's submission to the state's *Tertiary Education Strategy* stated that "Literacy Aotearoa welcomes transparency of accountability and is looking for ways that compliance costs can be reduced so that greater focus can be given to the services offered" (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2006b, p. 12). This quotation demonstrated Literacy Aotearoa's argument that, although welcome, there was a limit to how well NPM could be articulated alongside its social justice goals to increase access to adult literacy. This reflects the strain of accountability procedures on nonprofit and non-government organisations as discussed by other authors (Alexander et al., 1999; Bargh & Otter, 2009; Nowland-Foreman, 2009). Thus, the use of NPM signifiers presented a paradox for Literacy Aotearoa. The rearticulation of these signifiers was useful in publicising a professional identity that could meet state and learners's needs, but the accountability procedures that the organisation had to undertake as a result of a NPM ideology could be a punitive experience for nga poupou and restrict the time they had to engage with learners.

Literacy Aotearoa also used professionalised publicity to target other potential funders, potentially reducing its need for state funding. The advertising agency representative cited above commented on how his colleague had encouraged Literacy Aotearoa to work with corporate organisations:

> [The advertising agency representative] got stuck into [Literacy Aotearoa personnel] and said to them 'look you know the secret for you guys is to move yourselves away, and your positioning, from being dependent on government hand-outs. You've got to try and develop independent income streams'.

This quotation is interesting in two different ways. Firstly, the phrase "got stuck into", like the discussion above, characterised the communication advisor as a disciplinarian agent. Secondly, the advisor disparaged a welfarist philosophy, describing Literacy Aotearoa's funding as a "hand-out". This characterisation of government spending typified the anti-statist discourse of neoliberalism and demonstrated the limits to how far a marketised and welfarist discourse could be reconciled at this time. These comments can be contrasted with the movement's early days when the public relations company NCAE contracted helped the movement write a submission to the government requesting that it exclusively fund adult literacy services (NCAE, 1979f). Thus the comments from the communication advisor above signified the growing likelihood of increasingly marketised and professionalised funding and publicity regimes which would demand that nonprofit organisations should identify themselves as credible and legitimate fundees not only to the state, but to business too.

However, in this interview, the advertising agent did still identify the state as integral to the on-going survival of the organisation. The advertising agent went on to comment that his team thought of the government in every piece of publicity it designed for Literacy Aotearoa. Based on this evidence, I suggest that publicity strategies such as making appeals in submissions and distributing leaflets such as those produced in the early days of the movement were insufficient for Literacy Aotearoa and other nonprofit organisations in the 2000s. The need for Literacy Aotearoa to engage in an increasingly professionalised publicity regime meant that Literacy Aotearoa had to produce polished publicity in order that the state would recognise the organisation as a credible recipient of state funds. As this publicity was generally not state funded, producing this expensive publicity would have likely placed extra strain on the organisation.

Evidence of corporate sponsorship in Literacy Aotearoa's publicity also illustrated the organisation's increasing articulation of professionalised logics. One of its most notable sponsors during the year of data collection (2009) was New Zealand Post. Some of this publicity is explored more closely in the next section of this chapter. Literacy Aotearoa also received sponsorship at a national level from various other sources such as Random House (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2006a, p. 19), TVNZ (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2006a, p. 19), The Warehouse (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2006a, p. x), and Hubbards cereals (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2005d, p. 4). Like the comments by the advertising representative above, the range and extent of these corporate relationships pointed to the need for Literacy Aotearoa to partner with business in order to survive financially because government funding was insufficient for its diverse service provision.

In addition, corporate sponsorship with credible, popular organisations could also be seen as a move by the organisation to appear as a

legitimate organisation in the mainstream public sphere and thus appeal to the state and business as a worthy organisation. Thus, Literacy Aotearoa was compelled, in order to produce a professionalised publicity identity, to include corporate organisations in its publicity. However, as can be demonstrated above, these organisations were of varying types, including those identifying with social justice principles. Maintaining the organisation's legitimacy through identification with corporatised promotional logics also went some way towards guaranteeing its survival in an era of third-way partnerships.

In my interviews at ngā poupou level, workers articulated marketised logics by stating the need to develop strategies for corporate sponsorship. Sponsorship was used locally as a way of raising money when other funding avenues, such as charitable trusts, were becoming more and more difficult to obtain. For example, a local poupou co-coordinator/manager said that it was becoming increasingly difficult to get funding from charitable trusts: "once the money dries up in the charitable trust sector we are going to be looking for sponsorship and donations from private organisations". This quotation underlined the change from a charitable welfarist funding regime to one that depended more on private, business funds and therefore required, arguably, more professionalised publicity and the activation of marketised publicity logics. As I discuss below, the labour involved in this publicity would certainly have been at some cost to the organisation. The quotation above demonstrated how corporate funding was an increasingly integral part of the organisation's many funding levels. In addition, given concerns about the lack of congruence between corporate and nonprofit goals, the implications of this change to a more marketised funding regime could have consequences for the sector's future if it has to submit to corporate goals. As discussed in chapter two of this thesis, the risk is that organisations succumb to "mission drift" when their goals become more aligned to their funders in an effort to survive (Nowland-Foreman, 2009).

In my interviews it was clear that at times it was difficult for member groups to produce professional publicity because it was difficult to resource. This Literacy Aotearoa worker commented on the difficult nature of trying to draw funds together to get publicity:

> Every time we go to the radio station we've got to do a deal. We're on our bloody hands and knees grovelling again, doing a deal. Or we have to find someone else that will sponsor that because we don't have, well we do have, an advertising budget, but it's pretty minimal.

This quotation highlighted the challenge ngā poupou had in securing publicity as it was costly, but considered necessary for raising more funds and for reaching learners. The difficulty of resourcing publicity, therefore, presented a dilemma for the organisation: it had to professionalise in order to gain funds, but in order to professionalise, it had to raise money. The quotation also pointed to the considerable labour involved in funding and organising the organisation's publicity.

As in the other eras discussed in this thesis, Literacy Aotearoa listed publicity as a key strategic area for the organisation. In its Quality Assurance Standards, *Te Poutama Painga* (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2003), publicity was nominated as a priority area. Operational area five related to communication and stated that ngā poupou should have a communication management plan, appropriate internal communication processes, promote te poupou services in their communities, and engage in awareness-raising of literacy and education issues in their local areas. *Te Poutama Painga* had a range of resources, including templates of fliers that ngā poupou could use, checklists for creating newsletters and

media releases, a list of useful telephone greetings in te reo Māori and a suggested format for running literacy awareness-raising workshops with agencies.

Only a few workers interviewed for this research had used the communication advice in *Te Poutama Painga*, with most workers stating that they used their own design and procedures for communication that were suited to their individual poupou. In addition, one worker commented that if ngā poupou were to comply with all operational requirements, they would need more funding. S/he commented, "there are useful strategies and checklists in there [*Te Poutama Painga*], but you have to be blooming well resourced to be able to deliver on all operational areas".

Although it was evident that Literacy Aotearoa workers developed strategies to target corporate organisations, it was also clear from the data that Literacy Aotearoa was still very reliant on government funding. Thus, it was important for Literacy Aotearoa to maintain cooperative relationships between the public spheres of its community-based schemes and the state. Just how much Literacy Aotearoa was dependent on government funding and the impact of a precarious funding climate was apparent during data collection in 2009. Many Literacy Aotearoa workers, at national and local levels, stated that future funding for both community and workplace programmes was not clear. Practitioners were anxious and this was especially evident in interviews with ngā poupou. One worker stated that reduction in funding may mean that services would close. S/he stated, "If we lost our Foundation Learning Programme funding we would probably have to close". As well as demonstrating a reliance on state funding, this comment also showed how practitioners were operating in a stressful and insecure funding climate, where the absence of funding could mean cessation of services to students, and job losses.

Analysis of *Tui Tuia* and the organisation's annual reports from 1999 to 2008 demonstrated that the organisation was closely involved in relationships with the state. Representatives were on many government groups including the Ministerial Working Party on Adult and Community Education (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2002, p. 22); Māori Literacy Reference Group and the NZQA Literacy Qualification Development Working Party (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2002, p. 17); TEC Adult and Community Education Reference Group (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2006a, p. 18); Ministry of Education Learning for Living Workplace Experts Group; NZQA Māori Focus Group and TEC Workplace Foundation Learning Cluster Reference Group (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2008, p. 11); and the NZQA Evaluation Panel (ALE) (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2009a, p. 13). The organisation also made submissions on relevant government policy such as the *Tertiary Education Strategy 2007-2012* (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2006b); the *National Adult Literacy Strategy* (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2001, p. 21); and the *Industry Training Review* (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2002, p. 17).

As occurred in the discussion in chapters five and six, I borrow the term "strategic broker" from Larner and Craig (2005) to describe those practitioners in Literacy Aotearoa that enabled such professionalised networking. Although Larner and Craig used the term to describe community activists working with the state in local partnerships, because of how these workers deployed astute political skills, bargaining skills and networking capability, similar figures could be said to be working at a national and local level in nonprofit organisations too. The strategic brokers working in Literacy Aotearoa arguably faced similar challenges to those found by Larner and Craig (2005), in that the demands for accountability in the sector were increasing in tandem with the rise of NPM discourse. Like the findings from Larner and Craig, the third-way partnership logics and participative policy formation meant that Literacy Aotearoa was better able to sit at the policy table with the state. Yet this

work was labour-intensive and rarely funded. Thus, it added extra strain on an already-stretched workforce.

However, in interviews at both local and national levels, practitioners noted that these levels of consultation that the state had previous sought had somewhat decreased. It is clear from Literacy Aotearoa's 2009 *Annual Report* that Literacy Aotearoa engaged with strategic relationship-building, networking and collaboration to ensure a strong sector, despite a reduction in the number of forums for state consultation. Te Tumuaki stated:

> We recognise that it is critical to work with others to achieve success and strengthen the sector, in pursuit of common goals.
>
> Throughout 2009 we have focused on growing the profile of the organisation and strengthening strategic relationships with key stakeholder groups and representative bodies, in the form of the Literacy Alliance and the ACE Sector Strategic Alliance, working with Te Puni Kōkiri[1] for Māori Literacy development and ITO partnerships for workplace delivery. These relationships focus on working together to ensure high quality outcomes for adult learners. (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2010, p. 2)

The articulation of signifiers in this quotation such as "strategic relationships", "stakeholders" and "high quality outcomes" signified a professionalised inflection of the organisation's networking and collaborative publicity strategies. At the same time, the stakeholders that it lists in the example demonstrate a diverse approach to sector collaboration, as Te Tumuaki included the locally-based adult community education sector, Te Puni Kōkiri, and industry bodies in its list of key partners. Literacy Aotearoa thus equivalenced literacy with

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[1] Te Puni Kōkiri is the Ministry for Māori Development

these stakeholders' "common goals", but by prioritising "growing the profile of the organisation" it could also ensure that its' particular (critical) literacy discourses were guaranteed in the sector.

The importance the organisation placed on ensuring that it reconciled its identity, in part, to professionalised and competitive logics was summed up by one Literacy Aotearoa representative who stated, "somebody else who isn't as good at delivering to New Zealanders will be there instead of us and that's our choice you know, do we want to be part of it or not?" Thus, like earlier time periods, student-centred provision was articulated as a nodal point that guided Literacy Aotearoa's identity in the face of competitive funding and education policy that emphasised adult literacy as a workplace need. This employee was concerned that Literacy Aotearoa's social-justice mission would be lost in the sector if the organisation did not survive. Therefore it had to engage with diverse stakeholders so that it could continue its student-centred provision in the sector.

The above successes, shown by participation in adult literacy policy circles and networks, demonstrated that successful professionalised publicity led to more work. The advantages of this were that organisations such as Literacy Aotearoa could more directly influence state policy and participate in regionalised forums and networks. However, there is evidence to suggest that the need for professionalised publicity put demands on workers and the organisation. In my interviews, especially with participants working at a local level, workers reported working long hours, sometimes as much as twice the amount of hours they were paid for. Demonstrating their ability to communicate between different spheres and their excellent networking abilities, workers also reported making connections outside work time that led to collaboration and successfully targeting learners.

Indicating an ability to engage with specific learner literacy needs and develop strategies to communicate with them in their different public spheres, the organisation not only produced so-called professionalised publicity practices at a national level. At a local level, employees also worked in more low-key ways to directly target hard-to-reach learners. This work helped to target harder-to-reach learners that were not easy to contact using only mainstream and glossy publicity. This finding supports earlier research in Aotearoa New Zealand that demonstrated that formal publicity was useful, but not particularly well suited to directly enrolling students (Murray et al., 2007; Sligo et al., 2007, Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006). A poupou worker commented:

> You know, if I go down the centre of my street I could say 'do you want to come and join our programme? Do you want to come and join our programme, we offer this that and that' and the main people that I'd get in would be over 50, white, European, sound social economic circumstances. Why? Because they are in the main street shopping. They can understand the dialogue, they can read the paper, they have got the money to buy the paper. They go to the library and they pick up the brochures. The people I want to meet the most don't do much of that stuff. Might be sitting over here in this community and their social networks will be quite different. So somehow we have to get into those social networks.

The importance of this kind of strategic publicity in reaching students, especially those considered harder-to-reach learners, was mentioned by nearly all Literacy Aotearoa employees I interviewed. Both Literacy Aotearoa workers and students identified word-of-mouth referrals as the most successful way of recruiting learners. Similar findings were also recorded in earlier research in Aotearoa New Zealand (Murray et al., 2007; Sligo et al., 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006). Networking and

collaborative projects were also identified by strategic brokers in ngā poupou as useful methods to reach learners.   For example, one worker was involved in a project that encouraged mothers to write books for their babies.   This involved collaboration with other organisations in order to reach the target audience.   Other networking and collaborative examples included rural outreach programmes, such as working with rural marae and other community organisations to provide adult literacy to learners outside of towns.   Many ngā poupou workers identified rural learners as relatively difficult to recruit.

The strategic brokers' work at both national and local levels demonstrated the importance of relationship-building skills in maintaining the organisation's position as leader in the field and in targeting learners.   In critical publicity terms, this was a model that recognises multiple public spheres (Fraser, 1990; Habermas, 1989; Koivisto & Valiverronen, 1996) and their permeable boundaries in that practitioners work with other experts in their relative areas and fields. This strategy demonstrated how practitioners acknowledged the limits of their knowledge of particular public spheres and their creative ability to be able to still target learners within these domains, using collaborative and networking publicity techniques.

As stated earlier in this chapter, and in previous empirical chapters, publicity practices, generally, were rarely funded and thus were practised at some cost to the organisation, practitioners and learners. This work illustrates practitioners' commitment to reach diverse learners. There is evidence to indicate that these strategic brokers faced a dilemma, in that there was a compulsion to satisfy and publicise "popular" literacy demands, the main demand being workplace literacy, because these were funded. This meant not enough time was available for research on more complex or more concealed literacy needs. One

practitioner commented on how the organisation had to look at what needs were taking priority in recruitment practices. They said;

> I think another issue is related to whether we're recruiting for demand or whether we're recruiting for need. And when we are looking at need […] which of the needs are we determining take priority? So, and I don't know that we have enough information about that yet. Certainly government has got a clear priority; the priority is around workforce.

This quotation implied that this worker was concerned that some literacy needs were not prioritised in its publicity and that the organisation should be cognisant that dominant, or hegemonic needs could be taking priority over others. The workers' publicity strategy identified in the quotation was similar to that of earlier periods, where practitioners attempted to ensure that workplace literacy did not hegemonise literacy provision and that other needs should be provided for too.

Insufficient funding and its impact on services and publicity were articulated by many Literacy Aotearoa workers as barriers to recruiting students. This worker commented;

> our contracts for example over the last four years have not had a cost of living increase on them and at the moment the contract figures are being screwed down, deliver more, more efficiently not more effectively […] Staying true to good quality learning, it will be the challenge.

In an under-funded service, it is likely that publicity practices put further pressure on an organisation's resources. Both networking and collaboration were repeatedly identified by Literacy Aotearoa representatives as extremely difficult to fund. One worker stated, "networking is one of our major capacity areas that we are not funded for. It is most critical". On collaboration, another worker stated, "how can you have collaboration when you've got a competitive model?". Likewise, on a national level, Literacy Aotearoa's submission to the Ministry of Education regarding the *Tertiary Education Strategy 2007-2012* stated that the lack of funding for "collaboration" was a problem for the organisation (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2006b, p. 12). Authors in the adult literacy and wider ACE field also argued that although collaboration was essential for communicating with audiences, it was rarely funded (Bowl & Tobias, 2011; G. Harrison, 2008; Sligo, Culligan et al., 2006).

To further emphasise how important networking and collaboration were for reaching adult literacy students, in my interviews and focus groups very few students mentioned formal publicity such as advertising, brochures and posters as ways they had found out about the programmes they were on. The only formal publicity that was cited by students in this research was that of advertisements in free local newspapers.

Overwhelmingly, students heard about adult literacy programmes through word of mouth (friends, relatives and colleagues), other agencies, or their workplace. This repeats findings in other research completed recently in Aotearoa New Zealand (Murray et al., 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006) and in the much earlier days of continuing education in the US (Irish, 1980), which indicated that the best ways of reaching students had not changed significantly for several decades. Thus, this form of publicity, echoing a theme of chapters five and six, is

perhaps best suited to communicate to learners' specific, socially situated literacy needs.

In addition, learners also identified the "publicness" of the classroom as important for encouraging participation. In interviews and focus groups, some learners said that they felt comfortable in the class setting compared with the "outside world" where they felt at times "unsafe" and "judged for not being able to read and write". That some students were able to discuss issues around "safety" and empowerment in the classroom, compared with how they felt outside of the class, demonstrated the usefulness of this space as a place for deliberating on some of the intangible benefits of literacy, away from the gaze of perhaps more instrumentalist expectations, like being able to read and write *for* the workplace. Thus the discourse in the micro-public sphere of the classroom could be useful in reaching more adult literacy learners by utilising some of the messages publicised here, such as the "safety" and "empowering" aspects of participating in class in external publicity. Again, this finding corroborates earlier research that argued adult literacy marketing campaigns should focus on the strengths of literacy provision identified by the students, including the skills and sensitivity of tutors and the articulation of the class as a "safe" place (Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006).

What should be noted about these "successful" publicity practices is that there was a mixture of more low-key networking (word of mouth from friends, relatives and colleagues) and professionalised networking such as that between agencies and the workplace. In addition, more professionalised publicity could have played a part in how the friends and relatives heard about literacy providers and additional research with this secondary audience could illuminate this further. Therefore, a mixture of professionalised and less professionalised publicity practices was useful for reaching learners. Again, this finding has been noted in

wider adult literacy literature (Hamilton & Hillier, 2006; Murray et al., 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006)

My interviews showed that much of this word-of-mouth publicity work was undertaken by learners themselves. Most learners in the interviews and focus groups for this research said they had told others about the adult literacy work they were doing and most said they could identify many more people in their social circles that would benefit from adult literacy provision. One learner said that his father would often read letters for his friends because of their inability to read. The learner said that he had been telling his father's friends about the course. These learners sometimes showed excellent networking and communication skills in their own communities and the ability to spread the word about adult literacy provision. In one focus group setting, most of the participants had heard about the adult literacy programme they were on through one of the participants present.

In addition, in my interviews, adult literacy learners identified the desire to spread the word about the course they were on in the future. One learner commented, "more word should be out there about these places. I want to tell everybody about it". This data suggested that adult literacy learners were most likely the best people to be able to spread the word about literacy provision, and its benefits to other learners. These findings corroborate with earlier research in Aotearoa New Zealand (Murray et al., 2007). This thesis recognises the knowledges of these learners in how to publicise in their spheres. However, it also recognises the un-paid labour of adult literacy publicity and suggests that this type of publicity should be recognised and rewarded by the state.

However, the pressures of publicity practices, whether professionalised or more low-key, were affected by workers fearing that they would not

be able to meet student demand should it quickly and radically increase. One worker stated; "we often joke, thank God they're not all running through the doors because we would just be absolutely swamped and overwhelmed, we couldn't possibly cope with them". Another practitioner commented that the organisation had to look at "the issue of timing for recruitment and so that you can recruit and not raise expectations and so be able to meet demand as you create it". These comments typified fears of not being able to keep up with demand, as expressed in the other time periods and a theme examined in wider literature in adult literacy (Hamilton & Hillier, 2006).

Chapters five and six argued that this fear of publicity could be seen as a consequence of the under-resourcing of the adult literacy sector. The pressure that adult literacy providers were under and the demand for services were also noted at an official level by the state. The *Adult Literacy Strategy 2001*, stated: "Most providers report waiting lists even though their programmes are not widely advertised and there is little funding for promotion of programmes to attract learners into literacy programmes" (Ministry of Education, 2001, p. 9). That ngā poupou experienced such a demand for services that they could not service is suggestive of the need for more funding for the sector in 2009. If publicity was adequately resourced, then the students that the interviewees claim were not being reached could have been more successfully targeted, furthering Literacy Aotearoa's social justice aims and state needs to reach a wider range of learners (Ministry of Education, 2001).

The research presented here has thus far indicated that Literacy Aotearoa practised both professionalised and more low-key publicity in aiming to reach diverse publics. It used both professionalised and more low-key publicity practices. The former were primarily to communicate with and meet state and business needs, and the latter were most useful in directly

targeting hard-to-reach learners. As discussed in chapter two, authors such as Eikenberry and Kluver (2004) and Alexander et al. (1999) were wary of the introduction of competition and professionalised logics into the nonprofit sector because these organisations had often been set up to respond to the needs of those not adequately supported in a competitive market economy. Thus, the third way's activation of competition logics in a sector that catered for those who have not thrived in such a climate meant there was the risk that inequality could have been exacerbated rather than reduced if it were not for the careful strategising by nonprofit organisations to ensure that these audiences be adequately targeted by low key publicity. However, as stated previously in this chapter and in chapters five and six, this kind of publicity strategy was at some cost to the organisation as publicity practices were rarely externally funded.

As examined in chapter three, funding for publicity in adult literacy community-based provision has not been adequately addressed in state adult literacy policy documents. Although the Tertiary Education Commission (2008b) recommended publicity strategies for workplace literacy, publicity for community-based literacy has not been sufficiently acknowledged in state policy. Instead, in order to widen access, the state has argued for increased competition in the sector (Ministry of Education, 2001). This need for publicity funding is not new. Writing in a US context, in 1980, Irish (1980) recommended increased funding for publicity as a way of widening access and achieving better social justice for learners. More recently, the Literacy and Employment Research Group argued for more strategic publicity in the sector (Murray et al., 2007; Sligo, Culligan et al., 2006; Sligo et al., 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006; Tilley, Sligo et al., 2006).

Given the privileged access adult literacy learners may have to other learners and, in many cases, their desire to participate in publicity, the evidence presented here demonstrates that their voices should be

supported, acknowledged and rewarded in organisational publicity strategy and state adult literacy policy. Tilley, Sligo et al. (2006) recommended that;

> Current and former training participants should be offered actual part-time marketing and recruitment work to attend schools, communities, Work and Income, and other places, and offer information about training and how to join to potential participants. (p. 65)

This thesis supports this recommendation and, in the same vein as the recommendations above, also suggests that this strategy should be utilised in both formalised and less-formalised ways. Organisations such as Literacy Aotearoa should be funded adequately for the planning, development and delivery of this kind of word-of-mouth publicity in order that the state reaches its goal of attracting hard-to-reach learners to adult literacy provision (Ministry of Education, 2001). This means that, at an organisational level, students could be involved in focus groups and steering committees on publicity strategies and rewarded for this work. However, given that my interviews found that the introduction of paid, rather than voluntary tutors had brought advantages and disadvantages in terms of accountability, the best interests of the learners and the organisation should be brought into account. If learners do not want to be financially rewarded, other forms of appropriate recompense, reward, or recognition should be considered. This approach should not, however, impact on the ways publicity operates in quite nuanced ways. In other words, a more instrumental approach to word-of-mouth publicity may alienate some learners. I suggest that low-key discussion in classes on publicity ideas and how learners engage with other (potential) learners may be as useful, if not more useful, than more instrumentalist approaches in engaging some learners.

To summarise, Literacy Aotearoa, like many other nonprofit organisations, augmented its professionalised identity in light of the third way's competitive funding regime and a wider general expectation of the professionalisation of nonprofit services. This meant that the organisation publicised its credibility and legitimacy as a recipient of state funds. Literacy Aotearoa also managed to articulate its social justice mission through logics of professionalisation. However, the professionalisation of publicity was not easy to resource and highlighted a paradox in that in order to professionalise Literacy Aotearoa had to raise funds and in order to raise funds it had to professionalise. In addition, less marketised/professionalised publicity, that of low-key networking and collaboration, was particularly helpful in reaching hard-to-reach audiences. However, this publicity was especially difficult to fund. A mixture of professionalised and less-professionalised publicity was useful for targeting a wide variety of audiences, but practising publicity put a strain on the organisation which further resourcing would go some way towards alleviating. Much of the labour-intensive resourcing for this fell on practitioners and learners. Thus, the institutionalisation of a third-way partnership model can be seen to have both extended and limited Literacy Aotearoa's ability to publicise a critical literacy account to its learners.

Now that I have looked at the general ways Literacy Aotearoa activated the logics of professionalisation in its publicity, the next section looks at how the organisation articulated an expansive discourse on adult literacy in order to communicate with a wide variety of audiences and not alienate those it wanted to communicate with most.

7.3 The "tip of the iceberg": How Literacy Aotearoa continued to expand hegemonic literacy discourses

The advertisement below illustrates how Literacy Aotearoa continued to facilitate publicity between the lifeworlds of literacy learners and funders such as the state. The advertisement appeared in *Woman's Day*, *TV Guide* and *Sunday Star Times* in 2009 (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2009d). It was part of a series of two images, where the second advertisement used road signs as the central image. These advertisements were also used as promotional posters by Literacy Aotearoa.
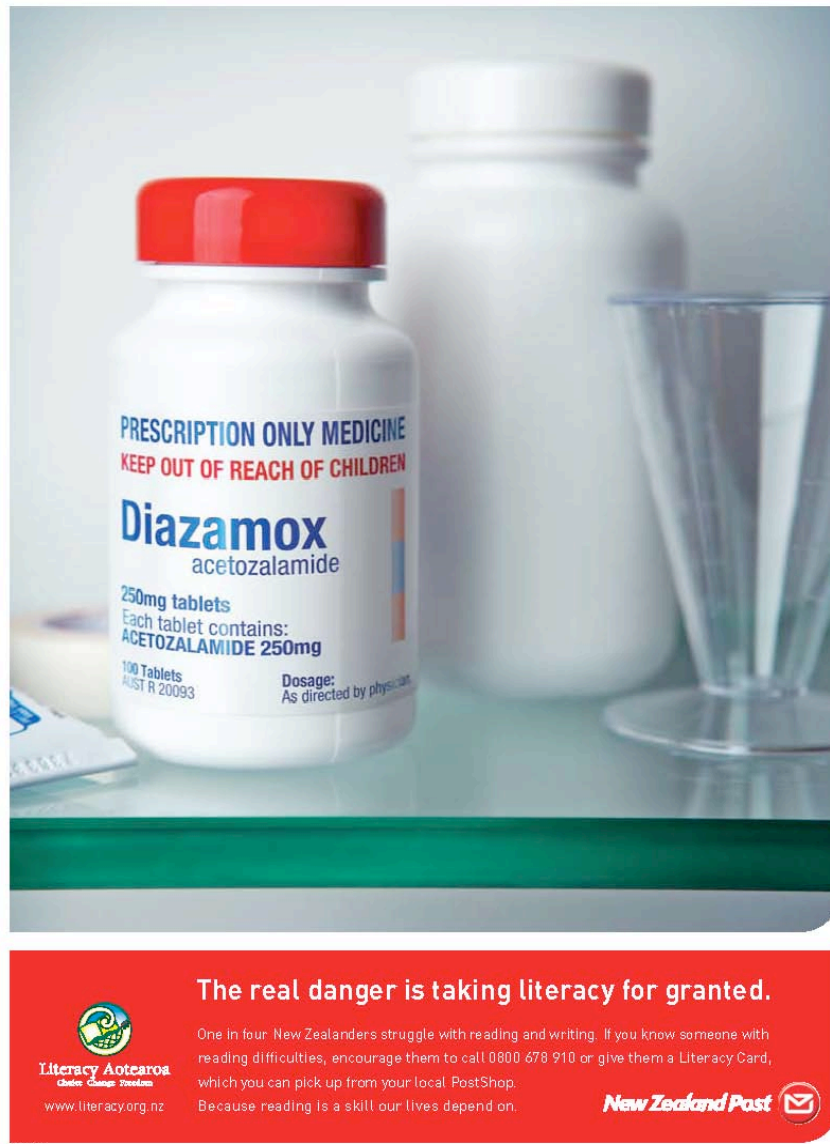
Figure 8: *The real danger is taking literacy for granted poster (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2009d)*

This publicity, produced as a result of the relationship between Literacy Aotearoa and New Zealand Post, was much more professionalised and slick than that produced in the earlier incarnation of this cross-organisational relationship in the 1980s. In the earlier days, New Zealand Post simply displayed the black and white adult literacy movement's logo (borrowed from the BBC) at specific kiosks in its

shops to indicate that those with low functional literacy could get help reading and writing forms (Brown, 1981).

In comparison with this more low-key publicity, in 2009, New Zealand Post facilitated a relationship between Literacy Aotearoa and international advertising agency Saatchi and Saatchi which resulted in the highly produced publicity shown above. Corporate sponsorship of nonprofit organisations was not unusual at this time (Wymer & Samu, 2003). The tripartite relationship between these organisations indicated a changed publicity regime where it was both necessary for nonprofits to engage in such publicity and, in addition, professional enterprises such as New Zealand Post were willing to work with nonprofit organisations in a promotional fashion.

Through analysis of the text, and from interview data, I suggest the advertisement had three goals. The first was to critique assumptions about the usefulness of common safety signs for some people; the second to target adult literacy learners; and the third to raise funds. These goals were to be achieved by targeting both explicit and implicit secondary audiences.

Literacy Aotearoa representatives interviewed for this research signalled that these advertisements were intended to "provide a critique of assuming that such signs were effective in communicating the [safety] message, especially for people who had difficulties with reading". Literacy Aotearoa's critique can be seen as similar to Gee's (2008) argument that medicine labels are not designed to give consumers new knowledge of the dangers of misusing medicines. Instead, he argued that these labels, using often highly-technical language, do not speak to individuals with low levels of English literacy, but rather, speak to an already-knowing audience. These labels, he continued, are thus mainly

part of the organisation's legalistic need to protect itself against liability from improper use of the medicines.

Literacy Aotearoa, thus used a "literacy event" (Heath, 1982, as cited in Barton & Hamilton, 2000), or a real-world situation requiring literacy practices, to highlight the assumptions texts like these can make. In my interviews with Literacy Aotearoa representatives involved in the production of these advertisements, they said that much of the discussion with the advertising agency focused on how best to raise awareness of adult literacy needs, without articulating a deficit learner.

Literacy Aotearoa's critique of such safety texts was evidence of how the organisation managed to articulate professionalised logics alongside a student-based account of literacy practice. In this advertisement, Literacy Aotearoa identified corporations as having some responsibility to ensure safety information was useful to diverse audiences, with its tag-line, "The real danger is taking literacy for granted".

That said, the existence of dominant deficit accounts of the learner could mean that it is possible that the advertisement is also read as a fear-based appeal to learners and their families and friends. For example, the text on the medicine bottle read, "Keep out of the reach of children". Therefore, potentially, the advertisement made a fear-based appeal to audiences on the basis that if one could not read then one could put oneself and others in danger. In addition, the friends and family of those with low functional literacy could have been identified as duty-bound to publicise what literacy help was available to their loved ones because of possible safety concerns. This possible reading demonstrated the challenges that Literacy Aotearoa faced in engaging with a critique of commonly-held assumptions of everyday texts and objects such as those used in the advertisements. This analysis also supports previous

research in Aotearoa New Zealand that identified formal publicity as useful, but normally not very helpful in directly enrolling students as the public nature of the publicity affected students with low self-confidence (Murray et al., 2007).

The advertisement's second goal was to reach adult literacy learners through secondary audiences such as friends, relatives and colleagues. The text "If you know anyone with reading difficulties, encourage them to call", made it clear that the advertisement was targeted at such secondary audiences. In an interview for this research, the advertising agent commented that, "what we've discovered is that it's families and friends who make the decision to seek help generally". This audience was targeted to directly recruit students. This supports earlier research that mass media publicity is helpful in reaching secondary audiences (Hamilton & Hillier, 2006). This publicity is therefore another example of how Literacy Aotearoa attempted to use those more intimately related to learners to access the learners' public sphere and literacy needs.

When asked if they had the government in mind for every piece of communication they designed for Literacy Aotearoa, the advertising agent interviewed for this research said, "Yes, yes, absolutely". This example of a professionalised advertisement produced with an SOE such as New Zealand Post can thus be seen as part of a self-conscious move by those involved with Literacy Aotearoa's publicity to promote the organisation as a credible literacy provider and recipient of state funds. Therefore, this professionalised advertisement communicated affirmative messages to both learners and funders.

There is also evidence that Literacy Aotearoa worked with learners in national publicity in order to engage with social practice accounts of literacy. The meant that working with learners in publicity could help

the organisation expand the narrow, hegemonic literacy discourse that focused on workplace literacy needs and communicate with other potential learners about literacy's wider benefits. Literacy Aotearoa produced three television advertisements in 2005 (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2005e; Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2005f; Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2005g). These advertisements featured learners in the visuals and voice-overs and learners were also directly involved in writing the script. I used these advertisements in the focus groups conducted with adult literacy learners and all students who participated in groups for literacy work and commented on the advertisements said that the visuals closely resembled their own classes.

In one of the advertisements, there was a fairly clear critique of the discourse of equal rights in Aotearoa New Zealand. One of the three advertisements started thus, "They say New Zealand is a place to get a fair go. Maybe some of us don't. We found it difficult to read or write" (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2005g). This mediatised critique of Aotearoa New Zealand society challenged the sedimented notion that, particularly within education, Aotearoa New Zealand was an egalitarian society, (McCulloch, 2009).

What is also interesting is that in this advertisement (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2005g) the students used collective nouns such as "us" and "we" and used a chorus of voices in the voice-over which then collectivised adult literacy learners' struggles. By articulating the idea that people should get a "fair go" in Aotearoa New Zealand, Literacy Aotearoa activated the sedimented logic of liberal humanism, appealing to the uncontroversial notion that everyone should have equal opportunities for adult literacy provision. As discussed in earlier empirical chapters, liberal humanism pertained to the notion that everyone had equal rights that were intrinsic to human experience and objectively guaranteed prior to any historical or cultural context (Ahmed, 1996). Thus, Literacy

Aotearoa, like its precursor organisations, again used this available logic to advance its appeal for the need for adult literacy. Like the analysis in chapters 5 and 6, the organisation used the discourse of universal human rights to appeal to the absence of the principal of equal opportunities (through the signifier "fair go"). Literacy Aotearoa implicitly acknowledged that there were those who *did not* have access to equal opportunities, and adult literacy provision is thus required in order to attend to the needs of those who have not had "a fair go".

In one of my interviews with Literacy Aotearoa workers, an employee talked about the difficulties of articulating a social practice approach in publicity. This representative said that the organisation sometimes used functional literacy discourses to signify "the tip of the iceberg" because more expansive accounts were "much more difficult to promote [than functional literacy]". S/he went on to say:

> I don't think that we convey the complexity [in external publicity], I think what we're tending to do is talk reading, writing and things like that, to get people in, and then use our much broader approach.

This quotation described Literacy Aotearoa's technique of engaging with a discourse that learners could relate to, and thus the organisation could remain student-centred in its provision and its publicity. This mindfulness of audiences' needs is represented in the dialogical approach to public relations (Grunig & Grunig, 1992). This normative model encourages organisations to be more aware of the plurality of audiences and to find ways of effectively having a "dialogue" with them rather than more one-way communication. Combining Literacy Aotearoa's approach identified here, with involving adult literacy learners on decision-making committees for publicity, would, arguably, go further in engaging with learners. Together, these modes of publicity

practices could be nominated as being that of closer "engagement" (Tilley & Love, 2010) with learners' public spheres.

Literacy Aotearoa utilised forums for engaging with the state to advocate a student-centred approach that related to the individual and socially embedded needs of students. In Literacy Aotearoa's submissions to government on state policy, the organisation clearly stated its preferred pluralistic understanding of literacy. This was evident in submissions such as those to the Ministry of Education regarding the *Tertiary Education Strategy 2007-2012* (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2006b) which noted that "one size does not fit all" (p. 13) when it came to literacy provision. The organisation stated in this submission;

> It appears that the draft TES document places primary emphasis on economic transformation. Consequently the main focus is on the provision of education, training and up-skilling for people to adapt to the changing employment needs of New Zealand society. Such an approach risks not meeting the education needs of older people as well as those not in the workforce and those not seeking employment, for example, caregivers of children and those with long-term health issues. Equally it risks reducing entry and participation to only provision of education that shows a clear economic benefit. (p. 4)

One interviewee emphasised the importance of trying to expand a hegemonic narrow literacy discourses. S/he stated;

> If you're trying to reach people in business, civic leaders, government officials, government MPs, the major issue is to get

them to realise that it's wider than the functional literacy of reading, writing and numeracy.

Literacy Aotearoa's concern was that access to adult literacy provision was limited because of the state's focus on economic gains. These quotations demonstrated Literacy Aotearoa's effort to challenge the limited state discourse on literacy, by responding to these needs, but also arguing that there were more literacy needs than those privileged in policy formulations.

In its 2004 Annual Report, Literacy Aotearoa stated it was "a 'critical friend' in the development of quality literacy learning and training opportunities throughout Aotearoa" (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2005a, p. ix). Literacy Aotearoa can be said to have managed to maintain a position as an "insider" organisation (Sireau, 2009) in that it had a close working relationship with the government, but at the same time was able to criticise aspects of government policy. This work, often by the strategic brokers in the organisation, was, as highlighted earlier, labour intensive.

However, some Literacy Aotearoa personnel still highlighted difficulties in articulating an expansive account of adult literacy against what could be considered the restricted pluralism of the state's discourse. In one of my interviews a Literacy Aotearoa worker commented:

> I think, and maybe this is just being wishful, but the way I try and look at it is that what we try to achieve is as comprehensive a range of students as we can, utilising the government funds to either access them through particular projects or through our volunteer services […] the other thing I think we're doing is we're trying to

argue why, if the group is only so big, why it should be expanded to be this much bigger. So it's not a one-pronged attack […] it's not really saying whatever you say we've got to do because you're paying for it. We'll say, 'oh yeah, you can do that, but if you did this, actually it would be more beneficial as well'. And that might take ten years for them to finally agree with, but we're not going to give up arguing it for the ten years.

This quotation highlights how accessing a wide group of learners was important for the organisation and that the state did not always facilitate this as effectively as Literacy Aotearoa would have liked. However, the quotation demonstrated how the organisation was trying to articulate an increasingly diversified account of "literacy" and reconcile its own social justice goals of widening access with the state's goals of a more marketised and functional account of literacy.

When I asked this worker whether they thought the state supported critical literacy, they answered, "I'd say on paper they probably would but I don't know whether they would". These comments illustrated concerns about the "mainstreaming" of a critical literacy discourse (Luke & Freebody, 1996) which meant that Literacy Aotearoa would need to be cognisant of how other agencies, such as the state, were articulating and interpreting such claims, and ensure that social justice-based aims were included in its discourse on "critical literacy". The labour-intensive work of strategic brokers in challenging hegemonic narrow accounts of literacy was again demonstrated in this quotation as the worker noted that they were "not going to give up arguing it for the ten years".

This desire to engage with learners who were not funded by the state was also articulated at ngā poupou level. Interviews with ngā poupou

revealed that workers went to considerable lengths to diversify their publicity and satisfy literacy demands, even although funding was difficult. One worker said, "we try to accommodate, we don't turn anyone away". An example of one of the ways that ngā poupou coped with demands they were not strictly funded to meet was to offer family or whanau literacy provision. This meant that school age children who were not covered by the 'adult' services could be accommodated within Literacy Aotearoa's services. I did not interview any students for whom this was a concern, but tutors told me anecdotally that these students heard about Literacy Aotearoa through word of mouth. This again, like the discussion in the section above, demonstrated the breadth of literacy demands articulated in communities that were not easily satisfied and addressed because of the reliance on a fairly restricted funding regime that focused on particular groups, such as those in work or preparing for work.

The ability to maintain relationships with funders and publicly critique hegemonic adult literacy discourses was not always straightforward. A Literacy Aotearoa representative noted that "funding relationships mean that you need to be careful in how you engage in critical comment". The evidence thus far presented in this thesis has demonstrated Literacy Aotearoa's ability to find appropriate forums for "critical comment". However, this was mostly unable to be realised in more general public spaces and instead Literacy Aotearoa used the spaces available, such as government submissions. Therefore, even although the organisation relied on government funding, the third-way logics of consultation and participation at this time did, to some extent, allow for organisational critique of state practices.

Although Literacy Aotearoa articulated a social practice account of literacy in an attempt to publicise diverse literacy needs, the signifier 'literacy' was still met with confusion by some audiences. An

advertising agent interviewed for this research commented that "getting Literacy Aotearoa to describe what they did was a nightmare". The usefulness of the signifier 'literacy' was also debated by ngā poupou. A tutor commented, "We'd like to change it [the word literacy in its title] but it's like coming up with a word that we understand that covers everything". The breadth of what literacy meant for Literacy Aotearoa practitioners was thus difficult to communicate which, arguably, had ramifications for the organisation's publicity, and undermined the potential for more deliberative publicity (Habermas, 1989) that would have been able to clearly debate the usefulness of the nodal point "literacy" in labelling learners' needs. These comments demonstrate the challenges in engaging with an expansive literacy discourse in that, although this differentiated discourse certainly helped the organisation to appeal to diverse learner groups and communicate with the state, the topic of "literacy" was a confusing one for some.

Students identified difficulties with the signifier "literacy" in two main ways. Firstly, in interviews and focus groups I found it difficult to engage students on what literacy meant for them. A Literacy Aotearoa employee suggested that it was because when asked what literacy meant, students may have thought they had to come up with a "flash answer". Another possible reason for this can be discerned from research conducted by the Massey University Literacy and Employment research group (Murray et al., 2007) which found that literacy did not connect in some learners minds' with their experiences in the programmes they were on.

Secondly, there is evidence in some of my interviews that some learners internalised a deficit learner identity which arguably compounded the difficulty of publicising the signifier "literacy" because of the stigma associated with literacy provision. Learners articulated that they "were dumb at school", "had known failure", and were "not very bright". Like

the Literacy and Employment Research Group's findings (Murray, 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006) and Tett's (2007) research, failure at school was often identified by learners as an individual problem rather than as part of wider, structural inequalities. Thus student articulations of the stigmatising effect of literacy were identified as a barrier to literacy. The internalisation of this deficit identity by learners indicated that the key signifier "literacy" could have worked to alienate, rather than engage, student audiences as some may find it difficult or painful to identify with a signifier they found stigmatising.

The stigmatising effects of literacy were also identified by workers at Literacy Aotearoa. One tutor commented;

> There is still such a massive stigma about admitting that you've got literacy issues. I think people would rather admit to being a paedophile. It is just astounding how ashamed and embarrassed people are, it's quite extraordinary.

The starkness of the use of the metaphor "paedophile" illuminated just how ostracised some learners felt. It should be noted, though, that this deficit discourse was not universal and some students critiqued mainstream educational provision and identified literacy as a right that they were entitled to. There were comments from students such as "[on the numbers of adult literacy students in programmes] it makes our education system not look good doesn't it?" and "it is a right, we have, to literacy education". However, the propensity for confusion around the signifier "literacy" and some students' identification with a deficit approach indicated that the hegemonic articulation of literacy influenced Literacy Aotearoa's students and potential students because learners may not want to be associated with such a stigmatising 'brand' as literacy.

The signifier "literacy" did have salience with some students, however, especially when it was equivalenced with "confidence". Confidence was one of the most common benefits of adult literacy programmes nominated by students alongside reading and writing. This reflected findings in other research (Murray et al., 2007; Tett, 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006). A student explained:

> I think it's just being in the course itself that gave the confidence to get up there and speak. Most of us when we first came here to speak, no-one wants to get up and speak in front of everybody but then after a while everyone has a turn and like when we do reading, everyone has a turn and you get to gain more confidence that way and before you know it you're just speaking in front of everybody.

Some tutors and students stated in interviews that they liked the term, "literacy". However, for both tutors and learners, a broader understanding of literacy usually came *after* attending classes or training. For example, one student said, "I didn't really understand what literacy covered until I came into this course. So a lot of them [potential students] wouldn't have an idea [what literacy meant]".

In one of my interviews, comments from a Literacy Aotearoa worker suggested that the contested nature of the nodal point "literacy" could be useful in engaging with deliberative debate about the benefits of literacy provision. They said "it [literacy] doesn't have a common understanding and that's, that's not necessarily a bad thing". The worker went on:

Irrespective of how people see literacy, it gives you an opportunity to discuss what it is. So if you see it as all encompassing, if you see it as reading, writing, speaking, critical thinking, problem solving, blah, blah blah. If you think of it that way then you can have a different conversation. But if you said 'oh no it's just about reading and writing' we could still have a conversation about how much more of reading and writing it is and when are we talking about just reading the word or are we also talking about the world? And you know, which part of that is literacy and which part are bottom lines? I mean that's why I think the word literacy is useful because it gives you the opportunity to [discuss its meaning] and it's a lot easier than saying reading, writing, critical thinking, problem solving and speaking and listening. You know, it's a nice neat little word.

In this quotation, the practitioner demonstrated reflexiveness on the "brand value" of literacy as a signifier of a variety of social problems. They said in the interview that perhaps "fixing up poverty" would be helpful, rather than concentrating on literacy.   There was an acknowledgement that literacy was a useful signifier in linking needs, but was not a "privileged point of access to 'the truth'" (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985/2001, p. 192): instead, it was interlinked with other complex social demands such as poverty. This sort of reflexivity was probably much easier to articulate in an interview setting than in more formal publicity designed to engage with learners' needs, or indeed other audiences such as the state. As discussed previously, the logics of branding increasingly articulated by nonprofit organisations made it difficult to open up discussions such as that suggested by the Literacy Aotearoa worker above. Instead, the compulsion of branding logics was to provide a universalised, total solution to its audiences' demands. This meant that although a pluralised account of literacy needs was possible, as a variety of social demands can be articulated through the answer of "literacy", a more expansive discussion was less likely in formalised and

marketised publicity, as this would have to challenge the very construction of the brand's privileging of "literacy".

In summary, this section has shown how Literacy Aotearoa articulated an increasingly pluralistic discourse on literacy in order to reach diverse audiences, including learners, the state, and business. It also demonstrated that the organisation continued to use the nodal point of "student-centred" alongside "literacy" in order to maintain its mission of increasing meaningful access for learners. The section also discussed the challenges of engaging with dominant literacy discourses. Like the previous eras, there was the risk that a deficit learner identity was publicised, or perceived to be publicised. In addition, Literacy Aotearoa, even after 30 years, still faced the stigmatised perceptions associated with literacy provision and the challenges this presented in engaging with learners' public spheres and sedimented identities.

7.4 Treaty-based identity and reaching diverse learners

Following the restructuring of the organisation in 1998 to better articulate a Treaty-based identity, Literacy Aotearoa faced a state policy in the 2000s that attempted to neutralise race-based need (Humpage, 2008). However, at the same time the formation of the Māori party in 2004 potentially opened up opportunities for organisations like Literacy Aotearoa to identify with Treaty-based discourses. In this time period, Literacy Aotearoa developed its strategy to use a Treaty-based identity to not only reach Māori, but to ensure many peoples were represented in its publicity.

The redesign of Literacy Aotearoa's logo in 2000 to incorporate prominent Māori signifiers and iconic Māori images, used on Literacy

Aotearoa's website shown below, were examples of the importance of Māori imagery in the organisation's publicity during the time period discussed here.

Figure 9: *Literacy Aotearoa logo (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2009b)*

Figure 10: Website and brochure graphic (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2009b)

However, as noted in section 7.2 above, Literacy Aotearoa's Treaty-based identity had been a site of tension between the organisation and its advertising agency. In an interview for this research, the advertising professional commented;

> We've debated some pretty interesting topics, some pretty tough topics about the degree of Treaty-based stuff that they have in their communication. And we explained to them the way that middle New Zealand feels and the way that we have to be careful and sensitive in the way we communicate that and they just blew that

straight out of the door and told me to piss off and that I was a redneck and we were going to go ahead the way we were going, which is what we did. And they were right really, they were right.

The idea that a rights-based logic for Māori, couched in the logic of the Treaty of Waitangi, was antithetical to the needs of "middle New Zealand" was indicative of the debates referenced in chapter three where particular Māori rights were opposed to the universal rights of *all* New Zealanders (Zepke, 2009). What is particularly interesting about the quotation above is that although the intensity of Literacy Aotearoa's Treaty-based identity is cited as a source of tension between the organisation and the advertising professionals, according to the representative cited here, this tension has been resolved, with the agency being the party that had conceded. Their design of the website images above was evidence of how the agency had accepted, and indeed helped create, a Treaty-based identity for the organisation as a form that would appeal to diverse audiences.

This concession by the advertising agent should also be set against the backdrop of the increased salience of Māori imagery in advertising and wider organisational publicity in Aotearoa New Zealand (Earl, 2005; Thurlow & Ailello, 2007). As discussed in chapter three, Māori images were not necessarily indicators of a radical Māori rights discourse, since they were often incorporated into the status quo (Earl, 2005). This incorporation of Māori needs within advertising as part of a rhetorical emphasis on diversity of *needs,* and not as a result of their position as Indigenous peoples with unique *rights and privileges,* was also reminiscent of the dilution of Māori rights-based needs at a state policy level (Humpage, 2008). This meant that for Literacy Aotearoa "inclusion" was a key signifier of third-way social policy and a (restricted) diversity of needs was encouraged in state policy documents (Humpage, 2008). However, challenges to the status quo through claims

that Māori had special rights as Indigenous peoples and within the Treaty of Waitangi were largely disregarded in state policy (Humpage, 2008).

Although Māori images were publicised prolifically by the organisation in this time, workers in Literacy Aotearoa sometimes felt restricted in their articulation of Māori literacy needs. A Literacy Aotearoa worker commented on why they did not use human colours in the figures of the man and woman that appeared on the website and on brochures:

> We never used the real brown because I thought that just made us look too brown, you know, and there is always that perception. So we don't want to only look brown, we want to look brown and whatever other colours there are. So we never used brown, I don't think. We used green and yellow instead which are non-human colours […] the motive is to still [to be] New Zealand-like but not too much one culture over and above another. I don't know if we pulled that off particularly well, but people enjoy the pictures.

The quotation above shows how Literacy Aotearoa ensured they publicised images that identified multiple cultures, in recognition that Māori images in publicity may mean for some audiences, that the organisation was *only* targeting Māori. Māori participation was still a key issue for tertiary education (Ministry of Education, 2001) and, as suggested above, the formation of the Māori party opened up opportunities for the organisation to connect with discourses that promoted self-determination. Therefore, identifying Māori as a key audience (but as one of many audiences) would not, necessarily, have been problematic in the state's eyes, but *how* this was articulated had to be reconciled with the dominant notion that a Treaty-based organisation only focused on Māori needs. These images, which demonstrated a

conscious desire to articulate an identity that could be linked with a diversity of cultures, thus illustrated Literacy Aotearoa's extension of the publicity strategy identified in the previous chapter that sought to reconcile Māori literacy needs with the literacy needs of *all* New Zealanders.

In further examples of how Literacy Aotearoa continued this discourse of equivalencing Māori literacy needs with the needs of a diverse audience, its *Annual Report 2000* (Literacy Aotearoa, 2001) stated that the concepts of Tino Rangatiratanga and Manaakitangata, or self-determination and hospitality, were useful in meeting all peoples literacy needs. This claim can be seen as activated by social justice logics in that Literacy Aotearoa was keen to publicise that no groups would be left out of their provision. At the same time, by emphasising that their Māori structures were inclusive of other identities, they publicised that the organisation was not intending to be divisive. This again demonstrated the organisation's increasing logic of difference that encapsulated a significant range of literacy needs and was cognisant of potential opposition to an organisation that appeared to be only responding to race-based need.

At the same time as equivalencing all New Zealanders' literacy needs, the organisation still engaged in critique of how some students experienced structural barriers to literacy, including racism. This statement to the *New Zealand Herald* that was written to correct some details in a story the paper published:

> For those who missed out on education earlier in their lives – whether through economic constraints, marginalisation, *institutional racism* [emphasis added]*,* ill-health or any of the other factors which limit access to far too many people – adult and

community education provides an opportunity to address that loss of learning. In other words, adult and community education is synonymous with social empowerment. (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2009c, p. 1)

By mentioning racism as a potential cause of missing out on education first time round, the organisation posited critical claims about power relations in Aotearoa New Zealand society. These were mentioned alongside more individualised barriers to literacy reminiscent of those used in the early days of the adult literacy movement. Therefore, Literacy Aotearoa publicised different literacy needs that recognised both structural and individualised barriers to literacy. This was a useful strategy in publicising a variety of barriers that learners may be able to identify with. Feeley (2005) suggested that literacy agencies that depend on a 3Rs discourse to engage learners may alienate those who could identify with a discourse that more clearly identified a critical account of literacy. Literacy Aotearoa can be seen here to be engaging with a variety of different literacy perspectives, which, I suggest would have been useful in remaining responsive to multiple learners' needs.

As noted in the previous chapter, Literacy Aotearoa continued to activate a human rights logic alongside the need for Māori literacy. For example, the theme for Literacy Aotearoa's annual planning hui in 2005 was "Critical difference" in which Māori lawyer and activist Moana Jackson presented on the need to acknowledge Māori knowledge as a rights issue (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2005c).

Despite the publicity that communicated a Treaty-based ethos, many participants interviewed for this research were concerned that Māori were not being reached by the organisation. All ngā poupou interviewed said that they wanted to do more to reach Māori students. The national

office had been responding to this need as part of its Poupou Mentoring Project (Support Services and Evaluation Team Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2008). Of those that were either working toward the targeting of Māori, or already had strategies in place, all workers nominated relationship building as integral to reaching Māori audiences. This was compared with other, more general communication work. Below, a co-ordinator describes how the poupou she worked for tried to work closely with iwi, urban Māori groups and Pasifika groups. Comparing this form of publicity to other communication work, they said:

But it's different to what I would call the mainstream way of putting a notice in the paper, calling people to a meeting, inviting people to participate, advertising a service which might be done through the media in one form or the other.

As previously emphasised, the publicity most helpful in directly targeting Māori was based on networking, word of mouth and collaboration. These efforts by Literacy Aotearoa practitioners to reach learners in their own public spheres meant that although Māori learners were identified as difficult to reach by the workers, these workers also went to some lengths to acknowledge that the organisation could indeed be hard to reach. Hannon et al. (2003) discussed this notion of the literacy organisation as hard to reach in a UK context. This type of publicity was most likely more able to be flexible enough to accommodate and respond to the particular individual and social needs of (potential) learners.

In summary, despite an ambivalent articulation of race-based need at a state level, Literacy Aotearoa publicised Māori literacy needs in various ways which demonstrated its desire to appeal to Māori audiences, a learner group that was deemed by practitioners as relatively hard to

reach. Demonstrating its flexibility to communicate with a wide variety of audiences, the organisation articulated Māori literacy needs as equivalent to the needs of all New Zealanders, but was still cognisant of the structural impediments to Māori literacy aspirations. Māori students were identified as relatively hard to reach by workers, but there was evidence of practitioners using their networks to engage more intimately with the Māori learners' public spheres. The data also indicated that this publicity work was fairly labour intensive and complex and required time and resources, which practitioners identified as fairly tight, especially at ngā poupou level.

7.5 Workplace literacy: A new/old forum for engaging learners

This section discusses how Literacy Aotearoa used a new focus on workplace literacy in its publicity, arguing, like previous periods, that providing workplace literacy opportunities would help improve access to literacy programmes for diverse audiences. This section also reflects on the challenges of engaging with state and business discourses that, although increasingly recognising the benefits of adult literacy, were also limited in their recognition of wider literacy needs (Isaacs, 2005).

Literacy Aotearoa publicised its workplace literacy services prominently during the period covered in this chapter (1999 to 2009). Given that the last chapter discussed how ARLA Workbase, the workplace literacy arm of ARLA, split from the latter organisation before the re-launch of ARLA as Literacy Aotearoa, workplace literacy was thus a new literacy demand for the new organisation. This demonstrated the broadening of Literacy Aotearoa's literacy services and an easier accommodation of both workplace and community-based literacy within the same organisation. The workplace literacy initiatives it developed during this time included literacy training for Modern Apprentices and literacy

training within workplace settings, at ngā poupou premises and within employees' own homes.

A narrow focus on workplace literacy was criticised by authors during this period, like previous periods, for assuming a deficit literacy model where workers with insufficient literacy skills have to be brought up to a particular standard in order to improve productivity and economic outcomes for the business (see, for example, Farrell, 2001). However, authors such as Cowan (2006) argued that basic literacy skills were essential for access to fair employment and a good quality of life. In addition, some authors have argued that literacy skills taught in the workplace generally transfer into other spheres of life such as family and community involvement (Cochrane et al., 2005; Sligo et al., 2009).

Literacy Aotearoa practitioners interviewed for this research justified workplace literacy provision, and associated publicity, in that they helped widen participation in literacy programmes, and thus were commensurate with the organisation's student-centred approach. For example, this worker commented:

> What we sold them is it's 'and'. It's not 'you're now going to leave community [literacy programmes] behind, your voluntary and community provision', it's 'and. And that absolute fact that 80 per cent of the people in your community with literacy needs are in the workplace'.

The quotation above is interesting for two specific reasons. Firstly, the worker identified that at least some poupou had to be "sold" the idea of providing workplace literacy, which hinted at some opposition to these services. The marketised inflection of "sold" was used to describe how

ngā poupou were persuaded to adopt workplace literacy programmes. Secondly, it exemplified the point made above that Literacy Aotearoa publicised workplace literacy in an effort to reach a wide range of students, because most of those the organisation wanted to target were in the workforce, so the intimation was that workplace literacy would be a good way to reach them. This is similar to the strategy ARLA used in the 1990s, which was discussed in chapter six. Because of the state's increased attention and funding for workplace literacy, and as the organisation became more aware of its limitations in meeting diverse literacy needs in a community-based setting, workplace literacy became even more compelling for the organisation in this time period.

Practitioners identified Māori and Pasifika students as particular groups of learners that the organisation could better engage with in the workplace rather than in community-based literacy programmes. One worker mentioned that workplace literacy was a good way to target Māori and Pasifika learners. They went on to explain why it was difficult to get New Zealanders to come to community programmes (which are mostly run during the working day): "When I first started working here six or seven years ago, our demographic was different. We had more Māori and Pacific Island and Kiwi born and bred, but all those people got jobs."

In addition to being able to reach more audiences through workplace literacy publicity, Literacy Aotearoa could also reconcile its services with a third-way discourse which meant meeting social and economic needs. In the cover letter to a glossy, professionally produced information pack used to target businesses with the aim of gaining sponsorship (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2003), Literacy Aotearoa stated, "Literacy leads to: increased production, improved worker performance, increased worker participation, less 'down time', increased bottom line results, improved social outcomes". The pack went on to state;

Adult literacy is considered to be vital to the economic and social wellbeing of developed countries. Of particular concern for New Zealand is the high concentration of adults who experience difficulties in accessing and providing written information; in short, responding to the literacy demands of everyday life. (p. 4)

This quotation demonstrated how the organisation made the "literacy demands of everyday life" equivalent to "the economic and social wellbeing" of the country. Hamilton and Pitt (2009) argued that a discourse that advocates literacy as important for the national economy implies that if the adult literacy learner is not participating, s/he is a drain on the economy. However, Literacy Aotearoa problematised a straightforward connection between literacy and economic and social wellbeing by stating that this relationship "is considered". In addition, the second sentence above did not reference work issues at all. The signifier "Everyday literacy demands" is wider than just workplace literacy needs which demonstrated how Literacy Aotearoa was careful to publicise multiple literacy needs, even when publicising to business.

In the interviews conducted for this research, some Literacy Aotearoa workers, especially within ngā poupou, were anxious that an increased emphasis on workplace literacy, even within community-based settings, could occlude the literacy needs of those who may never be "work ready". Chapter three discussed how, in 2009, the Tertiary Education Commission announced changes to its foundation-learning funding pool in that literacy learning was to focus on work and "work ready skills". One worker stated: "The changes will probably mean that some people will either get less hours than they need, or get left out altogether. I'm really not sure who else could serve these people. And that is worrying. Will they get left out all together?". This quotation demonstrated a fear

that the social justice logic that Literacy Aotearoa tried to progress through increasing access to literacy provision was being hampered by limited funding and demonstrated, again, Literacy Aotearoa's internal deliberations about challenging the state's narrow account of workplace literacy skills.

In addition, some Literacy Aotearoa practitioners, especially those working in rural settings, argued that community-based provision in out-reach schemes such as programmes ran in association with other community organisations was a better way than workplace literacy to target rural learners, who were generally considered by workers as hard to reach. This demonstrated that networking and collaborative publicity worked well to target this hard-to-reach group. However, in the same sense, there was also evidence that rural learners had participated in literacy provision through Modern Apprenticeships and had found out about this literacy provision through the publicity networks between industry training organisations, unions, employers, and Literacy Aotearoa. Thus, the publicity networks between Literacy Aotearoa and other organisations were important in reaching learners. However, it should be noted that Sligo (2012) argued that the funding of literacy provision within New Zealand Aotearoa Modern Apprenticeships was inadequate and more funding was required if tutors were to be able to better attend to the literacy needs of apprentices outside their workplace.

Literacy Aotearoa thus rejected an antagonism between workplace and community literacy, instead constructing workplace literacy as a complement to community literacy in targeting learners deemed difficult to reach. The relative ease in which workplace literacy was able to be promoted by Literacy Aotearoa alongside its community-based provision, compared to the relative unease expressed by practitioners in the last time period, suggests that learners and, perhaps indeed, all citizens' identities had become further impacted by the importance of

being work-ready. However, Literacy Aotearoa used workplace literacy as a channel to reach learners, and continue to work within the malleable marketised structures in publicising its student-centred account.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter argued that Literacy Aotearoa continued its strategy of a pluralistic literacy discourse, trying to articulate many literacy needs in order to suture a counter-hegemonic literacy discourse that both took account of the wider hegemonic functional literacy discourse, but was also able to challenge it. The increased professionalisation of Literacy Aotearoa's publicity meant that it was able to expand and diversify its identity and meet the needs of a wider variety of learners at the same time as appealing to the state as a legitimate and credible recipient of state funds. Low key publicity needs such as word of mouth and networking were most successful in targeting students. The people with the most expertise in this publicity are learners and tutors.

However, publicity practices were rarely funded and those which target hard-to-reach learners were particularly labour-intensive and complex. Thus Literacy Aotearoa workers found learners such as Māori, Pasifika, rural and long-term unemployed learners relatively hard to reach. There was evidence of how practitioners used networking and outreach provision in order to better ensure that the organisation was less hard to reach. This chapter also described how, as in other periods, publicity was limited by a fear of inadequate funding because practitioners again expressed a fear that "too much" publicity would increase learners' requests for teaching that they could not meet within a tight funding environment.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This thesis began by asking how a nonprofit, social-justice-based organisation, such as Literacy Aotearoa, publicised in a time increasingly marked by the marketisation of both publicity, and adult literacy provision. I argued that Literacy Aotearoa, since its beginnings in the early days of the adult literacy movement, both articulated and challenged a narrow 3Rs hegemonic literacy discourse by emphasising that provision should be focused on student needs. By publicising student-centred literacy provision, which engaged learner, state and business public spheres, Literacy Aotearoa was able to progress its position as a leading adult literacy provider, reaching multiple and diverse students. I examined how Literacy Aotearoa engaged with sedimented social logics such as welfarism, meritocratic liberal humanism, human rights, and then competition and new public management, as the demands of publicity practices changed over time.

I discussed the challenges that the case study organisation experienced in engaging with dominant narrow literacy discourses and a hegemonic notion of the deficit learner. The pervasiveness of these discourses compelled the organisation to engage with common-sense notions of literacy provision in order to persuade learners and funders about the need for adult literacy provision.

This chapter summarises key points from the above findings and discusses how this research contributes to the adult literacy and publicity literature reviewed in chapters two and three. In addition, I also provide a more rigorous account of the suggestions for future practice and the implications the thesis findings have for adult literacy state policy. I also go on to list the study's limitations and reflect on the methodology used, before giving suggestions for future research.

8.2 Summary of chapters and main findings

The thesis began by asking how nonprofit organisations practised social-justice-based publicity during a time when professionalised practices and marketised influences, such as competitive and outcome-based funding were becoming increasingly dominant in the sector. The case study organisation, Literacy Aotearoa was chosen because of its social-justice-based mission to ensure access to critical literacy programmes, and, especially, its commitment to a Treaty-based organisational model. The Aotearoa New Zealand context was seen as a particularly interesting case because of the radical welfare reforms rolled out in the 1980s and 1990s (Kelsey, 1995).

Chapter two explored the publicity, nonprofit and adult literacy literature relevant to the case study. This review summarised the overall changes to the public sphere as publicity had become increasingly subject to marketisation processes. This had arguably affected participation in the mainstream public sphere as some groups were more likely to participate in debates on social problems than others (Fairclough, 1993; Habermas, 1989). The literature review found that in the nonprofit sector publicity had become increasingly professionalised in light of technological changes in publicity practices and as nonprofit organisations were compelled to compete for funding (see, for example, Bennett, 2008; Griffiths, 2005; Jantz, 2008). One of the main problems associated with a competitive funding regime was that some nonprofit service-users could be left out of provision because they are not seen to attract funding (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004).

When these issues were explored in adult literacy literature, the problems became increasingly complex. It has been argued that those

learners "most in need" were underrepresented in participation statistics (Irish, 1980; Quigley, 1997; Sligo, Culligan et al., 2006). At the same time there was also debate in the literature about the normativity of literacy participation. Quigley (1997) argued that participation should not be necessarily seen as a "good thing" and *learners* should be able to decide whether literacy provision is relevant for them. Quigley (1990) and Sandlin and Clark (2009) argued that practitioners should be cognisant of their agencies' contribution to a deficit account of adult literacy in publicity. Research has also discussed the multiple barriers literacy learners faced in accessing provision (Darkenwald, 1980; Murray et al., 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006), including the stigma associated with literacy (Murray et al., 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006). In addition, research in the UK (Hannon et al., 2003) raised the possibility that instead of learners being hard to reach, perhaps organisations should be conceptualised as difficult to find. In research in Aotearoa New Zealand, Sligo, Culligan et al. (2006) argued that the introduction of competitive funding had limited agencies' ability to publicise to their full potential because of a lack of funds and restricted ability to engage in long-term planning.

Further barriers to adult literacy organisations' ability to reach learners were revealed as previous research had shown that adult literacy practitioners sometimes identified a fear that if they engaged in "too much" promotional work, they may be unable to meet demand (Hamilton & Hillier, 2006). Hamilton and Pitt (2011) acknowledged the problems of positively publicising literacy learners' needs as they were an already-stigmatised group. Alongside these pragmatic problems in adult literacy publicity, there were also important contextual issues such as debate on the ability of reconciling critical and functional literacy discourses. Authors such as those from a social practice point of view argued that there was the possibility of "critical functional literacy" (see, for example, Gale, 2008). Sligo et al. (2012) used the term "liminal literacy" to try to shift thinking about adult literacy training participants

away from deficit conceptualisations to viewing them in a position of strength where they drew on two worlds – their existing oral and communal competencies and, simultaneously, a print skills framework. I discussed how Literacy Aotearoa and its precursor organisations had to devise ways to network between the public spheres and lifeworlds of its different audiences in order to understand the required literacy needs and publicity practices.

Chapter three expanded this literature review by exploring the context of Aotearoa New Zealand's state policy on adult literacy. This chapter described the development of state policy on adult literacy from the 1970s, when it was not recognised as a need, to the 2000s, when adult literacy provision was mentioned in various state policies. Following other countries such as the UK and the US, adult literacy policy had linked literacy to the national need to participate in the knowledge economy and upskill the workforce. This, authors argued, had largely occluded important areas such as Māori literacy needs (Isaacs, 2005; Sligo, Culligan et al., 2006).

Chapter four outlined methodological frameworks for data collection, ethical considerations, and data analysis. It introduced Laclau and Mouffe's (Laclau, 1990, 1996, 2004, 2005; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985/2001) Discourse Theory as a methodological framework for analysing Literacy Aotearoa's publicity. Drawing on Glynos and Howarth's (2007) more empirically-based articulation of Laclau and Mouffe's work, this chapter argued that this theory was well-placed to account for the changes and continuities in adult literacy publicity. It also helps to identify the challenges Literacy Aotearoa encountered in its publicity as a result of the structuring effects of processes such as marketisation. A framework of social and political logics was introduced to illuminate how Literacy Aotearoa's publicity was changed and sustained.

Chapter five found that the early adult literacy movement articulated professionalised and formalised logics to form a coherent organisational identity so it could request state funding for adult literacy as a "new" social demand. Alongside these professionalised and formalised publicity methods, the organisation also publicised in more low-key ways such as word of mouth that were designed to engage students' needs in their own public spheres. The nodal point (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985/2001) of "student-centred" was used as a key knitting point to ensure the organisation stayed close to students' needs at a time when it also needed to formally present as an organisation eligible for funding. This chapter went on to discuss how the early movement both challenged and extended commonly-held assumptions of meritocracy and liberal humanism in an appeal to the need for adult literacy provision as a human right.

I also discussed how the movement rearticulated and extended a 3Rs literacy discourse to make literacy provision relevant for state and learners' needs and that it engaged with sedimented literacy notions as the magical solution to some of the state's problems at the time. I examined the challenges the movement had in engaging with dominant deficit learner discourses as it had to appeal to a recognisable "need" to argue for adult literacy funding. However, I identified how tutors used internal publicity to engage in wider and more complex debates about literacy provision which were difficult to explore in external publicity focused on raising funds.

Chapter six discussed how the case study organisation, now formalised as ARLA, maintained its student-centred identity in publicity despite radical social and economic restructuring which disrupted the previously sedimented welfare state (Kelsey, 1995). This chapter showed how

ARLA more deeply engaged with a student-centred mission by re-formalising into a Treaty-based organisation. Its new identity was designed to acknowledge Māori as Tangata Whenua, *and* meet the critical literacy needs of *all* New Zealanders. The organisation thus equivalenced (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985) diverse literacy needs in its Treaty-based approach, challenging the popular conception that the Treaty was only about Māori needs.

The chapter examined how the organisation used workplace literacy as a way to reach diverse learners, and how it took advantage of the state's increased interest in workplace literacy to engage with the possible negative consequences of the labour market restructuring occurring at the time. ARLA was careful in its publicity to emphasise that workplace literacy was one of various sites of literacy practice. However, the tensions between workplace and community-based provision proved too great when the organisation restructured in the late 1990s. Pervasive deficit discourses of adult literacy were again evident in the organisation's publicity at the time, but like previous eras, the organisation articulated the nodal point "student centred" and engaged in strategic networking at a national and local level to ensure it still responded to adult literacy learners, amidst social and economic changes at the time. This chapter identified how ARLA and Literacy Aotearoa used a human rights approach which was different from that evidenced in previous years, as the effects of structural inequalities on literacy levels and literacy provision were more clearly identified. I argued that ARLA's publicity practices were enabled by the expertise of both tutors and learners in their relative situated public spheres, alongside a national office that was best placed to engage with state and national business needs. This publicity work was labour intensive. The worker's and learner's commitment to broaden Literacy Aotearoa's reach meant that the organisation was able to continue to meet diverse literacy needs.

Chapter seven discussed the increased professionalisation of Literacy Aotearoa's publicity which overlapped with the transformation of its formalised publicity over time. Like earlier periods, this formalised and professionalised publicity was identified by practitioners as useful in raising awareness about the need for literacy provision. At the same time, community-based publicity that focused on engaging more intimately in learners' public spheres was more useful in connecting with learners' needs. The chapter continued earlier discussion of how the organisation both rearticulated (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985/2001) and challenged a 3R literacy discourse, which it strategically used to engage with audiences. However, Literacy Aotearoa's need to challenge this discourse was more pronounced in this period as state policy became increasingly interested in adult literacy but emphasised workplace literacy, in comparison to a more holistic acknowledgement of different forms of literacy practices. This chapter showed how Literacy Aotearoa developed its role as a "critical friend" to the state by responding and contributing to state policy. In these submissions it recognised workplace literacy as an important way to reach learners' needs, but argued that workplace skills were not the only literacy components that should be provided for.

In this chapter, new limitations to the organisation's potential emerged as practitioners argued that too much time was taken up with accountability procedures rather than the labour-intensive work of reaching and communicating with potential learners, or networks that would lead them to new learners. Historical challenges to empowering literacy publicity resurfaced during this period, such as the stigma associated with literacy needs and a fear that publicity would drive a demand that the organisation could not meet given the funding structures in place. Practitioners demonstrated a reflexive awareness of why learners may not engage with literacy provision. They used their networks, at both national and local levels, to get to know audiences' public spheres.

Throughout all the time periods, the case study organisation maintained a diversified approach to literacy, but it progressively expanded its approach in the time period examined. In its publicity, it appealed to both commonly-held assumptions of the learner and a more reflexive standpoint that located learners as agents of literacy practices. From the mid-1990s, the organisation publicised a more visible articulation of a Treaty-based identity that responded to the needs of *all* New Zealanders. In addition, the organisation nominated workplace literacy as a new site in which a greater range of learners could be targeted. Throughout all the studied periods, the case study organisation's publicity (and in the latter period, interviews with participants) illustrated two main challenges to its publicity practices. The first was the stigma associated with literacy provision, and the second was the fear that too much publicity would generate too much demand that could not be easily met. This discouraged some practitioners from designing publicity campaigns. In addition, interviews in the latter period identified that a lack of resources for publicity limited the organisation's ability to engage its full potential with literacy students.

Overall, Literacy Aotearoa managed to publicise diverse literacy needs, working within the dominant social logics of each period, but also finding ways to challenge a narrow, hegemonic literacy discourse. They did so with the expert publicity skills of workers and learners, as well as the help of professional communication services. However, funding for publicity practices, and (relatedly) the time available to reach learners were still limited in the 2000s.

Following previous research, (Murray et al., 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006) this thesis showed that those in the best position to be able to publicise adult literacy to learners were learners themselves. This type

of publicity should be encouraged in formalised and less-formalised ways by the organisation and the state. In addition, learners may also be in a better position to publicise an empowering learner identity, as illustrated in interviews for this thesis. These interviews showed that learners were keen to publicise the positive and empowering aspects of literacy programmes such as the relative "safety" they felt when discussing their own literacy needs. More details on specific recommendations are included in section 8.5 and 8.6 below. The thesis also found that more formal publicity had an important role in servicing other communication aims, and that the organisation was always necessarily balancing multiple discourses in its publicity activities. The organisation was shown to have sought formal professional input into its professional publicity but it also had an opportunity to formalise student input into its low-key publicity genres.

8.3 Contribution to research

Few specific studies have been undertaken on adult literacy publicity per se, therefore, chapters two and three identified various streams of both local and international literature that contributed to knowledge about the context of adult literacy publicity. Responding to what is known in nonprofit, adult literacy and publicity research, this thesis used an interdisciplinary approach to find out more about how adult literacy had been publicised in Aotearoa New Zealand in the past 30 years.

This thesis specifically contributes to previous research in several ways. Firstly, adult literacy literature has not, thus far, engaged in longitudinal research that examines adult literacy publicity, and in particular, the problems of engaging in publicity that tries to reconcile the needs of learners and other stakeholders, such as funders. This thesis undertook such research, and discussed how the case study organisation appealed

to commonly-held notions of the adult literacy learner and literacy provision and, at the same time, publicised a more strengths-based and social practice literacy account that put the student at the centre of provision and publicity. In addition, this research looked at how this publicity had changed over time and the costs and challenges involved in engaging with diverse literacy and publicity needs. The analysis suggested that a Discourse Theory approach was helpful in examining how the organisation both utilised and challenged socially and culturally available dominant discourses. Discourse Theory, alongside an approach that conceptualised citizens as existing in multiple and permeable public spheres, meant that the organisation's discursive publicity strategies could be more fully understood.

This study builds on earlier research that has found adult literacy learners as hard to reach (Irish, 1980; Quigley, 1997; Sligo, Tilley et al., 2006). I identified how Literacy Aotearoa used low-key publicity to reach hard-to-reach learners, and also put in place publicity strategies that sought to bring the organisation closer to the learner, in an acknowledgement that adult literacy organisations can also be hard to reach (Hannon et al., 2003). The thesis also found that inadequate publicity funding, and the state's workplace literacy focus, meant that some practitioners felt that some learners were relatively difficult to reach. However, although not analysing participation per se, statistics from Literacy Aotearoa's Annual Reports informed this study that the organisation was reaching a relatively diverse range of learners. Authors identified that there is a need for adult literacy research to reflect on adult literacy organisations' possible contributions to deficit literacy accounts (Quigley, 1990; Sandlin & Clark, 2009). This research fills this gap and identified the stubborn nature of deficit learner identities in adult literacy publicity discourses due to the need to appeal for funds in a public sphere that has inherited a deficit learner account.

Thirdly, this thesis also contributes to on-going discussion of public relations and power (Fawkes & Moloney, 2012) and responds to the call by public relations practitioners to examine the power relationships in society and their influence on public relations practices, especially in terms of who gets "left out" of public relations activities (Motion, 2005). The research presented here contributes to this growing stream of literature from a nonprofit organisation's perspective by looking at the relationships between the sedimented social logics of marketisation, competition and meritocracy with more social-justice-based logics, and contributes to this research by offering Discourse Theory as a new method in this area. In addition, a longitudinal, historically contextualised in-depth study of an organisation's public relations practices is a relatively novel contribution to the public relations literature.

Fourthly, nonprofit organisational literature has identified that marketisation processes, such as making organisations corporate partners in welfare provision and the introduction of a contract culture, have meant that some vulnerable citizens are left out of provision (Alexander et al., 1999; Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004). This thesis tackled this problem by exploring how publicity is implicated in this process and the limitations and opportunities nonprofit organisations have for publicising needs that have been largely occluded from state policy documents. The thesis found that Literacy Aotearoa's ability to target those so-called most vulnerable audiences was mostly due to the commitment of adult literacy practitioners and learners, and that this work was, for the most part, under-funded and under-recognised at a state level at this time.

Previous research in Aotearoa New Zealand has acknowledged literacy's stigma as a barrier to engaging learners (Murray et al., 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006; Tilley, Sligo et al., 2006). This thesis supported

those findings and expanded upon them by highlighting that more marketised publicity targeted to funders, especially the state, did include a possible rearticulation of a deficit learner identity which could have contributed to literacy's stigma. Evidence of this deficit approach, however, lessened in the last time period studied. The organisation was also found to be practising low-key publicity methods which engaged the permeable boundaries of public spheres and promoted a strengths-based approach to adult literacy. In practice, this meant that co-coordinators/managers/tutors/learners based their publicity on their own and others' experiences of adult literacy programmes in order to network within the immediate public spheres they had access to. Later in this chapter I suggest some specific recommendations for how this work could be semi-formalised at an organisational level and supported in state adult literacy policy.

This thesis also contributes to the growing body of literature that utilises Discourse Theory in organisational and marketing theory (Boje & Cai, 2008; Bridgman, 2007; Glynos & Howarth, 2007; Lowrie, 2007). It demonstrated that Discourse Theory can contribute to the field of adult literacy by acknowledging the contingency of adult literacy discourses and the opportunities and limitations for how Literacy Aotearoa publicised within marketised regimes regulated by hegemonic discourses.

8.4 Reflexive methodology and limitations of the thesis

My good intentions, as set out in chapter four of this thesis, to be a reflexive researcher who would maintain being both "critical and engaged" (Bridgman, 2004), were challenged many times during the processes of data gathering and in the writing of the analysis presented here. As described in chapter four, I initiated some formalised feedback mechanisms with Literacy Aotearoa. I discovered, however, that the trust-based relationships I had with the key informants within Literacy Aotearoa were more important than formalised feedback mechanisms in ensuring the rigorousness of the research and the safety of both the researcher and the organisation. I found that despite my best intentions, I rarely made deadlines in our feedback schedule because it took some time for me to be able to find space for all voices in the analysis. I experienced, therefore, to some extent, the tensions that Literacy Aotearoa experienced in trying to reconcile the expectations of differing stakeholders. At the same time as adhering to institutional guidelines for completing a PhD, I had to reconcile my own critical voice alongside ensuring that the publication and dissemination of my findings and analysis relating to Literacy Aotearoa's strategic publicity strategies, would not bring any unforeseen harm to the organisation in light of a competitive, and relatively limited, funding regime. At the same time, I grappled with the recognition that my own discourse also includes its own and stubborn and unreflexive aspects, and that any critical analysis will always be constitutive of dominant discourses.

Law (2007) discussed the "messiness" of social research as it increasingly tries to grapple hands-on with the realities of social problems. Three factors were especially important in the ability to produce a thesis that was as reflexive as possible about the relationship between researcher and participants. Firstly, the process of retroduction (Glynos & Howarth, 2007), as described in chapter four of this thesis,

where theory and data meet each other instead of theory subsuming the data. Secondly, I sought peer review with supervisors and other colleagues. Thirdly, however, and arguably most importantly, the key informants' patience and honesty at Literacy Aotearoa meant that I was able to produce a thesis that did justice to my original research questions.

As identified in chapter two's literature review, there is very little research on the ways nonprofit organisations and, particularly for this research, adult literacy organisations practise publicity in an environment impacted by professionalised publicity and other factors such as competitive funding and a contract culture. It is clear from my experience that this research is challenging and deals with a sensitive and vulnerable area of adult literacy work. This research goes some way in contributing to knowledge in this area, but much more research needs to be undertaken as to how academics research in increasingly contested spaces. Stake (1995, p. 24) summed up the complexities in case study research which I experienced keenly, "In case study work there is abiding tension between the case and the issues. They each demand more time for study than is available".

This thesis acknowledges some more limitations of the study, which point to suggestions for further research discussed below. Firstly, the data sets for each time period took a slightly different form. Contemporary data was more readily available than historical data. In addition, there were more experts on hand to point me in the right direction for specific publicity data in the more current time periods. The interviews conducted in 2009 with current practitioners provided me with more information on up-to-date publicity practices. Some of these interviewees could provide some historical information too, but these accounts were not as in-depth compared with the more recent time period.

Although one student from the 1980s was interviewed, there was little student voice from the earlier periods, given the difficulties of finding previous students. Oral histories like that used in Hamilton and Hillier's (2006) study, in interviewing those involved in earlier movement may have been useful, but given the modest resources supporting this project, this method was left out of the final research plan.

The diversity of students interviewed was limited, also due to the resourcing constraints and the availability of students. This meant that students in community-based programmes were over-represented in contrast with those in workplace programmes. In retrospect, if I had realised the implications of a growing emphasis on workplace literacy in the sector, I may have identified workplace literacy students earlier and thus ensured a better balance of voices in the research. State policy makers were also not recorded in this research. Given the increased salience of adult literacy as a policy need, this could have included policy makers in the relevant government departments and potentially MPs with Tertiary Education and Social Development portfolios.

The chronological structure of this thesis was devised as a way to track the changes to Literacy Aotearoa's publicity over time and to ensure that emphasis was placed on both the continuities and changes in publicity practices. I felt this structure better anticipated the narrative and argumentative design of the project. However, a thematic perspective may have identified the key themes of the project more clearly such as, for example, the stubborn identification of a deficit learner identity.

The thesis did not examine the more intimate or micro-publicity between the tutor and the learner. Although not all communication between the

tutor and learner can be described as publicity, the discussions between these individuals on the benefits and barriers to adult literacy would be useful in furthering this thesis' findings on the adult literacy classroom being a "safe" place to discuss one's literacy practices. This limited the thesis argument of how important student-centred publicity was to the organisation, and the opportunities and challenges in articulating such an approach at the level of this relationship.

I also acknowledge the wider implications and limitations of engaging in a discourse analysis in that the researcher must always see his/herself as within the structuring effects of dominant discourse, and as unable to have a standpoint outside hegemonic discourses. This means that for research such as this, which aims to analyse the impact of hegemonic discourses on adult literacy publicity practices, the researcher too, must acknowledge that they cannot be completely "outside" of what they are analysing.

8.5 Observations for case study organisation

In making recommendations for Literacy Aotearoa's publicity, this thesis acknowledges the limited ability of prediction in the social sciences (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). In addition, this thesis has demonstrated the complex challenges adult literacy organisations face in publicising to their audiences and that these challenges cannot be fixed easily. However, previous research, combined with the historical analysis and voices of practitioners and learners meant that some particular observations can be offered to the case study organisation.

At the time of data collection (2009) there was no formal communication or publicity strategy document at a national level,

although work was being undertaken to write this. This thesis recommends that this work be continued. In addition, as emphasised throughout, there is a strong need for this work to be state-resourced because of its importance for targeting diverse audiences. Publicity strategies should incorporate both professional and more low-key publicity thus legitimising, at a strategic level, the importance of both these categories of publicity.

Building on Literacy Aotearoa's quality assurance measures, *Te Poutama Painga* (Literacy Aotearoa Inc., 2003), each member provider should be encouraged and resourced to design a publicity strategy that builds on both professionalised and low-key publicity practices. Again, this thesis emphasises the need for this work in reaching diverse audiences and multiple literacy needs. In addition, when the membership meet at national and regional hui, publicity work should be given priority in terms of workshops, training and professional development. This work should build on the rich knowledge and skills that exist at local and national levels.

Most Literacy Aotearoa workers interviewed for this research recognised networking and collaboration as key publicity activities, even if not designated as publicity as such. This thesis recommends that this type of publicity should be validated and reinforced throughout the membership as it was found that this type of publicity was useful in targeting hard-to-reach audiences. The difficulty in finding the time and resources to engage in this work is recognised by this thesis and, as mentioned below, state policy and funding should support this important work. These recommendations recognise the high burn-out rates in adult literacy work because of the many complex demands placed on workers (Witherell, 1992, as cited in Sandlin & St Clair, 2005).

Building on the recommendations from previous research in Aotearoa New Zealand (Murray et al., 2007; Sligo, Culligan et al., 2006; Sligo et al., 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006; Tilley, Sligo et al., 2006) and based on the perceptions of tutors and learners, this thesis advocates that adult literacy learners are key people in the publicising of adult literacy programmes to other potential learners. I found that most adult literacy learners interviewed in this thesis were either already publicising the course to their networks or were keen to do so. Many learners identified people in their circles whom they thought would benefit from the course that they were on.   In addition, it appeared that many learners interviewed had heard about the programme they were on from other learners.   Building on the research that recommended learners be formally employed as ambassadors for adult literacy learning, this thesis suggests that these learners are also key people for researching and reporting back on potential learners' needs, in particular, their publicity needs, and could fulfil steering as well as implementation roles.

The recommendation here suggests that the dominant publicity model used should be dialogical in that learners can feed back to the organisation on literacy and publicity needs as well as promote literacy in their social networks.   This model thus recognises multiple and permeable public spheres, as there are diverse ways of practising publicity and "gatekeepers" can, to some degree, travel between spheres. The recommendation also goes some way towards operationalising. This work is clearly already being undertaken in some literacy programmes. Therefore, this study supports the extension and continuation of this work. Getting to know learners in their own social networks was also suggested by TEC (Tertiary Education Commission, 2010a, 2010b). In these resources produced to help practitioners get to know Māori and Pasifika learners, the TEC also pointed out that these particular learners often operate in highly-social networks that demand many roles and responsibilities. Any strategy that thus aims to connect with these networks should also be cognisant of the demands already

placed on busy individuals. This recommendation also acknowledges multiple literacies and that literacy is a social practice (see, for example Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Street, 1984), meaning that the way people learn, use knowledge and communicate is contextual and individuals know best how to communicate about their own practices. However, strategies to more formally acknowledge word-of-mouth publicity should be sensitive to the need for learners to possibly articulate their own publicity in very private settings. More low-key ways of encouraging publicity between learners could include discussion in class about the ways learners publicise in their own public spheres, such as that carried out in focus groups for this thesis. This could encourage word-of-mouth publicity, perhaps in natural, or less pronounced way.

In the most recent time period, Literacy Aotearoa practitioners acknowledged the need to reach Māori and Pasifika audiences. Given the impacts of colonisation on adult literacy provision and publicity reviewed in chapter two and three of this thesis, I suggest that this important publicity requires specific resources. In addition, as Dyall (2006), argued, Māori should be involved in the strategic management of publicity targeted toward them, rather than only at a testing stage. Due to the pressure on many Māori to participate in consultation processes, this thesis strongly argues that this work be recompensed appropriately.

8.6 Observations for state policy

Given the close relationship between Literacy Aotearoa and the state, like that of many nonprofit organisations in Aotearoa New Zealand and elsewhere, it is important to consider the state's role in enabling best publicity practice. In addition, the state's increasing interest in adult literacy provision provides opportunity for research to contribute to adult literacy social policy.

Based on the evidence both in this thesis and elsewhere (Hamilton & Hillier, 2006; Irish, 1980; Murray et al., 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006) that word-of-mouth publicity is the best way to attract hard-to-reach literacy learners, this thesis argues that this work requires state funding. Face-to-face communication, especially with hard-to-reach audiences, is expensive, but successful (Comrie et al., 2002). A publicity strategy that formally recognises this work will help the state fulfil its policy aims of reaching a wider range of learners (Ministry of Education, 2001, 2007). This thesis also found that much of this work has, for some time, been undertaken as unpaid labour by learners and practitioners and that this labour must be recognised in order to prevent burn-out in the sector, which has been previously documented by Witherell (1992, as cited in Sandlin & St. Clair, 2005) and to ensure that the full potential of this work is achieved. Funding for this work should also go some way in recognising the unequal load that, compared with other peoples, Māori and Pasifika often carry in their communities.

A competitive funding regime was found to be especially limiting for Literacy Aotearoa's publicity. This finding supported earlier research in Aotearoa New Zealand that argued that there was insufficient funding for accountability practices (Neilson et al., 2006). The current funding regime and accountability procedures limited Literacy Aotearoa's ability to network and collaborate with other organisations in their own communities and limited the organisation's potential to reach hard-to-reach learners. Funding and accountability procedures for this sector therefore need to take account the complex work practitioners are engaged with and the need for both funding and accountability to be flexible to meet organisation and learners' needs.

8.7 Suggestions for future research

Some of the analysis in this thesis pointed to the need for further research in adult literacy publicity and the nonprofit sector more generally. Based on previous analysis and this study's limitations, this thesis makes the following suggestions for future research.

Further research should analyse learners' word-of-mouth publicity practices in order to better understand how these processes work and so that the strengths of this publicity can be drawn on in future communication strategies. This thesis identified that word-of-mouth publicity was happening between learners, and has been since the 1970s. But more research needs to be undertaken to identify how, where, why, and between whom this publicity is occurring. Again, a critical discourse study, potentially combined with an ethnographic approach would be well placed to identify the themes and tensions in this publicity and also illuminate the wider influences on this publicity. This research would go a step further in working toward a social practice approach that takes account of how literacy learners engage in literacy and publicity practices. It could also track how more formalised publicity, such as advertising, was used by learners and their families and friends. In addition, this research could also be able to more clearly identify if particular groups of learners were being missed out of provision, because word-of-mouth was only circulating in particular public spheres (Hamilton & Hillier, 2006; Tilley, Sligo et al., 2006). The data collection could conceivably be based on ethnographic methods, which would involve interviews with students in their own homes or other private settings if possible.

More research on what constitutes effective messages between learners would be helpful. For example, what messages do learners respond to and find useful? This thesis is suggestive of some themes, such as the "safety" of the classroom, and the direct benefits of literacy programmes such as confidence-raising. Other research which has identified the conduits, or pathways, to literacy (Murray et al., 2007; Tilley, Comrie et al., 2006) could be useful in publicity messages. However, more in-depth work on the word-of-mouth networks and what messages these networks use would be useful in knowing how these benefits could be used in other ways, such as in more formalised publicity.

Research on "successful" messages could also lead-in to further research on adult literacy participation in Aotearoa New Zealand. Although not examining participation, rather the representation of learners and providers, this study indicated that there could be a relationship between Treaty-based organisational models and more diverse participation. The connections between participation and different publicity practices is important to consider if organisations, the state, and academics are to understand more about how dominant, and counter-hegemonic discourses work together to encourage participation. From a critical literacy point of view, the relationships between publicity and participation are also important in promoting learner agency, in that learners are constructed as at the centre of their provision. As part of this research, or as a stand-alone project, a contemporary analysis of adult literacy representation in Aotearoa New Zealand's media could also provide new knowledge about dominant literacy discourses and how they can be contested in a media environment. A Discourse Theory analysis drawing on the social and political logics framework used in this thesis would be ideal in tracking the linkages, and differences in publicity and participation discourses.

Again drawing on the limitations above, future research should investigate the voices of state policy actors so that their perspectives on publicity can be analysed. Like adult literacy practitioners, policy actors are in an interesting position, often working between quite different public spheres such as the state while also drawing on non-state spheres such as the nonprofit sector in order that diverse voices are included in state policy. As much of Literacy Aotearoa's national publicity was targeted to the state in order to raise awareness of adult literacy issues, research on policy actors' perspectives on publicity could illuminate how "connected" adult literacy organisations and the state are.

Autoethnographic research on working in adult literacy publicity would provide more insights into the challenges of this work. Many participants reflected on their publicity work and were able to give useful insights into the tensions they encountered in engaging with different audiences such as learners and the state. Further research would add to these findings and possibly also contribute to the wider literature on nonprofit management. There is evidence in this study that practitioners work long hours on publicity work and use personal networks to progress student and organisational goals. This research could also be useful in understanding more about the health and safety of these workers in aiming to prevent burn-out in the sector. Ethnographic research practices were limited in this thesis because of the fragmented nature of publicity practices. But a more concentrated ethnographic research on a few or, if *auto*ethnographic, on one publicity practitioner would be more economical and effective in terms of resources used. This thesis did not employ Glynos and Howarth's (2007) logics of fantasy in its discourse analysis. These logics are useful in understanding how psychoanalytic frameworks (borrowed from Lacan) provide the "vector" behind discourses, or in other words, how identities are compelled to identify with particular discourses. Therefore, the logics of fantasy could be a suitable framework for analysing practitioners' work.

More research should be undertaken regarding the "messiness" (Law, 2007) of conducting social research in contested spaces. This study looked at how an organisation sought to engage with a variety of different publics, with different, but at times overlapping ideas on what literacy was. Identifying these variations, but at the same time acknowledging the areas of convergence between the organisation and its publics, and indeed *between* its publics, was a complex task that demanded careful consideration of each public's needs and aspirations. Importantly, like the case study organisation, this study aimed to challenge any discourse, like the articulation of a deficit learner identity, which sought to silence other identities. However, like all identities, I was caught in the pervasiveness and limitations of the available language and dominant discourses. Such research dealing with the everyday dilemmas of articulating discourse in a contested field does not often fit neatly within method guidebooks which appear to flow logically from identification of the research question through to data collection and then analysis. The study presented here utilised Glynos and Howarth's (2007) useful process of retroduction, which involved an on-going conversation between the data and the methodology and theory. However, I suggest that more studies should examine and acknowledge the complexities and "messiness" of working with such data in trying to ensure diverse voices are heard in the research and that no-one is harmed, no matter how well-meaning the researcher.

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Appendix 2: Interview and focus group schedule

Semi-structured interview based on the following questions/themes

Interview schedule for Literacy Aotearoa workers

How are you involved (or have been involved) in the production of publicity for this organisation?

Tell me about how you go about this work? What does your day look like?

Who do you work with?

What do you find works in your job?

What do you find difficult in your work? Are there any limitations to your work?

What do you think are the influences on the publicity/communications for this organisation?

Is there anything you would like to do if you had no restrictions on your time/money?

What are the restrictions that stop you doing this?

Are there any audiences that you find particularly hard to reach? If so, why?

Tell me a bit about what you think literacy means to both you, the organisation, and its audiences?

Anything else that we have not covered that you would like to talk about?

Students in adult literacy programmes

Open-ended questions, based on the following themes –

How did you find out about this course/programme?

Is this the only way you heard about it?

Was the information you heard about it accurate? Did it give you a realistic picture of what to expect?

If yes, what was specifically realistic/true to your experience?

If not, what were the differences between what was portrayed in the publicity against the reality of your experience on the course?

What do you think about the way you heard about the course? Is it good? Could it have been done better?

Do you have any suggestions for improvements? Either with the content of the message or the way it was delivered?

Why did you come on this course?

Have you achieved why you wanted to come on this course?

When you hear the word 'literacy' what do you think about?

Following screening of television advertisements, and distribution of posters/brochures, students will be asked the following questions to start off discussion, but questions will be mostly open-ended to facilitate full dialogue.

What are your first impressions/thoughts about this/these adverts? What first springs to mind?

Have you seen them before? If so, when? Were these part of what convinced you to come on this course? If so, why?

What is specifically good or effective about the adverts?

What isn't good or effective?

What do you think gets people onto adult literacy courses?

What prevents people from registering on courses? What prevented you till now?

Do the adverts reflect what happens on your course? If so, what? If not, why and can you think of any way this could be improved?

What do you think about the pictures of the class and people?

What do you think about the words spoken?

What messages do you think should be included in publicity around adult literacy?

Do you have any more thoughts or ideas about how the organization could do publicity differently or better?

Where do you hear about/read about things happening in your community?

Do you know of anyone in your own lives that might be interested in coming along to a course/programme such as the one you are on? Have you already told anyone about it?

Anything else you want to add that we have not covered?

Students will be advised that if they want to talk further about anything that has come up in the interviews, or require further support, the researcher will have details of further support services or they should speak to their tutor who can help them access appropriate services.

Appendix 3: Key dates

1973   Generally regarded as one of the first identified steps toward a networked, community-based adult literacy movement in Aotearoa New Zealand.

1974   Freire visits Aotearoa New Zealand.

1982   Formalisation of adult literacy movement into the Adult Reading and Learning Assistance Federation (ARLA) Federation.

1984   Labour government elected and radical economic reforms are rolled-out by the state.

1986   Waitangi tribunal given increased jurisdiction. This permitted the body to hear Māori claims against the crown from 1840 rather than being limited to contemporary claims as it had been previous to these reforms.

1987   Māori Language Act (1987) passed, recognising te reo Māori as a national language.

1990   Te Whiri Kaupapa Ako, the Māori development arm of ARLA, and ARLA Workbase, the workplace literacy unit of ARLA, are both formed.

        National Party (centre-right) is elected to government.

1996   Workbase forms as an independent organisation from ARLA.

        International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS) is undertaken.

        Mixed Member Parliamentary system is introduced to central government.

1998   ARLA is re-launched as Literacy Aotearoa.

1999   Labour-Alliance led-coalition elected to government.

2001   First state adult literacy policy document *More than words* is published .

2003   Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) formed.

2004   Formation of Māori party.

2006   Adult Literacy and Learning Survey (ALLS) undertaken.

Appendix 4: List of te reo Maori words and expressions used

Definitions taken from *The Raupo dictionary of modern Maori (Ryan, 1995)* and www.maoridictionary.co.nz and from Literacy Aotearoa data sources, when terms needed to be put in context

Aotearoa	New Zealand
hapū	sub-tribe
hīkoi	to step, walk
hui	meeting
Iwi	tribe
kanohi ki te kanohi	face-to-face
mana	integrity, charisma, prestige, formal, status, jurisdiction, power, control
kura kaupapa	Māori language schools
manaakitanga(ta)	hospitality
Māori	Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand
marae	meeting area of whanau or iwi, focal point of settlement, central area of village and its buildings, courtyard
Ngā kete korero	Name for ARLA/Literacy Aotearoa's journal (1995-1999)

ngā poupou	membership
Pākehā	non-Māori, European, Caucasian
tangata whenua	local people, hosts, people of the land, aborigine, native
Tauiwi	Non-Māori not just limited to Pākehā
Te Apiha Kaiwhakahaere o te Motu	National Co-ordinator
te iwi	the iwi or tribe
te poupou	the member
Te Poutama Painga	Name given to Literacy Aotearoa's Quality Assurance Standards
Te tau o te reo	The year of te reo Māori
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	The Treaty of Waitangi
te reo Māori	the Māori language
Te Whiri Kaupapa Ako	Māori development arm of ARLA
tikanga	meaning, custom, obligations and conditions
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination
Tui Tuia	Literacy Aotearoa's internal newsletter (1998 – 2009+)
whakatauki	proverb/saying
whānau	family
wharenui	the main building of a marae, the large house, or meeting house.