MAKING RELATIONSHIPS COUNT.

MEASURING TRUST IN RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN A CATHOLIC DEVELOPMENT AGENCY AND MĀORI COMMUNITIES

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Abstract

Relationships are central to effective outcomes in the international development sector yet, there are very few frameworks or indicators to help measure the quality of trust – as the foundation of relationships. This article describes an emergent framework for evaluating trust in a cross-cultural relationship. It is based on a case study of Caritas Aotearoa New Zealand and its Indigenous tangata whenua partners. Perspectives on monitoring and evaluation (M&E) and measuring trust, are explored from an Indigenous world view. Interviews with five people representing Caritas Aotearoa and two of its Māori partners suggest various types of behaviours that indicate and deepen trust. Through this exploration, culturally competent M&E and the centrality of relationships in expanding evaluation practice is revealed.

Key words*: Monitoring & evaluation frameworks, indicators, Indigenous communities*

Introduction

MOST development organisations design and carry out development programmes based on an approach that is 'managerial' at heart. Since the mid-1990s, virtually all development organisations and funding agencies operate on the basis of so-called logical frameworks, results frameworks or theory-of-change models (Prinsen & Nijhof, 2015; Ringhofer & Kohlweg, 2019). These approaches originate from the same school of thought of programme theory (Funnell & Rogers, 2011), which is essentially predicated on a linear cause-effect thinking (Eyben, 2013). These approaches to 'doing development' exude a managerial approach to societal change processes; an approach that is driven not by the politics of human relations but by predetermined objectives. This approach echoes the thinking of Peter Drucker – "the man who invented management" (Lewis, 1998). Drucker's approach to capitalist corporations was one driven by "managing for results" and "management by objectives" (Drucker, 1964).

Later, this management by objectives moved from the corporate sphere into the public sector with the advent of the so-called New Public Management in the 1980s, when Britain's prime minister Thatcher instructed each government department to explicitly define "their objectives … and indicators" (Carter et al., 2002: 5). Almost inevitably, this managerial thinking eventually found its way into development organisations, often labelled Results-Based-Management. When the United Nation General Assembly adopted the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000, these goals were measured and expressed by 60 indicators. "Results-Based-Management was applied to the MDGs in a very direct fashion" (Hulme, 2010: 20). The current Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have taken this focus on measuring and managing to even

further heights, detailing 232 indicators (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2018).

Of course, this linear cause-effect managerialism in development practice has been criticised sharply and not only because of its instrumental rather than political view of inequalities, but also, and perhaps most fundamental, because it marginalises alternative and Indigenous views and analyses. “The ‘means-end’ target orientation of the logical framework tends to lead to advocacy of “instrumental rationality” and “embeds one particular way of seeing things, and then legitimises or imposes that perspective on those how would see the world differently” (Simpson & & Gill, 2007: 224). In reflecting about how research methods can be used to colonise or decolonise human relations, Tuhiwai Smith criticised the dominant model of managerial or instrumental rationality as “research through imperial eyes” where “understanding is viewed as being akin to measuring” (2012: 42). Against this backdrop, it is not surprising that an increasing number of development policy-makers and practitioners want to be “doing development differently” (Booth et al., 2016). McGregor’s review of religious development organisations, for example, suggests they too display a growing drive to work towards societal change with an explicit attention for “uneven power relationships between developers and recipient communities and the negative impacts development can have upon peoples and places” (2008: 166).

Notwithstanding the (mostly academic) critiques on the managerial approach to development exemplified in logical frameworks, results frameworks, and theory-of-change approaches, virtually all development practitioners find themselves and their partners operating in an environment where funding, publicity and reporting is shaped

by that managerial language of objectives and indicators. This also applies to non-Indigenous development practitioners engaging with Indigenous communities. Besides, even when we want to advocate an approach to development cooperation that is inclusive of, or driven by, Indigenous epistemologies – or perhaps particularly in that case – there can be genuine desire in both parties to explore and measure how their relationship and collaborative action is affecting lived realities. The question, "So what difference does our intervention make?" (United Nations Development Programme, 2009: i) is not necessarily only a mainstream concern.

In fact, while some people would argue that "the current and future role of the non-indigenous researcher is marginal to the 'decolonizing methodologies' agenda" (Wilson, 2001: 217), there are also people who advocate that there may be valuable gains in careful collaboration between Indigenous and non-Indigenous parties. Suaalii Sauni & Fulu Aiolupotea, for example, advocate for "deliberate and mutual sharing and probing of Pacific *and* [italics original] Western epistemologies" (2014: 332). In the experience discussed in our article here, we also believe such cross-cultural collaboration is relevant for a broader and more broadly understood understanding of colonial history and its persistent institutional effects. In this cross-cultural collaboration, the relationship between the two parties is central, arguably both object of and condition for the collaboration.

On the one hand, the centrality of the on-going relationship – and the mutual trust upon which the relationship rests and expands – has been an essential feature of Indigenous research approaches. "Relational mindfulness sets [Indigenous approaches such as]

talanoa apart from Socratic or dialectic methods of discussion or speech" (Tecun et al., 2018: 159). Wehipeihana concurs: "Relationships therefore are not something the evaluator simply pays attention to; they are inextricably linked to engaging with Indigenous people and therefore Indigenous evaluation" (Wehipeihana, 2019: 375). On the other hand, the centrality of trust in cross-cultural relationships is becoming an appreciated feature in the eyes of mainstream development organisations who want to 'do development differently': "There is evidence that trust can be a virtuous cycle under certain conditions, with a trusting relationship … motivating better performance, as well as further trust" (Honig & Gulrajani, 2018: 73).

In the light of these debates about cross-cultural collaboration, this article outlines the findings from a research and learning process, undertaken by one of us as part of a postgraduate degree in Development Studies at Massey University, Aotearoa New Zealand. The research and learning process sought to sketch the features of a framework to identify and appreciate – 'measure'– the elements that express and expand trust in the relationship between a Catholic development agency (Caritas Aotearoa New Zealand) and two Māori communities: the rural community of Parihaka and Te Rūnanga o Te Hāhi Katorika (the national Catholic Māori Council). The findings may also be useful for Canadians working with Indigenous people.

Method

This research is an exploration of meaning behind human behaviours. In searching for insights into complex, dynamic relationships; an overall qualitative methodology was applied, guided by both a case-study and Indigenous approach. As a case study, the research focused on Caritas Aotearoa and its specific relationship with two selected

Māori communities. The study was also informed by a Kaupapa Māori, Indigenous approach with concern towards privileging Māori knowledges and voices. As a non-Māori, I questioned my legitimacy to approach this research and was nervous about how relevant and influential my point of view, beliefs and experience would be in relation to the research context.

This meant first, confronting two key questions; should I even be doing the research and how I should be conducting it? I pondered my own ethnic identity as a middle-aged female Pākehā growing up in Taranaki in the 1970s, when nothing in our school curriculum and community invited learning about the historical significance of Parihaka, just down the road. Through this self-reflection process, I tried to turn my anxiety about the exploitative nature of extracting information for my needs, to a focus on the value this cross-cultural research might contribute. By engaging compassionately, my aim has been to produce research that will enable the participating communities to understand their own contribution to improved evaluation techniques.

In the few years prior to conducting the research, I worked with Caritas as a volunteer media advisor and researcher. It was in this capacity – someone already engaged with the organisation - that I was asked to consider researching their on-going work with their tangata whenua partners. Caritas was interested in how it could use monitoring and evaluation to measure the relationship-building work it was doing and approached me because it was felt my 'insider' position would be reassuring; enabling the participants to talk to me freely and with honesty.

And so, I have been humbled to conduct the research and give voice to the interests of Māori people. With valuable advice from my Māori research partner, a culturally responsive practice was developed. He advised what was acceptable and not acceptable from each community's perspective. His shared language, insight and tikanga was critical to establishing a level of trust and sincerity between myself as researcher and all of the participants. Ultimately, as a non-Māori, I could not say I was doing Indigenous research but I could ensure my approach respected and prioritised the world through their eyes.

The data for this research was collected intermittently between 2016 and 2018. Methods included open-ended, semi-structured interviews and participant observations. Caritas Aotearoa selected the people I would interview in the Māori communities. These people were chosen on the strength of their connection to Caritas and potential to offer unbiased, useful opinions in relation to my topic. I interviewed five people from across three communities:

- **Caritas Aotearoa New. Zealand:**

  Caritas Aotearoa is the Catholic agency for justice, peace and development based in Wellington. Practicing social justice through a Catholic lens, the organisation has 21 full and part-time staff in Wellington and two staff members based in Auckland.

- **Parihaka:**

  Parihaka is a small, rural Māori community situated in South Taranaki between Mt Taranaki and the Tasman Sea. Parihaka is famous for being home to Te

Whiti and Tohu, two visionary Māori leaders who inspired their people towards peaceful resistance during the Taranaki Māori wars of 1860-1869. The legacy of their actions and the principles of non-violence, equality and collective action still inspire the Parihaka community today.

- **Te Rūnanga o Te Hāhi Katorika (national Catholic Māori Council)**

  Te Rūnanga is the national Catholic Māori Council. Its role is to advise the New Zealand Catholic Bishops on matters concerning Māori within the Catholic Church and in society in general. The council has a small executive of six people. It is the primary body of Māori consultation for Caritas.

Conducting face to face interviews in a cross-cultural context highlighted potential power issues. I tried to optimise the opportunity for participants' empowerment and ensure they could see the benefit of the research. The intention was to establish a shared sense of power where they could their input and alternative ways of knowing were valued. One way of reflecting this was to represent their full comments and safely capture the essence of what participants were saying. The interviews were also conducted at a place of their choosing to ensure they felt comfortable. All participants were happy to talk and it was clear it was a topic that they felt passionately about. Both positive comments and some criticism were expressed. For one participant, the questions raised many emotions and some of her answers in return were often abrupt and challenging. As another participant said, "trust is hard" and I felt grateful these people were prepared to share their opinions about something tricky and complex. Their honesty and passionate opinions contributed to the richness of the data. A small koha was offered to the all participants in appreciation of their time and input.

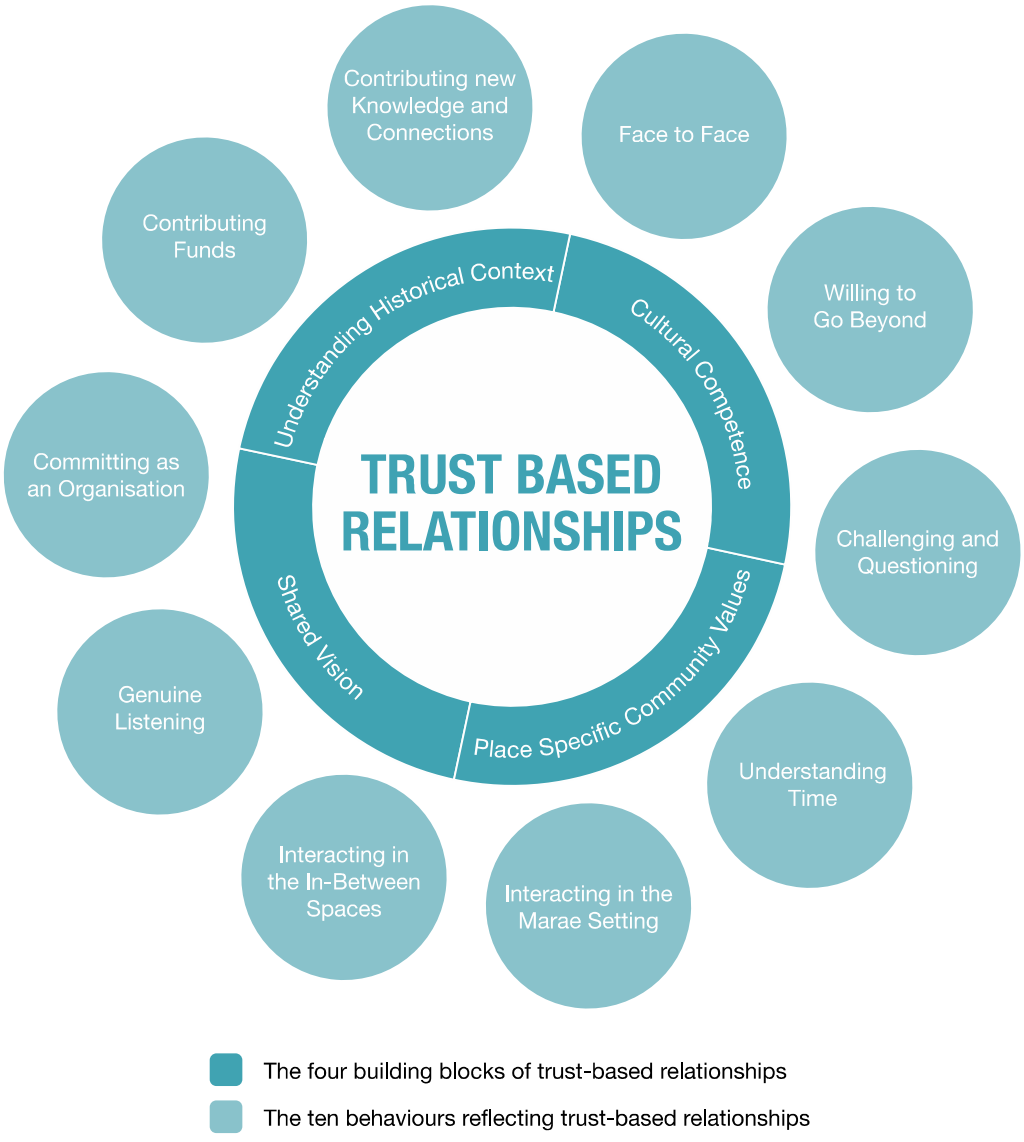
Particpant observations took place at a hui ā tau at Parihaka in September 2016. This is an annual forum organised by Caritas where all the tangata whenua communities are invited to come together to discuss issues. Three out of five of the research participants were present but all of their organisations were represented. The hui involved a two-night stay on the marae over a weekend. Attendence at this hui was a privilege. I was welcomed to attend based on my work and involvement with Caritas. My invitation was only forthcoming because the Māori community trusted Caritas and trusted that I was supporting their work through this research.

Findings: Exploring trust-based relationships

This research involved an exploration of behaviours related to trust and the question "How do Caritas Aotearoa and the tangata whenua partners define trust in terms of their relationship to each other?"

According to one of the Caritas participants, "trust is central to our tangata whenua relationships." However, the organisation did not have a framework it might use to measure trust and to then see how well it was doing. Both Caritas and the partners believed indicators for trust lay in reconceptualising evaluation from a Māori world view. By exploring what the behaviours of trust looked like for each group, I hoped to assist Caritas to find an appropriate way to monitor and evaluate their trust-based relationships. It was evident this would not be a search for one, clear definition, nor universal measure that might be used to qualify trust. Rather, it would be an exploration of concepts that might be seen as proxy indicators to evaluate trust. Combined, these behaviours formed the basis for a simple framework (Figure 1).

Figure 1: A framework for monitoring and evaluating trust in Caritas' relationships with tangata whenua



The concept of trust-based relationships is at the heart of the framework. This central tenet is encircled by an inner core representing foundational building blocks of trust.

All participants mentioned similar, multi-dimensional concepts that need to be laid down first in order to form genuine relationships. These are: understanding the historical context, being culturally competent, reflecting place-specific community values, and sharing a vision. They are "the up-front work of investing in relationship" according one participant. They reflect the "first level of trust" (Christopher et al., 2008: 1400) and a respect for Indigenous ways of knowing (LaFrance & Nichols, 2010; Wehipeihana, 2013).

Building on these four foundational building blocks for trust, participants all spoke of similar behaviours that they experienced as markers or indicators of trust-based relationships. Their views are grouped in ten types of behaviour. They are "trust warranting" signs (Burnette & Sanders, 2014: 4) radiating out from the heart of a relationship. Participants suggested it is through commitment to these behaviours that trust grows in a relationship. They are listed as follows, in no particular order;

1. Kanohi ki te kanohi (Face to face)
2. Going beyond the minimally required
3. Challenging and questioning
4. Understanding time
5. Interacting in the marae setting
6. Interacting in the in-between spaces
7. Listening genuinely
8. Committing as an organisation
9. Contributing funds
10. Contributing new knowledge and connections

Detailing the Framework's building blocks and indicators

The following describes each of the concepts and illustrates by way of themes, narrative and quotes, how the participants believed these concepts indicated trust in relationships. First, the foundational building blocks for trust-based relationships.

1. **Understanding the historical context**

> *You need to know who we are, you need to know where we came from.* (Participant Four, Te Rūnanga)

Participants described historical context as understanding the historical oppression and the history of colonisation. Having knowledge of the invasion of Parihaka and the passive resistance approach taken by the leaders Te Whiti and Tohu was important. They described the purpose of understanding context as accepting there may be distrust and not taking a relationship for granted.

2. **Cultural competence**

Participants felt a certain level of cultural competence was a necessary and fundamental underpinning of a trusting relationship. Tangata whenua participants described this cultural competence as not being shy on the marae and showing you have made an effort.

> *Yes we have etiquette and protocols. So we should. What is there to be nervous about? Don't be nervous. Get on with it.* (Participant Four, Te Rūnanga)

3. **Place-specific community values**

Aligned with cultural competency, tangata whenua participants described the importance of connecting with community and partaking in community events as "how

you learn." (Participant Three, Te Rūnanga). They believed there needed to be an awareness of what tangata whenua stood for.

> *Tangata whenua translates as people of the particular land that you are working with. It's specific to where you are standing. These are people grounded to the earth they stand upon.* (Participant Five, Parihaka)

4. **Shared vision**

Alongside community values, participants saw a respect for a shared vision and values as fundamental to a trust based relationship. This was something Participant One, Caritas, reflected on:

> *Have we got enough of a relationship to confront our differences? Is our shared vision that they allow us to be who we are and we allow them to be who they are?*

On the foundations of these building blocks of trust-based relationships, various behaviours mentioned by participants that reflect such relationships can be organised into ten groups:

1. **Kanohi ki te kanohi: Face to face**

Participants agreed that continuing to show up for face to face encounters is the best approach to building a cross-cultural relationship. In Māori this is known as "kanohi ki te kanohi". According to the Caritas research partner;

> *If your face is seen you have a better chance of building up a relationship. You just don't have the standing if you don't turn up.*

Tangata whenua participants agreed that when engaging cross-culturally, kanohi ki te kanohi is an advantage because unless you see the face, you do not see the body language.

It means accepting you need to do more than just send a letter. It means continuing to show up time after time and being ok with that. This takes time and effort and budget and you have to be ok with that. (Participant Three, Te Rūnanga)

2. **Going beyond the minimally required**

The Caritas participants talked about being prepared to make changes, going beyond where they are now and not imposing their version of things on others. That is:

Not thinking or acting in an exclusively Pākehā world view. (Participant Two, Caritas)

They saw this 'going beyond' as about taking cultural competence to the next level. That is, not leaving the reo and tikanga solely to the Kaihāpai Māori role but supporting him with staff-wide waiata and everyone trying out a little more conversational reo on the paepae.

For Caritas staff to invest more time and commitment to learning te reo so that we can use the waikorero and te pepeha to explain who Caritas is and what they do. This is not possible if we are always waiting for the Māori formalities to be over then for the 'real' conversations to begin in English. (Participant Two, Caritas)

Tangata whenua participants also recognised a commitment to go beyond the minimum level of a greeting was important for trust to be deepened.

A "kia ora" is not good enough. You should be learning Manaakitanga Māori. You need to know how we think and what we need. If you can't do this in Aoteaora, how can you profess to do it overseas? (Participant Four, Te Rūnanga).

They also looked for respect shown for the *Kaihāpai Māori* role. They believed that for Caritas to invest in this role was a sign of being willing to go further and it reflected a respect for relationship-building with *tangata whenua* partners.

> *It would be ideal to see the Kaihāpai Māori role as a full-time job. If not for two people* (Participant Four, Te Rūnanga).

3. **Challenging and questioning**

Both Caritas and the tangata whenua participants spoke of a willingness to be challenged in a constructive way, as a sign of trust. They believed a good relationship demanded an ability to withstand criticism and see it as a learning opportunity.

> *To be challenged and questioned is a sign of trust. I think there is actually maybe something wrong if we are not being questioned and being put on the spot a bit!* (Participant Two, Caritas)

4. **Committing as an organisation**

Participants believed a personal willingness to be challenged needed to extend to willingness for the organisation to make commitments. From the Māori partners' perspective, how Caritas treated its Māori staff members was an indication of how committed Caritas was to tangata whenua relationships, along with the time and money invested in the Kaihāpai Māori role. Participant Four, Te Rūnanga, also expressed how the organisational trust is growing but could be improved.

> *Our relationships with individuals is excellent. Having regular staff to deal with has been the success of on-going relationship and trust between our two communities. We have invested a lot of time getting to know them. And they have*

invested time getting to know us. If one of them leaves, there is a risk we will feel uncomfortable. You can't take for granted the resourcing and relationships.

5. **Understanding time**

The notion of time, from a Māori perspective, needs to be embraced for trust to be forthcoming in relationships. For participants in this study, understanding time through a Māori lens means stepping out of Pākehā expectations about time frames - with the urge to solve problems or produce something - and come to grips with the concept of "he wā" (a time) and "te wā" (the time).

We kept looking for the time when the project was going to happen. We thought the relationship should produce a project and it should do it within our timeframe. But we got the message back, "Don't worry about the programme. It will come. There is always 'a time' (he wa) for programmes but if you keep going after it, it won't happen. If you trust there will be 'the right time' (te wa) then it will work. What we are after is a relationship with you." (Participant One)

6. **Interacting in the marae setting**

The significance of meeting on the marae as opposed to an office was perceived as hugely important for deepening trust.

It is like I use another part of my brain when I am in a marae setting. I do lot more listening than I do in the office. I'm not just listening with my ears. I am aware of body language. In the office, we are all just facing our computers and not conscious of the 'higher frequencies'. (Participant Two, Caritas)

The willingness to stay on marae, and learn and live together builds trust. There is

a reciprocal responsibility and certain tikanga and whakawhanaungatanga you have to adhere to. It breaks down barriers, removes the misperceptions about what marae living is about. (Participant Five, Parihaka)

7. **Interacting in the in-between spaces**

Participants spoke of the importance of interacting comfortably together in the in-between spaces; the non-work spaces, as an important reflection of trust. They believed being willing to get to know each other and connect on a personal level in these spaces allowed for deepening relationships.

Trust can be measured by how well and how often you can be together in the in-between spaces. Where you are off duty and can be yourself. Like being on the road together. Or doing the dishes. It's a time to connect on a personal level. (Participant One, Caritas)

We look at how you fit, at the table, in the kitchen, at the sink.

(Participant Three, Te Rūnanga)

8. **Genuine listening**

Being willing to listen with no agenda to push and recognising that alongside listening well, goes taking time to think and talk and discuss.

*Coming with a genuine approach to listening and learning. Coming with no agenda to push regarding religion has helped make a difference to the level of trust that has been established. We asked them, what kind of relationship would you like to have with us? Then gave them time to think and talk about that. (*Participant One, Caritas)

She came and listened. It sounds simple but takes time. If they can listen and show willingness to listen then cross communication can start.

(Participant Four, Te Rūnanga)

9. **Contributing funds**

Participants all spoke of funding as a resource that can be brought to the table. Tangata whenua participants perceived Caritas as a funding body and therefore saw funds as an indicator for trust.

I understand aid goes out to lots of international countries but maybe more resource needs to go into this relationship-building between our own nations in New Zealand. (Participant Three, Te Rūnanga)

10. **Contributing new knowledge and connections**

Participants recognised trusting relationships as ones that could give and receive in mutually beneficial ways. All spoke of other advantages besides funds that were contributed through the relationship.

A good trusting relationship can help us connect with moral and social issues, on a local, regional and global scale. Through networking, we come to understand humanitarian issues that are going on, the need for social action, peace and advocacy. The relationships can help us collaborate with other groups around these issues, in other parts of the world. It is massive. (Participant Five, Parihaka)

Applications: A tool for joint learning by Caritas and tangata whenua partners

This framework emerged from research in 2016 and was subsequently discussed with several people in the course of work over the two years that followed. It seems that all parties continued making efforts to expand and deepen their relationships, perhaps in an accelerating fashion. For example, I participated in a hui ā tau several months after the research and observed behaviour showing cultural competence was increasing. First, at the pōwhiri there was 100 percent adherence to the tikanga of the marae (for example, all women wore skirts, shoes were taken off, no-one sat on pillows or tables and there was no food in the wharenui).

While these actions were a sign of basic cultural competence, it was significant that everyone took them seriously. In an effort to go beyond, not only did everyone manage to introduce themselves in te reo Māori, but 50% of attendees took this further by talking about their roles and work in te reo. The waiata sung by Caritas were clearly well rehearsed, delivered with confidence and without songsheets. An encouragement by the hosts for everyone to try to speak te reo in the wharenui, even after the formalities were over, was embraced by two or three Caritas staff. This was also reflected in the Mass, held in te reo on the Saturday evening in the wharenui. Caritas staff feel they can be guided by the framework and see the indicators as co-constructed, shared values that are helping to deepen trust.

> *At Caritas, we have been gently but resolutely challenged by our tangata whenua partners to lay aside our own agendas and timeframes, and to start tuning into theirs. This is making a profound impact on us as individuals, on the culture of our organisation, and on the way we plan and monitor our development programmes in the Pacific and beyond. (*Caritas Programmes Manager)

Caritas and its tangata whenua partners use their annual conferences as a place to evaluate their relationships. The hui ā tau, held annually on one of the Tangata whenua marae, is a time for discussion and considering progress, for challenging talks, for sharing and listening, for walking and sleeping side by side. It is a public forum with Caritas staff, Māori partners and some members of the Caritas Board in attendance. It captures behaviours that are kanohi ki te kanohi in reporting and evaluating and encourages more talking in an authentic, accountable way. Thus, it ensures partners feel safe to air their grievances and encourages mutual, self-reflective learning. The framework is used as a practical tool to help reflect on and monitor the ten signs of trust.

> *Part of the trust is when we can provide a forum for us all to discuss wider issues… A public forum is more effective than people just facing up to Caritas in private and saying they did what they did. If they are saying to a public forum with all the people in relationship with us: 'This is what we intended to do and this is what worked and what didn't', it helps the learning between our relationships and beyond.* (Parihaka participant)

The framework influences Caritas' approach at its most strategic level. "Strengthening relationships with Tangata Whenua" is now embedded in the Caritas strategic plan as a strategic pillar and the framework has been adopted as a learning tool to see how they are measuring up and to further explore and reflect on the dimensions of trust from a tangata whenua perspective.

While these moves are positive, the challenge of how to measure this goal is still a real issue for Caritas.

> *We've set the benchmark high. It's a vision for where we want to go, but we also have to make an honest appraisal of where we are. We could fall into the trap of thinking we are doing well. We are vulnerable because it is still only a few people that are champions. Strengthening relationships requires sustained commitment and time and these often get drowned by other competing priorities.* (Caritas manager)

Caritas believes cultural competence is paramount. When individuals leave they take their knowledge with them.

> *We need to allocate time to this and be prepared to step up to the opportunity to extend ourselves. Things like learning karakia and waiata and whakataukī as a whole organisation. Filling up our kete, collecting knowledge as we go so we have things to pull out when we need them.* (Caritas manager)

Conclusion

The presented framework for monitoring and evaluating the relationships between a development organisation and the Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand places trust – predicated on the historical context, cultural competence, a shared vision, and place-specific community values – at its centre. By putting trust at its centre, the framework reflects Kirkhart's insights that "cultural considerations do not reside at the margins of evaluation practice; they are squarely in the center" (Kirkhart, 2010: 411). Just as co-constructing the framework demanded engaging with Māori ways of being and knowing (Torrie et al., 2015: 53), so too, is its on-going application a tool for joint learning. With its ten signs or indicators of trust, the framework continues to offer Caritas, as a development organisation seeking social justice, a practical way to engage with its tangata whenua partners. This demands taking the time to move with the way

people want to share, in their own way (Wehipeihana & Grootveld, 2016); it also means that the evolving relationship is the purpose and force that drives the direction of the development activities that parties undertake. The relationship is not an instrumental partnership to achieve quantified results determined from the start.

This framework is specific to Caritas Aotearoa and its work with tangata whenua. However, it does perhaps, offer a fresh perspective to the current body of knowledge concerning Indigenous perspectives on M&E and may also be useful for Canadians working with Indigenous people. By encouraging the conversation about culturally competent, cross-cultural collaboration, it helps validate the centrality of trust to relationships and the role of relationships in expanding evaluation practice (Wehipeihana, 2019).

From the literature review, it is evident that if the full potential of M&E is to be realised in regard to relationships, it needs to move into understanding that *context*, in its messy, dynamic, reflexive and cross-cultural way, is critical. There is no one 'right' way to frame evaluations to be more culturally responsive and in fact it is the richness of perspectives that contribute valuable meaning. It is an ongoing journey to define and implement something relevant, demanding new ways of thinking about programmes and stakeholders that are tuned in to the realities of cultural context and diversity.

While these findings are specific to Caritas and its work with tangata whenua, they could provide a platform to apply or adapt for different contexts. Significantly, they might offer an opportunity to ask better questions about how to capture the value and impact of cross-cultural relationships. Furthermore as Chandna et al (2019) conclude,

more research is needed on how to operationalize Indigenous evaluation principles and identify ways to prevent practical challenges in Indigenous contexts.

Since completing the research, the framework has been shared with a large architectural practice in Wellington, New Zealand looking to deepen its relationship with iwi when collaborating on public buildings and urban design projects. It has also been shared with a group of non-government organisations in Auckland keen to extend their practice of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in the workplace and it has been discussed in the context of international development work in Timor L'Este in a podcast for 'Aid for Aid Workers'. By focusing on Māori values, this framework has the potential to help government organisations understand the impact they have on doing business with Māori and it might invite a more collaborative approach to deepening cross-cultural relationships.

Glossary

he wā	a time
he wā, he wāhi	time and space
hui	public forum
hui ā tau:	annual meeting
hongi	kiss
iwi:	Māori tribe
Kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face
Kaihāpai Māori:	Māori advocate
karakia:	prayer
kaupapa:	knowledge
kete:	basket
koha:	gift
korēro	talk
marae:	meeting place in front of wharenui
manaakitanga Māori	hospitality, kindness, generousity
manuhiri	visitors
paepae:	where visitors speak on the marae
pepeha:	another formal welcome on the marae. The way to introduce yourself in Māori
pōwhiri:	A welcome
te Reo:	Māori language
tangata whenua:	local, indigineous people
tikanga:	customs
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	The Treaty of Waitangi

waiata:	song
waikorero:	formal speeches made by men during powhiri and in social gatherings
whakawhanaungatanga:	relationship –through shared experience and working together
wharenui:	meeting house
whakataukī	Māori proverb

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Figure 1: A framework for monitoring and evaluating trust in Caritas' relationships with tangata whenua