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TUKUA KIA RERE!
MĀORI ADULT STUDENTS SUCCEEDING AT
UNIVERSITY

A thesis submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of

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by

Daphne Christina (Tina) Williams



THE UNIVERSITY OF
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Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

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ABSTRACT

A considerable amount of research has focussed on Māori underachievement in mainstream education. There is, however, much less research that celebrates Māori academic success. Even less has been written about the experiences of adult Māori students who return to study long after leaving school and go on to become academically successful in higher education.

This study contributes to the growing body of knowledge regarding Māori academic success at university. It sought to explore the experiences of sixteen adult Māori students who entered university via special admission and went on to attain undergraduate degrees. The study examined the challenges that these individual's experienced on their way to becoming academically successful and identified the main factors that helped them to achieve educational success.

An overarching Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework was employed in this study. A qualitative research methodology was implemented and Kaupapa Māori research principles informed both the research processes and the interpretation of research outcomes.

The findings suggest four major factors contributed to the success of the participants in this study: a strong determination to succeed (whāia te iti kahurangi), the extended family (whānau), strong social support networks with peers and faculty (whakawhanaungatanga) and Te Ao Māori (the Māori World). However, some of these same factors were also found to hinder academic success in the university setting.

The Manu Tukutuku (kite) model was developed directly from the research findings. In addition to providing a theoretical frame for understanding the experiences of Māori special admission students at university, this model also

provides a useful 'toolkit' for those wanting to support Māori students within the university context.

The implications of this study suggest that New Zealand Universities can better support Māori special admission students by being more inclusive of their cultural capital, by eliminating racism and discrimination in the university environment and by fostering better relationships between staff and students. Creating opportunities for Māori students to develop social networks at University was also identified as important.

HE MIHI

Tuhia ki te rangi
Tuhia ki te whenua
Tuhia ki te ngākau o te tangata
Ko te mea nui
Ko te aroha
Tihei Mauri Ora!

Write it in the sky
Write it in the land
Write it in the heart of the people
The greatest thing is love
Behold there is life!

He mihi maumahara ki te rangatira, te koroua, te pāpā kua whetūrangitia ki te pō, arā ki a koe pāpā Fred Kana moe mai rā i tō moenga roa. Kei te tangi tonu te ngākau. Kei te heke tonu ngā roimata. Moe mai rā i roto i ngā manaakitanga o te runga rawa.

I would like to thank all the participants who gave freely of their time to take part in this study. This project would not have been possible without your generosity of spirit, thanks for sharing and for letting others hear your story. Tēnā koutou katoa!

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CHAPTER ONE

MAI I TE WHEIAO KI TE AO MĀRAMA

When I look outside, the sky is dark and I see the rain beginning to fall. As I watch the ground become saturated with water, I sit and reflect on the journey that I have taken. The darkness reminds me of a saying that is often used in a Māori context, 'tihei mauriora ki te wheiao, ki te ao mārama'. The 'wheiao' is the place between darkness and light. This term is widely used in karakia (prayer) to describe a transition from one realm or state to another, as in darkness to light or from unconsciousness to consciousness. It provides a very apt starting point to talk about the journey of Māori adult students at university.

As the rain begins to subside and a strange calm envelopes the space where I am working, I find myself wondering how I should introduce the reader to this study. I am in two minds about this. My western-based university education and training would tell me to launch into a full exposé of the research topic at this point, to outline the significance of the project and how it might add value to my chosen discipline. By contrast, a traditional Māori approach, stresses the importance of whakawhanaungatanga, establishing a connection with the reader. From the latter perspective, it is important to acknowledge the sacred domains, the physical environment and my tribal affiliations before delving into the research topic itself:

Ko Kapowai te maunga
Ko Waikare te awa
Ko Ngāpuhi te iwi
Ko Te Kapotai te hapū
Ko Tina Williams tōku ingoa¹
Tihei Mauriora!

¹ This is a brief greeting in Māori that establishes my tribal connections and my tribal boundaries.

In the New Zealand university context, adult students with little or no formal qualifications enter university via special admission provisions. These provisions enable New Zealand or Australian citizens (or permanent residents of either country) to enrol at a New Zealand university without having to produce evidence of any academic qualifications (New Zealand Vice Chancellors' Committee, 2010). The aim of this study was to explore the experiences of sixteen Māori special admission students with a view to understanding the various challenges they had to overcome in order to achieve academic success at university.

This research is significant because it focuses on success. Many studies have demonstrated that Māori are not performing as well as they might be in education. The literature and research in the general area of Māori education paints a very gloomy picture that demonstrates a clear preoccupation with failure and underachievement of Māori students at all levels of education (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Clothier, 1993; Greenwood & Te Aika, 2008; Selby, 1996). This concentration on academic failure is not a recent phenomenon, it was commented on fifty years ago in the *Report on the Department of Māori Affairs* or Hunn report (Hunn, 1960) and in the *Report of the Commission on Education in New Zealand* or Currie Commission report (Currie, 1962).

This study developed from my firm belief that it is just as important to examine stories of Māori educational success as it is to document failure. Instead of looking at the reasons why Māori students fail, why not shift focus and have conversations with those who succeed, despite the difficulties they encounter; "if we look at the reasons people stay and why they succeed [in tertiary education], we may be better prepared to help those who are struggling, and more adept at identifying individuals who are having difficulty before they become overwhelmed" (Hunt, Morgan & Teddy, 2001, p.8). This study offers detailed insights into the experiences of Māori adult students who have

achieved educational success at university, and has important implications for university policymakers, for faculty, and for whānau, hapū and iwi.

The underrepresentation of indigenous students in mainstream universities is an international issue that is impacting on a number of countries including Australia, Canada, the United States and New Zealand (Hunter & Schwab, 2003; Jackson, Smith & Hill, 2003; Mendelson, 2006; Shield, 2004). Universities are under increasing pressure to improve the participation, academic persistence and success of indigenous students. In the New Zealand context, the *Tertiary Education Strategy 2010-2015* (Ministry of Education, 2010) sets out the government's direction for tertiary education. Māori are identified as a priority group within this strategy, and the short term goal is that more Māori students will enjoy success at higher levels of education in the next three to five years. In order to achieve this vision, the New Zealand Tertiary Education Commission requires that institutions of higher learning (universities included) take a proactive role in facilitating indigenous student success (Ministry of Education, 2010).

The completion of this study is timely, given that it contributes to the growing body of literature that enhances our understanding of Māori educational success in higher education and our understanding of the challenges to be faced if we are to increase indigenous participation in higher education.

Personal interest in this topic

The idea for this research came from a conversation I had with my mother about her experiences as a mature Māori student on her way to becoming a teacher. As part of the research for my MEd thesis, I asked nine members of my extended family to talk about their experiences as Māori women teachers (Simpson, 1998). I became particularly interested in my mother's story because unlike the other participants who were all very high achievers at school, she left school at a very young age with no formal qualifications, the

plight of many Māori of her generation and of successive generations. As I listened to her story, I wondered why a mature Māori woman who said that she “hated” school would want to attend university to become a teacher. What appeared even more amazing to me was that despite struggling in her early schooling, she went on to graduate with a Diploma of Teaching and a Bachelor of Teaching Degree from a New Zealand University.

My interest in this area resurfaced when I was appointed to the position of lecturer in the School of Education at the University of Waikato in 2000. My work in the university allowed me to talk to a diverse range of Māori students and it was through these conversations that I came to realise that my mother’s story was characteristic of many. There were a number of mature Māori students at university who were pursuing undergraduate degrees in spite of having very few, if any, school qualifications. I witnessed many of these students graduate with academic degrees. It was this personal interest arising from these students sharing their stories with me that led to the development of my doctoral research.

The research focus and research questions

The research design employed in this study is underpinned by a Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework. This framework takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of the values, beliefs and preferred practices of Te Ao Māori (the Māori world including a Māori world view), the importance of Māori language and culture and the struggle for Māori autonomy over their own cultural wellbeing (G. Smith, 1992).

The study explored three main research questions:

What kinds of experiences do Māori special admission entrants to university have on their way to becoming academically successful?

What does it mean to “be Māori” and a special admission entrant at university?

How can the stories of the participants in this research inform us about what can be done to make the university environment more supportive of Māori special admission entrants?

A qualitative methodology was used, resulting in the generation of rich detail (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000). Primacy in this approach is given to the way that the participants *make sense* of their experiences. In keeping with the Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework, Kaupapa Māori research principles informed the research practices in order to ensure that these remained culturally safe, and culturally responsive to the needs of the participants in this study.

Purposive sampling was used because the selection criteria were quite specific for this study, i.e. Māori adult students who had enrolled at the University of Waikato under the special admission provisions. Hence the study does not seek to be representative statistically of all Māori students at university or even of all Māori special admission students. Indeed, the findings demonstrate that there is extraordinary diversity of home and background experiences and of experiences at university within this particular group of sixteen students.

This study identified four major factors that were found to influence the academic success of the majority of the participants. *Whāia te iti kahurangi* (a strong determination to succeed) was identified as an important influence in terms of the academic success of these Māori adult students. *Whānau* (the extended family) was also highlighted as an important source of motivation, encouragement and support. *Te Ao Māori* (the Māori world including a Māori cultural world view), influenced the participants success as did the process of

Whakawhanaungatanga (establishing and maintaining social support networks at university).

The organisation of the thesis

Chapter Two provides a brief history of Māori education in New Zealand. It demonstrates that Māori have had very little power or control over their own education and shows that an overemphasis on a practical curriculum has worked against Māori desires to access university education.

Chapter Three looks at Māori participation in the university context paying particular attention to the New Zealand universities' response to Māori desires to have their language and culture included in the curriculum. It also maps out key developments at the University of Waikato during the 1980s to 2010.

Chapter Four presents a review of the literature, focusing specifically on factors that influence Māori academic success in tertiary education. This chapter also draws on international literature and research pertaining to indigenous and minority persistence in higher education.

Chapter Five discusses the theoretical framework of this thesis. It introduces Kaupapa Māori theory as the predominant theoretical framework, explores the origins and definitions of Kaupapa Māori theory and identifies key principles, values and beliefs in Māori culture that underpin this philosophical base. The *Manu Tukutuku model* is introduced in this chapter and pertinent links are made to sociocultural theories, notions of cultural capital, decolonisation, conscientisation, and the role of hegemony.

Chapter Six outlines the methodology and research methods employed. This includes an outline of principles and practices of qualitative research and Kaupapa Māori research. This chapter also details the snowballing process of participant selection and introduces the sixteen participants.

Chapters Seven to Ten introduce the four major themes in this study arising from the conversations and stories of the participants, namely, Whāia te iti kahurangi, Whānau, Te Ao Māori and Whakawhanaungatanga.

Chapter Eleven discusses the key findings and addresses the two major research questions that have guided this study. The *Manu Tukutuku* model is employed as the organising framework for this chapter. This model was inductively derived from the major findings of this research.

Chapter Twelve presents the final conclusions and outlines the implications of the study. The chapter also reflects on the research process and suggests ideas for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

MĀORI IN THE NEW ZEALAND EDUCATION SYSTEM

Hoki whakamuri kia anga whakamua

Looking backward to go forward.

Understanding the experiences of sixteen academically successful Māori special admission students requires an understanding of Māori educational history, because what happens in the compulsory schooling sector can and does affect access, participation and persistence in higher education.

The participants in this study entered the New Zealand education system at different time periods from the 1950s to early 1980s. However, this chapter examines dominant policies, practices and ideologies that have impacted on Māori from the early 1800s to 2010. This historical information is considered an essential part of the context for research and has great value in terms of understanding the current state of Māori participation in higher education.

The chapter demonstrates that Māori interests in education have continually been subverted by the interests of the majority culture. It also shows that until recently Māori have had little control over their own education. Both factors have been influential in restricting Māori access to university education. However, the chapter also demonstrates that academic underachievement at school is also a barrier when it comes to Māori participation in higher education.

Early mission schools

European style schooling for Māori was introduced in 1816 when the first mission school was established at Rangihoua in the Bay of Islands (Simon, 1998). The missionaries saw schooling as an effective method of civilising the Māori population in order to accept the “Christian gospel” (Simon, 1994,

p.50). Civilising the Māori population meant convincing Māori to forsake their own cultural world view, including their habits and customs and take on those of the European. In other words, it involved cultural assimilation and the experience of hegemony. Many Europeans of the time considered Māori to be an inferior race in need of protection and civilisation. These paternalistic notions derived from nineteenth century European ideologies that ranked human races on a continuum from the “savage” to the “civilised”, with British culture often being perceived as the “pinnacle of civilisation” (Simon, 1998, p.2). Most of the missionaries were British and believed that civilising or assimilating Māori would benefit the Māori population.

The early mission schools taught a basic curriculum focussing on Māori literacy skills and religious instruction (Jones, McCulloch, Marshall, Smith & Smith, 1990; Simon, 1990; 1998). The Māori language was used as the primary medium of instruction in these schools and many Māori learned to read and write in their native tongue. The apparent ease with which Māori seemed able to grasp literacy in the vernacular during the 1830s and 1840s was commented on by travellers, traders and missionaries alike (Simon, 1994). One account provided by Bishop J.B.F Pompallier suggested that Māori:

... easily learn to read and write without the necessity of constant teaching. It is only necessary to give them a few leaflets of easy reading, and to write some characters on bits of slate to enable them to read and write their own language within three months (Pompallier, 1888, p.47).

In fact, such was the enthusiasm to become literate in Māori that it is estimated that as early as the 1840s, in almost every North Island village some Māori were able to read and write (Openshaw et al., 1993). By the 1850s, it was estimated that approximately half of the adult Māori population

could read in Māori and a third was able to write it (Simon, 1998). Māori taught each other how to read and write and in some cases even established their own schools (Simon, 1990). In other cases, Māori communities gifted land and money for mission schools to be established and maintained (Simon, 1998). This illustrated that Māori were highly motivated to become literate in Māori and must have had effective pedagogies of their own.

On February 6, 1840, the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by Māori Chiefs and representatives of the British Crown. The Treaty was understood by the British Crown to have established New Zealand as a British colony. However, it has been a constant source of controversy and political debate ever since, not the least because of the differences between the English version and the Māori version of the text. Nevertheless, the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi ushered in a period of large scale European settlement. By 1860, the number of settlers who had arrived in New Zealand was already equivalent to the Māori population. At the end of the century, there were fifteen times as many European settlers as there were Māori inhabitants (Lange, 1999). Māori had rapidly become a minority group in their own country and colonisation was well underway.

Although Māori were initially enthusiastic about gaining access to European knowledge, their interest in mission schools began to decline during the mid-1840s (Openshaw et al., 1993; Simon, 1990). One of the major reasons for this was the restricted curriculum engendered in the mission schools. Māori wanted to learn more about European technology to help them cope with the increasing number of European settlers in New Zealand. This is supported by Simon (1990) who states:

Māori interest in the mission schools had fallen off since about 1845 for a number of inter-related reasons not the least being Māori frustration in regard to the missionary policy of teaching – and printing – only in the Māori language and restricting reading material to only the

scriptures. This policy reflected the paternalistic concern of the missionaries to safeguard the Māori from the influence of non-Christian Europeans. Māori, however, had been seeking to broaden their horizons through access to European thinking and knowledge, and, in particular, they wanted to learn English (p.73).

Mission schools did not provide the insights into European culture or access to English language that Māori wanted. The missionaries appear to have had their own ideas about what they thought Māori should learn, they decided what knowledge would be imparted, in what manner and to whom. In this respect, mission schools did little to serve the interests of Māori and as a result many Māori 'opted out' of the mission schools altogether (Openshaw et al., 1993; Simon, 1990). This illustrates that Māori came to realise that they had little control over their own schooling.

In 1847, Governor Grey introduced an Education Ordinance in order to stimulate greater interest in the mission schools. Under the provisions of this legislation, subsidies were made available to mission schools on the condition that English be the main medium of instruction, industrial training be included as part of the curriculum and lastly, that these schools be subject to Government inspection (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974; Simpson, 1998). Mission boarding schools were given preferential treatment when it came to funding because it was strongly believed that removing Māori children from the influence of the Māori community would accelerate the civilisation process (Barrington, 1966). This would help to strengthen the hegemonic effects of colonisation.

The 1847 Education Ordinance stimulated renewed interest in the mission schools for a time, however this was relatively short lived because of escalating racial tensions (Simon, 1990). There were other factors that inhibited the growth of the mission schools as well. Māori parents became increasingly dissatisfied with the way that some mission schools were

operating and began to express their concerns. The insufficient provision of food and clothing; excessive overworking of pupils - especially in industrial schools; extreme punishment and discipline; ineffective teachers and inadequate living conditions were all highlighted as concerns (Openshaw et al., 1993; Simon, 1990). Māori parents were especially critical of the overemphasis on manual labour. In one mission school in Otaki, Māori children reportedly spent only two and a half hours in daily lessons and up to eight hours in hard physical labour on the land (Simon, 1990).

Clearly, there were different expectations about what mission schools were supposed to provide. For Māori, mission schooling presented an opportunity to learn more about European technology and knowledge, whereas for the missionaries and Governor Grey, mission schooling presented the primary means to prepare Māori to take a subordinate role in society. This notion was reinforced by senior inspector Henry Taylor in 1862 who stated:

I do not advocate for the Natives under present circumstance a refined education or high mental culture; it would be inconsistent if we take account of the position they are likely to hold for many years to come in the social scale, and inappropriate if we remember that they are better calculated by nature to get their living by manual than by mental labour (Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR), 1862, E-4, p.38).

The Native Schools Act 1858 was introduced in a further attempt to promote interest in mission schools, but this was an extremely volatile time in the history of the nation as many schools were forced to close their doors with the advent of the 1860 land Wars.²

² In terms of this particular study, the land wars are particularly significant because they directly affected the Waikato – Tainui people, the indigenous people of the land on which the University of Waikato stands. The wars comprised a series of battles involving British and Colonial troops and Māori iwi throughout the North Island from 1845 to 1872 (Belich, 1986). Of particular relevance is the Waikato War which began in July 1863 when British troops invaded the Waikato region. 1, 2 02,172 acres of

Native schools

In 1867, the introduction of the Native Schools Act (1867) created a system of secular village primary schools, commonly known as native schools (Simon & Smith, 2001). The government saw schooling as an effective means of assimilating the Māori population. They also saw schooling as a valuable way of generating greater social control. This assimilationist agenda is demonstrated very clearly in the parliamentary debates that led to the introduction of the Native Schools Act. For example, Mr James Richmond, (the Minister of Native Affairs), in moving the second reading of the Māori Schools Bill in 1867 stated that:

...for a people in the position of the Māori race, it was a first condition of their progress to put them in the way of learning the language of the inhabitants and Government of the colony (New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (NZPD), 1867, p.862).

Teaching the English language was seen as an important step towards civilising the Māori population. For other parliamentarians, schooling provided an effective tool to reinforce social control. Civilising the Māori population was viewed by one member of the House of Representatives as a true economy because he believed that the alternative, “exterminating the natives” would prove too costly. He went on to extol the benefits of education by suggesting that “all the Government could do with the Natives must be done by moral influence; nothing could be done by force, for Maoris [Māori] were men who did not fear death. They could be crushed, they could be exterminated, but they could not by force be brought into subjection” (NZPD, 1867, p.863). Education was viewed as an effective means to colonise the mind and establish cultural hegemony.

land were unjustly confiscated as a result of this conflict (see for example, Belich, 1986; Tiakiwai, 2001).

Under the provisions of the Native Schools Act (1867), the English language and European culture were given an elevated status. Māori communities wishing to set up a school needed to form a committee, petition the colonial secretary to establish a school and provide land for the school site. They were also expected to pay for half the cost of the buildings and contribute towards the costs of construction as well as maintenance. Another requirement was that the community pay for quarter of the teacher's salary as well as purchase school books. The English language was to be used as the main medium of instruction in these schools and the ordinary subjects of primary English education were to be taught (Statutes of New Zealand, 1867, p.468). These stringent financial requirements were relaxed to some extent in 1871, with the advent of the Native Schools Amendment Act.

By the late 1870s, there were indications that an increasing number of Māori were starting to believe in the value of European education. The hegemony that had been experienced was starting to become evident among Māori themselves. This is demonstrated in several petitions that were presented to parliament. For example, in 1876, Wi Te Hakiro and 336 other North Auckland Māori petitioned the parliament to have the 1867 Native Schools Act amended once again (AJHR, 1876, J-4, p.2). The petition put forward the idea that Māori children learn the English language as soon as they were born, this would enable them to become native speakers of English. The petitioners also recommended that English language be the only language used in schools and that teachers be ignorant of the Māori language altogether. They believed that these processes would eventually put them on an "equal footing" with the European in terms of their education (AJHR, 1876, J-4, p.2).

In a subsequent petition to Government in 1877, Renata Kawepo and 790 others and Piripi Ropata and 200 others, encouraged the Government to establish schools throughout the land so that "...the Māori children may learn

the English language, for by this they will be on the same footing as the Europeans, and will become acquainted with the means by which the Europeans have become great” (AJHR, 1877, J-1, p.4). These petitions demonstrate that there was a growing recognition amongst Māori that knowledge of the English language and European culture was integral to their survival. However, in communities who were most devastated by the land wars, where the destructive impact of European dominance was sharply experienced there was still strong resistance to European schooling of any kind (King, 1977).

In 1879, the Native Schools system was transferred under the control of the Government Department of Education. This was precipitated by the introduction of the new national public schools system which was introduced in 1877. Although this was a significant development for New Zealand children generally in that schooling was now free, secular and compulsory. It should be noted that schooling for Māori did not become compulsory until 1894 through the School Attendance Act which required that all children (seven to thirteen years old) attend school for at least three days a week (Jones et al., 1995).

The public schools system was administered by the Department of Education and ten regional Education Boards. Māori and European children were free to attend either schooling system (Board schools or Native Schools). The two systems ran parallel to each other until 1969, when the Native Schools system ceased to exist (Simon, 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001).

In 1880, James Pope was appointed as the first inspector for Native Schools and under his guidance the Native Schools System became more co-ordinated. Pope published the *Native Schools Code* in 1880, a regulating framework which set out how native schools should be organised and how they should operate. The 1880 code set out four formal standards of

attainment. The curriculum comprised geography, arithmetic and “such culture as may fit them to become good citizens.” (AJHR,1880, H-1F, p. 5). The Māori language was permitted in the junior area to aid English understanding (a clear example of subtractive bilingualism). However, the major aim was to discontinue the use of Māori language at school as soon as possible.

The *Native Schools Code* put a great deal of emphasis on the role of the teacher. Teachers in the Native schools service were expected to become role models for the whole Māori community, not only in terms of their classroom duties but by their social conduct in the wider community as well. Married couples were employed in the Native schools service and expected to demonstrate the value of European culture:

Besides giving due attention to the school instruction of the children, teachers will be expected to exercise a beneficial influence on the natives, old and young, to show by their own conduct that it is possible to live a useful and blameless life and in smaller matters by their dress, in their house, and by their manner and habits at home and abroad to set the Māori's [Māori] an example they may advantageously imitate (AJHR,1880, H-1F, p. 7).

In addition to managing the Native Schools system, Pope also mounted a crusade to improve the health of the Māori population. Exposure to new diseases coupled with poverty and scarce food resources resulting from land confiscation had a crippling affect on the Māori population. So much so, that by the turn of the century it was widely believed that the Māori population was in danger of becoming extinct (McKenzie, 1982). Pope set out to improve the health and welfare of the declining population, offering health advice through his publication, *Health for the Māori* which was first published in 1884. This text was printed in both English and Māori and was widely disseminated in

Māori communities. As well as promoting the need for clean water and the proper treatment of the sick, the book also reinforced the need for cultural assimilation. Pope (1901) claimed that there was one thing that would do wonders for the Māori mind and that was Pākeha knowledge. He contended that “...Māori should learn to read English so that he [sic] may become acquainted with the works of able men, and understand their thoughts” (Pope, 1901, p.142).

Māori denominational boarding schools

There was very little provision for secondary schooling for Māori until the 1940s, except for a limited number of scholarships provided by the government to enable capable Māori students in rural areas to attend denominational boarding schools (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). Chief amongst these Māori boarding schools was Te Aute College, an Anglican Boys college that was set up in the Hawkes Bay area. Te Aute developed a very good academic reputation (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). The college produced a number of candidates for the matriculation exam of the University of New Zealand. In order to be eligible to go to university at this time, people needed to pass the matriculation exam (Thomas, Beeby & Oram, 1939).

As early as 1890, Te Aute College was sending at least three candidates every year for the matriculation exam (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). The person most responsible for this success was John Thornton who acted as principal from 1878 to 1913. In reflecting on his experiences, Thornton explained:

I tried from the very first to raise the standard of the school, and a few years later, I conceived the idea of preparing Māori boys for the matriculation exam of the New Zealand University. What led me to this idea was that I felt that Māori's [Māori] should not be shut out from any chance of competing with English boys in the matter of higher education.

I saw that the time would come when the Māori's [Māori] would wish to have their own doctors, their own lawyers and their own clergymen, and I felt it was only just to the race to provide facilities for their doing so (AJHR, G-5, 1906, p.93).

Apirana Ngata was the first Māori person to graduate from university. He was also one of a number of Te Aute scholars that succeeded in the university context during the 1890s (this will be covered in more detail in the next chapter). Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Buck) and Maui Pomare were also Te Aute graduates who more than proved that they could foot it with their European contemporaries in higher education (this is discussed in further detail in Chapter Three). As university graduates, these individuals demonstrated that “they could excel at a level of European education beyond that of the majority of Pākehā [New Zealanders of predominantly European descent] – including the politicians and the officers of the Department of Education” (Simon, 1990, p.101). By gaining a high profile in European society, as medical doctors, politicians, public servants, and academics, they also challenged the ideology that was commonly espoused at the time, that Māori were intellectually inferior and better suited to manual labour.

Te Aute's academic curriculum came under scrutiny during the early part of the twentieth century. During this period, international moves towards a more practical, vocational type of education for the majority of pupils began to influence New Zealand education (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). This movement found a strong advocate in the form of the Inspector General of Schools, George Hogben. Hogben believed that Māori denominational boarding schools needed to reflect a rural emphasis and that the academic curriculum at Te Aute was in need of “radical” transformation (Openshaw et al., 1993). Hogben pursued a number of agenda when it came to Te Aute College. He felt that the college should stop instruction in Latin, Euclidian and Algebra and instead teach compulsory courses in agriculture and wood work.

Instead of preparing Māori boys for the matriculation exam and university study, Hogben recommended that academic achievers be transferred to “ordinary European boys’ secondary schools” (Openshaw, Lee & Lee, 1993, p.53). In 1906, a Royal commission was organised to consider whether there was sufficient provision of manual and technical instruction at the college. In giving evidence to the Commission, Hogben re-emphasised the importance of a practical, manual type of education for Māori. He wanted Māori to recognise the “dignity of manual labour”, proposing that eight hours per week be devoted to agriculture and woodwork instruction, six hours to English, and one hour to Geography, Civics, Health, Arithmetic and Drill (Openshaw, Lee & Lee, 1993, p.53).

Naturally, Thornton and Archdeacon Samuel Williams (Chairman of Trustees at Te Aute) took an opposing view. They defended Te Aute’s academic curriculum professing that Te Aute was to Māori what Wanganui and Christ’s College were to Europeans (Openshaw, Lee & Lee, 1993). Thornton went further to state “if boys at Wanganui and Christ’s College were not taught trade-type subjects, then why should Te Aute’s boys undertake such training?” (Openshaw, Lee & Lee, 1993, p.54). Thornton and Williams contended that Māori parents were themselves opposed to agricultural instruction, and at Te Aute they were consistently reminded by Māori parents that:

...we do not send our boys to Te Aute to learn to plough- we can teach them at home; we send them there so that they may receive a good secondary education and so be placed in a position to compete with English boys in the higher walks of life (cited in Openshaw, Lee & Lee, 1993, p.54).

Despite Thornton’s opposition and the objections of Māori parents, the Royal Commission recommended that more status be given to the manual and

technical instruction of agriculture at the school. In time, this recommendation was translated into practice and many of the Māori denominational boarding schools including Te Aute introduced practical subjects (Openshaw, Lee & Lee, 1993). By imposing a practical curriculum, Hogben effectively limited the life chances of Māori to higher education and the professions. This illustrates once again that educational policymakers were not prepared to listen to Māori desires in regards to their own education, and that policy makers and politicians were troubled by the prospect of Māori over achievement.

By the turn of the century, there were indications that the Māori population were beginning to increase in number. Native Schools had been established in areas that were traditionally opposed to the establishment of European schools, most notably, in the upper Waikato and King Country regions. In 1902, there were 3005 children in over 100 native schools (AJHR, 1903, E-2, p.2). Māori children were also attending education board schools in increasing numbers. In fact Barrington and Beaglehole (1974) claim that as early as 1909, the number of Māori children in Board schools exceeded those enrolled in Native schools. By all accounts, attending Board schools was difficult because of racial discrimination (Simon, 1998). In addition to this, the schools did not offer appropriate language programmes to aid in the transition from Māori to English. Māori at these schools often had very little peer support to help smooth their transition into this European environment.

Assimilation continued to dominate Māori education policy in the new century, but by this stage, the use of Māori language was coming under increasing attack. During this period, the Department of Education adopted the “direct method” of teaching English. As a consequence, Māori language use was prohibited on school grounds because using the Māori language was thought to impair the acquisition of English (Simon, 1998). In some schools this edict was rigorously enforced through the use of corporal punishment and this practice continued well into the 1940s and 1950s (see for example Binney &

Chaplin, 1987; Edwards, 1990; Selby, 1999). This has had a significant impact on successive generations of Māori who were persuaded not to learn the Māori language by their own parents and grandparents who had been punished for speaking Māori in their own schooling. As it will be shown, later in this thesis, the effects of these actions are still being felt today by the participants in this study.

Adaptation policies

By the late 1920s, some Māori leaders were beginning to realise the impact that European education and assimilation policies were beginning to have on the Māori culture. In 1928, Apirana Ngata stated that:

There are Māori's [Māori], men and women, who have passed through the Pākeha whare waananga and felt shame at their ignorance of their native culture. They would learn it, if they could, if it were available for study as the culture of the Pākeha has been ordered for them to learn... It is possible to be bicultural, just as bilingualism is a feature of Māori life today (Apirana Ngata, 1928: ixx).

Conscious that Māori performance arts and decorative arts were not being practised to the extent that they had been, Ngata spearheaded a cultural revival encouraging haka, poi and waiata and concentrating on rebuilding and restoring whareniui (meeting houses). In 1927, he helped to establish the arts and crafts institute in Rotorua (Openshaw et al., 1993; Simon, 1990; Walker, 2004). Simon (1990) writes that the general thrust of this revival was about generating "...Māori pride in ancestral traditions and to foster Māori arts and crafts focussing on the meeting house as a source of pride and communal solidarity" (p.109).

Influenced by the cultural revival that was happening in the broader social context and by international interest in indigenous cultures, particularly in the

field of social anthropology, selected aspects of Māori culture were incorporated into Native School curriculum. This was part of D.G Ball's (Senior Inspector of Native Schools) agenda that "Education should be adapted to the traditions and mentality of the people and should aim at conserving and improving what was best in their institutions" (AJHR, 1934, E-3, p.3). From 1931, Māori arts and crafts, songs, dances and games were introduced into the curriculum. However, control over what aspects would be included in the curriculum was decided by the Department of Education. Simon (1990) maintains that the cultural aspects that were chosen did not threaten the overriding agenda of assimilation.

Apart from the inclusion of selected aspects of Māori culture, the curriculum in the Native schools remained relatively unchanged. Assimilation was still the key underlying focus of native schooling, the social role of the teacher in promoting assimilation continued to be emphasised and the English language was strongly promoted. The practical curriculum persisted as policymakers continued to believe that Māori were destined to live life on the land. This is clearly demonstrated in the statement of principles that were circulated to teachers by the Department of Education in 1934:

That all instruction be practical and related to the actual needs and interest of the Māori;

That, in the case of girls, a practical knowledge of housecraft, including plain sewing, cooking, washing and care of clothes, home cleaning and beautifying, mending, nursing be considered essential;

That the social aspect be given full attention. The adult community must be interested, if not actively participating in some of the activities;

That the vocational aspect of the training be emphasized. Agriculture and woodwork closely correlated and in touch with the requirements of the district;

That the school be definitely interested in one or more of the Māori crafts or studies;

That one of the main functions of the Native primary school be to teach English and arithmetic – i.e. to give facility in the basic subjects – and be continually stressed (AJHR, 1935, E-3, p.2).

It was the Department of Education who would once again decide the needs and interests of Māori. The “social aspects”, which are not detailed here, would also be decided by the Department of Education. In this sense, Māori once again had very little power and control over the implementation of this policy.

The abolition of the proficiency exam in 1937 enabled more students, Māori and Non-Māori, to enter post-primary schooling (Simon, 1994). This was largely due to a new agenda set by Peter Fraser (Prime minister), Clarence Beeby (Director of Education) and the first Labour government who believed that:

...every person, whatever the level of his academic ability, whether he be rich or poor, whether he live in town or country, has a right as a citizen to a free education of a kind for which he is best fitted and to the fullest extent of his powers (AJHR, 1939, p. 2).

The demand for secondary education amongst Māori grew during the 1940s and Native District High Schools were established in response to these demands (Openshaw et al., 1993). In 1941 the first Native District High schools were established on the east coast of the north island in places such as Te Araroa and Ruatoria. These were followed in 1942, by a school in Tikitiki. The Department of Education once again insisted on a practical curriculum, but this time instead of an agricultural focus, there was a new push towards a home-making curriculum. This was due to the realisation that

Māori land reserves were in short supply and not all Māori were going to find their living on the land (Openshaw et al., 1993).

The homemaking curriculum that was established in Native District High Schools prepared Māori boys to become builders, carpenters, gardeners, plumbers and Māori girls to become good housewives. Policymakers felt that Māori youth would be better prepared for life in the city if they were exposed to this type of manual–technical curriculum (Openshaw et al., 1993). Māori boys increasingly had to live in the cities because of the impact of previous land losses from warfare and confiscations. Māori communities themselves continued to oppose the practical curriculum. Ball recalled that “they [Māori parents] wanted examinations and they wanted their children to progress and perhaps to go on to university... the (native district high) schools did not meet the Māoris’ anticipated requirements and so they didn’t appeal to the Māori” (Ball, 1973, p. 12). It wasn’t until the introduction of the School Certificate examination in 1945, that Māori communities were finally freed from the restrictions of the non-academic curriculum in the Native District High Schools (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974).

Integration policies

By the 1950s and 1960s large numbers of Māori were moving into public secondary schools. General access to secondary education for Māori had at last become a reality (Jefferies, 1997). This period of time is important to this study because it was during the 1950s that three participants began primary school, followed by five more participants during the 1960s.

In 1960, the *Report on the Department of Māori Affairs*, more commonly known as the Hunn report mapped out the position of Māori in a range of areas including: Education, Employment, Health, Crime, Welfare, Housing and Land issues. This report was significant because it was the first empirical research to illustrate the “extent of Māori disadvantage on a number of

indices” (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p.37). There was a noticeable shift in attitude in this report. The idea that Māori were intellectually inferior was supplanted by the notion that Māori were “...quite capable of absorbing education at all levels. The distribution of intelligence is the same among Māori as among Europeans” (Hunn, 1960, p.23). The report highlighted education as an area of importance because it was believed that “education will, in the long run, do most for the cause of Māori advancement” (Hunn, 1960, p.20).

In terms of Māori performance in education, the report showed that: the majority of Māori children at the primary level were enrolled in education board schools (71%); a very small proportion of Māori continued their schooling to the sixth form level; and Māori representation at University was “only about one – eighth of what it should be” (Hunn, 1960, p.25). There were no data available on the number of Māori who passed School Certificate and University Entrance examinations as Māori statistics were not collated as a separate category at that time. The report claimed that the number of Māori pursuing higher education was dwindling, and the main cause was attributed to a lack of interest in post primary and university education and parental apathy (Hunn, 1960). The report suggested that changing parental attitudes towards education would be a key task in the future:

To persuade the Māoris [Māori] to accept equality of education at university level is clearly one of the main tasks for the future. Otherwise the Māori people debar themselves of their own volition, from entry to many walks of life that are both satisfying to the individual and honorific to the race (Hunn, 1960, p.25).

The report made a number of recommendations including that a Foundation for Māori Education be established and that Māori schools be integrated into the public schooling system. The latter recommendation had been proposed five years earlier by the National Committee on Māori Education (1955). Although the report focused mainly on academic advancement, a practical

emphasis was not lost altogether, the report did suggest “a proper survey would doubtless show ample scope for a calculated policy of steering specially selected Māori children into technical schools to equip them better for conditions in the skilled labour market” (p.26). The power to decide who would be “specially selected” was once again left to Department of Education officials.

In setting a new direction for educational policy, the Hunn Report (1960) recommended that New Zealand move from the policy of ‘assimilation’ to a new policy of ‘integration’. Integration would involve combining Māori and Pākeha elements whilst still maintaining a distinctive Māori culture (Hunn, 1960). This was seen as the best way to bring the nation together and deal with the question of race relations. In practice, the policy did very little other than maintain the status quo. Integration was in many respects assimilation in another guise, minority rights were subsumed by those of the dominant majority (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Metge, 1990).

The Report of the Commission on Education in New Zealand, or Currie Commission Report was published two years later in 1962. The Currie report re-emphasised many of the findings and recommendations made by the earlier Hunn report. It recommended that Māori schools be transferred to Education Board control. However it asserted that this action be completed within a ten year time frame. It also highlighted the disparities between Māori and Non-Māori by demonstrating that: very few Māori continued their education beyond the 15 year compulsory leaving age; Māori children left school earlier and with fewer qualifications than their Non-Māori peers; and a large proportion of Māori were employed in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations (Currie, 1962). There is a strong connection between these last two facts. Low achievement at school often restricts job opportunities. For Māori in particular, high rates of educational underachievement have meant that there has been a disproportionate amount of Māori employed in unskilled

and semi-skilled occupations. During the 1950s and 1960s there were plenty of job opportunities in these areas. However, as will be demonstrated later in the chapter, this situation would present major problems for Māori during the 1970s and 1980s. Low rates of achievement at school also meant that access to higher education was out of reach for many Māori.

Both the Hunn (1960) and the Currie Commission (1962) reports took a deficit view when explaining the educational disparity between Māori and Non-Māori. Māori children were failing to achieve at school because they were 'culturally deprived.' In other words, there was not enough emphasis on formal education in the home. The Currie (1962) report claimed that "... too many [Māori] live in large families in inadequately sized and even primitive homes, lacking privacy, quiet and even light for study: too often there is a dearth of books, pictures, educative material generally, to stimulate the growing child" (Currie,1962, p.48). 'Cultural deficit' or 'cultural deprivation' theories were influential in the international context as well as here in New Zealand during this time (Metge, 1990, p.6). Neither of these reports took into consideration the cumulative effects of a practical curriculum and massive language loss. By the end of the decade cultural deficit theories were being heavily critiqued in New Zealand as in other parts of the world. Māori children were starting to be seen as culturally different rather than culturally deprived (Jones, Marshall, Matthews, Smith & Smith, 1995).

In 1969, the Māori Schools (formerly known as the Native Schools) system was finally disestablished (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974; Openshaw et al., 1993; Simon, 1998). There was now, only one education system in New Zealand and Māori had become fully integrated into this mainstream schooling environment.

Multiculturalism and biculturalism policies

The 1970s and 1980s were also an important era in relation to this study. A thorough understanding of this period of Māori education is important because the remaining eight participants in this study began school during this period. Four started primary school during the 1970s and four others during the 1980s.

Multicultural policies first began to emerge during the 1970s, as a way of addressing increasing cultural diversity driven by immigration to New Zealand, particularly Non-European immigration (Jones, McCulloch, Marshall, Smith & Smith, 1990). In practice, multiculturalism policies meant that while many schools celebrated cultural diversity, and tried to be inclusive of the culture and language of all ethnic groups (Bishop & Glynn, 1999), the central position of culture and language of indigenous Māori students was marginalised and trivialised. One of the major problems with this approach was that the majority culture often became the central benchmark against which all other cultures and ethnicities were judged. Māori language and culture were no more valued in their own country than the languages and cultures of other migrant groups. All of these groups were cast in the role of 'other', as the exception to a perceived 'norm.' This problematic is described by Bishop and Glynn (1999):

...monocultural Pākeha teachers continued to dominate the education system (Walker, 1973) and because these teachers, being part of the dominant majority, did not perceive that they themselves had a culture or a particular way of viewing the world, they promoted the 'non-culture phenomenon.' This meant that teachers unwittingly and uncritically promoted their own culture as the standard to which others were to be compared. In this manner children of different cultures were forced to see others through the eyes of the majority culture. In effect, it was

more that the culture of the teacher became the 'yardstick' for comparison...(p.40).

Multicultural policies once again perpetuated the idea of cultural superiority. As noted above, the language and culture of Māori students was not as keenly embraced as those of other minority groups. Māori language and culture was once again accorded a lower status.

Biculturalism policies emerged as a direct consequence of the strong Māori critique of multiculturalism. By the late 1960s, Māori were becoming much more aware of their human rights. This is likely to have resulted from the influence of the civil rights movement, feminist movement, the gay rights movements and anti-Vietnam war demonstrations (Consedine, 2007; Jones, McCulloch, Marshall, Smith & Smith, 1990). In the New Zealand context, Māori began to bring their struggle for cultural survival into the public domain through the media. There were a number of significant and emotionally charged events that took place during this era including the: Waitangi Day protest (1971), creation of Māori language day (1972); the Māori land march led by Whina Cooper in (1975), the institution of Māori language week (1975), the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal (1975), the occupation of Bastion point (1977-1978) and the reclaiming of Raglan Golf Course land (1978). Māori were in Friere's terms becoming 'conscientised' (G. Smith, 1995) (this is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five).

It was within this political context of refusal to address long-standing grievances that Māori critics began to question whether multicultural policies could ever be achieved, when the bicultural partnership between Māori and Pākehā as guaranteed under the Treaty of Waitangi could not even be established. In educational circles, recommendations for change were also being advocated. In 1970, the National Advisory Committee on Māori Education recommended that there should be more awareness and acceptance of Māori cultural values (National Advisory Committee on Māori

Education, 1970). Metge (1990) claims that this report represented an important change in thinking because it raised the idea that there were systemic changes that needed to be made to make schools more inclusive of Māori children.

As a result of the recommendations, the government introduced Taha Māori programmes into schools. Taha Māori programmes aimed to provide a Māori perspective to the national curriculum, so that Māori students in all schools might learn about their own language and culture within public education in their own country (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). In practice what this really meant is that children, Māori and Non-Māori, learnt basic greetings and words for objects in the classroom. Māori language was being introduced into the curriculum albeit in a very limited way. Jenkins (1994) supports this notion by saying that in terms of taha Māori programmes, only a “very limited expectation was placed on pupils and teachers to speak in Māori” (p.155). Therefore, the likelihood that Māori children were ever going to become conversant in the Māori language was unrealistic.

The implementation of taha Māori programmes proved to be very controversial (Jones et al., 1990). On one side, Pākeha questioned the relevance of the initiative equating the introduction of taha Māori with lowering standards. Māori on the other hand, were critical because it drained the already limited resources that were available in the Māori field (Jones et al., 1990, p.142). As time passed, taha Māori initiatives became more and more about increasing Pākeha acceptance of Māori language and culture than about teaching Māori children to speak the Māori language (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Majority culture interests had once again subverted Māori interests.

Towards the end of the 1970s, Māori became acutely aware that the Māori language was in danger of extinction. Richard Benton's (1979) research was very significant because it was the first empirical study to show that the Māori

language was facing imminent language death. It became apparent that the measures that were implemented in the mainstream education system would not be enough to revive the Māori language. It was up to Māori themselves to find a solution. And they did. It was this realisation that led to the Hui Whakatauirā (Māori leaders) conference in 1980 and the development of Māori medium pre-schools known as Kōhanga Reo (literally meaning language nests).

Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wānanga Māori

The Kōhanga Reo (language nest) movement developed from a belief that the best way to revitalise the language was to immerse as many Māori children as possible in the Māori language from a very young age. The first Kōhanga Reo, *Pukeatua*, was officially established in Wainuiomata, Wellington in 1982 (Jones et al., 1995; King, 2001; Tangaere 1997). The Kōhanga Reo movement was “founded by Māori, for Māori” (Tangaere, Argo–Kemp, & Newman, 2005, p.4). Māori took key responsibility for the organisation, the management and also the everyday operations of individual Kōhanga Reo. Kōhanga Reo validated and promoted Māori knowledge, Māori pedagogies, and of course, the Māori language.

Whānau development is another important objective of the Kōhanga Reo movement. Not only do the children learn te reo me ōna tikanga, the whānau also develop skills as a result of their participation. King (2001) claims that self-esteem among Māori parents has increased as a result of their participation in Kōhanga Reo. Those who have had negative experiences in the schooling system have been empowered through Te Kōhanga Reo to “pursue schooling options which best suit their children’s needs” (p.125). The commitment of parents to the philosophy of Kōhanga Reo has meant that many have taken steps to reclaim te reo Māori in order to enhance their children’s development (King, 2001).

The Kōhanga Reo movement has acted as the catalyst for a number of educational initiatives, both here in New Zealand and internationally as well. It has prompted the development of similar language revitalisation initiatives in Hawaii such as Pūnana Leo (Hawaiian language immersion preschools). In the New Zealand context, it has also acted as the springboard for the development of Rarotongan, Fijian, Samoan and Tongan language nests. This year, the Kōhanga Reo movement has received international recognition for providing "...a social, political and cultural focal point for the empowerment of Māori people and contributed to the expansion of educational opportunities for Māori children and the development of a more multicultural education system" (UNESCO, 2010, p.30). The Kōhanga Reo movement is important in terms of the current study because nine of the participants were involved in this movement either as teaching staff or as parents. One participant attended a Kōhanga Reo for a year when she was young.

Kōhanga Reo also prompted and facilitated the establishment of other Kaupapa Māori educational initiatives. In 1985, Kura Kaupapa Māori (total immersion Māori language schools for school aged children) were established, this was followed by Wharekura (the secondary component of Kura Kaupapa Māori) and Wānanga Māori (Kaupapa Māori institutions of higher learning) (G.Smith, 1992; 1995; 1997). It has also lead to transformational change within the state schooling system as bilingual and immersion classes and units were established in response to Māori desires to have their children continued to be taught through the medium of the Māori language. These Māori medium educational initiatives are important in the context of this study because many of the participants entered university with the goal of becoming teachers in these settings.

Although Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa were initially established outside the state schooling system, they have since become part of the New Zealand

education system.

Neo-liberal education reforms

New Zealand had one of the highest standards of living in the world during the 1950s and 1960s. The economy was booming, and there was almost full employment. A decade on, an economic recession brought on by the 'oil shock' (1973) and Britain's entry into the European Economic Community meant that New Zealand's economic stability was undermined (Consedine, 2007). In 1984, a Labour-led government instituted widespread economic reform and these neo-liberal reforms started to make their presence felt in education.

In 1988, a Taskforce headed by Brian Picot, was established which recommended that radical changes be made in terms of Educational Administration. The Picot Taskforce recommended greater community-school collaboration and less central control. Equity objectives were another feature of the recommendations. Recognising the growing interest in Māori educational initiatives, the taskforce also recommended that people be given the choice to opt out of mainstream schooling provisions and to create their own learning institutions (Picot, 1988). These recommendations were set out in the Picot Report and implemented through the policy known as Tomorrow's Schools (Department of Education, 1989).

During the 1990s the focus shifted to curriculum reform. In 1993, the New Zealand National Curriculum Framework (1993) was introduced. This framework set out what should be learnt, what should be taught, and how it should be assessed. This document was followed by a series of curriculum statements. The Māori versions of these documents were initially translated versions of the English documents, rather than documents written by Māori for Māori. In 1998, the government embarked on an extensive consultation exercise with Māori in order to develop a Māori Education strategy. This was

driven by continued concerns over the high rates of Māori educational underachievement (Ministry of Education, 2009).

In the broader social context, the 1980s and 1990s were another active time for the Māori community. A historic Māori hui took place in 1984, the *Hui Taumata*, which brought together a large contingent of Māori leaders (Moon, 2009). The focus of this hui was Māori economic development. One of the issues to surface at this hui was the importance of education as a pathway to future development. In addition to the establishment of Māori educational initiatives, Te Reo Māori was recognised as an official language of New Zealand in 1987. The Māori language Commission was established that same year and Wānanga and Kura Kaupapa Māori were formally recognised in 1989 (Moon, 2009).

The nineties ushered in another period of intense Māori politicisation spurred on by the fiscal envelope (1995) and the Sealords deal (1992). The occupation of Moutoa gardens (1995) is particularly important to this study because one of the participants, Mihi, was involved in this protest action. The nineties also saw the settlement of the Ngai Tahu (1991) and Tainui (1995) Treaty of Waitangi claims (Moon, 2009). In 1996, the number of Māori seats in parliament rose as a consequence of the Mixed Member Proportional system of voting. By the end of 1999, there were references to the Treaty in twenty nine statutes, eleven requiring some form of action in respect to the Treaty (Moon, 2009).

During the past decade, Māori have continued to assert their rights as tangata whenua (the indigenous people of New Zealand). In 2004, a 20,000 strong protest march reached parliament buildings to show their opposition to government legislation that vested the country's foreshore and seabed in crown ownership (Moon, 2009). A new political party, the Māori party emerged out of this movement to promote Māori interests in parliament. This

party became coalition partners with the current government in 2008. During this period, significant progress in Māori broadcasting was made with the birth of Māori television in 2004. There have also been five Hui Taumata Matauranga (Māori education hui) held during the past decade.

In the educational context, more educational reforms have taken place. In 2007, a new national curriculum, *The New Zealand Curriculum* was launched (Ministry of Education, 2007). This was followed in 2008 by the first Māori curriculum, *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* (Ministry of Education, 2008). This document was developed for Māori medium settings levels one and two. However, all New Zealand schools are able to use this document. The point of difference, from past efforts is that it is not merely a translation of the *New Zealand Curriculum*. It is founded on Māori philosophies and principles and a Māori worldview.

In 2008, *Ka Hikitia—Managing for Success: The Māori Education Strategy 2008–2012* was introduced (Ministry of Education, 2009). The overall goal of this policy is for Māori to enjoy education success as Māori. The foundation for this policy can be traced back to the Hui Taumata (2001) and the work of Professor Mason Durie who set out three visions for Māori educational advancement: to live as Māori; to actively participate as citizens of the world, and to enjoy a high standard of living and good health (Durie, 2003, p.208). Instead of promoting a deficit approach, *Ka Hikitia*, seeks to realise Māori potential. This Māori potential approach is based on three key underlying principles: all Māori learners have unlimited potential; all Māori have cultural advantage by virtue of who they are – being Māori is an asset not a problem; and all Māori are inherently capable of achieving success (Ministry of Education, 2009, p.19). This marks an important shift in the way that policymakers and the government are approaching Māori education.

In recent years there have been improvements in Māori educational achievement. Educational statistics demonstrate that the percentage of Māori pupils leaving school with little or no formal attainment decreased from 25 percent in 2005 to 10.4 percent in 2008 (New Zealand Department of Labour, 2009). Over this same period, more Māori were achieving at the highest level of schooling (NCEA level 3 and above), this figure rose from 10.8 to 19.3 percent (New Zealand Department of Labour, 2009). Nevertheless, in 2008, 10.4 percent of Māori students still left school with little or no formal attainment compared to 4.3 percent of Non-Māori students (New Zealand Department of Labour, 2009).

A number of studies have identified failure to achieve at lower levels of the education system as a barrier to Māori participation in higher education (Jefferies, 1997; Ministry of Education, 2001b; Nikora, Levy, Henry & Whangapirita, 2002). Recent research suggests that this continues to remain a problem. For example, Earle (2008) points out that “Māori students continue to have the lowest rate of progression from school to tertiary of any ethnic group” (p.3). He goes on to maintain that “school performance has the largest association with the success of Māori school leavers in their first year of degree study” (p.3). He further proposes that for those entering degree studies for the first time as adults, “...having higher levels of school qualifications have strong associations with their first year of success” (p.3).

Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided a brief historical overview of Māori in the New Zealand education system. It has shown that European education for Māori was introduced with the prime purpose of assimilating the Māori population. An important negative impact of education in this early period was the hegemonic imposition of the belief in the superiority of European language and culture. The Māori language was relegated to a secondary status in this system and came perilously close to extinction.

The chapter has shown that the ideology that Māori were culturally inferior and better suited to manual labouring jobs meant that the curriculum in place in Native Schools emphasised practical subjects. This practical curriculum served to limit Māori access to higher education. The chapter has also shown that even after assimilation policies were replaced by integration policies, Māori still exercised very little control over their own education.

The educational disparities between Māori and Non-Māori were highlighted during the 1960s and these disparities continue to exist today. Failure to achieve at lower levels of education has been highlighted as a major barrier to Māori participation in higher education.

During the 1980s, Māori took increasing control of their own education through the establishment of Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori. Māori political consciousness was at an all time high. This prompted the transformation of the state schooling system who responded by creating Māori medium options.

The 1990s saw the introduction of a National Curriculum Framework in New Zealand and associated curriculum statements. The Māori versions of these documents were mere translations of the English text. However, in 2008, the production of the first curriculum, *Te Marautanga* based on Māori philosophies, epistemologies and pedagogies was introduced. The *Ka Hikitia*,

Māori education policy document, also introduced in 2008, emphasised the dual goals for Māori education, to live as Māori and to succeed as citizens of the world. This signals a major shift away in the way that policymakers, the Government and the Ministry are approaching Māori education and are responding to Māori educational initiatives.

Chapter Two has highlighted major educational policies that have had an impact on successive generations of Māori. The chapter has illustrated a range of influences (assimilation policies, an overemphasis on the practical curriculum, denial of Māori language and culture, underachievement, cost of higher education) that have made it difficult for Māori to access higher education. The chapter has also mapped changes in the broader cultural-historical context that have led to the current educational environment. In this respect, this chapter has provided a crucial contextual base for this study. Chapter Three builds on this foundation by looking specifically at Māori participation in higher education.

CHAPTER THREE

MĀORI PARTICIPATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

*Ko te kaupapa o te māramatanga,
he rite ki nga ihi o te ra.*

*The purpose of enlightenment
is that it be as clear as the sun's rays.*

*Pursue higher learning for it is the pathway to freedom
(Tai, 1992)*

This chapter provides a brief overview of Māori participation in higher education with a particular focus on Māori in the New Zealand University system. It demonstrates that although individual Māori students have been graduating from universities since the early 1890s, historically, there has always been a low rate of participation by Māori in New Zealand Universities (Davies & Nicholl, 1993; Durie, 2009; L. Smith, 1999). The chapter goes on to argue that in terms of policy and practice, little acknowledgement has been given to the significance of being Māori at university and that Māori have been caught in an on-going struggle to have their language and culture included in the curriculum of New Zealand Universities. In this respect, Chapter Three provides an important contextual background for this research.

The sixteen participants in this study were all graduates of the University of Waikato. Therefore, in addition to a focus on New Zealand tertiary education policy, this chapter also looks closely at policy and practices within the University of Waikato from 1980 to 2006. This was the period when the participants attended the University of Waikato.

The introduction of university education in New Zealand

In July 1867, the Head Master of Otago High School, Reverend Frank Churchill Simmons, petitioned parliament encouraging the General Assembly to consider the question of university education in New Zealand. In his petition, Reverend Simmons argued that although he was hopeful that a university would one day be established in New Zealand, he felt that the time had not yet come. Instead, the Reverend suggested that the colony's interests would be best served by introducing scholarships that would enable only the worthiest of students to study in British and other universities:

Your petitioner believes that a small portion of the public funds would be well employed in maintaining, at one or more of the universities in the Mother Country, such limited number of the young men of this colony as should be proved by examination most worthy of becoming the recipients of the public liberality (AJHR, 1867, G4, p.4).

The petition was referred to a Select committee, who after consultation with approximately sixty gentlemen (fifty of whom responded) throughout New Zealand concurred with Reverend Simmons that scholarships seemed to be the best way forward. This was highlighted in the Select committee report:

...University exhibitions [scholarships], if properly established and cared for, would exercise a very perceptible and beneficial influence, direct and indirect, upon the whole course and character of education throughout New Zealand (AJHR, 1867, F - n.o.1, p.3).

Although the Select Committee opposed the immediate establishment of a colonial university, they did foresee a time when university education would become a reality in the country. To this end, they urged parliament to look at setting aside portions of confiscated Māori lands for the purpose of providing an endowment for a university. The Select Committee also encouraged the

government to invite provinces to earmark portions of crown lands for the same purpose (AJHR, 1867, F, No.1, p.3).

In 1868, the New Zealand University Endowment Act came into effect putting many of the recommendations made by the Select Committee into motion. The Act provided eight scholarships of 250 pounds, two of these scholarships were open to competition each year (Parton, 1979). In addition, the Act made it possible for the Governor in Council to reserve waste crown lands for the purposes of university education. However, despite the provisions of this statute, no scholarships were ever granted. The government did set aside 10,000 acres of crown land in Southland and a similar area of confiscated Māori land in Taranaki for university purposes (Parton, 1979). In addition, 10,000 acres of Māori land was confiscated in Whakatane in 1868 and was given as an endowment to Auckland University College (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999). Other than that, the 1868 University Endowment Act was largely ignored by the provinces (Parton, 1979). However, in Otago, the desire to establish New Zealand's first university began to gain momentum in the 1860s.

Otago was one of the wealthiest and most heavily populated provinces in New Zealand during the 1860s, due to the discovery of gold in 1861 (Parton, 1979). Otago was a predominantly Presbyterian settlement and early Scottish settlers brought their passion for university education with them to New Zealand. Thompson (1919) supports this view claiming that "the idea of creating a university in the new land was born in Scotland, and came to the colony with the first settlers" (p.12). On August 15, 1867, a public meeting was convened in Dunedin and a motion put forward for founding a New Zealand University (Thompson, 1919, p.16). Undeterred by the Select committee's stance against the immediate creation of a colonial university, Mr James MacAndrew (the Otago Provincial Superintendent) and the Synod of the Otago Presbyterian Church, took matters into their own hands, passing

the University of Otago Ordinance Act on June 3, 1869 and creating New Zealand's first university in 1871, the University of Otago (Parton, 1979).

The Canterbury provincial council publicly opposed the establishment of Otago University and prominent Cantabrians such as Henry Tancred (later to be appointed the first Chancellor of the University of New Zealand), William Rolleston and Charles Bowen began lobbying government to make these views known (Lee & Lee, 2002). The Cantabrians raised a number of objections. Firstly, they argued that positioning the university in any one locality would undermine the development of higher education generally within New Zealand. Secondly and perhaps more importantly, Otago and Canterbury held two competing views of what a university should be. Canterbury favoured the university as an examining and degree granting institution only. Otago saw the university as a teaching institution as well (Parton, 1979).

Parliament were quick to recognise that the earlier legislation that had been put in place, namely the 1868 New Zealand University Endowment Act, would need to be re-evaluated in light of the developments in Dunedin (Thompson, 1919). As a consequence, the General Assembly passed the New Zealand University Act (1870) which created a new university, the University of New Zealand. Initially, the University of New Zealand was established as an examining, degree granting and teaching institution with the power to invite any secondary school or educational institution to affiliate with it (Lee & Lee, 2002).

It was widely assumed that the University of New Zealand would amalgamate with Otago University within six months. However, this did not eventuate and to complicate matters even further another university was founded under the Canterbury College Ordinance in 1873. This situation was remedied to some extent in 1874 through the introduction of another University Act, which re-

cast the University of New Zealand as an examining and degree granting institution only, comprising a Senate, a Chancellor and a Court of Convocation (Barrowman, 1999). Under the provisions of the 1874 act, the University of New Zealand assumed an administrative function with no power over the teaching institutions and the teaching institutions in turn were charged with “the real work” of the universities (Beaglehole, 1937). It was under this legislation that Otago University finally agreed to affiliate with the University of New Zealand and in doing so conceded its power to grant degrees. Canterbury College also became an affiliate of the University of New Zealand along with a number of secondary schools (Barrowman, 1999). By 1874, the Canterbury view had prevailed, the “University of New Zealand adhered to the English and Irish, not Scottish, university model, whereby examinations were conducted and degrees granted but no teaching occurred” (Lee & Lee, 2002, p.5).

Māori were never overtly discriminated against in terms of early university legislation or policy. In fact, the notion of an open university was embraced by many of the early pioneers of university education in New Zealand. For example, the Christchurch College Ordinance of 1873 stated that it would enable “all classes and denominations of her Majesty’s subjects resident in the province of Canterbury and elsewhere in the colony of New Zealand to pursue a regular and liberal course of education” (Lee & Lee, 2002, p.5). G.W. Russell, the chairman of the Board of Governors of Christchurch University College stated very early on that the “College opens its doors to everyone, it welcomes rich and poor alike” (Butterworth & Tarling, 1994, p.24). Fitzgerald (1977) supports this assertion by stating that when university education first developed in New Zealand “...there was never any suggestion of segregation of Māori and Pākehā nor any discrimination against prospective Māori scholars” (p.23). However, he goes on to contend that the reason for this was simple, there were no immediate candidates and so it was not viewed as an issue at the time.

The fact that there were no candidates is hardly surprising, given the Māori experience of schooling at lower levels of the New Zealand education system. As demonstrated in Chapter Two, the predominant view that Māori were intellectually inferior and therefore best suited to a life of manual labour, limited Māori access to the university and the professions. The high cost of university education and limited number of scholarships available made it even more difficult for Māori to realise their desires for higher education. Despite the endowment of confiscated Māori land, it seems that Māori were almost totally overlooked when it came to the establishment of the University of New Zealand.

The first Royal Commission on the University of New Zealand was appointed in 1878 (Parton, 1979). During this time there were particular concerns over the standard of teaching in the affiliated secondary schools. In its final report released in 1880, the Commission recommended that the University of New Zealand bring an end to the system of affiliation, and instead proposed instituting a federal system of colleges, termed “university colleges.” The Commission recommended that two more university colleges be established in the North Island and suggested that a senate composed of representatives from the university colleges be introduced. Some of the Commission’s recommendations were instituted. For example, the affiliation of secondary schools ended with Nelson College in 1887 (Parton, 1979). However, an economic recession meant that the establishment of two further university colleges in the North Island were inevitably delayed. It was not until 1882 that Auckland University College was established by statute and much later, an act of Parliament in 1897 established Victoria University College in Wellington.

The University of New Zealand operated as a federal system with four constituent university colleges: Otago University, Canterbury University

College, Auckland University College, and Victoria University College until its disestablishment in 1961 (Lee & Lee, 2002).

In order to enter the four university colleges, students needed to pass the matriculation examination. This examination was introduced in the late 1870s and was used to ascertain whether or not entrants were ready to pass into the University ³(Thomas, Beeby & Oram, 1939). However, a new precedent was set following World War One when returned servicemen were granted entrance to the University of New Zealand even though they did not sit the matriculation exam. Provisional matriculation for older students was officially introduced in 1923 (Butterworth & Tarling, 1994; Thomas et al., 1939). Under the original conditions, students aged thirty years and over could enter degree courses at university without passing an entrance exam.

In 1926, the qualifying age for provisional matriculation dropped to twenty five, and then in 1936 it fell again to twenty one years old (Thomas, Beeby & Oram, 1939). It should be noted that provisional matriculation did not grant access to all of the courses of study offered by the University of New Zealand. Thomas et al. (1939) claim that in some disciplines such as law and medicine adult student entry was restricted. Furthermore, the progress of students who entered the university via provisional matriculation was monitored once the student had begun their studies.

The practice of admitting adult students to university without formal entrance qualifications has persisted over time. During the late 1980s, this practice was re-named 'special admission' and in the early nineties, the age limit was lowered to twenty years of age.

³ The University Entrance examination replaced the Matriculation exam in 1944.

Māori pioneers in the New Zealand university system

As mentioned in Chapter Two, Te Aute College was responsible for producing most of the early Māori university graduates. There is not much information available about the experiences of these graduates at university during the 1890s (Tiakiwai, 2001). However, there is considerable autobiographical information about the deeds of the first wave of Māori university graduates. In many cases, these graduates went on to serve the needs of the Māori community in a range of ways.

As noted in Chapter Two, the first Māori person to graduate from the University of New Zealand was Apirana Ngata (1874–1950) from Ngati Porou. Ngata entered Canterbury University College in 1891 (Fitzgerald, 1977). He completed a Bachelor of Arts degree, with second - class honours in political science in 1893 and in 1897 completed a Bachelor of Laws degree. Ngata was not only the first Māori person to graduate from a New Zealand University with a degree, but he was also the first New Zealander to hold a double degree of BA and LLB (Walker, 2001). In 1921 he was conferred a Master of Arts degree and in 1948 was awarded an honorary Doctor of Literature degree by the University of New Zealand (Walker, 1999). After graduating from University, Ngata went on to become a politician for Eastern Māori in 1905, retaining this seat until 1943. Ngata worked tirelessly in service of his people and as previously mentioned in this chapter, was responsible for stimulating a Māori cultural revival in the early part of the 20th century. He also championed the cause of Māori land development. In recognition of his service to his people, Ngata received a knighthood in 1927 (Walker, 2001).

Maui Pomare of Ngati Awa was another Te Aute graduate who attended university during this early period. Pomare completed his secondary education at Christchurch Boys' High School and at Te Aute College. He studied medicine in Chicago, gaining his MD in 1899 (Alexander, 1951). He became the first public health officer with special responsibility for Māori

health in 1901 and then entered New Zealand politics in 1911. He was passionate about improving Māori health and was awarded a knighthood for his efforts in 1922 (Alexander, 1951).

Another notable Te Aute scholar was Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Buck) from the Taranaki region. He attended Te Aute from 1896, passing his Medical Preliminary Examination in 1898 and graduating from Dunedin Medical School in 1904 (Alexander, 1951). After graduating, he briefly entered politics as the member for Northern Māori in 1909. In World War One he became a member of the Māori Pioneer Battalion. After returning home, he was appointed the Director of Māori Hygiene and worked hard during the 1918 influenza epidemic that seriously affected Māori communities (Alexander, 1951). Later in life, Buck cultivated a distinguished career as an anthropologist spending most of his time overseas. He was awarded honorary doctorates by the University of New Zealand and by Yale University and in 1946 was awarded a knighthood.

There were other high profile Te Aute graduates that went on to university study including: Tutere Wi Repa, Dr E.P Ellison and the Reverend Reweti Kohere. However, it is Ngata, Buck and Pomare in particular that are credited with Māori social, economic and cultural revival in the early 20th century (Durie, 2009).

As previously noted in Chapter Two, a key driving force in the success of these early Māori graduates was John Thornton, the Principal at Te Aute College. However, while Thornton was a strong advocate of university education for Māori, he nevertheless still held the view, like most of his contemporaries at the time that the survival of the Māori population depended upon their complete assimilation into the European way of life (Fitzgerald, 1977).

The idea that Māori should embrace European civilisation clearly had an influence on some of the Te Aute College students in Thornton's charge. For example, in 1891, twenty students from Te Aute College including Ngata formed the Association for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Māori Race. One of the stated aims of the association was to abolish "injurious customs and useless meetings" (Walker, 2001, p.70). It also aimed to elevate Māori social life. The aims of this association discouraged some Māori customs, promoting European cultural superiority instead. Ngata and two other peers went out to preach this gospel in Māori communities, making a two week visit to East coast villages. Not surprisingly, these ideas were snubbed by elders who were more concerned with the survival of the Māori population. Later, in reflecting on this experience, Ngata wrote:

We had none of us any great knowledge of Māori [community] life; the little we knew was not to the credit of the Māori people. Beyond that we did not look. It was sufficient for us as enthusiasts, that our people were dirty, idle, drunken, and immoral, for we would teach them how to be clean, industrious, sober and virtuous. So we framed a constitution [that was] utterly impracticable, unsuited to the circumstances of Māori society, and beyond the powers of the greatest organizing genius to effect (Te Aute College Students Association, 1897 cited in Fitzgerald, 1977, p.31).⁴

Although there was a strong push from these Māori graduates to take on the aspects of European civilisation, it should be remembered that at the time, there were grave concerns about the survival of the Māori population. Also, they could not have envisioned the extent to which assimilation policies would take their toll on Māori culture and language.

⁴ Ngata is speaking about the social and economic conditions that were impacting Māori communities at the time.

Five years after the first Association was formed, the Te Aute College Students Association, later to be known as the Young Māori Party, was established. This Association had more realistic goals and emphasised the need for members to remain in touch with their community as well. In his address to the association, Ngata (1897) stated “Never let us be false to our people; whatever education may do for us, let it not put us out of touch with them, else our training will be a pitiful and lamentable failure” (Ngata message to Te Aute College Students Association, 1897 cited in Fitzgerald, 1977,p.31).

This section has shown that even in this early period, Māori university students were a diverse group, coming from different iwi and different backgrounds. It also demonstrates the struggle to maintain cultural integrity in the face of stringent attempts to bring about cultural assimilation. These battles are still ongoing and are reflected to a large extent in the participant’s narratives presented later in this thesis. The section also demonstrates the strong cultural expectation that university graduates will be of service to the Māori community.

Māori language and Māori studies at university

The struggle to have Māori language and culture included in the curriculum of New Zealand universities is ongoing. Walker (1999) claims that this task has preoccupied the work of Māori intellectuals for eight decades of the twentieth century and it is still a work in progress. It was Apirana Ngata who would once again spearhead the drive to have Māori language included as a subject at the University of New Zealand.

In 1923, Ngata called on the government to support research into Māori culture. This prompted the establishment of the Māori Ethnological Research Board and the published works of Elsdon Best and Peter Buck (Walker, 2004). Ngata used this facility, the Ethnological Board, to lobby the senate of

the University of New Zealand to include Māori language as a subject for the Bachelor of Arts Degree. He appealed to the senate to have Māori included in the curriculum as a foreign language. The senate tried to thwart the development of this initiative by suggesting that there was inadequate literature to support a teaching program of this nature (Walker, 2004). Ngata dismissed this, pointing to the seminal works of George Grey, such as *Ngā Mahi a Ngā Tupuna* and *Ngā Moteatea*. The senate eventually relented and Māori language eventually was included in the curriculum of the University of New Zealand in 1925 (Walker, 2004). However, it would take another twenty five years or so for this to be translated into practice.

By the late 1940s and early 1950s, Māori academics had begun to be appointed to positions within the university. In 1949, Maharaia Winiata secured a position as a tutor in Māori adult education at Auckland University College and in 1952, Matiu Te Hau was appointed to the position of tutor in adult education (Walker, 2005). Working out of the Department of University Extension, these tutors taught courses in Māori language, culture, history weaving and carving initially in Māori communities themselves (Walker, 2005). Bruce Biggs was appointed as a lecturer in Māori language in 1951, working in the Anthropology Department at Auckland University College. This appointment was controversial. Like Ngata before him, Biggs faced stringent opposition on the basis that Māori was not a language of scholarship. Once again, Māori texts were produced to show the depth of resources available and a motion made for the inclusion of Māori (Walker, 1999).

In 1951, Māori language courses began at Auckland University (Walker, 2004). However, in 1952, there was opposition from some faculty once again when level two papers were mooted, on the grounds of insufficient literature. The argument that there was inadequate literature to support the introduction of a major (advanced courses) was still being voiced in the University of Auckland Faculty of Arts in the 1970s.

The inclusion of language eventually made way for the inclusion of cultural studies. According to Walker (1999) the “breakthrough made at Auckland was emulated over the next thirty years by the establishment of Māori studies at all teachers’ colleges, polytechnics and universities” (p.3).

It is clear that Māori have fought tirelessly to have their language and culture included in New Zealand universities. Many of the same issues faced by Ngata were also faced by Biggs and by Karetu (as evident in the following section).

The University of Waikato

The disestablishment of the University of New Zealand came in 1961 following the recommendations of the Hughes Parry Committee (Butterworth & Tarling, 1994; Lee & Lee, 2002). Under new legislation, Universities became “separate autonomous institutions operating under individual Acts of Parliament” (Butterworth & Tarling, 1994, p.253). However, they were still required to consult with the newly formed University Grants Committee to receive government funding. Two more universities were officially established during the 1960s, Massey University (Palmerston North) and the University of Waikato (Hamilton).

The establishment of the University of Waikato was largely due to the efforts of two prominent Hamiltonians, Douglas Seymour (Solicitor) and Doctor Anthony Rogers (GP) who worked to have a university founded in the area (Day, 1984). These individuals were key figures in the establishment of the Waikato Branch of Auckland University College which started operating in Hamilton in 1960. However, their true aspirations were realised in 1963 when the government passed an act to establish a new university in Hamilton and the University of Waikato became a university in its own right from January 1964.

In 1965, the University of Waikato was officially opened. One of the guest speakers at the opening was the Governor – General, Sir Bernard Fergusson (later Lord Ballantrae). In his speech, he surprised many of those gathered by claiming that:

Waikato is the first of the New Zealand universities to be planted right in the heart of the traditionally Māori country. I would like to see high among its ambitions a resolve to establish a Māori faculty” (Sir Bernard Fergusson cited in Day, 1984, p.60).

The sentiments expressed by Governor General were warmly received by Māori who responded spontaneously with applause. In fact, Day (1984) claims that such was the enthusiasm, that after the official ceremony ended, Māori staged their own ceremony with speeches continuing for a further two hours. From a Māori perspective, however, it would have been inappropriate not to welcome the Governor General to the university especially in terms of the high profile iwi representatives that were in attendance, including Bishop Manu Bennett of Te Arawa, Te Kani Te Ua (Te Aitanga a Mahaki), and Henare Tuwhangai of Tainui, one of the advisors to Māori King Koroki. In this way, Māori were simply following protocol that should have been taken care of in the first place, given that they were invited to take part in the ceremony (Tiakiwai, 2001).

The notion of establishing a Māori faculty at the university found a strong supporter in Professor James Ritchie. In his inaugural lecture in 1965, Professor Ritchie made a strong plea for the development of a centre for Māori Studies and Research at the University (Day, 1984). His speech stimulated much debate within the university as well as within the wider community. In June 1965, the University council approved in principle the concept of a Māori research centre. That same year, a request was put

forward from members of the Māori community that a Māori member be appointed to the University Council. In the following year Dr Henry Bennett was elected to this position (Day, 1984). The way forward to establishing Māori studies looked very promising. However, the Centre for Māori Studies and Research did not become a reality until 1972, despite the lobbying from Māori and from Pākehā people such as Professor Ritchie. In the end, the establishment of the Centre was made possible only through the generous donation of external benefactors. Robert Te Kotahi Mahuta was appointed as the first Director of the Centre, and in many eyes this was seen as a fitting choice considering he was a descendent of the Kāhui Ariki (Māori Royal family) and possessed a Masters degree from the University of Auckland (Day, 1984).

The establishment of the Centre for Māori Studies and Research was followed by the development of the Department of Māori. However, the first Māori language courses were introduced a couple of years earlier by Timoti Karetu who was appointed on a part time basis in 1970 and became a senior lecturer in 1973 (Tiakiwai, 2001; University of Waikato, 1989). Like Ngata and Biggs before him, Karetu also faced stringent opposition at the university. He recalled that “Māori language and culture at that time had to prove their viability, their academic worth and their desirability in an environment that was often hostile, suspicious and uninformed” (Karetu, 1989, p.73). When the idea of proposing courses for a MA were floated in 1977, objections were raised once again.

There were further significant Māori developments at the University of Waikato during the seventies. In 1973, the Certificate in Māori Studies was introduced. This comprised a three year Māori language programme providing access to higher education for Māori in remote areas. One of the participants in this study completed this certificate programme. Dr Henry Bennett was appointed as the Chancellor of the University in 1973, a role he

held until 1976. In 1974, a Kaumatua consultant was appointed in the Centre for Māori Studies & Research (Karetu, 1989).

This section has showed that even in a younger, seemingly more liberal university such as the University of Waikato, there was still resistance to the introduction of Māori language courses. However, as the 1970s approached more Māori developments were initiated. The strong influence of this socio-historical time period on the relationships between Māori and Non-Māori cannot be dismissed.

Māori politicisation in the university setting

In the broader university context, the 1970s saw greater politicisation of Māori university students. In 1970, the Young Māori Leaders' Conference, organised by Ranginui Walker, was held at Auckland University. The conference was organised to consider problems relating to Māori urbanisation. It was from this conference that Ngā Tamatoa (Young Warriors) emerged. The members of Ngā Tamatoa were young (all under thirty years old), Māori or Polynesian and based in Auckland (Walker, 1980). Inspired by the civil rights movement in the United States, the group staged the first protest at Waitangi Day celebrations in 1971. Their influence extended to other areas as well including the initiation of Māori Language Day, a one year teacher training scheme for native speakers of Māori, a legal aid system to assist young Māori offenders and the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal (Walker, 1990).

Another Māori and Polynesian group that gained media attention during this period was He Taua. The 'haka party' incident at Auckland university in 1979 brought the issues of race and culture into sharp focus. The annual performance of a mock haka by European engineering students at Auckland University had been a tradition since 1954. According to Thomas and Nikora (1992) the mock haka involved "dressing in grass skirts...painting obscene

sexual symbols on their bodies and chanting offensive phrases and gestures.” An example of the words and gestures used in one performance was:

Ka Mate! Ka mate!

(Translated as Death! Death! accompanied by stamping feet and slapping thighs)

Hori! Hori!

(Translated as a derogatory name for Māori, accompanied with left hand patting head, right hand simulating masturbation)

I got the pox (venereal disease) from Hori! Hori!

(Auckland District Council 1979, p.15 cited in Thomas and Nikora, 1992)

Despite the official complaints that were made, university authorities did little to stop these performances from occurring. Twenty five years after the first performance, a group of Māori and Polynesian protestors (later to identify themselves as He Taua) confronted the engineering students at a dress rehearsal (Thomas & Nikora, 1992). This confrontation eventually became physical, leading to eleven arrests. The Human Rights Commission launched an inquiry following this incident and this inquiry was the catalyst for a much larger inquiry into Māori–Pākeha relationships in New Zealand (Thomas & Nikora, 1992).

Neo-liberal reforms during the 1980s and 1990s

The 1980s are an important decade in terms of this study because the first of the participants in this study, Ngaere enrolled in a distance education Māori certificate course in 1984. She was followed by Maata in 1988. In Chapter Two, it was established that the 1970s and 1980s were an important period in terms of Māori political activism, there were also sweeping economic reforms occurring at this time. All of these influences made an impact on New Zealand’s tertiary environment as well.

Prior to the 1980s, a clear distinction was made between universities, polytechnics and other private tertiary education providers. There was little competition between tertiary institutions, even within the university sector itself, because each university looked after their own regional interests and offered a full range of arts and science courses complemented by specialised professional schools (Larner & Le Heron, 2005). Tertiary education was heavily subsidised by the government and students received full living allowances. In this climate, university education was understood as a “social good” (Larner & Le Heron, 2005, p.847).

By the mid-1980s, neo-liberal reforms started to make inroads into tertiary education. As the government sought to limit expenditure on education, market metaphors began appearing in government documents. This was particularly evident in the *1984 Briefing Papers* to the incoming Labour Government, produced by the Treasury:

Strong social policy reasons cannot readily be established for the direct government supply of tertiary services largely free at the point of consumption. Private education choices at this level are discretionary investment or consumption decisions (that is, tertiary education is more a private than a public good), since the individual users capture most of the benefits of higher education in their own higher lifetime earnings or increased utility. (New Zealand Treasury, 1984, p.268 cited in Berg & Roche, 1997, p.152).

The Treasury Brief (1984) marked a shift in the way that university education was to be viewed. In line with a ‘market’ or ‘business’ model approach, tertiary education was now re-cast as a “private” rather than a “public” good. The movement towards a market model of university education gained greater

momentum towards the end of the decade (Lee & Lee, 2002; McLaughlin, 2003).

From the late 1980s to 2000, a number of tertiary reviews were undertaken in New Zealand.⁵ The consequence was that New Zealand moved from an elite system of tertiary education characterised by relatively low levels of participation to a competitive market-based model encouraging a much broader level of engagement (McLaughlin, 2003). One of the major groups to influence these changes was the Working Group on Post Compulsory Education and Training chaired by Professor Gary Hawke.

In 1988, the Working Group on Post Compulsory Education and Training made recommendations for tertiary education reform based on reports that had already been produced in the sector (Hawke, 1988). The Hawke report advocated that publically funded tertiary institutions be given greater autonomy with regards to management and decision making (decentralisation) and that bulk funding be provided to these institutions on the basis student numbers or equivalent full time students (efits) (Hawke, 1988). The report also supported the introduction of a student loan scheme, that tuition fees be increased and that institutions themselves set tuition costs (Butterworth & Tarling, 1994; Hawke, 1988; McLaughlin, 2003). From a Māori standpoint, however, a more important (and perhaps un-anticipated) development was that Māori claims to education under the Treaty of Waitangi were recognised.

Increasing the access and participation of underrepresented groups (Māori, Pacific, women and members of lower socio-economic groups) was also recognised as an important goal in the report:

⁵ See for example Labour Government's Tertiary Review (1987-1988); Hawke Report (1988); National Government's Tertiary Review (1991); Todd Taskforce (1994); and the Coalition Government's Review (1997- 1998).

PCET [Post Compulsory Education and Training] institutions have a responsibility not only for attracting disadvantaged groups but also ensuring that the services they find are ones to which they can relate. There should be a supportive environment for learning, and attitudes and teaching styles which do not constitute barriers to people of a particular gender or from other than the majority culture (Hawke, 1988, p.23).

In 1989, the government released *Learning for Life* and *Learning for Life II*, these documents put into practice some of the recommendations made in the Hawke Report. Under the Learning for Life policies, post compulsory education and training was decentralised and universities lost their privileged position of being the only tertiary institutions able to grant degrees. Another feature of the policies was that students were required to pay a set tuition fee which was centrally imposed (Department of Education, 1989). Bulk funding was introduced on the basis of student numbers (efes) and tertiary institutes were given the power to decide how they would spend this money. All publically funded tertiary institutes became incorporated bodies with greater autonomy including universities, colleges of education and polytechnics.

Another key feature of the Learning for Life reforms was the need to improve the access and participation of under-represented groups. The government insisted that institutions develop charters with equity targets, and that corporate plans include details of programmes each institution would use to achieve equity targets in its charter (Department of Education, 1989, p.9). The Education Amendment Act (1989) compelled University Councils to acknowledge the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi in their mission statements, charters and profiles. The Education Amendment Act 1990, provided for Wānanga [Kaupapa Māori-based tertiary institutions] to be included as tertiary education centres eligible for state funding alongside universities.

The 1990s saw the continuation of the neo-liberal agenda and more reviews of tertiary education. In 1991, the Government introduced targeted student allowances for people under twenty five (based on parental income), a student loan scheme, and a study right policy, which provided a larger payout to those institutions that attracted welfare beneficiaries and students under twenty two years of age. Public tertiary institutions were given the power to set their own tuition fees and the efts based funding system was maintained.

In 1997, another major review was undertaken in terms of tertiary education policy. The Government, disseminated the discussion paper, *A Future Tertiary Education Policy for New Zealand: Tertiary Education Review Green Paper* (1997), and invited comment on their proposed direction. After considering the submissions, the *Tertiary Education in New Zealand: Policy Direction for the 21st Century White Paper, in 1998 was produced*. The 'White Paper' strengthened the notion that tertiary education would become increasingly necessary for life. It went on to emphasise areas that needed improvement such as better information for students, providers and government, improved accountability, better governance of institutions, quality assurance and audit, changes in research funding (Ministry of Education, 1998). Once again, the need to improve the participation of underrepresented groups in tertiary education was highlighted.

The major aim of Government policy from the mid – 1980s through the 1990s was to increase participation in tertiary education. Universities, colleges of education, polytechnics, wānanga and private tertiary education providers all competed fiercely for a slice of the market share or equivalent full time students (efts). As a result, the goal of increasing participation was largely achieved. Participation in tertiary education rose dramatically during the 1980s and 1990s, as did Māori participation in tertiary education as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Māori students at universities, polytechnics and in teacher education (1986 - 1991)

	1986	1989	1990	1991
University	2168	3700	4140	5742
Polytechnic	937	1471	4011	5371
Teacher Education	245	623	785	1160
Total	3350	5794	8936	11911

(Source: Davies & Nicholl, 1993, p.64)

University of Waikato: Translating policy into practice

As noted earlier, the Learning for Life Reforms (1989) and the Education Act (1989) compelled New Zealand universities to develop charters demonstrating their commitment to underrepresented groups as well as their commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi. As part of developing the University of Waikato charter, a consultation process was undertaken, submissions were invited and a Kaumatua hui was held at Turangawaewae marae in 1990 (Tiakiwai, 2001; University of Waikato, 1990, p.13). The aim of the hui was to “discuss how University developments can reflect the values and perspectives of the Māori peoples and serve and support their interests” (University of Waikato, 1990, p.13). The hui brought together representatives from iwi (tribes) in the university’s catchment area as well as university and teachers college people and representatives from other tertiary institutes in the Waikato - Bay of Plenty - East Coast (University of Waikato, 1990). This was an attempt by the University to get Māori input into the charter.

At the hui a number of issues were raised by the kaumatua in attendance, but these were not resolved. There had been little Māori input into the establishment of the University of Waikato, in terms of its location (on land confiscated from Tainui) and its name (claiming to represent all Māori within

the region). For its part, the university sought sanction to use the title “Whare Wānanga.” This was agreed to, but there was a stipulation that the university make sure that it honoured its commitment to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (Tiakiwai, 2001; University of Waikato, 1990).

In 1990, the university established Te Rōpū Manukura, with representatives from sixteen central North Island iwi to work in partnership with the University Council as Kaitiaki of the Treaty of Waitangi for the University of Waikato (University of Waikato investment Plan, 2008). The University of Waikato Charter was developed in 1991 and Te Paetāwhiti, the University of Waikato Strategic Plan followed in 1993.

The need to make tertiary institutions more inclusive of underrepresented groups led to the development of a number of Māori focussed programmes at the University of Waikato during the 1980s–1990s. In 1989, the Timatanga Hou programme was established. This bridging programme provided the opportunity for young Māori, who did not attain university entrance, to attend university. However adult students also enrolled in this programme as well. Te Timatanga Hou was developed in direct response to the Government’s emphasis on social equity (Park, 1996). In 1991, Te Tohu Paetahi was introduced, a BA taught in the Māori language. This programme was the first of its kind in New Zealand and the major focus was on Māori language learning. However, as students progressed they were able to take other subjects.

In the same year, two law school students found themselves at the centre of controversy when they answered a question on the Treaty of Waitangi in Māori. At first, their responses were not graded, but after lobbying they were eventually given marks. This incident eventually led to the resignation of a staff member and caused the university to develop a policy on the use of Māori language. In 1992, an interim policy on the presentation of assignments

written in Māori appeared in the University of Waikato Calendar for the very first time. The University's policy regarding the submission of assignments and examination scripts in Māori was still being developed during 1993, 1994, and 1995. In 1996, the final *Policy on the Use of Māori for Assessment* was included in the University Calendar (University of Waikato, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996).

In 1995, the signing of the Raupatu (confiscation) Settlement (see for example Roa & Tuaupiki, 2005) saw the return of confiscated land to the Waikato people in 1996, and Tainui became the landlords of the University of Waikato. In 1996, the School of Māori and Pacific was established and Professor Tamati Reedy was appointed Foundation Dean.

Further significant developments that occurred during this period were the amalgamation of Hamilton Teachers College with the University of Waikato in 1991 and the establishment of the School of Education. The 1980s and 1990s, saw major developments at Hamilton Teachers College as a result of the development of Māori educational initiatives such as Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and bilingual education initiatives. There were several distance education programmes that were developed especially to respond to Māori aspirations for their children. For example, a Diploma in Early Childhood was offered in Turangi in 1986. This programme was delivered off campus in the region and lecturing staff went to teach in these areas. The Kaiarahi i te Reo programme, was another distance education programme for fluent Māori speakers who worked within schools to help Kōhanga Reo graduates maintain their language when they moved into schools. In 1986, the Roopu Reo Rua specialist programme in bilingual education for trained teachers was established and the university marae, Te Kohinga Mārama, was officially opened in 1987 (Kana, 1997). This was followed by the development of Te Whānau Reo Rua bilingual programme in 1988, and the development of

the Rūmaki (Māori immersion) variant of the three year, Diploma of Teaching for primary teacher education students in 1990 (Kana, 1997).

The Whānau Reo Rua programme aimed at producing teachers who were fluent in Te Reo Māori and who also had pedagogical and curriculum knowledge and skills to teach in bilingual classrooms. The students were taught by a limited number of lecturers in “protected classes” (Kana, 1997). They studied Māori language intensively in year one, fulfilling the other requirements needed for the Diploma of Teaching (Dip T) and for the Bachelor of Education (BEd) later in the programme (Kana, 1997). Within the Non-Māori courses for these qualifications, the use of Māori language and Māori perspectives was encouraged.

The Rūmaki programme was developed in 1990 as a result of the urgent need for more Māori teachers in Kura Kaupapa Māori. As Kana (1997) states “The need for teachers with greater competence in te reo Māori than the Whānau programme was originally intended to produce was becoming urgent” (p.18). The result was the Rūmaki programme which put greater emphasis on language immersion. This programme was originally designed to prepare teachers to work in primary schools where te reo Māori was the dominant language (Kana, 1997).

It is clear that there were extensive Māori developments at the University of Waikato during the 1980s and 1990s. Five participants in the current study enrolled at university during this period. The University of Waikato seems to have been the University of Choice for many Māori at that time. Davies and Nicholls (1993) claim that:

Waikato University, through programmes actively geared at improving Māori participation in education, has had a significant impact on increasing the participation of Māori in university study overall.

Eighteen percent of all students at Waikato in 1991 were Māori, and 30% of all Māori attending universities were at Waikato (p.74).

The number of Māori participating in formal tertiary education rose significantly from 1998 to 2003. In 1998, the Māori participation rate was 7.4 percent, by 2003 this had increased to 20.2 percent and was higher than the general population (13.4 percent) (Ministry of Education, 2005). Most of the growth occurred within Wānanga and these institutions have been major contributors to increased participation of Māori in tertiary education (Durie, 2009; Ministry of Education, 2005).

The contemporary tertiary education context (2000-2010)

Over the past decade, the New Zealand Tertiary Education Commission, the body responsible for administering all post-compulsory education funding was established. Tertiary strategies, institutional charters and profiles have since become commonplace in universities and Performance Based Research funding was introduced in 2003 (McLaughlin, 2003; Ministry of Education, 2005). In terms of the University of Waikato, the Māori senior management position of Pro Vice Chancellor Māori was established in 2001 (Tiakiwai & Teddy, 2003) and in 2009, *Te Whanake Ake*, the Māori strategic plan was approved by the University of Waikato Council. This was also a significant time because the remaining eleven participants enrolled in courses at the University of Waikato during this period (2000–2006).

Three Tertiary Education Strategies have been released by the Ministry of Education (Ministry of Education, 2002; 2007, 2010) during the past decade. All three strategies have emphasised the importance of Māori achieving success at higher levels of education. Although, as noted in Chapter One, the latest strategy requires that tertiary education organisations take more responsibility for supporting and strengthening Māori education:

All tertiary education organisations need to take responsibility for strengthening Māori education, creative activity and research outcomes; Tertiary providers and ITOs [Industry Training Organisation] need to focus on improving their pastoral and academic support, the learning environment, and must adopt teaching practices that are culturally responsive to Māori students. Particular emphasis is needed to improve progression to, and achievement at higher levels of study (Ministry of Education, 2010, p.12)

In recent years there have been improvements in terms of Māori participation in tertiary education. Educational statistics demonstrate that in 2008, Māori were two – thirds more likely to successfully complete a tertiary level course than they were seven years earlier in 2001. Māori also had higher tertiary participation rates in the 25 – 39 years, and 40 years and over age cohorts (New Zealand Department of Labour, 2009). However, while there have been some gains, there is still a lot of work to do. Māori tend to enter tertiary study at an older age with fewer school qualifications. They are over-represented in sub-degree level programmes (certificate and diploma), under-represented at university and less likely to complete degrees and enrol in post graduate study (New Zealand Department of Labour, 2009).

The reasons for these negative statistics lie in the unfair and restrictive opportunities that previous generations of Māori have experienced and the high rates of underachievement experienced by Māori at lower levels of schooling (as outlined in Chapter Two). Māori only gained access to universal secondary school from the 1950s and 1960s onwards. Therefore, these statistics, ought not to be read as indicating lack of motivation or lack of valuing of education among Māori.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided a brief chronology of Māori participation in higher education. The chapter has demonstrated that Māori were not considered at all in terms of the establishment of university education in New Zealand. The chapter has provided a brief look at the lives of the first Māori pioneers at university. This has demonstrated that these individuals had strong values in regards to the idea of 'being of service' to Māori communities. They also fought to retain their cultural identity and cultural integrity in the midst of continuing and almost overpowering pressure for cultural assimilation.

This chapter has revealed that Māori have been involved in an on-going battle to have their language and culture included into the curriculum of New Zealand universities. The chapter has shown that this battle has been waged in different universities throughout New Zealand.

During the 1980s an increasing number of non-traditional students entered university, including Māori students. This situation emerged as a result of government policies designed to increase the participation of underrepresented groups at university. In 1991, the University of Waikato was the preferred university for Māori students. This was due in large part to the Māori focussed programmes that were available to students at the time. There were a number of Māori developments that were initiated during the time the participants were enrolled at the University of Waikato (1984 – 2006).

In the contemporary context, an increasing number of Māori are pursuing a higher education. While Māori participation rates in the tertiary sector have clearly improved over time, there is still a great deal of concern that Māori continue to enter tertiary study at an older age and with fewer school qualifications. They are also less likely to complete degrees and more likely to enrol in sub-degree level programmes. Māori continue to be under

represented at university and are less likely to enrol in post-graduate study (New Zealand Department of Labour, 2009).

Chapter Four explores some of the factors that lead to Māori, indigenous and minority success in higher education.

CHAPTER FOUR

REVIEWING THE LITERATURE

This chapter provides a review of the literature relating to the success of Māori students in higher education. As there is only limited research in this field, the review has drawn on literature from a wide range of areas related to student persistence, retention and completion, as well as student withdrawal, attrition, non-completion and departure. The review draws from national and international research paying particular attention to the experiences of indigenous and minority students at mainstream universities.

The search for relevant literature

When I first began this study, I was extremely confident that I would find a lot of research in relation to Māori academic success at university. As noted in Chapter Three, Māori had been graduating from the university since the 1890s and I felt sure that I would find a considerable amount of relevant research. However as time passed, I became acutely aware that this was an area that had not been widely researched. I was unable to locate any research which dealt specifically with the experiences of Māori special admission entrants to university. Retention and attrition in tertiary education is a popular area of study, especially in the United States (Scott & Smart, 2005; Walker, 2000). However, there is a paucity of literature and research in the New Zealand context (Prebble, Hargraves, Leach, Naidoo, Suddaby & Zepke, 2004; Scott & Smart, 2005).

I broadened the scope of the search and reviewed literature which looked at the issues relating to Māori tertiary experiences, this revealed several studies that have proved useful, such as Jefferies' (1997) study of *Māori Participation in Tertiary Education: Barriers and Strategies to Overcome Them* and *Hei Tautoko i ngā Wāwata Māori ētahi tauria nā ngā Kura Wānanga* (Ministry of Education, 2001b). Another key find was a literature review carried out by

Nikora, Levy, Henry and Whangapirita (2002), *Addressing the Recruitment and Retention of Māori Students in Tertiary Education: A Literature Review*. My search of the international literature revealed a number of studies which were relevant to the study, for example, I located a number of studies about minority students that identified the challenges of studying at predominantly White universities. Although the students in these studies come from very different backgrounds from the Māori participants in the current study, there were some important common themes that were identified. My review of literature also uncovered several studies which looked at the experience of indigenous students in mainstream universities, for example, aboriginal students in Australia (Day & Nolde, 2009; Di Gregorio, Farrington & Page, 2000; Sonn, Bishop & Humphries, 2000; Walker, 2000) as well as studies of First Nations Canadian Indians and Native American students that have provided very useful insights (Guillory & Wolverton, 2008; Jackson, Smith & Hill, 2003; Lundberg, 2007; Schwartz & Ball, 2001). There was also research in the broader area of Māori education that highlighted issues that are particular to Māori (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai & Richardson, 2003; Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh & Teddy, 2007).

Over time the number of New Zealand based studies on student persistence and attrition in tertiary education have grown as a result of national and global interest as well as policy imperatives from the New Zealand government. In the New Zealand context, the most extensive review of literature in this area was carried out by Prebble et al. (2004). This review concentrated on two main foci, the affect of student support services and academic staff development programmes on undergraduate student outcomes. The review also focussed on students from diverse backgrounds and provided some discussion on minority and indigenous issues which were pertinent to this study. Several New Zealand based longitudinal logistic regression studies have also shed more light in terms of student persistence in bachelor degree programmes in New Zealand and Māori student persistence in undergraduate

degree programmes (Earle, 2007; 2008; Scott & Smart, 2005). I was also able to locate several studies that explored Māori academic success in higher education (Greenwood & Te Aika, 2008; Tiakiwai, 2001).

Student ‘persistence’ and ‘attrition’ in tertiary education

Much of the national and international research and literature highlights the fact that student attrition and student persistence in tertiary education is complex and can involve multiple factors (Prebble et al., 2004; Scott & Smart, 2005; Yorke & Longden, 2004). The reasons that may contribute to one person’s desire to leave tertiary study may be the very basis for another student to continue on with their study.

The research also shows that there are a plethora of reasons why students choose to persist while others choose to leave such as: subject choice, teaching and learning styles, commitment and motivation, family and employment responsibilities, finances, transition and adaptation to the tertiary environment, faculty–student relationships, racism and discrimination (Prebble et al., 2004; Scott & Smart, 2005). Yorke and Longden (2004) claim that the “... research shows consistently that it is unusual for students to cite just one factor influencing their decision to leave” (p.41). For this reason some studies have grouped individual factors under broadly related categories such as demographic, institutional, pedagogical, personal and psychological (Scott & Smart, 2005; Yorke & Longden, 2004), although there is still ongoing debate about the relative weighting of each individual factor.

Theoretical models of student retention and attrition

Tinto’s (1993) *Theory of Student Departure* is the most frequently cited theoretical model in terms of student attrition and student retention in higher education (Braxton, 2000; Prebble et al., 2004; Scott & Smart, 2005). In fact,

Braxton (2000) claims that it has become so popular that it has reached near “paradigmatic” status (p.7).

Tinto’s (1993) theory is an interactionalist theory which is based around six progressive stages: student entry characteristics, early goals/commitments to study, institutional experiences, integration into the institution, goals/commitments to the institution and student departure (Tinto, 1993). Basically, Tinto’s theory proposes that university students enter with family background factors (socio-economic status, parental educational level, and parental expectations), individual attributes (academic ability, ethnicity and gender) and early educational experiences. It is these characteristics that influence a student’s personal commitment to their goal of graduating from university.

According to Tinto (1993) a person’s motivation, drive or commitment is central to the likelihood that they will persist in higher education. He argues that college completion requires the willingness to commit time, resources and energy (Tinto, 1993). The greater the motivation or commitment to the goal of college completion, the more likely the student is to persist. On the other hand, a lack of commitment leads to early departure. There are two forms of commitment that Tinto (1993) talks about, personal and institutional commitment. Personal commitment comprises an individual’s personal, educational or occupational goals, whereas, institutional goals, encompass their dedication to the institution that they are attending. In any case, Tinto (1993) maintains that strong commitment (personal or institutional) leads to greater student persistence.

Tinto (1993) believes that in order to succeed at university students must integrate themselves fully into the academic and social domains of university life. Drawing on Van Gennep’s (1960) ideas of separation, transition and incorporation, Tinto claims that the process of becoming integrated into the university must involve students, separating themselves from home

communities. Tinto (2003) argues that individuals must “disassociate themselves, in varying degrees, from membership in the communities of the past, most typically those associated with the family, the local high school, and local areas of residence” (p.95). Although Tinto realises that this may be difficult for individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds and for those whose families have not attended college before, he still sees this as important. According to Tinto (1993) student departure results when the student is not able to fully integrate into the academic and social spheres of the university.

As a longitudinal model, Tinto’s theory of student departure claims that interactions within the institution can influence persistence. Tinto (1993) argues that positive interactions lead to greater integration and negative interactions serve to weaken personal goal and institutional commitments. The model also recognises that external commitments such as participation in external communities (family, work and community) may also impact on student persistence (Tinto, 1993).

A number of critics have highlighted the problems of adopting integrative frameworks, such as Tinto’s model, especially in regard to indigenous and minority students (Guiffrida, 2005; Johnson, Alvarez, Solner, Inkelas, Leonard & Rowan–Kenyon, 2007; Kuh & Love, 2000; Rendon, Jalomo & Nora, 2000; Tierney, 2000). Some claim that Tinto’s model is unfair because it places the blame for student departure on the shoulders of students themselves by focusing exclusively on social and academic integration as reasons for student withdrawal. This narrow focus does not take cognisance of institutional (systemic and structural) factors that may have an impact on student attrition (Guiffrida, 2005; Rendon et al., 2000).

Another criticism of Tinto’s theory is that it is a ‘one size fits all’ or ‘universal’ approach that does not take cultural diversity into account. For example, it does not take into account the difficulties that students from a minority,

indigenous and/or collectivist background may have in terms of disassociating themselves from their home communities. Some critics have gone as far as challenging the applicability of Tinto's notion of integration to any student who identifies with any non-dominant social background (Rendon et al., 2000; Johnson et al., 2007).

Braxton (2000) maintains that these debates have led some authors to mount a serious revision of Tinto's theory, and other theorists to abandon Tinto's theory altogether in pursuit of new theoretical directions. However, Prebble et al. (2004) assert that there are still two predominant discourses that pervade the literature and research in this area. An assimilation discourse that suggests that academic and social integration is important to succeed in university, and the adaptation discourse that proposes that institutions must adapt to accommodate a diverse range of students. The latter discourse according to Prebble et al. (2004) "explains that student departure is influenced by their perceptions of how well their cultural attributes are valued and accommodated and how differences between the cultures of origin and immersion are bridged" (p.51).

As previously noted, the review conducted by Prebble et al. (2004) is the most comprehensive carried out in New Zealand on the topic of student support services and their relation to persistence and achievement. More than 250 studies were examined and 146 contributed to the review findings. The findings of this review were presented as 13 propositions for institutional practice and action. Ten propositions offered ways of assimilating diverse students into existing institutional culture, and three challenge institutions to change policies and practice to better include diverse students. According to Prebble et al. (2004) both sets of propositions can contribute to success at university. These are presented below:

Effective student assimilation requires that:

Institutional behaviours, environments and processes are welcoming and efficient;

The institution provides opportunities for students to establish social networks;

Academic counselling and pre-enrolment advice are readily available to ensure students enrol in appropriate programmes and papers;

Teachers are approachable and available for academic discussions;

Students experience good quality teaching and manageable workloads;

Orientation/induction programmes are provided to facilitate both social and academic integration;

Institutions provide and foster academic learning communities;

A comprehensive range of institutional services and facilities are available;

Supplemental instruction is offered for difficult subjects;

Peer tutoring and mentoring services are provided.

Effective Institutional Adaptation requires that:

There is an absence of discrimination on campus, so students feel valued, fairly treated and safe

Institutional processes cater for diversity of learning preferences

The institutional culture, social and academic, welcomes diverse cultural capital and adapts to diverse students' needs (Prebble et al., 2004, p. x).

Prebble et al. (2004) provide a good overview of the dominant themes related to student persistence both here and internationally. However, what is missing, in the context of the present study, is a Māori specific focus. The literature from three different sources (two reviews) and one study of Māori students' experiences in tertiary education has revealed that there are other factors that relate specifically to the retention of Māori students in tertiary education. These ideas are mapped out in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2: Factors that impact negatively on the success of Māori students in tertiary education

Jefferies (1997)	Ministry of Education (2001b)	Nikora et al., (2002)
Failure to reach required levels in early education Negative schooling experiences Transition (primary to secondary) Difficult home environments Costs of tertiary education Māori parents unaware of benefits of education Lack of Māori as teachers and academic role models Failure of system to provide for Māori needs and failure to provide courses to serve those needs.	Isolation Financial difficulties Unwelcoming tertiary environments Inappropriate support systems Negative schooling experiences Transition to tertiary study Personal and family issues Inadequate schooling qualifications	Transition and adaptation to tertiary Lack of social support Inappropriate support systems Isolation Lack of academic support Financial barriers External commitments Racism and discrimination Unwelcoming educational environments

Factors influencing the success of minority and indigenous students in higher education

A synthesis of dominant themes from a review of literature is presented in the following section. The review has drawn on national and international studies, literature reviews and theoretical perspectives. The seven themes in this

review have been included because they relate directly to the findings of this study.

Institutional culture is inclusive of diverse cultural capital and responds to the diverse needs of students

As noted earlier, the basic tenet of Tinto's (1993) theory is that social and academic integration is crucial to success in higher education. Student departure occurs as a result of students not being able to assimilate into the academic and social worlds of the university.

Kuh and Love (2000) argue that Tinto's expectation that students will integrate is very problematic when it comes to the experiences of non-traditional groups. This is largely because reconciling two culturally distinct world views can prove difficult. Kuh and Love (2000) claim that sometimes, the distance between a student's culture of origin and their culture of immersion (institutional culture) can be so great that bridging this distance can seem impossible for some students. It is this 'cultural distance' (Museus & Quaye, 2009), or 'cultural discontinuity' (Shield, 2004) that can lead to student departure.

Berger (2000) draws on Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital to help explain a cultural perspective of student departure. According to Bourdieu, students bring their 'habitus' to institutions such as schools, universities or tertiary institutes (Bourdieu's notion of habitus and cultural capital are outlined in more detail in Chapter Five). Where this is congruent with that of the institution, they find it easy to fit in and this is converted into high levels of cultural capital. In circumstances, where student habitus is incongruent or does not match, students are afforded less cultural capital and are more likely to experience difficulty integrating. It is this latter group that are more likely to experience cultural distance or cultural discontinuity and this can lead to student departure:

... the level of incongruence between student's pre-college cultures and dominant campus culture is inversely related to persistence, and students for whom there exists a high level of distance between those cultures must either acclimate to the dominant campus culture or become immersed in one or more enclaves (i.e. subcultures) to successfully find membership in and persist through college (Museus, & Quaye, 2009, p.71).

Given the past experience of colonised peoples the world over, Māori people included (as outlined in Chapter Two), it is hardly surprising that Tinto's ideas about integration are at face value difficult to accept. Kuh and Love (2000) maintain that rather than expecting those from underrepresented groups to assimilate or integrate, a more culturally inclusive approach would be to emphasise the importance of connection. This would give recognition to the fact that it is possible to be socialised into more than one culture and for a person to achieve dual or bicultural socialisation (Museus & Quaye, 2009; Rendon et al., 2000). It would also acknowledge that students can "become comfortable in the college environment without abandoning supportive relationships at home or rejecting the values and norms of their home communities" (Guiffrida, 2006, p.457).

Prebble et al. (2004) claim that there is an emerging discourse in the literature that calls for institutions to take more cognisance of diverse cultural capital and respond accordingly to the diverse needs of students. This discourse has been reinforced in a number of studies and theoretical perspectives that have been evaluated as part of this literature review (Di Gregorio et al., 2000; Gonzalez, 2002; Lundberg, 2007; Sonn, Bishop & Humphries, 2000; Rendon et al., 2000; Tierney, 2000). These authors argue that change needs to occur at the social, academic and institutional level so that students from historically underrepresented groups feel that their cultural capital is welcomed at university (Prebble et al., 2004).

Within the New Zealand context, there is some acknowledgement that a monocultural tertiary education environment can impact Māori students negatively. Hunt, Morgan and Teddy's (2001) research into the experiences of Māori psychology students at the University of Waikato reported that several participants suggested that the Psychology Department was monocultural. The lack of Māori content in some courses was another concern for the participants in the study because they believed that it made it difficult for Māori students to relate to and engage with the courses.

In his large scale research project on the barriers to Māori participation in tertiary education, Richard Jefferies (1997) sought feedback from a broad spectrum of stakeholders. The research sample included almost 1,200 students from ten secondary schools, 66 tertiary students, 72 second chance⁶ respondents, 38 secondary school teachers and 18 representatives from different tertiary providers. Jefferies (1997) found that there was considerable comment from tertiary and second-chance respondents in his study about the problems of working within a "Pākeha system" (p.131). The participants in Jefferies (1997) study emphasised the need for greater recognition and validation of Māori knowledge within tertiary institutions as well as better structures to enable Māori to work in an environment that suits them. Some of the participants commented that tertiary education in New Zealand was very alienating for Māori:

We have a lot of clever young people out there who see that (tertiary study) as really intimidating. It's not a welcoming place for them. When I go home, I can see a lot of clever young people, who, for whatever reason, haven't come through the system. They can't access the system straight after school because they haven't achieved at

⁶ Jefferies (1997) interviewed 66 Tertiary respondents and 72 Second Chance respondents as part of his research. Most of the Tertiary respondents were students currently enrolled in a university, college of education or wananga programme. Second Chance participants had almost in all cases, been involved with TOP Training Opportunities Programmes (TOP).

whatever level it takes to get there now, but even mature students have no great desire to want to be in that place [university], although a lot of them want to be doing higher education. The system and the way it operates, needs to be sensitive to our people. Those places, for a lot of Māori, until we get more brown faces in there both as students and lecturers, will remain very alienating...

Tertiary institutions currently are Pākeha institutions. They're based on a Pākeha framework of ideas and systems. That alone will alienate Māori because they won't feel comfortable in that environment which is completely based on Pākeha values. The fact that there aren't many Māori at University can be quite alienating for Māori students (Jefferies, 1997, p.132).

One of the more significant comments that are mentioned by Kidman (1995) about the experiences of twenty two Māori students at Victoria University of Wellington is that many of these students had experienced an "overriding sense of loneliness" at university. She maintains that "...some felt isolated by the structures of the University, others felt that the impersonal nature of the University invalidated their own knowledge and understandings" (Kidman, 1995, p. 7). The physical layout of the university often compounded this sense of isolation according to Kidman.

Prebble et al. (2004) suggest that although the discourse that institutions should be inclusive of the cultural capital of diverse students, and respond accordingly to their diverse needs, is relatively new in the literature. In their view it was worthy of further research and action. The results of this literature review provide further support for this notion.

Establishing strong social support networks with other students

There is much evidence in the international literature to support the claim that quality peer social networks can contribute to student persistence and success in higher education (Day & Nolde, 2009; Dennis, Phinney & Chuateco, 2005; Farrington, Di Gregorio & Page, 1999; Guillory & Wolverton, 2008; Jackson, Smith & Hill, 2003; Johnson et al., 2007; Padilla, Trevino, Gonzalez & Trevino, 1997; Phinney & Haas, 2003; Saenz, Marcoulides, Junn & Young, 1999; Sonn et al., 2000). Tinto (1997) supports the view that student support networks are important by claiming that academic and social integration emerges through student involvement with other students. Astin (1993) also recognises the importance of peer relationships to success in higher education. In his large scale (20,000 students, 25,000 faculty members and 200 institutions), longitudinal study of college student development in the United States, Astin (1993) found that “the student’s peer group is the single most potent source of influence on growth and development during the undergraduate years” (p.398).

Some researchers argue that for indigenous and minority students, peer support networks are often even more important because these relationships can help to counteract the sense of isolation and loneliness experienced by these students. This is supported by Schwab (1996) who states that “most indigenous students need more, not less social support as they contend with a culturally unfamiliar and difficult educational experience” (p.14).

Research shows one way that minority and indigenous students can overcome their feelings of loneliness within the university is by joining or creating their own cultural enclaves (Kuh & Love, 2000). Cultural enclaves basically comprise groups or sub-cultures of people that share similar values, beliefs and attitudes (Kuh & Love, 2000). In many cases, these groups comprise people from the same ethnic group. Research has shown that there can be a number of benefits for those willing to join cultural enclaves.

These enclaves can help members negotiate institutional culture, provide validation and shared experiences, foster a sense of belonging and offer a protective sanctuary in the institutional environment. They can also provide opportunities for members to pool resources and support (Sonn et al., 2000).

There are a number of indigenous and minority studies that reinforce the importance of establishing strong peer networks. These studies also highlight the importance of cultural enclaves to minority and indigenous students. Guillory and Wolverton (2008) conducted a qualitative study that looked at the persistence of thirty Native American students in three American Universities. One of the findings from this research was that “support from faculty and peers from within the university was essential” (Guillory & Wolverton, 2008, p.75). In this study, Native American or multicultural student centres were identified as important because they provided a sense of community that helped to reduce the sense of isolation felt by the students. This social support was seen by the Native American students as critical to their persistence at university.

Day and Nolde (2009) explored the success factors for retention of twelve first year Aboriginal students at an Australian university. They found that establishing a sense of belonging at university and fostering peer support networks was vital to success. They also found that students, who were “successful”, formed close social relationships, were involved with friends, and were active participants in a range of student recreational and community support programs. In other words, these students displayed a high level of social and academic involvement at university. In presenting the conclusions of the study, Day and Nolde (2009) state that “student success was firmly linked to the domain of the personal. It was linked to feelings of self-determination, positive expectations, friends, involvement and belonging” (p.156).

Padilla et al. (1997) set out to identify the strategies that twenty eight successful minority students (Latino, African American, Asian American and Native American Indian) employed to overcome barriers to academic success in college. One of the findings from this study was that these students were able to nurture themselves by seeking out supportive others regardless of their ethnicity, such as friends, faculty members, staff members or other students. They also found that these students participated in ethnic organisations, attended cultural events and created a supportive “family” on campus. Padilla et al. (1997) argue that their findings show:

... ethnic minority students appear to emphasize continuity with their home community by knowing about and joining ethnic organizations, participating in ethnic activities and generally seeking out the ethnic presence that exists on campus as a means of being culturally grounded. Rather than separate themselves from past cultural associations, ethnic minority students strive to retain and nurture a sense of ethnic identity while on campus. This is consistent with the findings of researchers who have suggested that many ethnic and racial minority students adhere to a collectivist orientation (commitment to the group) rather than to an exclusively individual orientation (commitment to self) (p.134).

Although there is evidence that cultural enclaves can provide support for students from minority and indigenous students. One drawback to this approach as noted in Sonn et al. (2000) was that participation in enclaves can sometimes lead to segregation from other settings in the university. Prebble et al. (2004) also caution that although being part of a social network can lead to successful outcomes, too much socialising can also be “detrimental to academic success” (Prebble et al., 2004, p.60).

Prebble et al. (2004) posits that institutions can facilitate student social networking through the staging of events such as sports events and the

provision of facilities to enable student networking to take place such as student union facilities (bar, designated women's and religious rooms). The provision of special courses designed to facilitate social connections was identified as another way that institutions could promote student social connections (Prebble et al., 2004). In addition to this, teaching staff can enhance student social networks within their classrooms through the creation of academic learning communities.

Prebble et al. (2004) claim that "learning communities are formed by people who wish to enhance their own and the group's capabilities in a collective undertaking" (p.65). Basically, learning communities promote collaborative or shared responsibility for learning. People in learning communities co-construct learning and teachers facilitate this process.

Tinto (1993) is a keen promoter of the learning communities approach. He claims that learning communities help to build supportive peer groups and promote shared learning. He argues that for first year students in particular, participation in a learning community can help ease their transition into college through the development of a network of supportive peers (p.609). For Tinto (1993) then, "engagement in the community of the classroom becomes the gateway for subsequent student involvement in the larger academic and social communities of college" (p.132).

Prebble et al. (2004) identify three different kinds of academic learning communities. However, the type of learning community most applicable to the current study is that described as cohort groups within larger classes (Prebble et al., 2004). They liken this type of learning community to the notion of an enhanced tutorial group within the New Zealand context. Prebble et al. (2004) maintains that the evidence that cohort groups within large classes enhance student outcomes is strong.

Tinto (1993) also claims that there are different types of learning communities. However, he maintains that all learning communities share

three basic characteristics: shared knowledge, shared knowing and shared responsibility.

Although there is a great deal of evidence in the international literature that institutions should provide opportunities for students to establish social networks for success in higher education, there is a paucity of research relating to this area in New Zealand (Prebble et al., 2004).

Positive faculty-student relationships

In pre-European Māori society, the relationship between the learner and teacher was considered extremely important for effective pedagogy. By employing the term *ako* which means both to teach and to learn, traditional Māori perspectives locate students *and* teachers at the centre of learning (Metge, 1982; Hemara, 2000). The concept of *ako* is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

In the contemporary context, the relationship between the learner and the teacher continues to be crucial (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai & Richardson, 2003; Macfarlane, 2004). The fundamental role that teachers (lecturers and tutors) play in the success of Māori tertiary students was reinforced in the literature that was reviewed as part of this study. Hunt, Morgan and Teddy (2001) found that teaching staff were highly instrumental in the learning success of Māori psychology students at the University of Waikato:

It is abundantly clear that Māori students not only value the support of their tutors; they depend on it. This finding cannot be emphasised enough. Future developments in the Psychology Department looking to support and retain Māori students should focus on the availability, approachability and genuine support of tutors (Hunt et al., 2001, p. 19).

Kidman (1995) also found that teaching staff were important in terms of the success of Māori students at Victoria University of Wellington. She claims that “success in tertiary education is linked to more than simply the students own individual effort, the quality of learning is influenced by the environment of the university and its staff” (Kidman, 1995, p.14).

Although strong teacher-student relationships were deemed important by the Māori university students in Kidman’s (1995) study, they also felt that some teaching staff created distances between themselves and their students. Kidman argues that they created this distance by taking the moral high ground or by holding negative stereotypes of their Māori students. Academic discourses, in particular the language that is used by some academics also created a distancing effect for the participants in this research. Kidman (1995) maintains that "contextual factors such as the method of instruction, attitudes to individual staff or departmental ethos" had a bearing on the Māori participants’ learning processes and their learning choices (p.12). It seems likely therefore that the Māori students who participated in this study would have tended to avoid staff, departments and courses that would not validate or value their unique worldview.

In a recent New Zealand based study, Greenwood and Te Aika (2008) investigated examples of success for Māori in tertiary settings. This research comprised case studies of four tertiary providers (one wānanga, two polytechnics and a university). The study identified twenty one themes from interviews with administrators, teaching staff, students, iwi (tribes) and community groups that led to success for Māori in tertiary settings. Two of the themes identified were respectful and nurturing relationships with students and the notion that teaching staff are prepared to learn as well.

Greenwood and Te Aika (2008) found that teaching staff and students alike saw respectful and nurturing relationships with students as an important

factor to the success of Māori in tertiary education. Effective teachers were described as being accessible and they also showed a willingness to be co-learners. These individuals responded to individual students' needs and preferences and utilised the power of the collective. Pākeha tutors were valued for their efforts to develop their cultural competence in terms of working within a Māori context (Greenwood & Te Aika, 2008).

A further study by McMurchy–Pilkington (2009) explored the perspectives of learners, tutors and providers in regards to the way that language, literacy and numeracy in foundation learning programmes can be best optimised for adult Māori learners. In this study all of the tutors were Māori. The study found that Māori tutors built strong positive relationships with students by creating a Māori-centred whānau (extended family) environment. They reinforced and strengthened Māori learner identities through the practice of tikanga Māori and drew on cultural values such as whakapapa (genealogical connections), manaakitanga (nurturing), whanaungatanga (relationships) and kotahitanga (unity) and Māori processes such as tuakana-teina in the learning and teaching environment.⁷ These tutors used real life contexts that connected to the Māori learners' lives, needs and interests and encouraged collaboration and goal setting. They also made themselves available outside of class hours to support students. These tutors were also described as being passionate, caring and patient.

No matter what level of education Māori learners are at, research demonstrates that personally engaging relationships with teaching staff are vitally important to their educational success. Many of the characteristics described above are also reflected in literature and research at other levels of education. For example, Bishop et al. (2003) provides the following effective teaching profile for those working with Māori secondary school students:

⁷ The tuakana-teina approach to learning emphasises the need for older students or more able students (the tuakana) to support the learning efforts of less experienced learners (the teina). However, this approach also recognises that the tuakana and teina may reverse their roles in certain circumstances.

Manaakitanga: They care for the students as culturally-located human beings above all else.

Mana motuhake: They care for the performance of their students.

Whakapiringatanga: They are able to create a secure, well-managed learning environment by incorporating routine pedagogical knowledge with pedagogical imagination.

Wānanga: They are able to engage in effective teaching interactions with Māori students as Māori.

Ako: They can use a range of strategies that promote effective teaching interactions and relationships with their learners.

Kotahitanga: They promote, monitor and reflect on outcomes that in turn lead to improvements in educational achievement for Māori students (cited in Bishop et al, 2007, p.26).

Even in the broader area of improving student outcomes in higher education, the importance of nurturing relationships between faculty and students are emphasised. Prebble et al. (2004) in their major review, stress the importance of nurturing teacher–student relationship to success in higher education. This is also a recurring theme in the international research (Astin, 1993; Gonzalez, 2002; Guillory & Wolverton, 2008; Jackson et al., 2003; Johnson et al., 2007; Love, 2009; Lundberg, 2007; Lundberg & Schreiner, 2004; Museus & Quaye, 2009; Phinney & Haas, 2003; Prebble et al., 2004; Schwartz & Ball, 2001; Tinto, 1993; 1997).

Tinto (1997) identifies faculty–student relationships as an important ingredient for success:

Contact with faculty inside and outside the classroom serves directly to shape learning and persistence, but also because their actions, framed by pedagogical assumptions, shape the nature of classroom communities and

influence the degree and manner in which students become involved in learning in and beyond those settings (p.617).

When it comes to students who are members of minority ethnic or marginalised groups, positive faculty–student relationships can be even more important (Jackson et al., 2003; Museus & Quaye, 2009; Schwartz & Ball, 2001). There are several reasons why these relationships are important. For example, Johnson et al, (2007) maintain that positive faculty interactions can help to create a student’s sense of belonging, it can also make “complex environments feel more socially and academically supportive” (p.527). Schwartz and Ball (2001) maintain that for indigenous students, positive faculty interactions may be important to overcome past negative experiences in educational settings, especially in cases where students have experienced discrimination, isolation and cultural exclusion.

Jackson et al., (2003) explored academic persistence among fifteen Native American students at university. They identified faculty/staff warmth as one of the factors related to student persistence. The Native American students in this study reported feeling positive when they were greeted warmly by faculty and staff. They felt that this conveyed an ethic of care and the sense that faculty and staff members actually cared about them. This translated into feelings that they had a place to go to ask questions, and also provided these students with a personal connection to the institution.

Overall, the national and international evidence strongly supports the premise that faculty-student relationships both inside and outside the classroom can affect student persistence in a positive way. It also underlines the importance of this relationship in terms of indigenous students and those from minority ethnic groups.

Cultural mentors, cultural mediators, role models & validating agents

Rendon et al. (2000) claim that bridging the cultural distance between the cultural world view of ethnic minority students and the institutional culture can be achieved through the use of cultural translators, mediators and role models. Museus and Quaye (2009) make a clear demarcation between these three groups by claiming that cultural translators are from the same ethnic group as students of colour, whereas cultural mediators are members of the majority culture. However, they maintain that role models can be either from the minority or majority culture.

Rendon et al. (2000) believes that cultural translators, mediators and role models can assist minority and indigenous students to be successful in higher education in three ways:

- Provide information and guidance that can help students decipher unfamiliar college customs and rituals;

- Mediate problems that arise from the disjunctions between students' cultural traits and the prevailing campus culture, and;

- Model behaviours that are amenable with the norms, values and beliefs of the majority and minority cultures (Rendon et al., 2000, p.137).

Validating agents are described by Rendon et al. (2000) as another group of individuals that can help students from non-traditional groups with their transition to university. Validating agents take an active interest in the lives of students, they provide ongoing encouragement and hold high expectations, and they support students in their academic work and in their social endeavours.

The importance of indigenous and minority representation on faculty was identified as an issue in the literature. Discussing the participation of Latino students at the University of California, Garcia and Figueroa (2002) argue

that establishing adequate professional representation of Latino people at the institution is important to help ensure that positive outcomes for these students are achieved. Brown, Santiago and Lopez (2003) agree that the recruitment and retention of faculty and staff members that reflect the student body is an important goal that will help to improve the participation of Latinos in higher education. Fries-Britt and Turner (2001) also add their weight to the call for greater representation of ethnic minorities on university faculties claiming “the need is ongoing for recruitment and retention of Black students, faculty and administrators” (Fries-Britt & Turner, 2001, p.428).

A noticeable trait in several of the New Zealand based research reports that have been reviewed is the call for more support for Māori already working within the tertiary sector and greater representation of Māori teachers at all levels of teaching (Hunt et al., 2001; Jefferies, 1997; Somerville, 1999). For example, Jefferies (1997) found that many of the providers and teachers that were interviewed as part of his study saw merit in increasing the number of Māori people in the profession. Some respondents further suggested that “not being Māori makes it impossible to understand where Māori children are coming from because Non-Māori teachers can never understand the cultural terms of reference from which Māori think and feel” (Jefferies, 1997, p.142). Greenwood and Te Aika (2008) identified Māori role models as a significant factor that leads to success for Māori in tertiary settings:

If a tertiary programme is to be successful for Māori, it needs Māori staff who are strong in their cultural knowledge. Strong Māori role models are, in turn, draw cards for their communities. Māori who have expertise in the disciplinary field as well as strength in the cultural field need to be sought out, brought into teaching and nurtured. Active recruitment of such staff is therefore important, as is buffering them, where needed, from the institution as a whole (p.91).

Racism and discrimination are not tolerated

Racism and Discrimination was identified as a theme and one of the factors that impacts negatively on the persistence, retention and success of indigenous and minority students in higher education (Farrington et al., 1999; Gonzalez, 2002; Love, 2009; Lundberg, 2007).

Fries-Britt and Turner (2001) studied fifteen academically successful Black students attending a predominantly White research university on the east coast in the United States. Commenting on the literature in this general area Fries-Britt and Turner (2001) indicate that Black students often viewed predominantly White institutions as "isolating, alienating and hostile" (p.420). They also found that the Black participants in their study were often subjected to general stereotypes about the Black community which cast them as intellectually inferior. All of the participants felt that they needed to prove themselves academically to their White peers and faculty members because of the persistence of these types of stereotypes. Fries-Britt and Turner recognise that stereotyping contributes to the sense of isolation and exclusion experienced by Black students:

Even though the stereotypes manifest in different ways, they all send the same signal to the Black student: You are not welcome. Instead of forging ahead academically, Black students are spending energy trying to justify their existence on the campus and thus missing out on the opportunity to learn and grow alongside students from various backgrounds, cultures and experiences (Fries -Britt & Turner, 2001, p.428)

In a similar vein, Lewis, Chesler and Forman's (2000) research set out to explore the experiences of students of colour with their White peers at a large, predominantly White university in the Midwestern United States. Fifteen focus group interviews were conducted with seventy five undergraduate

students of colour. The research sample included African–American, Latino/a, Asian American and Native American Students. Using a grounded theory approach to analyse the data, the researchers identified a number of important themes that emerged from the study. One of the first themes to be highlighted by the study was racial stereotyping. Lewis et al. (2000) found that the participants in their study were often subjected to academic stereotyping and behavioural stereotyping that had a negative impact on them: “ The application of group stereotypes to individuals created distress among students of color in our study and led to personal struggles about their identity and competence” (Lewis et al., 2000, p.78).

Walker’s (2000) comprehensive Australian study of 268 indigenous students found that cultural insensitivity by staff and racism on campus impacted negatively on the students. Research undertaken by Saenz, Marcouldies, Junn and Young (1999) found that racial tension, discrimination and harassment were also a significant source of stress for minority students across ethnic, racial and economic backgrounds.

Research suggests that minority and indigenous students can experience different forms of racism. For example, a study undertaken by Jackson, Smith and Hill (2003) of fifteen successful Native American college students reported that students experienced both passive and active types of racism. Passive racism was described as happening in situations where students were ignored or singled out as a representative of their ethnic group. While active racism was typically experienced by students in classes and discussions about historic or cultural injustices of the past. Whereas Sonn et al. (2000) describe cultural insensitivity as the new form of modern racism.

In the New Zealand based literature, racism and discrimination has been highlighted as a barrier to retention in higher education (Earle, 2008; Hunt et al., 2001; Nikora et al., 2002; Prebble et al., 2004). However, there are few

studies that have looked specifically at this issue (Prebble et al., 2004). Jefferies (1997) does include a small section on racism in his report on the barriers to Māori participation in tertiary education. In this section, he outlines the plight of colonised minorities such as Māori and the devastating effects of colonisation (as outlined in Chapter Two). He claims that

... racism often reinforces the negative effects of historical catastrophes – large sections of communities killed by introduced diseases, almost total dispossession of land, oppression of language and culture, and almost complete lack of representation in political and legislative structures and processes (p.117).

He claims that the term ‘marginalisation’ was repeatedly used by Māori teachers and other Māori providers he interviewed who were frustrated by the failure of their institution to provide them with the funding and other resources that were needed to support programmes and Māori students.

Although there are very few empirical studies that have looked specifically at racism in tertiary sector in New Zealand (Prebble et al., 2004), this does not mean that it does not exist. This does however identify another gap in the literature in this area.

The importance of whānau (extended family) support

Research demonstrates that the family can provide a range of support for minority and indigenous students in higher education. In some cases, the family can provide the motivation to go to university. Phinney, Dennis and Gutierrez (2005) surveyed 115 Latino College students to understand the factors related to university adaptation in students who were at risk for not completing college. They found that the most popular reason for wanting to attend college was to help their family.

Guillory and Wolverton's (2008) study of Native American students found that the students in their study persisted in earning a college education in the hope that this would lead to a better life for their families. In addition to providing the motivation to go to higher education, the family and tribal community also provided the desire or determination to continue when times were difficult and the reason why they wanted to finish college. Guillory and Wolverton (2008) maintain that Native American students often put the needs of the community before their individual needs. They argue that this is learned as part of their early socialisation. Phinney, Dennis and Orsorio (2006) also support the notion that cultural values play an important role in terms of student motivations to succeed at university.

Another impact that family had on the motivations of indigenous students was that sometimes students undertook studies that would enable them to give back to their communities (Guillory & Wolverton, 2008; Schwab, 1996). Schwab (1996) suggests that indigenous students "... tend to do studies 'for their people' in fields such as education, nursing or aboriginal studies. The knowledge gained in these programs is more easily recognised as having a cultural value" (p.18). Another way that families are able to support indigenous and minority students is that they can provide cultural nourishment and provide strategies for dealing with racism, discrimination, oppression and cultural isolation (Gonzalez, 2002; Guiffrida, 2005; 2006).

In the paper, *Evaluation of an effective post-secondary program in Canadian Aboriginal communities: Students' perspectives on support*, Schwartz and Ball (2001) reported on a study designed to identify significant sources of support for Canadian aboriginal students in an early childhood programme. The early childhood programme was developed by two Canadian universities but delivered in seven indigenous communities throughout Canada. 103 first nations graduates were asked to identify significant sources of support in regards to their two year early childhood programme. The researchers took a

novel approach in terms of the research design, by giving participants the opportunity to identify an unlimited amount of sources. Approaching the research in this way, allowed the researchers to quantify the data and rank the importance of each support. Schwartz and Ball (2001) found that “family was cited as a source of support by 80.5% of students making it the source of support mentioned by the largest percentage of students” (Schwartz & Ball, 2001, p.22). In other words, family support emerged as a key component of student success in this study.

Qualitative data from Schwartz and Ball’s (2001) study revealed that family members provided emotional and academic support. Family members encouraged students to believe in their abilities and to focus on long term opportunities and benefits in times of trouble. Another key function of the family was that they provided students with an outlet to share their struggles and challenges. The study also found that when the participants had difficulties balancing their roles as students, spouses or parents, other family members would often step in and provide assistance with childcare and household duties.

Farrington et al. (1999) explored the factors that affect the participation and retention of fifteen indigenous students in the Cadigal Program (Health Studies) at the faculty of Health and Sciences at the University of Sydney, Australia. Encouragement from family emerged as a strong theme in terms of the factors affecting the participants’ decision to study at university. The participants reported that families encouraged them to succeed, were confident in their abilities and saw university study as a career opportunity (Farrington et al., 1999). The study also found that family members who had graduated provided encouragement and valuable advice.

Guiffrida (2005) investigated the impact of family on academic achievement and persistence of ninety nine African American current and former students

from a predominantly white university in the United States. The findings showed that academically successful African American students perceived their families as among their “most important assets” at college (p.56). High achievers who were second generation college students said it was helpful to have parents who could assist with homework, finances and who understood the college process. First generation college students attributed much of their success to the encouragement their families provided to improve their social and economic status. However, this research also showed that family obligations could hinder the academic success and persistence of students. Guiffrida (2005) found that many low achieving students and early leavers reported obligations to families as reasons for their attrition and poor academic performance. This was a recurring theme in other studies as well.

Schwab (1996) maintains that “...kinship obligations are often intense for indigenous people” (p.14). He claims that these obligations can impinge on study time, affect attendance, and impact a student’s concentration and focus. Schwab (1996) points to the frequency of funerals as having a serious impact on the attendance rates of indigenous students. He maintains that “...many indigenous people participating in higher education must deal with the burden of increased expectations from family and community to a much greater degree than the majority of students” (p.14).

The New Zealand based literature echoes the dominant themes in the international research. A number of studies that were reviewed as part of this research identified the pivotal role that the whānau (extended family) had on the lives of Māori students in tertiary education. The whānau (extended family) was identified as a barrier to the participation and performance of Māori participants in tertiary education (Hunt et al., 2001; Jefferies, 1997; Somerville, 1999). The whānau was also identified as a crucial factor in the success of Māori participants in tertiary education (Selby, 1996; Simpson 1998, Tiakiwai, 2001). On one hand, whānau provided much needed financial

and emotional support. However, whānau commitments (such as tangihanga (funerals) marae commitments) also meant that some Māori students were culturally bound to take time out from their studies and contribute from their own limited resources.

Tiakiwai's (2001) doctoral thesis examined the factors which contributed to the success of Māori in higher education. Her research focused on the experiences of nine Tainui students who graduated from the University of Waikato between 1992 and 1997. Tiakiwai identified several factors that contributed to the overall academic success of the nine Māori graduates in her study. One of the factors highlighted by Tiakiwai was family and success. She claims that although the parents of the participants in the study had mixed experiences in education, they still saw education as an important goal for their children. The family was instrumental in shaping the attitudes of the participants towards the value of education:

The role of the family, therefore, has been found through the experiences of the graduates, to influence, shape and support their attitudes to academic achievement, and to the notion of success. The family history of education could be described as one mechanism that contributed to a strategy for success (Tiakiwai, 2001, p.272).

In addition to the supportive role, some studies found that the whānau (extended family) could also become a barrier when it comes to the participation and performance of Māori students in tertiary education. Hunt et al. (2001) evaluated the barriers to and supports for success for Māori students studying psychology at the University of Waikato and found that family responsibilities (such as the demands on time for whānau) can act as a barrier to the participation and therefore success of Māori students at University. A similar sentiment is echoed in Somerville's (1999) research. One of the research participants in Somerville's study summed it up by suggesting

that although mature students tend to be more committed to their studies and have more understanding of the reasons why they were in tertiary education, these students often had more obligations in terms of their responsibilities to tamariki, whānau, iwi and schools.

The issue of whānau commitments was raised again by Jefferies (1997) who claimed that a large number of the tertiary respondents he interviewed “noted the difficulties they had trying to juggle family and study commitments” (p.112). Financial considerations such as the cost of childcare were also identified by some of the participants as a barrier to their participation in tertiary education. It seems therefore that in order to become successful at university, Māori university students must learn to balance academic demands with family commitments.

Jefferies (1997) points out that it may be more difficult for Māori students to balance family and study commitments because of the strong whānau orientation that exists in Māori culture. He argues that there is a strong expectation, for Māori women especially, that family obligations and responsibilities will take precedence over individual education and employment desires. He posits that these cultural constructs can impact on the ability of Māori students to successfully undertake university study.

Diversity and cultural identity

The Māori population is not a single homogeneous group. Different tribal groups have always had their own particular traditions and customs (Rangihau, 1992). For example, even today different tribal groups have different protocols for welcoming people onto the marae. In some areas, visitors are called straight into the wharenuī (meeting house). In other regions, they are welcomed directly in front of the meeting house (see for example, Buck, 1966; King, 1992).

In her Master's thesis, *a study of the factors which contribute to success for Māori women in tertiary education*, Rachel Selby (1996) acknowledges that Māori are also a diverse group when it comes to the issue of cultural identity. She investigated the experiences of Māori women and their pathway into tertiary education. All six research participants included in her study identified strongly as Māori and maintained tribal links. In fact, the strong sense of cultural identity that all of the women in Selby's study shared was so ingrained that it was identified as one of the major themes towards the end of the research. Selby (1996) warns that this sense of cultural identity was characteristic of Māori children growing up in the 1950s and 1960s, and this is of considerable relevance to my study, Selby warns that this is no longer true of all Māori:

A generation later, in the 1990's, many of our rangatahi... have become known as urban Māori. They do not know who they are, do not know their turangawaewae just that the world labels them as Māori because of their features, or painfully denies them their Māoriness because they do not "look" Māori. Many are searching for their roots. To them, the women in this study will represent an era past, days gone by history. The women whose stories are told here know their turangawaewae, their identity (Selby, 1996, p.102).

The notion of diversity also features strongly in Somerville's (1999) research which investigated the learning support models for Māori students with a view to improving such supports for Māori students at Massey University, Albany. Somerville contacted the people that were responsible for the delivery of Māori support programmes at five different tertiary institutions including Massey University (Turitea), the University of Auckland, UNITEC, Manukau Institute of Technology and Victoria University of Wellington, as part of this research. Each representative that she spoke to emphasised the diverse nature of the Māori student population and as a consequence, diversity

emerged as a key theme in the study. Somerville points out that diversity is an important issue, especially when it comes to developing support programmes, for the simple reason that “ what works for some will not work for others” (Somerville, 1999, p. 22). She goes further to contend that “homogeneous perspectives cannot be assumed on the basis of cultural identity” (Somerville, 1999, p.22). Durie (1998) extends on this notion by claiming that:

Māori are as diverse as any other people - not only in socio-economic terms but also in fundamental attitudes to identity. Nor can a Māori identity any longer be entirely dismissed in favour of tribal identity. The reality is that some Māori choose to identify with a particular tribe, others might wish to but have lost access, and others still might be content simply as Māori, with no desire to add a tribal identity (p.59).

Rationale for the current study

Prebble et al. (2004) maintain that “further research is urgently needed on student outcomes in the New Zealand context” (p.xi). My review of the literature supports this claim and has demonstrated that although student retention and persistence has been heavily researched in other parts of the world, New Zealand based literature and research is sparse by comparison (Prebble et al., 2004; Smart & Scott, 2005).

Research about what influences persistence, retention and completion is needed in order to support the success of all students at university. Scott and Smart (2005) claim that this type of information is valuable for students, tertiary education organisations and the government. They argue that knowledge about factors impacting completion is important to students because they can use this information to help them with decision making. Tertiary education organisations can draw on research of this nature to deliver high quality education that furnishes students with relevant skills,

knowledge and qualifications. This information is also important to the government to ensure that the tertiary education system is “accessible, relevant, affordable and efficient “(p.3). The current study was developed to contribute information about academically successful Māori special admission students that would be useful to all three groups.

The review of literature has also demonstrated that there is a shortage of information pertaining to Māori participation in higher education (Jeffries, 1997; Tiakiwai, 2001). Few studies have explored the experiences of Māori university students and even less has focussed on Māori academic success, regardless of the level of education. This is supported by Greenwood and Te Aika (2008) who claim that “ a good deal of previous research about Māori achievement in education, both tertiary and the school sector, has focused on the under-achievement of Māori ...” (p.5).The current study marked a shift away from the overemphasis on underachievement. A focus on academic success was believed to provide a new perspective with respect to the research and literature in this area.

Improving the participation and retention rates of Māori students in tertiary education is important for individual students, for their whānau (extended family), hapu (clans) and iwi (tribes) and for New Zealand society in general. Earle (2007) claims “there is clear evidence that holding a degree benefits Māori economically as well as having social and cultural benefits” (p.3). The New Zealand Department of Labour (2009) maintains that there are a number of benefits associated with success in higher education, these include: increased skill sets, improved career prospects, greater participation in the labour market, a lower risk of unemployment and redundancy and greater access to further training. It is vitally important that indigenous students experience success in education so that they can access these benefits. Understanding what influences success for Māori students in higher education is crucial to an understanding of how to better support Māori

students at university. It was these reasons that provided the academic rationale for the current study which sought to understand the experiences of successful Māori special admission students at university.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented a synthesis of the main themes from the literature that informs the current study. The review demonstrates that there is a definite paucity of New Zealand based literature in this area. There are fewer studies that relate specifically to Māori persistence and success in tertiary education. Nevertheless, there are a number of international studies especially with regard to the experiences of indigenous and ethnic minority groups that have provided important insights.

Tinto's interactionist theory is the most commonly cited theoretical model used to explain student departure and persistence. However, some aspects of this theory have been critiqued. There are as Prebble et al. (2004) maintain two major discourses in the literature. One discourse underlines the importance of the students integrating (socially and academically) into the university. Another discourse, suggests that institutions of higher learning should adapt to accommodate the needs of their increasingly diverse student populations.

This literature review has identified seven themes: Institutional culture is inclusive of diverse cultural capital and responds to the diverse needs of students; peer social support networks; positive faculty-student relationships; cultural mentors, mediators, role models and validating agents; racism and discrimination; the importance of whānau and diversity and cultural identity. Each theme provides useful insights in relation to the current study.

This chapter has provided an overview of literature and research related to success in higher education. Chapter Five, discusses the theoretical framework used in this study.

CHAPTER FIVE

A KAUPAPA MĀORI THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Nō ngā tupuna, tuku iho, tuku iho

Handed down from the ancestors

This chapter outlines the major theoretical ideas employed in this study. The chapter begins by exploring several western theories of human development and learning. It then goes on to situate Kaupapa Māori theory as the major overarching theoretical framework. The chapter explores the origins and definitions of Kaupapa Māori theory and identifies some of the key principles inherent in Kaupapa Māori that are relevant to this study. Finally, the Manu Tukutuku (kite) model is presented. This Kaupapa Māori model has developed from the research findings.

Western Theorising

I have drawn on a number of western theories to help interpret and understand the findings of this research. In the following section, I outline these ideas and comment on their significance to the experiences of the sixteen Māori special admission students in this study.

Socio-cultural theory

Russian psychologist, Lev Vygotsky is recognised as laying the foundations for sociocultural theory (1978; 1986). Although his work mainly concentrated on child development, his ideas have also been applied to adult learning (Bonk & Kim, 1998; Merriam, Caffarella & Baumgartner, 2007). Over time, other writers have added their own understandings and have extended on Vygotsky's initial ideas (Rogoff, 1990; 2003; Wood, Bruner & Ross, 1976; Wood & Wood, 2009).

Sociocultural theories emphasise the vital importance of the social and cultural context surrounding a learner (Berk, 2000; Claiborne & Drewery, 2010; Rogoff, 2003; Vygotsky, 1978). Vygotsky recognised that children come to know and understand the world through their social engagement with others, especially those closest to them. He felt that cognitive development could only be fully understood by looking at the cultural milieu in which development took place (Claiborne & Drewery, 2010; Rogoff, 2003).

Internalisation is a construct in Vygotsky's theory and refers to the process where the learner takes in new information and skills, as experienced in a social context, and then develops the ability to apply these skills for their own individual use. He believed that children learn firstly at the social level and that this learning gradually becomes internalised. He maintained that:

... Every function in the child's cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and later, on the individual level; first, between people (interpsychological), and then inside the child (intrapsychological). This applies equally to voluntary attention, to logical memory and to the formation of concepts. All the higher functions originate as actual relations between human individuals (Vygotsky, 1978,p.57).

It is important to note that although Vygotsky used the term internalisation in his writings, this process is now more commonly referred to as *appropriation* (Claiborne & Drewery, 2010; Rogoff, 1990).

Werstch (1985) claims Vygotsky's ideas about interpsychological and intrapsychological development are given the greatest expression through his notion of the zone of proximal development. Vygotsky recognised that through the guidance of more knowledgeable others, a learner could raise their performance level beyond what they could accomplish alone. He recognised it was important therefore, to look at the level of potential

development as well as a child's actual development. He described the distance between these two areas as the zone of proximal development:

The distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential problem solving as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers (Vygotsky, 1978, p.86).

The zone of proximal development is a construct through which the process of internalisation can be understood. It determines what already has been achieved developmentally but also maps out what is in the process of developing (Vygotsky, 1978).

Scaffolding is another construct that is often incorporated in sociocultural theories of human development, although, this notion was not part of Vygotsky's original ideas. Wood, Bruner and Ross (1976) first introduced the metaphor of scaffolding when they looked at tutorial interactions between adults and individual children (Wood & Wood, 2009). Scaffolding refers to the nature or type of support that a learner is provided with to enable them to complete a task or solve a problem within the zone of proximal development. Scaffolding can take many forms from modelling, questioning, probing, prompting, and simplifying to providing emotional support. Scaffolding or "guided participation" (Rogoff, 2003) provides a support structure for a learner until they are gradually able to perform a task or skill on their own.

However, in order for the scaffolding to be successful, there must also be a high level of *intersubjectivity*. Wertsch (1985) maintains that intersubjectivity exists when "interlocutors share some aspect of their situation definitions" (p.159). He claims that learners and more knowledgeable others must create a shared social world, shared meanings and situational definitions. Shared meaning is important in the communications between learners and more capable peers within the zone of proximal development because without

these both parties can end up talking past each other. Common values and understandings help learners to negotiate meaning and build new knowledge.

Sociocultural theories are important to this study because they reinforce the idea that learning occurs through interactive dialogue, collaboration and cooperation. In short, learning is a socially mediated process (Claiborne & Drewery, 2010). Sociocultural perspectives are also salient to this study because they emphasise the importance of the social and cultural context for learning (these theoretical connections are discussed in more detail in Chapter Eleven, Discussion of Findings).

'Cultural Capital' and 'Habitus'

Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital was briefly introduced in Chapter Four. However, an expanded description of his ideas is warranted here. Bourdieu's ideas were derived initially from his analysis of the French education system. However, his theorising has clear application within the mainstream New Zealand university context, in so far as this context privileges the cultural capital of the dominant group.

Cultural capital is metaphoric in nature and refers to accumulated cultural knowledge which is highly sought after and which confers higher status. Bourdieu (1986) suggests that cultural capital exists in three main forms, in the embodied state, in the objectified state and in the institutionalised state. In its embodied state, cultural capital is provided through parents transmitting attitudes, knowledge, and dispositions and these become an essential part of their *habitus*.

According to Bourdieu, habitus is acquired or inculcated over time, through early socialisation processes and life experience (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu & Passerson, 1990; Harker, 1990; Reed–Danahay, 2005). In a basic sense, habitus has to do with the way an individual is encultured or the way culture is embodied within a person. Habitus encompasses the way that an individual

dresses, the social and moral values they possess and the language they use. The habitus comprises a set of dispositions that shape a person's thoughts, behaviour, and practices. A person's habitus can distinguish them from other people or groups. However, it can also bond together groups of people (such as those from a particular social class) who share similar experiences. An individual accumulates a great deal of cultural capital from their primary habitus (Webb, Schirato & Danaher, 2002).

In the objectified state, cultural capital can consist of material objects such as paintings, machines, monuments, instruments (Bourdieu, 1986). Although these objects can be purchased for money, he argues that to benefit from their use requires cultural capital. Bourdieu (1986) draws on the example of machines to illustrate his point. Although machines may be purchased in an economic sense, to use them for a specific purpose an individual must have access to embodied cultural capital, either in person or by association. This rationale can also be applied to art as well. It is easy enough to purchase a collection of paintings, but to truly appreciate art requires a certain level of cultural capital.

The third type of cultural capital that Bourdieu (1986) discusses is the institutionalised form which derives from academic qualifications such as degrees and diplomas from recognised institutions. He posits that this form of cultural capital can have a "neutralising" effect on some of the properties embodied forms of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

For Bourdieu (1986), social capital refers to a person's social networks and the access they have to the collective capital (economic, cultural, symbolic) of their social group. He describes social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.51).

All social groups possess cultural and social capital. However, in stratified societies, the culture that is considered the most “legitimate” is often the culture of the dominant group (Reed – Danahay, 2005). Bourdieu maintains that it is this culture that is embodied in dominant institutions such as schools. He argues that the *petite bourgeoisie* (privileged classes) are advantaged by the education system because the secondary habitus inculcated in dominant institutions is very similar to their primary (family) habitus:

The culture of the elite is so near to that of the school that children from the lower middle class (and a fortiori from the agricultural and industrial working class) can only acquire with great effort something which is given to the children of the cultivated classes – style, taste, wit – in short, those attitudes and aptitudes which seem natural in members of the cultivated classes and naturally expected of them precisely because (in the ethnological sense) they are the culture of that class (Bourdieu, 1974,p.39)

Bourdieu recognised that individuals from non-dominant backgrounds stand in a very different relation to schooling than those from the privileged classes by virtue of their habitus. In order to succeed at school members of the underprivileged classes are required to take on the secondary habitus of the school, the habitus of the dominant elite. Bourdieu argues that through this process schools are able to reproduce existing social relations (Bourdieu, 1974; 1976; Bourdieu & Passerson, 1990).

In much the same way, the higher education system is also recognised by Bourdieu as reproducing existing class divisions (Bourdieu & Passerson, 1990; Lane, 2000; Webb et al, 2002). In order to succeed in higher education, members of the underprivileged classes are required to take on the habitus of the *petite bourgeoisie*.

As demonstrated in Chapter Four, Bourdieu’s ideas have been used to examine the experiences of minority and indigenous students at university.

Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital, social capital and habitus are useful in exploring the power relations within the New Zealand education system. They also provide powerful tools for interpreting the participants' experiences within the mainstream university context (this is discussed in more detail in Chapter Eleven).

'Conscientisation'

Friere's notion of conscientisation is also salient to this study. Friere believed it was every person's vocation to become fully human (Elias, 1994; Friere, 1970). He theorises that for people to become fully human they must develop a critical attitude toward the world. Friere labels the process by which human beings become critically conscious as "conscientisation", and he describes this approach as "the effort to enlighten men about the obstacles preventing them from a clear perception of reality. In this role, conscientisation effects the ejection of cultural myths which confuse the people's awareness and make them ambiguous beings (Friere, 1970, p.51).

Critical consciousness is the consequence of conscientisation. It is typified by the ability to critically reflect upon the world and to transform it. Critical consciousness is important for realising social transformation, because it is through this process that the oppressed become aware of their oppression and are no longer prepared to accept it. In the current study, there are clear indications that some participants became 'critically conscious.' This is discussed in more detail in Chapter Eleven.

'Hegemony'

Hegemony is largely associated with the works of Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci. The fundamental principle underlying the notion of hegemony is that "man is not ruled by force alone but also by ideas" (Bates, 1975, p.351). Gramsci saw that the dominance of one class over the rest of society did not depend on economic power alone. It depended on the ability of the dominant

group to establish and maintain its own moral, political and cultural values as the norm and often to lead marginalised groups to believe that their moral, political and social values are inferior to those of the dominant group. Successful colonisation depended on the creation of hegemony. This was clearly demonstrated in Chapter Two.

Situating Kaupapa Māori as the overarching theoretical framework for this study

Socio-cultural theory and the notions of ‘cultural capital’, ‘habitus’, ‘conscientisation’ and ‘hegemony’ offer some valuable theoretical constructs with which to understand and interpret the experiences of Māori special admission entrants to university. However, what is missing from these theoretical constructs is an emphasis on Māori ethnicity.

Chapter Two and Three demonstrated that ethnicity does influence the way people experience education. Chapter Four also showed that the experiences of minority and indigenous students can be markedly different from the majority culture because of their cultural worldview, values and/or beliefs. In order to understand the experiences of Māori special admission students, a focus on Māori is essential. Māori must be able to analyse and understand research findings from their own frame of reference. This notion is supported by Stokes (1985) who maintains that “... interpretation of Māori data must be perceived in Māori terms, not forced into preconceived Pākeha methodologies or systems of categorising knowledge” (p.8). Kaupapa Māori theory provides an important avenue for achieving this aim.

There were three main reasons why I decided to employ a Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework for this research. The first and most obvious reason is that this research is related to ‘being Māori.’ The study focuses on what it means to be a Māori special admission entrant at university. Furthermore, both the researcher and the research participants all strongly identify as

Māori. A Kaupapa Māori approach was essential because it meant that the cultural integrity of the study was a foremost consideration.

The second reason for employing a Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework was the emphasis that Kaupapa Māori theory places on te reo and tikanga Māori for understanding and guiding the entire research process. A Kaupapa Māori approach also acknowledges that researchers must act in culturally appropriate and safe ways when working in a Māori context.

The third and final reason that I have employed a Kaupapa Māori theoretical approach is because the overarching framework of Kaupapa Māori theory, provides the facility to “weave” together Māori and western ways of knowing. There appears to be a major misconception by some critics of the approach that because Kaupapa Māori theory privileges Māori epistemologies, Māori ontology and Māori pedagogies, it is therefore somehow anti-Pākeha. This is not so. Linda Smith (1999) suggests that Kaupapa Māori is:

... a social project that weaves in and out of Māori cultural beliefs and values, Western ways of knowing, Māori histories, and experiences under colonialism, western forms of education, Māori aspirations and socio-economic needs, and western economics and global politics (p. 190).

An overarching Kaupapa Māori framework allowed me to draw on a number of western theories to help interpret and explain the findings of the research as well.

Kaupapa Māori theory

Kaupapa Māori is not new, in fact many of the ideas, values, beliefs and principles that underpin this philosophical base derive from te ao kohatu (the ancient world) (Pihama, 2001; Taki, 1996). In saying this, however, Kaupapa

Māori as a coherent theoretical framework had its genesis in the Māori ethnic revitalisation movement of the 1980s (Powick, 2002; G. Smith, 2003; L. Smith, 2005). Kaupapa Māori theory emerged as part of the 'Māori revolution' that led to the development of Māori educational initiatives such as Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wānanga Māori that were seen as a resistance to the monocultural hegemonic educational practices within New Zealand (G. Smith, 1995; 2003).⁸ Although the establishment of these Māori medium initiatives were outward signs of transformational change, Graham Smith (1995; 2003) suggests that the real revolution was in fact ideological. He pinpoints the 1980s as a crucial time in Māori history because Māori parents and other adults started to believe that education and schooling could make a positive difference and "were prepared to reinvest in education and schooling despite their own stories of hurt and humiliation from their own schooling encounters" (p.6). According to Smith large numbers of Māori became 'conscientised' during this time and this shift in mindset led to an emphasis on Māori "doing things for themselves" (G. Smith, 2003, p.2). By adopting a self determining agenda, tino rangatiratanga, Māori were able to effect transformational change in the New Zealand education system.

The revolution that initially began in the field of education during the 1980s has spread into other fields of study. Mahuika (2008) recognises that Kaupapa Māori theory, as an overarching framework for conducting research has grown in popularity amongst Māori academics across a range of different disciplines. Despite this, she has found it difficult to locate a "concise and definitive explanation" of Kaupapa Māori theory (p.5). In offering her own explanation for this phenomenon, she maintains that there is some uneasiness about providing a succinct definition for fears that: it might limit the ways that people are employing Kaupapa Māori theory; it may serve to universalise a common Māori experience as opposed to embracing the heterogeneous nature of the Māori people; and, it may reduce the theory to a

⁸ Details about these Māori educational initiatives were presented in Chapter Two.

set of simple operational procedures. She goes on to acknowledge other issues that further complicate the task of definition such as different tribal affiliations and knowledge bases, different academic disciplines, contextual factors and content. Another challenge has to do with the way that the term 'Kaupapa Māori' is interpreted and applied across further different domains, including research, ethics and methodology (Mahuika, 2008).

There is strong support in the literature for some of the claims made by Mahuika (2008). A number of authors have suggested that there is no singular or concise definition of Kaupapa Māori theory as generating a definitive research methodology. Kaupapa Māori theory embraces many different methodologies and is applied across different disciplines (L. Smith, 2005). Pihama (2001) contends that "Kaupapa Māori theory is not set in concrete, in fact it is very much a fluid and evolving theoretical framework (p.93). She goes on to comment that it "... is not singular. There is no set formula that we can use to say "here this is what it looks like" (p.101). Jenny Bol Jun Lee (2005) adds further weight to this by suggesting that "Kaupapa Māori theory is not singular, fixed or prescriptive" (p.4). Berryman (2008) endorses the idea that there are a variety of definitions of what constitutes Kaupapa Māori theory, as does Raureti (2006) who points out that "definitions and understandings of Kaupapa Māori theory differ" (p.18). L. Smith and Reid (2000) lend their support by encouraging people to see Kaupapa Māori as a "multiple rather than as a singular way of being" (p.4).

From exploring the diverse ways that people are talking and writing about Kaupapa Māori theory, it is clear that there are different interpretations and understandings. Some researchers focus on the spiritual and metaphysical domains of Kaupapa Māori theory, and consider that Māori language is a crucial component. An example in point is the explanation provided by Tuakana Nepe (1991):

Kaupapa Māori is esoteric and tūturu Māori. It is knowledge that validates a Māori world view and is not only Māori owned but also Māori controlled. This is done successfully through te reo Māori, the only language that can access, conceptualise and internalise in spiritual terms this body of knowledge (p.15).

Other researchers like Graham Smith (1997) and Linda Smith (1999) maintain that Kaupapa Māori theory is about “transformational praxis”, that is the juncture where theory is translated into practice. Ultimately, Kaupapa Māori offers a set of tools to critique and to transform:

Kaupapa Māori as an intervention strategy, in the western theoretical sense, critiques and reconstitutes the resistance notions of conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis in different configurations (G. Smith, 1997, p.119)

There are multiple expressions of Kaupapa Māori theory. However, this does not mean that there is a lack of cohesion. Like all theoretical constructs, Kaupapa Māori theory has basic unifying tenets that underpin its foundation (L. Smith & Reid, 2000). A number of authors have written about the key principles, elements and values that they see are inherent in Kaupapa Māori theory (see for example Bishop 2005: Pihama, 2001; G. Smith; 1992, 1997, 2003; L. Smith, 1999, 2005). Graham Smith (1992), the original exponent of the theory, claims that through a Kaupapa Māori approach:

the validity and legitimacy of Māori is taken for granted;
the survival and revival of Māori language and Māori culture is imperative;
the struggle for autonomy over our own [Māori] cultural well being, and over our own lives is vital to Māori survival (p.3).

I have drawn on Graham Smith's (1992) ideas to help structure the chapter. I highlight the key understandings intrinsic to Kaupapa Māori theory that I believe relate specifically to this study. In doing so, it is important to emphasise that this section comprises one attempt at Kaupapa Māori theorising, not the only attempt and the ideas presented in the following section are by no means exhaustive. My ideas have been informed by a Māori world view, by the literature and research produced by people working in the field of Kaupapa Māori theory, by the works of Māori scholars generally, as well as by my own lived realities of 'being Māori', and by a deep appreciation of ngā taonga tuku iho, the treasures of knowledge and understandings that have been handed down to me by my ancestors.

Kaupapa Māori is about the validity and legitimacy of Māori

Kaupapa Māori is about 'being Māori' and the notion that Māori people have a distinct way of viewing the world (Pihama, Cram & Walker 2002; Penehira, Cram & Pipi 2003). From this perspective Māori is positioned at the centre, everything that is explored is done so from within a Māori perspective, "from the inside out, not from the outside in" (Penehira et al., 2003, p.5). Taking a Kaupapa Māori stance means that there is an acceptance that as Māori "... we have a different epistemological tradition that frames the way we see the world, the way we organise ourselves in it, the questions we ask and the solutions we seek" (L. Smith, 2000, p.230). In order to understand Kaupapa Māori theory, it is necessary to understand some of the basic values, beliefs and philosophies that underpin Māori culture because this is what contributes to a Māori world view. Some of the understandings fundamental to Te Ao Māori (the Māori World) and hence, to Kaupapa Māori theory are outlined below. These principles also feature strongly in the Manu Tukutuku model presented at the end of this chapter.

Whakapapa (Genealogy)

The term whakapapa is made up of two root words, 'whaka' which signifies causative action and 'papa' which according to Williams (1975) refers to anything "broad, flat and hard such as a flat rock, a slab or a board" (p.259). When these words are combined, 'whakapapa' means to place in layers or lay one layer on another. In essence, whakapapa involves laying one generation on another, each person adding to the genealogy as it reaches from the past to the present and into the future (Irwin, 1984).

In its widest sense, whakapapa comprises the "genealogical descent of all living things from the time of the gods to the present time" (Barlow, 1991, p.173). According to traditional Māori belief all living things, birds, fish, animals, trees, soil, rocks and mountains, were believed to have had a whakapapa (Barlow, 1991). Whakapapa acts as an organising principle, establishing the relationship between human beings, the spiritual and sacred realms as well as the physical environment. This is supported by Macfarlane (2004b) who states "whakapapa forges the inextricable link between the sacred and the secular, the living and the dead, the past and the present, the old and the young" (p.41). Whakapapa therefore, is not only about human genealogy and identity. It also encompasses the creation of the world (cosmogony), the creation of the gods (theogony) and the creation of human beings (anthropogeny) (A.Durie, 1997; Buck, 1966).

There are various ways that Māori talk about and understand the evolution of the universe. Some commentators talk about the birth of the universe as they would the growth of a tree using phrases such as "Te pu, te more, te weu" (the primary root, the tap root, the fibrous roots) (Buck, 1966). Some describe the creation of the universe as "the unfolding of consciousness and thought", while others compare it to the process of birth:

Nā te kune te pupuke	From the conception the increase
Nā te pupuke te hihiri	From the increase the thought
Nā te hihiri te mahara	From the thought the remembrance
Nā te mahara te hinengaro	From the remembrance the consciousness
Nā te hinengaro te manako	From the consciousness the desire

(Shires, 1997, p.24)

For many Māori, the universe is thought to have evolved ‘mai i te kore, ki te pō, ki te ao mārama” (from nothingness to darkness and into the world of light). Walker (1990) helps us to make sense of this by explaining that ‘te kore’ is the world of potential, ‘te pō’ represents the realm of the atua (gods) and te ao mārama, the world of light is the physical world that human beings live in. This belief is validated in cosmological narratives which outline the relationship between the universe, the atua (gods) and human beings (A. Durie, 1997).

In one version of the cosmological narrative⁹, human life is said to have begun in the celestial realm with Ranginui the sky father and Papatuanuku the earth mother. Through their procreative efforts a number of male offspring were born, including: Tawhirimatea (god of winds), Tane-Mahuta (god of forests), Tangaroa (god of the sea), Haumia-tiketike (god of uncultivated foods), Rongomatane (god of cultivated foods), Ruaumoko (god of earthquakes and volcanoes) and Tūmatauenga (god of war and man) (Barlow, 1991). Trapped in a world of darkness with limited opportunity for growth and development, it was agreed by all except one brother that they should separate their parents, so that light could enter the world (Walker, 1992).

⁹ It is important to note that different tribes have different traditions and recognise that there are different versions of this narrative.

According to some oral traditions, it was Tane-Mahuta who was successful at separating his parents. However, this separation was not viewed positively by all his siblings. Tawhirimatea (god of winds) was infuriated by what his brothers had done, following his father into the sky, he and his children the four winds, attacked his brothers and their offspring with fierce winds and storms and this continues to this day. Tūmatauenga, the god of war and man, was the only one able to withstand the anger of Tawhirimatea, although it must be stated here that neither was he victorious over him (Walker, 1992).

After separating his parents, Tane Mahuta went in search of the uwaha (female element). Tane formed Hine-ahu-one (the earth formed maid) out of red clay and gave her the “breath of life” by blowing air into her nostrils (Walker, 1992). When this was done, he took his creation to wife and begat Hinetitama, the dawn maid who, according to some tribal traditions was the first human being. When Hinetitama became a woman, Tane took her to wife also and they had many children. When Hinetitama found out that Tane was her father, she fled the world of light in shame. It was Hinetitama who first negotiated the path of death to Rarohenga, the underworld. When she took her place in Rarohenga her name was changed to Hine-nui-te-po (goddess of night/ death). In one interpretation of the narrative, death entered the physical world through this act.

Irwin (1994) maintains that the “...cosmology of a people presents an orientation to life and a way of interpreting existence” (p.5). Cosmological narratives provide an explanatory function. They describe how the universe is created and why the universe exists in its present form. When properly understood, these narratives often reveal the philosophy, ideals and norms of a people, providing meaningful insights into a particular cultural world view (Walker, 1992). For example, the creation narrative presented above affirms the interdependence between the human race and the physical world. Human

health and well being is bound up in the health and the well being of the earth and atmosphere. In this respect Māori thought is seen as holistic (A. Durie, 1997).

A Māori holistic world view is inherent in a number of Māori health models. These models have been drawn on in Chapter Eleven to interpret the findings of this study. Durie's Whare Tapa Whā or four sided house model compares health and wellbeing "... to the four walls of a house, all four being necessary to ensure strength and symmetry" (Durie, 1994, p.69). There are four dimensions to the Whare Tapa Whā model: the Taha wairua (spiritual dimension); Taha hinengaro (dimension of the mind); Taha tinana (bodily health); and Taha whānau (extended family relationships) (Durie, 1994). Taha wairua encompasses our relationship with the environment and our link to the spiritual and supernatural worlds (Durie, 1994). Taha Hinengaro includes the expression of thoughts and feelings. It recognises the importance of unspoken signals such as body language and gestures as well as verbal forms of communication. Taha Tinana focuses primarily on our physical form. The last dimension, Taha Whānau recognises the importance of the extended family relationships to an individual's health and well being. The extended family is identified by Durie (1994) as a major support system. The Whare Tapa Whā model emphasises the need for each dimension to be understood in relation to the other dimensions and also with respect to the whole. In this way, the Whare Tapa Whā model recognises that there are no clear cut boundaries, and that what happens or does not happen in one dimension will ultimately have an effect of the other three. To apply Durie's metaphor, if you do not care or strengthen all the walls of your house, it will fall down.

In contrast to Durie's house metaphor, Pere (1988) selects the metaphor of wheke or octopus as a symbol for the total development of the individual within the context of the family. The head represents the individual/ family unit and each tentacle is an important dimension. There are eight dimensions

in this model including: Wairuatanga (spirituality); Mana ake (uniqueness); Mauri (life force); Hā a koro mā a kui mā (breath of life from forebears); Taha tinana (physical side); Whanaungatanga (extended family, group dynamics, social interaction); Whatumanawa (emotional aspect, literally the beating heart); Hinengaro (the mind-source of thoughts and emotions) (Pere,1988). Once again, a holistic orientation is emphasised in that all eight dimensions need to be cared for if the individual or family unit is to achieve total well being. Each dimension is complex with the suckers on each tentacle representing the many components that make up each dimension. Pere (1988) maintains that these eight dimensions need to be in balance if the individual or family unit is to achieve total health and well being (waiora) as reflected in the eyes of the octopus.

It has already been established that whakapapa is a means through which humans are positioned in relation to the physical and spiritual worlds. However, whakapapa is also significant in terms of knowledge transfer and the collective interpersonal relationships that Māori establish with each other (Pihama, 2001). In the pre-colonial context, whakapapa was a highly prized form of knowledge and precautions were taken in order to protect it from being misused (Barlow, 1991). All Māori were expected to know their genealogy and to pass this information on to their children. This process helped to establish a sense of belonging, it also helped to cement relationships between whānau (extended family), hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribal) members. Whakapapa as a fundamental element of Kaupapa Māori theory recognises that Māori have distinct ways of relating to each other. This is supported by Papakura (1986) who states:

Every Māori, especially if he came from a good family knew his or her genealogy and exact relationship to every relative. This was important to a Māori. If he went to a strange place, he would only need to repeat his genealogy to make himself known to any relatives whom he might

have there. Though these relatives lived under the clan name of another ancestor, he and they would claim relationship through the genealogy (p.37).

In the contemporary context, whakapapa ties continue to be an important source of individual and collective identity and wellbeing. However, not all Māori of today are able to make whakapapa connections to wider kinship networks such as hapū and iwi. This was illustrated in the 2006 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings (Statistics New Zealand, 2006) where it is claimed that almost one in six people of Māori descent (102,366 people) did not know their iwi. Another interesting finding to emerge from the census was the high number of Māori people who chose not to identify as Māori. Māori are counted in two ways in the census, through ethnicity and through descent. In 2006, there were 565,329 people who identified with the Māori ethnic group, and 643,977 people who were of Māori descent. If we consider that any person with Māori ancestry has a right to claim a Māori identity, it is interesting and perhaps a little worrying to some, that such a large number do not identify as Māori. This underscores the fact that the contemporary Māori population is diverse in their attitudes to cultural identity and that ideas about Māori identity continue to evolve (Paenga, 2008). This diversity is evident among the participants in this study.

Whakapapa is an important concept in terms of Kaupapa Māori theory because it can act as both a unifying and a distinguishing element at the same time. It can bring people together on one level, such as a group of people all identifying as Māori, but it can also highlight individual variations, such as tribal differences. As a consequence, whakapapa allows space for connecting diverse realities. There is recognition through this concept that Māori are not and never have been a single homogeneous group. Māori come from different backgrounds, have varying levels of access to te Ao Māori (a Māori world) and are diverse in their attitudes to cultural identity.

This is very important to understanding Kaupapa Māori theorising because as L. Smith and Reid (2000) suggest:

Kaupapa Māori is not owned by any grouping nor can it be defined in such ways that deny Māori people access to its articulation. What this means is that Kaupapa Māori must of necessity be diverse and recognise the diversity within our people; women, men, tamariki [children], kuia [grandmothers], koroua [grandfathers], rangatahi [youth], whānau [extended family], hapū [sub-tribes], iwi [tribes], urban Māori. These are some examples of the diversity within our people and therefore Kaupapa Māori needs to be accessible and available to all. It must also ensure analysis that is able to take into account, both in principles and practice, the diversity of Māori communities (p.14).

As a tool for critical analysis, whakapapa reminds the Kaupapa Māori theorist of the importance of relationships not only between people, those who are living and those who have passed on from this world, but also within the wider cultural and social environment as well. It is for this reason that whakapapa is also a principal feature of the Manu Tukutuku model presented at the end of this chapter.

Whānau and whanaungatanga

In traditional usage the term whānau referred to giving birth. Māori also used this term to refer to the smallest social unit in Māori social organisation the extended family (Buck, 1966, p.333). The traditional whānau usually consisted of three or four generation levels. To illustrate, Papakura (1986) offers the following description, “Families began as a man with his wife and children. When their children married and had children, they would call themselves a whānau, or family group” (Papakura, 1986, p. 34).

Over time, the term ‘whānau’ has developed many more contemporary meanings (Metge, 1995; G. Smith, 1995). The Williams *Dictionary of the*

Māori Language (1975) provides five definitions for the term. According to Williams (1975), whānau can mean to “be born”, to “be in childbed”, it can denote “offspring, family group”, “family”, and may also be used as a “familiar term of address” (p.487). In her seminal book, *New Growth from Old: The Whānau in the Modern World*, Joan Metge (1995) identified as many as ten different usages, distinguishing between two main types, whakapapa-based whānau and kaupapa-based whānau. Whakapapa-based whānau are traditional in form, all members share a common whakapapa (genealogy) or as Mead (2003) states “are born into it” (p.212). The second type, kaupapa-based whānau comprise people with a common interest or purpose who join together and form a unified group (Metge, 1995). Russell Bishop (2005) has introduced the term “whānau of interest” to refer to such a group of people engaged in research.

G. Smith (1995) notes that the changes in definition have been motivated by changing social and economic circumstances brought about by rapid Māori urbanisation following the Second World War. He suggests that:

The outcome of this hasty shift to cities and subsequent increased contact with Pākeha people, language, knowledge and customs was that enormous acculturative pressure was put on Māori. The concept of whānau has altered because of these circumstances. Over time it has become modified by the demands of the new social, economic, political and cultural context in which Māori live today, so that a range of new definitions are apparent (p.23).

Despite the multiple meanings and changes in structure, Metge (1995) states that the concept of the whānau “has remained important to the Māori people from pre-European times to the present.” (p.16). The whānau therefore, whether whakapapa-based or common interest-based, is still regarded as

the basic building block of the Māori social system (Mead, 2003; G. Smith, 1995).

A number of authors have identified whānau as a major support system for Māori (Durie, 1994; Pihama, 2001; G. Smith, 1995). As noted earlier, the whānau is identified by Durie (1994) as a major dimension of Māori health and wellbeing in the Whare Tapa Whā model. Durie (1994) maintains that it is the whānau that is responsible for providing the physical, cultural and emotional wellbeing of an individual (Durie, 1994). In later publications, he is more specific about the type of support that whānau need to provide for healthy development and claims that a way to measure the wellbeing of whānau is to assess the collective capacity to perform certain tasks.

In 2003, Durie specified five primary functions of whānau: manaakitia (the capacity to care); tohatohatia (the capacity to share); pūpuri taonga (the capacity for guardianship); whakamana (the capacity to empower); whakatakoto tikanga (the capacity to plan ahead). Durie (2003) maintains that whānau wellbeing can be measured by exploring their ability to: provide care, nurturing and protection; to show generosity and share resources as in the redistribution of wealth; act as wise trustees over customary land, cultural heritage sites and sites of special significance for the whānau and also provide access to Māori cultural heritage and language; empower individual members by advocating on their behalf and smoothing their transition into different domains in society (developing human capital); and, the ability to set long term goals. Although Durie (2003) maintains that this is the basis for assessing the well being of whānau, they also comprise effective ways that the whānau can support individual members well being.¹⁰

¹⁰ These capacities have evolved over time, there are six capacities listed in some sources. However, these five primary capacities have been used in the context of this study.

However, in addition to providing support, the whānau (traditional and contemporary) also brings with it collective accountabilities, obligations and responsibilities (Durie, 1997; Pihama, 2001). Having the support of a wide whānau network means that the individual has life-long obligations to the whānau, the hapū (sub-tribe) and the iwi (tribe). In the whānau context, again whether whakapapa-based or common interest-based, there is a strong emphasis placed on interdependence and whānau members are expected to contribute to the wellbeing of the collective (Durie, 1994). This is the essence of whanaungatanga.

Whanaungatanga in its wider sense has to do with relationships, Macfarlane (2004) puts it very succinctly by stating that "... it is about the heart of relationships" (p. 65). Durie (1997) describes the concept of whanaungatanga as the "process by which whānau ties and responsibilities are strengthened. It is based on the principle of both sexes and all generations supporting and working alongside each other" (p.2). Rangihau (1992) offers a practical description of the process:

Whanaungatanga to me also means that whenever a person feels lonely he will go round and visit some of his kin and it is just as enjoyable for the kin to receive a visit as it is for the person to go. In other words, there is as much joy – or perhaps greater joy – in giving as in receiving. And so we give of one another to one another – we give the talents we have so everybody can share in these sorts of experiences (p.184).

Whakawhanaungatanga is the active process of establishing and maintaining relationships, it is about whānau members working together to maintain connectedness, it is also about reciprocity and collective responsibility. Durie (1997) points out that there can be costs as well as benefits associated with whanaungatanga. For example, in times of financial crisis, a whānau member

may be able to draw on the financial resources of the collective. However, at other times, they may need to contribute economic support themselves. There are other considerations to think about as well including cultural, emotional, physical, and spiritual needs. Durie (1997) maintains that the relative *benefits* of whānau must be balanced against the *costs* of whanaungatanga. So while there can be collective supports on the individual, there are collective obligations on the individual.

When it comes to Kaupapa Māori research and theory, the whānau is viewed as being of central importance (Pihama, 2001; G. Smith, 1995). Graham Smith (1995) claims that many of the values, customs and practices intrinsic to traditional whānau structure and processes can be used as intervention elements to promote positive transformation and change. He draws on the example of Kaupapa Māori schooling to show how an extended family structure (such as that engendered in the traditional whakapapa-based whānau) can be employed to promote collective support that can help ease a range of difficulties within a schooling context. He also maintains that collective obligations and responsibilities to the school whānau, can promote the active re-engagement of people who were once extremely hostile towards schooling (G. Smith, 2003). Smith identifies six principles which he regards as crucial to Kaupapa Māori education praxis, these include: Tino Rangatiratanga (self determination); Taonga tuku iho (Knowledge and Values that have been handed down from the ancestors); Ako Māori (culturally preferred pedagogy); Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga (the mediation of socio-economic factors); Whānau (the extended family management principle); Kaupapa (the collective vision principle) (G. Smith, 2003). Many of these principles are discussed further in this chapter, albeit under different headings.

The Māori concept of whānau (whakapapa-based and kaupapa-based) encourages those undertaking Kaupapa Māori theorising, to value and engage with the relationships, collectivities and accountabilities of Māori

people. Whānau relationships are also important considerations when analysing and ascertaining the position of Māori in different situations (Pihama, 2001). In the context of this study, the whakapapa-based whānau was identified as a significant factor that could influence the success of Māori special admission students at university. Kaupapa-based whānau comprising peer support networks and faculty support were also identified as important. These influences are represented in the Manu Tukutuku model which is discussed later in this chapter.

Kaupapa Māori is concerned with the survival and revival of Māori language and culture

Te reo Māori me ōna tikanga (Māori language and Māori protocols and customary practice) are legitimated and validated through a Kaupapa Māori approach (Bishop, 2005; Pihama, 2001; G. Smith, 2003; L. Smith, 1999). There is a Māori saying, “ko te reo te waka e kawē ana i ngā tikanga Māori”, language is the vehicle of Māori culture. This reinforces the idea that te reo me ōna tikanga are inseparable. Language and Māori customary practices are interwoven.

Tikanga has been defined in a number of ways (Williams, 1975). Mead (2003) defines it as “...a set of beliefs associated with practices and procedures to be followed in conducting the affairs of a group” (p.12). Metge (1995) defines tikanga as “the right Māori ways” (p.21). Tikanga can also be used to denote rules, methods, correctness, culture, habits, values and ideologies. It can encompass a ‘Māori way of doing things’ or delineate Māori customs (Mead, 2003). I have used the term tikanga in this thesis to refer to Māori protocols and customary practices.

Tikanga recognises the existence and importance of culturally appropriate and safe protocols and practices for particular situations. In short, there are certain things that you do in a Māori context. For example, sprinkling water

over yourself after leaving an urupa (graveyard) to remove tapu, or removing your shoes before entering a wharenuī (meeting house). Tikanga are dynamic in that they have evolved over centuries of practice. Once again, it should be remembered that there can be diversity when it comes to the tikanga of different tribes. Engaging in tikanga serves to define and maintain one's identity as Māori and as a member of particular hapū and iwi. Engaging with and practising tikanga also serves both unifying and distinguishing functions.

The term 'reo' can be used to denote voice or language, but for many indigenous communities language also acts as a spiritual gateway to the ancient world. According to traditional belief, the Māori language was a gift from the atua (gods). Hence, it has a mauri (life force) and a spiritual essence (Barlow, 1991). Jeanette King (2009) states that a "...heritage language is a link to the past, that is, to the ancestors and a traditional way of life" (p.101). A language is a vehicle for the expression of thoughts, aspirations, history, knowledge, customs and knowledge. Language represents everything its speakers have thought about and the different ways that it can be expressed within a culture (Barlow, 1991). Te Reo Māori is very important because it provides us with the keys to access a distinctive cultural world view. This notion is reinforced by Pihama (2001) who claims that "within te reo Māori there exists ways of explaining the world that are distinctly Māori. There are also clues about how our tupuna [ancestors] may have thought about the world and their relationships within it" (p.118). In this way, Te Reo Māori is often understood as being 'he taonga tuku iho', a treasure handed down from the ancestors. It is also identified as an important identifier in terms of cultural identity (Durie, 2003). This is depicted in the following statements:

Ko te reo, te hā, te mauri o te Māoritanga
Language is the very life-breath of being Māori

Toi te kupu, toi te mana, toi te whenua

The permanence of the language, prestige and land.

(Without the Māori language, prestige and land, Māori culture will cease to exist).

Tōku reo, tōku ohooho!

Tōku reo, tōku mapihi maurea!

Tōku reo, tōku whakakai marihi!

My language, my awakening!

My language, my object of affection

My language, my ornamental grace!

The struggle to rejuvenate and maintain the Māori language is on-going. Colonisation, assimilation, urbanisation and the monolingual and monocultural education system have had a major effect on the Māori language (this has already been discussed in detail in Chapter Two). The findings of the latest Māori Language survey undertaken by the Ministry of Māori Development (2008) has demonstrated that although concentrated revitalisation efforts have brought about some improvements in terms of the health of the language, there are still big concerns about the health of this language:

Despite the improvements in the health of the Māori language in recent times, and the apparent success of current revitalisation initiatives, the Māori language is still a language at risk. That is, although it is an official language of New Zealand, it remains a 'minority' language. It is spoken almost exclusively by Māori people and, in total only 4% of New Zealanders can speak the language. Further, it is spoken by a minority of the Māori population, with only 23% of Māori having conversational Māori language abilities (Te Puni Kokiri, 2008, p. iv).

Kaupapa Māori theory also recognises the primary importance of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga to the Māori community. It legitimates the claim that Māori have a basic right to access, to reclaim and to protect their language and customary practices as guaranteed under the Treaty o Waitangi, New Zealand's founding document. Kaupapa Māori theory encourages the reclamation of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga and in so doing challenges the predominance of the western ideas and values (Pihama, 2001).

Kaupapa Māori theory recognises the delicate state of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga but also incorporates these as an essential tool for analysis. This involves examining the position of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori and asking any or all of the following questions outlined by Pihama (2001):

How are te reo Māori me ōna tikanga positioned? [How is te reo Māori positioned in New Zealand society, New Zealand education?]
Who is defining the position of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga?
Is te reo Māori and tikanga Māori being validated?
Is te reo Māori and tikanga Māori being marginalised?
Whose interests are being served by the positioning of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga? (p.122).

Te reo me ōnā tikanga is a very strong theme that runs through this entire study. It was commented on in Chapters Two and Three and comes through clearly in the participants' narratives and research findings. The importance of te reo me ona tikanga is represented by the Te Ao Māori spiral in the Manu Tukutuku model (this is discussed later in this chapter).

Kaupapa Māori is related to the struggle for Māori autonomy over their own cultural well being and lives

The term, 'tino rangatiratanga' can be used in reference to self determination, absolute sovereignty or autonomy (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). In the context of

Kaupapa Māori theory, however, tino rangatiratanga is most commonly used to refer to the principle of self determination, the right to be Māori and live as Māori on Māori terms (Durie, 2003). It is about Māori setting their own direction and taking an active role in determining for them what it means to be Māori. It also recognises that Māori had their own knowledge systems and culturally preferred practices prior to the arrival of the Pākehā. Take for example, Māori perspectives about knowledge.

Traditional Māori attitudes to knowledge are very different from western perspectives. Where western views tend to place a great deal of emphasis on the democratisation of knowledge, that is, everyone should have the right to access all forms of knowledge, in the pre-colonial Māori context, strict measures were taken to protect specialised forms of knowledge. This was because harm could befall an iwi or hapū if such knowledge were to fall into the hands of outsiders (for example, knowledge of locations of food resources, or knowledge of events associated with local place names). Higher learning in a traditional Māori context was restricted to a select few (Mead, 2003; Stokes, 1985).

In the pre-colonial context, kaumatua (elders) acted as the repositories of knowledge. They were the caretakers of knowledge and looked after this on behalf of the wider collective (whānau, hapū and iwi) (Stokes, 1985). Those who wished to attain specialist skills required the tutelage of a tohunga or expert and in some cases entry into a house of learning (Whare Wānanga). Individuals were selected to enter these institutions of higher learning on the basis of their whakapapa (genealogy), their gifts and their proclivities towards a certain domain. This was easily achieved as children were observed closely by members of their extended family and their interests and gifts were noted early on (Mead, 2003). Mead (2003) claims that “learning and the act of teaching were never regarded as “ordinary or common” (p.307). He goes on to suggest that “Learning was elevated high above the ordinary pursuits of a

community” (p.307). There is much more in-depth information that could be provided here, however, this is beyond the scope of this thesis. Suffice to say that Māori already had an established, safe and effective system of higher education well before the arrival of the first Pākehā settlers to New Zealand.

Traditional Māori pedagogies emphasise the important relationship between the teacher and the learner. As noted in Chapter Four, *ako* means both to teach and to learn. It emphasises the interrelated nature of teaching and learning, locating the student and teacher at the heart of the teaching - learning process. The principle of *ako* also recognises that the role of the teacher and the learner are interchangeable. It is possible for the learner to become the teacher and for the teacher to become the learner:

While current thinking places children at the center of learning, a traditional Māori perspective seems to locate students and teachers in the same place. The processes of learning were reciprocal – both teachers and students learnt from each other. Teaching/learning, experience and experimentation were co-operative ventures in which everyone involved learnt something new (Hemara, 2000, p.40)

Graham Smith (2003) refers to *ako* Māori as a ‘culturally preferred pedagogy’, he believes that pedagogical practices must take into account the cultural backgrounds and life circumstances of Māori. In other words, pedagogical processes must be culturally responsive in order to be effective. This does not mean that Māori need to become insular, but it is about selecting culturally preferred as well as culturally appropriate pedagogical methods. This he deems to be a key aspect of Kaupapa Māori theory and an essential feature of Kura Kaupapa Māori.

Kaupapa Māori theory can be a very effective framework for advancing Māori self determination because it critically engages people in the struggle for

positive transformational change for Māori. For Graham Smith (2003) this is the major goal of Kaupapa Māori theory. Kaupapa Māori theory encourages the critique of oppressive structures that can impede Māori cultural aspirations.

Theory Building and the Manu Tukutuku (Kite) model

It was a primary objective of this study to build theory that would help to explain the experiences of academically successful Māori students who entered university via special admission. Following an extensive period of data analysis (which is detailed in Chapter Six), four dominant themes were identified as impacting on the academic success of the sixteen participants: Whāia te iti kahurangi (a strong determination to succeed); Whānau (extended family), Te Ao Māori (te reo Māori, tikanga Māori and a Māori world view) and Whakawhanaungatanga (social support networks with peers and faculty). I wanted to develop a theoretical model that was respectful of all four themes and their interrelated nature, which was embedded in Te Ao Māori or a Māori world view and that emphasised core Māori values. In searching for an appropriate model and a culturally situated context, I was reminded of the story of Tāwhaki. It was this narrative that provided the inspiration for the development of the Manu Tukutuku (kite) model.

Tāwhaki the Demi-God and Mātauranga Māori

There are a number of different tribal narratives that tell of the adventures of Tāwhaki. In one version of the legend, Tāwhaki is reported to be the son of Hema and Urutonga and the grandchild of Whaitiri and Kaitangata. He had two siblings, a brother named Karihi and a sister, Pūpū-mai-nono. Tāwhaki is a demi-god, part human, part deity and resides in the sixth heaven (Mead, 1996). In this version of the legend, it was foretold that Tāwhaki would accomplish great deeds, and bring knowledge, prayers and incantations back from the celestial realm to benefit all those living in Te Ao Mārama (the world of light/ the physical world).

Tāwhaki is a heroic figure in Māori tradition, renowned for defeating his enemies the Ponaturi and for rising from the dead, his fame stretched across the land and into the heavens where the celestial maiden Tangotango lived. Curious to find out more about the famous Tāwhaki she had heard so much about, she decided one day that she would descend to earth and seek him out. When she found him, Tāwhaki was asleep. Tangotango admired him and was so impressed by his fine looks that she became determined to have him as a husband, and with this in mind she cohabitated with him. Tāwhaki originally thought it was all a dream because when he awoke each morning, Tangotango was gone. After a while, however, Tangotango became pregnant. Deciding to stay with Tāwhaki, she finally revealed who she was.

When their first child was born, a daughter, Tāwhaki was given the task of washing her. As he proceeded to do this he passed a bad comment about the smell. Deeply offended by her husband's comments, Tangotango took her daughter and fled back to the heavens. However, before she made her ascent, she called back to Tāwhaki, "I have one last gift for you before I leave, do not let your hand grasp the loosely hanging vine but instead hold the main vine." Tāwhaki begged Tangotango not to go, but alas this was in vain, she bid farewell and with that she was gone.

Tāwhaki could not bear the loneliness from being separated from his family, so he decided that he would try and find his wife and win her back. His brother Karihi accompanied him on this quest. With the assistance of their blind grandmother Whaitiri, (whom Tāwhaki had helped to regain her sight), they were guided to some hanging vines, these provided the pathway to the heavens. Before leaving, Whaitiri gave her grandsons some advice, she told them to hang on tightly to the vines because they would be buffeted by the wind and could easily die if they were to fall.

Karihi was the first to start climbing. Unfortunately, he had chosen an unsecure vine and was tossed around violently by the children of Tawhirimatea (the four winds). Tāwhaki could see that his younger brother was in trouble, and encouraged him to let go of vine. Karihi followed his brother's advice and let go of the vine and fell to earth. In this version of the story he was injured but was not killed. After that, Tāwhaki encouraged him to stay behind to look after the family. Karihi reluctantly agreed to this.

Tāwhaki asked his grandmother for more guidance, which vine was the most secure to climb? This time his grandmother was more forthcoming. Tāwhaki started to climb, he was blown by the winds but remembered what his grandmother had said and held tightly to the vine. He climbed and climbed, he ascended the first heaven, the second heaven and had many adventures along the way before reaching the tenth heaven where he came across the abode of Tama-i-waho, a powerful tohunga (priest). As he approached his dwelling house, Tāwhaki could hear his dogs barking, then he saw the dogs rushing towards him. As they were just about to leap at him, he stretched out his arms and lightning flashed from his armpits. Startled by the lightning, the dogs returned to their master.

Tama-i-waho appeared and asked who it was that was frightening his dogs, Tāwhaki replied, introducing himself. Tama-i-waho, asked why he had come and Tāwhaki explained that he had come to learn the about incantations and knowledge. The learned priest asked him why he wanted this knowledge, and Tāwhaki replied that he desired this so that he could take these treasures back to all humankind so that it would help them in their everyday life. The priest considered the request very carefully, and warned Tāwhaki that in the wrong hands knowledge could be dangerous. However, if they were put to good use in the service of the people then a lot of good would come of them. Tama-i-waho then carried out the appropriate rituals needed for Tāwhaki to retain the knowledge and proceeded to teach.

After teaching Tāwhaki powerful incantations, Tama-i-waho taught him about the nature of the universe. When Tama-i-waho was finished and he had bestowed the gifts of the gods on the children of Rangi and Papa, Tāwhaki thanked him and went in search of his wife Tangotango. On finding her, he adopted the disguise of an old man and went through several trials to show that he was sincere in his desire to be reunited with her. After revealing himself to Tangotango, he performed a dedication rite in honour of his daughter. His family directly benefitted from the knowledge that he gained from Tama-i-waho. This social practice was also adopted by human beings. In another adventure, Tāwhaki tried to steal some dogs from Tama-i-waho and was banished to the sixth heaven along with Tangotango. According to some tribal narratives, it is here that he dwells today watching over students who are pursuing knowledge. When lightning flashes in the sky, it is a sign that Tāwhaki is still there. When lightning is followed by thunder it is Whaitiri, the grandmother of Tāwhaki that is making her presence felt.

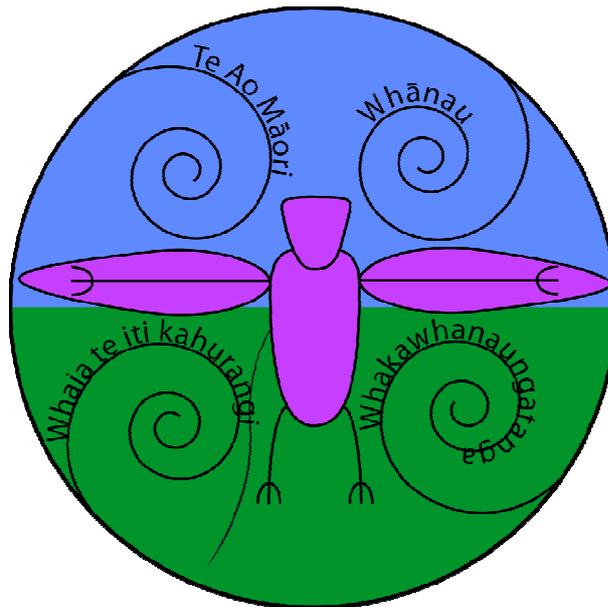
The Tāwhaki narrative serves to reinforce the importance of education, achievement and advancing oneself for the benefit of the collective. Traditional Māori values associated with knowledge are sanctioned and reinforced in the Tāwhaki story. Knowledge was tapu (sacred), knowledge belonged to the whānau (family), hapū (sub -tribe), iwi (tribe) or collective, knowledge can lead to enlightenment, and above all else, people have a responsibility to treat knowledge with respect.

The Manu Tukutuku Model: A Kaupapa Māori model for success.

The narrative of Tāwhaki's ascent into the heavens to find Tangotango and to receive knowledge on behalf of humankind provides the backdrop for the development of a model that facilitates Māori academic success at university. The Manu Tukutuku (kite) model was developed through the interpretation and collaborative re-evaluation of research findings. The model is firmly

grounded within Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) and within a Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework. Figure 3 provides a visual representation of this model.

Figure 3: Manu Tukutuku Model



This model represents the journey of Tāwhaki into the heavens in search of knowledge on behalf of all humankind. In Maoridom, kites are often associated with Tāwhaki and his journey. He is depicted here in purple as a manu tukutuku (a kite), manu meaning kite or bird, and tukutuku referring to the winding out of the aho (line) as the kite flies up into the air.

Kites were a favourite pastime among Māori children in classical Māori society. They were flown by adults for recreation and were sometimes used as a form of communication (Maysmor, 1990). Kites were also used by tohunga (priests) for divination. Manu tukutuku, as well as the birds they represented, were regarded as the connectors between the physical and spiritual realms (Maysmor, 1990). They represent taonga tuku iho (treasures handed down from the ancestors) and therefore have a strong spiritual force.

In the visual model, the Manu Tukutuku symbolises Māori university students following the path of Tāwhaki in their pursuit of knowledge for the betterment of whānau, hapū and iwi. As will be demonstrated in Chapter Seven, many of the participants entered university in the hope of making life better for their whānau.

The colours in the model are significant. The purple colour of the manu tukutuku represents spirituality recognising that in Māori thought, the search for knowledge is more than just an academic exercise. The blue colour represents, the sky father Ranginui and the deep green colour symbolises the earth mother, Papatuanuku (the significance of these two celestial beings was discussed earlier in this chapter). The aho tukutuku (cord or line of the kite) represents a person's whakapapa (genealogy/lineage). As previously mentioned, a person's whakapapa links them to both the sky father and the earth mother. In this sense, the model is holistic, the spiritual and the physical worlds are intertwined and everything is connected. The holistic world view is depicted by the circle that is all encompassing.

The four spirals represent the four wind children of Tawhirimatea (God of winds). When Tāwhaki ascended to the heavens he was buffeted by the winds and had to strive to hang on, to achieve his goal of finding Tangotango and retrieving knowledge for the human race. In this model, the four spirals represent the four major influences that were found to impact on the success of the Māori special admission students at university.

Te Ao Māori denotes the powerful influences of the Māori world. In the context of this research it encompasses Māori knowledge, history, te reo me ona tikanga and a Māori world view. It is positioned in the top left hand

quadrant of the model close to Ranginui (sky father) because this is a taonga gifted from Io (the supreme God).¹¹

The Whānau depicted in the model represents the traditional whakapapa-based whānau who are also found to have an influence on the success of Māori special admission students. The Whānau occupy the top right hand corner of the model because of the spiritual link between whānau members, those who are living and those who have passed on. This is reflected in the statement “E kore au e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea” (I will never be lost because I am a seed sown in Rangiātea).

Whāia te iti kahurangi represents the individual's determination to succeed. Personal commitment was discussed as a factor influencing student persistence at university by Tinto (1993) in Chapter Four. A strong determination to succeed was identified as a factor that influenced the success of the participants at university. It is represented by the spiral in the lower left-hand quadrant of the Manu Tukutuku model.

Finally, Whakawhanaungatanga represents the importance of establishing and maintaining relationships and networks of support within the university environment with peers and faculty members. Both Whakawhanaungatanga and Whāia te iti kahurangi are actions that are aligned more with the physical realm and so have been placed with Papatuanuku.

As a general theory, the Manu Tukutuku model, recognises that all four winds can influence the success of Māori university students either positively or negatively. They can assist students to achieve their goal of attaining an academic degree, but they may also serve to hamper their journey. The model leaves room for the diversity of Māori realities by recognising that for

¹¹ According to some tribal traditions it was Tawhaki who retrieved knowledge from the Gods for the benefit of humankind. Other tribal traditions credit Tane for securing the three baskets of knowledge on behalf of human beings in the physical world.

some people, the influence of the whakapapa-based whānau or Te Ao Māori can be very strong and for others these influences may only comprise a gentle breeze. The model acknowledges that some people may have a greater deal of access to and support from their Māori cultural heritage than others. Hence, understanding the influences of Te Ao Māori is of crucial importance to understanding the success of Māori students at university. However, all four winds are important for the stability of the kite.

In addition to providing a theoretical framework for understanding the experiences of Māori special admission students at university, the Manu Tukutuku is also a useful tool for informing practice. The model can be used to explore the factors that might be affecting a student's performance at university and pinpoint areas where support may be necessary.

In sum, the Manu Tukutuku model is a holistic model that is grounded in a Māori world view. It is based on traditional narratives which reinforce the importance of knowledge. The Manu Tukutuku model validates Māori ways of knowing and understanding the world, it respects te reo Māori me ōna tikanga and in this sense contributes to the struggle for tino rangatiratanga (Māori self-determination) in terms of offering a valid and effective Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework.

Chapter Summary

This chapter began by outlining some western theories of human development that have application to the current study. It then went on to identify Kaupapa Māori as the overriding theoretical framework for this study.

The chapter has traced the emergence of Kaupapa Māori theory and has also identified some of the key principles, values and beliefs inherent in Kaupapa Māori that are relevant to this study.

The chapter has shown that Kaupapa Māori embraces a number of different methodologies and is applied across multiple disciplines. As a theoretical framework, Kaupapa Māori is fluid and evolving to make space for diverse Māori realities.

While Kaupapa Māori theory is expressed in multiple ways, it is underpinned by several unifying tenets. The validity and legitimacy of Māori is taken for granted and the survival and revival of Māori language and culture is paramount. Tino Rangatiratanga is also a key goal (G.Smith, 1992).

This chapter provided an explanation of a range of important concepts including: whakapapa, whānau, whanaungatanga, te reo Māori me ōna tikanga, mātauranga Māori and tino rangatiratanga.

Finally, the chapter introduced a Kaupapa Māori model for success. This model known as the 'Manu Tukutuku' model, was inspired by the legend of Tāwhaki. It incorporates four major factors that can impact on the success of Māori students at university.

Chapter Six discusses the research methodology and the research methods used in this research and connect these with Kaupapa Māori theory.

CHAPTER SIX

METHODOLOGY & RESEARCH METHOD

*He wā anō, hei ara ake, he wā anō, hei noho,
he wā ano, e tō ai te ra.*

*There is a time to act, a time to sit and reflect
and a time for enlightenment.*

This chapter provides an overview of the research methodology and outlines the main research methods that were used in this study. The first section re-examines the research focus and highlights the main research questions. The second section, describes the methodological approach taken, focusing specifically on principles of Qualitative Research and Kaupapa Māori research. The chapter outlines the process of participant selection, data collection and data analysis. Finally, important ethical considerations are discussed.

The purpose and aims of the study

As noted in Chapter One, this study emerged out of the conversations I had with my mother and past Māori students that I have had the privilege of working with over the past eleven years. The fundamental aim and main point of this study was to investigate the experiences of Māori special admission students to find out how they become academically successful at university. In addition to this, the study attempted to explore ways that culture influenced their experiences in the university setting and how the university environment could be improved to enhance their success.

The study was guided by three principal questions:

What experiences did the sixteen Māori special admission entrants have on their way to becoming academically successful at the University of Waikato?

What did it mean to “be Māori” and a special admission entrant at the University of Waikato?

What can be done to make the university environment more supportive of Māori special admission entrants?

Selecting the research approach

Deciding on how best to answer each of the major research questions in a culturally appropriate manner while satisfying the general aim of the study was an important process. Considering the merits of quantitative and qualitative research in relation to the overall intentions of the study was an important first step.

Quantitative researchers enter the research context with a particular agenda and a defined testable hypothesis. They are clear about what they are looking for and typically design a research project in its entirety before any data is collected (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007; Creswell, 2009; Gelo, Braakmann & Benetka, 2008). Quantitative research projects are rigidly structured, they are concerned with outcomes or products and the data generated consists of numerical and statistical data (Cohen et al., 2007; Creswell, 2009; Dodd, 2008; Gelo et al., 2008). One of the strengths of this particular methodology is that with an appropriate sample of participants the research outcomes can be generalised to a wider population.

Quantitative researchers take a neutral stance removing themselves from any claims of personal bias, through avoiding forming any relationships with participants. As a consequence, quantitative inquiry is often described as

being 'objective' (Creswell, 2009). Although the notion that any research project is value free has been heavily contested, quantitative methodologies continue to be seen as having a privileged position when compared to qualitative methodologies on the basis of being more 'scientific.' This is supported by Dodd (2008) who states that:

... despite the philosophical critiques of the standard view of the scientific and positivist paradigm (critiques that argue facts and values cannot be separated, and reject the view that science should only deal with observable phenomena and that theoretical concepts do not correspond with reality), there is a scientific attitude that adds value to any research, whatever the subject (p.8).

Quantitative research approaches were not employed in this research project because they were antithetical to the aims of the study. The research questions in this study were primarily interested in process and meaning. Therefore, qualitative research approaches seemed better suited to this general focus.

The participants in this study went to school and university during different time periods. The methodological approach needed to take account of contextual and sociocultural factors of these time periods, as they impacted on participants' experiences. Qualitative approaches were considered more appropriate in this regard.

Another important reason why a quantitative methodology was discarded was that this approach did not allow the researcher to become personally involved in the research. The detached positioning of the researcher was considered inappropriate because I already knew the participants, and had established relationships and connections with all of them. When working as a researcher in a Māori cultural context, taking up such a detached position would have

presented serious difficulties because in this cultural context, whanaungatanga (fostering and maintaining relationships) is a very important cultural value.

Qualitative research

Qualitative research is a broad term that is used to describe a number of approaches. It includes ethnography, case studies, field research, interview and observational research, document and content analysis and life history to name a few (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Burns, 2000). Qualitative researchers are concerned with meaning and the way that people make sense of their lives (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Burns, 2000; Cohen et al., 2000; Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). Therefore, qualitative research focuses on people's experiences, feelings and their understandings of behaviour:

Qualitative researchers believe that since humans are conscious of their own behaviour, the thoughts, feelings and perceptions of their informants are vital. How people attach meaning and what meanings they attach are the bases of their behaviour...The qualitative researcher is not concerned with objective truth, but rather with the truth as the informant perceives it (Burns, 2000, p.388).

Qualitative data are essentially descriptive because the researcher's main objective is to understand each participant's own frame of reference. The information that the participants supply is of the utmost importance to the qualitative researcher because the data are included in the final written report to help illustrate and validate the research (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). One of the major advantages of using a qualitative research approach is that by gaining an 'insiders' point of view, the researcher is able to see things that may not be visible to an outsider (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). This can add new knowledge and increase understanding in respect to the area under investigation.

In order for a qualitative research project to be successful, a close and trusting relationship between the researcher and research participants is required. The reason for this is clear, if "...you want to understand the way people think about their world and how these definitions are formed, you need to get close to them, to hear them talk and observe them in their day to day lives" (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p.35).

This research project aimed to make visible the experiences of Māori Special Admission Entrants to university. A qualitative research approach was considered appropriate because it provided a framework that would allow these voices to come through. In other words, it created the space for a group of Māori special admission students to share their 'lived realities' in their own words. Linda Smith (2005) sees qualitative research as very valuable in this regard, especially when it comes to indigenous communities and issues of representation:

Qualitative research is an important tool for indigenous communities because it is the tool that seems most able to wage the battle of representation; to weave and unravel competing storylines; to situate, place, and contextualise; to create spaces for decolonizing; to provide frameworks for hearing silence and listening to the voices of the silenced; to create spaces for dialogue across difference; to analyze and make sense of complex and shifting experiences, identities and realities; and to understand little and big changes that affect our lives (L. Smith, 2005, p.103).

A number of Māori researchers have employed diverse methodologies within the context of Kaupapa Māori theory (L. Smith, 1999). In this thesis, the qualitative methodology that has been used has been heavily influenced by Kaupapa Māori research principles.

Kaupapa Māori principles

Māori people have been rendered the 'objects' of social research ever since their first encounters with the western world. The arrival of James Cook represented the first contacts between Māori and the western research tradition, a union that has continued to endure despite a reluctance to be observed on the part of Māori (L. Smith, 1992; 1999). An early example of Māori unwillingness to be researched on western terms was shown in their reluctance toward having their photographs taken. This resistance was predicated on the belief that photographs imprisoned the wairua or spirit of the individual (L. Smith, 1992). However, despite this reluctance, Māori have been the 'object' of a massive amount of research. So much so that some authors have argued that Māori are some of the most researched peoples in the world. Unfortunately, much of this research has failed to provide beneficial outcomes for Māori (Bishop & Glynn, 1992; G. Smith, 1992; L. Smith, 1992). Māori continue to be overrepresented in negative statistics in a range of areas including health, education and employment (Department of Labour, 2009). If research is aimed at advancing knowledge and improving social benefits, then why hasn't it produced better outcomes for Māori?

Growing concern over this very question has led an increasing number of Māori to challenge the foundations of traditional Western-European research approaches for marginalising Māori knowledge and history and undermining their validity and authenticity (Bishop, 2005; Bishop & Glynn, 1992; 1999; L. Smith, 1999).

A case in point, is the construction of the story of the 'Great Fleet' which described Māori migration to New Zealand as beginning with the discovery of New Zealand by Kupe in 950AD, followed by the arrival of Toi in 1150 and the Great Fleet around 1350 AD (Bishop & Glynn, 1992). These ideas were published, made into standard texts and fed back to Māori people as their

own history. This story became universalised and in some cases is still commonly accepted, even though subsequent research has exposed it as a myth (Bishop & Glynn, 1992). By creating their own interpretation of Māori history, Non-Māori researchers such as Elsdon Best and Percy Smith both simplified and misrepresented Māori knowledge and history. Bishop (2005) states:

Traditional research has misrepresented Māori understandings and ways of knowing by simplifying, conglomerating, and commodifying Māori knowledge for “consumption” by the colonisers. These processes have consequently misrepresented Māori experiences, thereby denying Māori authenticity and voice. Such research has displaced Māori lived experiences and the meanings that these experiences have with the “authoritative” voice of the methodological “expert,” appropriating Māori lived experience in terms defined and determined by the “expert” (p.111).

Māori academics have written extensively about the problems of using western research methodologies within Māori communities (Bishop, 2005; Bishop & Glynn, 1992; 1999; G. Smith, 1992; L. Smith, 1992; 1999; 2005). These approaches have been criticised for describing problems in Māori society rather than looking at ways to effect transformational change and for exploiting Māori research communities (see for example Bishop & Glynn, 1999; G. Smith, 1992; L. Smith, 1999). Another criticism levelled at traditional Western–European practices is that research into Māori people’s lives has often been driven by the concerns and interests of Non-Māori researchers and findings have been understood and interpreted in terms of their own cultural worldview. This has meant that until recently Māori have had very little power and control over research projects that have directly affected them. As a result, very few benefits have accrued to the Māori community

(Bishop, 2005; Bishop & Glynn, 1992; 1999; G. Smith, 1992; L. Smith, 1992; 1999).

There are other complexities involved, such as the existence of two largely contradictory attitudes towards knowledge. In her seminal paper, *Māori Research and Development*, Stokes (1985) emphasises these binary oppositions, contrasting Māori perspectives on knowledge with Non-Māori perspectives. Stokes (1985) characterises the European perspective of knowledge as somewhat of a 'divine right' attitude. In other words, Non-Māori researchers according to Stokes (1985) believe that they are entitled to explore whatever is of interest to them, providing they abide by their own methodological and ethical requirements. L. Smith (1992) supports this view, and maintains that knowledge from a Non-Māori perspective denotes a "fundamental right to know" (p.3). It is this inalienable right to know everything which stands at odds with traditional Māori approaches to knowledge.

Chapter Five established that in the pre-colonial Māori context, knowledge was highly valued and measures were taken to preserve, protect and to see that knowledge was used in the correct manner. Knowledge was not only powerful, but also tapu (sacred) and precautions were taken to ensure that the most powerful forms of knowledge did not get into the hands of those who might abuse it. In contemporary Māori society, knowledge is still regarded highly and it is understood that not everyone is afforded access of right to all specialised forms of knowledge.

Kaupapa Māori research has emerged and evolved as a direct response to concerns over culturally inappropriate research practices and processes (Bishop, 2005, Bishop & Glynn, 1999; G. Smith, 1992; L. Smith, 1999; 2005; Stokes 1985). Kaupapa Māori research is essentially the enactment of Kaupapa Māori theory within a research context. In this way, it possesses

many of the same characteristics as Kaupapa Māori theory as described in Chapter Five.

Irwin (1994) describes Kaupapa Māori research as a process that is “culturally safe”, where Māori institutions, Māori principles and practices are accorded value and validity. She describes Kaupapa Māori as “culturally relevant and appropriate” (p.27). L. Smith (2005) describes Kaupapa Māori research as a “theory of research methodology” (p.90). She goes further to suggest:

It is a particular approach that sets out to make a positive difference for Māori, that incorporates a model of social change or transformation, that privileges Māori knowledge and ways of being, that sees the engagement in theory as well as empirical research as a significant task, and that sets out a framework for organising, conducting and evaluating Māori research. It is also an approach that is active in building capacity and research infrastructure in order to sustain a sovereign research agenda that supports community aspirations and development. Those who work within this approach would argue that Kaupapa Māori research comes out of the practices, value systems, and social relations that are evident in the taken-for-granted ways that Māori people live their lives (L. Smith, 2005, p.90).

A key characteristic of Kaupapa Māori research is the devolution of power and control from the researcher, and re-positioning the researcher within collective cultural relationships that are based in Te Ao Māori (the Māori World). Kaupapa Māori research approaches require that Māori communities be included in all aspects of the research activity, from the initial research design to the final analysis of research data. Kaupapa Māori research is also driven by the expressed interests of the Māori community. It is posited that removing the locus of power from the researcher allowed Māori communities to guide the research enterprise and to a greater extent will lead to greater

benefits for Māori communities (Bishop, 2005; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; G. Smith, 1992; L. Smith, 1999).

In order to help ensure that power sharing is a key outcome of Kaupapa Māori Research, some authors have developed models to help researcher's analyse and evaluate their research projects. In this project I have adopted Bishop's (2005) Initiation, Benefits, Representation, Legitimation and Accountability (IBRLA) Framework.

Bishop (2005) maintains that by addressing questions of Initiation, Benefits, Representation, Legitimation and Accountability a researcher can address power and control issues in Kaupapa Māori research. He encourages those undertaking research with Māori communities to consider the following questions:

Initiation

How does the research process begin? Whose concerns and interests are represented? What methods of approach determine / define the outcomes?

Benefits

Who will gain from the research? Will anyone be disadvantaged?

Representation

Whose interests does the study represent? Whose voices are heard?
How were the major aims of the study established?

Legitimacy

What authority does the text have? Who defines what is accurate, true and complete in a text? Who theorises the findings?

Accountability

Who has control over the initiation, procedures, evaluations, text constructions and distributions of newly defined knowledge? How is the researcher accountable to Māori?

Bishop (2005) maintains that by addressing these issues in terms of the conceptualisation, design and implementation of Kaupapa Māori projects, researchers can guard against 'power over' issues. Bishop's (2005) IBRLA framework has been used in Chapter Eleven to analyse and evaluate the study in terms of Kaupapa Māori Research principles.

The role of the researcher

In both qualitative and Kaupapa Māori research, the researcher's relationship with their participants is paramount. Qualitative researchers and those involved with Kaupapa Māori projects are charged with the task of establishing a close, trusting and respectful working relationship with their research participants so that they can better understand their world. Some critics believe that qualitative research is unreliable because it is tainted by the attitudes and biases of the researcher. They argue that qualitative approaches are subjective because the researcher is heavily involved in both data collection and data interpretation, and because qualitative approaches emphasise close personal contact with people and the topic under study (Rajendran, 2001).

Qualitative researchers have responded to these criticisms by questioning whether any research project can ever be completely 'value free.' They contend that in terms of quantitative studies, it is the researcher who ultimately decides on the hypothesis, the tools and the meaning of the findings. They argue that "there is no value-free or bias free design" and that "the myth that research is objective in some way can no longer be taken seriously" (Janesick, 2000, p.385). While quantitative researchers go out of

their way to limit personal bias by distancing themselves from their participants, qualitative researchers accept that distancing themselves from their participants is a real threat to the integrity of their research and make this known by openly declaring their assumptions, values, perspectives and their relationships and connections with their participants. In the following section, I attempt to do just this.

I am a Māori woman who identifies strongly as Ngapuhi, and particularly with the sub-tribe of Te Kapotai. I am Māori on my mother's side and Pākeha on my father's side with Scottish and Scandinavian ancestry. I have grown up in the urban environment all of my life away from our ancestral lands. I do regard myself fortunate because my mother made sure that my brother and I returned to our marae every year when we were young - so we are fortunate that we both know our turangawaewae (the place where we stand). Although my maternal grandparents were both fluent speakers of te reo Māori, my mother was encouraged to speak only English when she was a child. She began the process of reclaiming her language when I was a teenager and now teaches in a Māori medium unit in a state school. I began learning Māori at secondary school and at the University of Waikato I decided to enrol in a Māori medium teacher education programme. I am still on a journey towards attaining fluency. Some of the participants in this study have gone through the same programme, although this programme has changed over time. My experiences as a Māori student have enabled me to understand the institution from a student's perspective.

I have spent the last nineteen years at the University of Waikato, firstly as a Māori student and more recently as a staff member. I am familiar with the policies, processes and practices of this particular university. On a professional level, I have worked as a lecturer in the Department of Human Development and Counselling for most of the eleven years I have spent teaching at university. I teach courses in human development and have

previously taught papers related to inclusive education. I have a special interest in the way that culture shapes human development and in establishing culturally inclusive learning environments for Māori. My university experience has meant that I am able to understand the institution from a faculty member's perspective as well.

I found myself being both an 'insider' and an 'outsider' in the context of this study. On one hand, I belonged to the community being researched. I knew all the research participants and had established relationships with them, some of these relationships extended well over thirty years. This insider position was strengthened by the fact that I strongly identify as a Māori and I am a University of Waikato graduate myself. My insider status was in many ways beneficial because I could relate to and connect with many of the participants' stories. I shared some of these stories. I was familiar with the culture and customs, when Māori terms were used and Māori values referred to I had a good understanding of what the participants were talking about and was able to enquire further.

Although I chose to see my insider status as an advantage in this study, there are complexities involved in being known and working from within the community (L.Smith, 1999). At the end of the day, I was a member of this community, a community who would need to live with the consequences of the research no matter what the results. L. Smith (1999) claims that insider research needs to be "ethical and respectful, reflexive, critical ... and humble" (p139). She claims that the researcher needs to be humble by virtue of the fact that "the researcher belongs to the community as a member with a different set of roles and relationships, status and position" (L. Smith, 1999, p. 139). My dual role of researcher and community member raised a number of ethical considerations. I needed to be extremely careful about research practices and processes, research relationships, and the project focus.

In saying this, I did not always occupy the insider position during the course of the research. My age, gender and the fact that I did not have children sometimes placed me in an outsider position. So too did my role as a lecturer at the University. I was part of the very institution that at times was being critiqued. From the outset, I needed to be very clear that in addition to my roles of peer, colleague, family member, teacher/lecturer and/or student I had taken on an additional role of researcher. I continually reinforced the idea that I wanted to hear the participants' perspectives and that I wanted to find out what they thought. They responded by providing a wealth of knowledge.

Participant recruitment and selection

The selection criteria for this particular study were quite specific. Participants were included because they had: self identified as Māori; gained an undergraduate degree from a recognised New Zealand university (or were nearing the completion of that degree); and had entered the university through special admission provisions.

As noted in Chapter One, special admission entry criteria enable New Zealand and Australian citizens (and permanent residents) to enter university when they are twenty years or over without having to provide any proof of academic qualifications. Originally, twenty participants agreed to participate in the research however; two participants did not complete their bachelor's degree and so no longer fulfilled the criteria for inclusion. Over the three year data collection phase, I lost contact with another participant as a result of a move to another city. The final participant withdrew from the study because of personal commitments. She did re-establish contact later in the research and signalled her willingness to be interviewed for a third and final time, but by this stage I was well into the analysis and write up of the main findings and so, she was not included as a participant in this research.

Sixteen participants were included in the final study, fourteen female and two male participants. Access to the participants was established initially through personal, family, colleague and institutional contacts. Snowball sampling was also used in this study. In snowball sampling, researchers ask participants to put them into contact with other people who may qualify for inclusion in the study (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000).

The participants were affiliated to a number of iwi (tribes) throughout Aotearoa New Zealand, these included: Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Hikairo, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Porou, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Maniapoto, Tuhoe, Te Ati Haunui a Paparangi, Tara Tokanui, Tama Te Ra, Tuwharetoa, Waikato - Tainui, Ngaiterangi, Whakatohea, and Te Aitanga a Mahaki. The following hapū (sub tribes) were also mentioned: Te Kapotai, Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Tukorehe, Ngāti Kere, Ngāti Rora, Ngāti Rereahu, Hamua, Ngatirongo, Ngāti Hauaroa, Ngāti Wairere, Ngāti Whawhakia, Ngāti Hē, Ngāti Tipa, Ngāti Ira, Ngāti Ngahere, Te Mahurehure, Ngāti Hikairo, Ngāti Tāwhaki, Ngāti Pamoana, Ngā Poutama, Ngāti Kurawatia, Ngāti Turangitukua, Ngāti Hikairo, Ngāti Manunui.

By the end of the data collection phase (Feb 2007) all sixteen participants had gained an academic degree from a New Zealand university. Fifteen of the sixteen participants graduated with their bachelor's degree from the University of Waikato. One participant attained a bachelor's degree at another New Zealand University. However, she did complete a Certificate, a Diploma and a Masters degree at the University of Waikato. All of the participants in the study were at one time enrolled the School of Education and gained teaching qualifications (diploma, undergraduate degree, graduate diploma, masters degree).

When first interviewed in 2005, the participants ranged in age from 23 years (born in 1981) to 56 years (born in 1949). Seven of the participants were in

their twenties when they first enrolled, four participants were in their thirties and five participants were in their forties. The participants were enrolled as students at the University of Waikato at different times over a twenty year period from 1984 to 2006.

One of the major difficulties when working with a select group of a small population such as the Māori population, in a relatively small country such as New Zealand is that the anonymity of the participants can become compromised. The researcher must make every attempt to ensure that there are no labels or descriptions in the final report that may disclose the identity of individual participants. For this reason, only brief biographical details are included below. In the following descriptions, as throughout the report, “b” denotes the decade that the participants were born and “u” identifies the year they first enrolled at the University of Waikato.

Maamaa (b. late 1940s, u.1990)

Maamaa trained as a teacher through the Kaiarahi i te Reo distance programme run through the University of Waikato. She had graduated from this programme with a Diploma of Teaching and taught in a Māori medium primary education context for ten years before returning to university to upgrade to a Bachelor of Teaching Degree in 2002.

Pania (b.1950s, u.2000)

Pania worked in a supermarket for sixteen years prior to entering university. She initially enrolled in Te Timatanga Hou (Māori bridging to university programme) and, after completing this programme went on to enrol in the School of Education.

Ngaere (b.1950s, u.1984)

Ngaere completed a Certificate in Māori Studies through the University of Waikato. Following on from this she enrolled in the Diploma of Teaching (Early Childhood). She worked in Kōhanga Reo for ten years before moving to Auckland. She completed an undergraduate degree through Massey University and then enrolled and completed a Masters Degree in the School of Education at the University of Waikato.

Wai (b.1950s, u.1998)

Wai completed a Certificate in Community and Social Work and a Communications Certificate at a local polytechnic before enrolling in the School of Education at the University of Waikato.

Huhana (b.1950s, u. 2003)

Huhana served in the army for over ten years before having her children and then deciding to enrol in the School of Education.

Ruita (b.1950s, u.2003)

Ruita worked in Kōhanga Reo as a kaiawhina and then a kaiako before enrolling in the School of Education.

Aroha (b.1960s, u.2001)

Aroha spent nine years in Kōhanga Reo taking on a variety of roles before enrolling in the School of Education.

Maata (b.1960s, u.1988)

Maata worked as a dental hygienist and then in the hospitality industry before she enrolled in the School of Education.

Whina (b.1960s, u.1991)

Whina enrolled in Te Tohu Paetahi and completed her undergraduate degree before transferring to the School of Education to complete a Graduate Diploma in Secondary Teaching.

Mihi (b.1960s, u.2002)

Mihi was teaching at a local Kōhanga Reo before she enrolled at the University of Waikato in Te Tohu Paetahi programme. She transferred over to the School of Education the following year.

Maia (b.1970s, u.2002)

Maia enrolled at the University of Waikato after attending an open day. She started in Te Tohu Paetahi (one year) but transferred to the School of Education after she was granted a scholarship.

Manaaki (b.1970s, u.2001)

Manaaki worked in retail before deciding to enrol at the School of Education.

Tipene (b.1970s, u.2000)

Tipene worked in a Kōhanga Reo for a period of 6 months before deciding to go on to university. He enrolled in a couple of general papers at university before deciding to enter the School of Education.

Rere (b.1970s, u.2001)

Rere was a kaiako in Kōhanga Reo before deciding to become a primary school teacher and entering the School of Education.

Kura (b.1980s, u.2003)

Kura worked as a nanny for two years, and following this she enrolled at University of Waikato in the School of Education.

Rongo (b.1980s. u.2003)

Rongo was living and working in Australia for a year before she decided to enrol in the School of Education.

Figure 4: Decade first enrolled at the University of Waikato

1980s	2 participants	Ngaere, Maata
1990s	3 participants	Maamaa, Whina, Wai
2000	11 participants	Tipene, Pania, Manaaki, Aroha, Rere, Maia, Mihi, Kura, Huhana, Rongo, Ruita

* Although this table indicates the decade that the participants first enrolled at the University of Waikato. Some of the participants returned at different times to complete papers and other qualifications including post graduate diplomas and degrees.

Data collection

Interviews

An interview is described by Bogdan and Biklen (1992) as “a purposeful conversation, usually between two people, but sometimes involving more, that is directed by one in order to get information from the other” (p.96). Interviews were chosen in favour of other methods because they enable the interviewer and interviewee to discuss their “interpretations of the world in which they live in, and to express how they regard situations from their own point of view” (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000, p. 267).

There are several different types of interviews and these vary according to how they are structured (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). At one end of the continuum lies the ‘structured interview’ where the questions are prepared in their entirety before the interview commences and at the other end lies the ‘unstructured’ interview where the interviewee has exclusive autonomy to talk

about what they want in relation to the topic that is being discussed. This research project employed a series of in-depth semi-structured interviews as the main method of data collection.

The advantage of semi-structured interviewing is that the researcher can collect comparable data from different people (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). Bell (1999) sees the development and subsequent use of a framework as key to this process. She claims that before an interview is conducted, “a framework is established selecting topics around which the interview is guided” (p.138). This framework allows the participants to talk about the topic and present their views, however, the process also helps to ensure consistency and as a result analysis is “greatly simplified” (Bell, 1999, p.138). An interview framework or interview guide was developed for each round of interviews and, importantly, these were then tailored to each participant.

As already mentioned, the relationship between the researcher and the participants is crucial to the success of Kaupapa Māori research approaches and qualitative projects because intimate information will not be likely to be shared until a trusting and respectful relationship has been established. Bogdan and Biklen (1992, p.98) claim that “some respondents need a chance to warm up to you.” It was hoped that the three rounds of interviews would provide an adequate time frame to connect with the participants in this study and develop a closer working relationship.

In order to ensure that the information gained during the interviews accurately reflected participants’ beliefs, the research employed selected aspects of the Delphi technique. The Delphi technique was first used in New Zealand by Battersby (1979) who describes the process he employed as:

... a series of questionnaires, of which the second and subsequent rounds feedback information to participants...while giving them the

chance to rethink, and if necessary to re-state, their opinions in the light of the feedback (p. 22).

Although Battersby employs questionnaires in his original work, interviews can work equally as well for the reasons outlined above. The key advantage of the Delphi-technique is the use of repeated rounds. By relating each round to former rounds and by identifying common themes from all the participants (without sharing sensitive information that may disclose the identity of the participants), the depth of material and the researcher's understanding of the material is substantively increased.

Fifty seven interviews (including four pilot interviews) were carried out during the data collection phase (Feb 2005–Feb 2007). The participants were interviewed three times during the course of the research. Twenty participants were originally interviewed in Round 1, this number decreased to seventeen in round two and sixteen in round three. On average the interviews usually took between 1.5 to 2 hours. The shortest interview lasted approximately 45 minutes and the longest was six hours.

The pilot interviews

After gaining ethical approval to carry out this research from the University of Waikato, School of Education Ethics Committee in February 2004, I began constructing a preliminary interview schedule. In order to test the effectiveness of this interview schedule, I carried out four pilot interviews in 2004. This was a really useful exercise. Firstly, it gave me the opportunity to gauge the effectiveness of the interview schedule and some of the questions that were being asked. Did the questions make sense to the participants? Were the questions flexible enough to allow the participants to voice their own opinions and take the interview in the direction they wanted to go? Secondly, it presented me with the opportunity to put into practice some of the procedures I had written in my ethics proposal, namely, the process for

gaining the participants' formal consent. Thirdly, I got the chance to fine tune my interviewing technique before carrying out the larger study. Did I allow sufficient wait time? Was I able to connect with the participants and make them feel comfortable? Finally, and most importantly, the pilot interviews helped me to identify a potential problem to do with the recruitment of participants.

In the pilot interviews, I came across a situation where one participant was not eligible for the study even though he attended university as a mature student and strongly identified as Māori. The reason why he was ruled out of the study was because he *had* attained the university entrance requirement but after leaving school chose to go out and work instead of pursuing a university education. Some of the participants I contacted were not completely sure that they had entered university via special admission provisions, and others I talked to had never heard the term "special admission" used before. This presented a dilemma - How could I verify that the participants entered university through special admission provisions? A solution to this problem was to seek permission to access university enrolment records to see that they had enrolled via special admission. This proved to be an effective way forward.

First round Interviews

Potential participants were contacted informally in the first instance to ascertain whether they would be interested in participating in the project. At this point, the general aims and objectives of the study were outlined verbally and a time arranged for an initial meeting. An information letter and consent form were sent to all those who expressed an interest in participating (Refer to Appendix A: Information Letter & Appendix B: Consent Form).

At my initial meeting with each participant, the aims and objectives of the study were explained once more. The participants were then asked if they

were still willing to participate. If they had not already filled in and returned the consent form, I asked them to sign a consent form authorising the recording and publication of the information obtained in the interviews (refer to Appendix B : Consent Form).

The first round of interviews began on 04 February 2005 with the last interview in this round taking place on 11 December 2005. Twenty participants were interviewed during this initial round. In the first interview the participants were asked general questions about their early life, schooling, pathway to university and their experiences at University. In most cases (14 out of 16), the interview questions were sent to the participants prior to their interviews to allow time for reflection. Each of the interviews was recorded using a digital voice recorder and an audio tape recorder was used as well. This provided me with the security of mind from knowing that I had a second back up recording device.

The interviews took place in a range of settings: my office at the University of Waikato (8 interviews), the participant's workplaces (4 interviews), the participant's homes (2 interviews) and at my home address as well (6 interviews). The majority of the interviews were held in Hamilton (17 interviews). However, I travelled to Te Awamutu for one interview and Rotorua for a further two interviews. Once the interviews were completed the audio files were transcribed and the transcripts returned to the participants for comment and review. Analysis of the interview data began when I received confirmation from the participants (verbally or in writing) that they were satisfied with the transcripts.

Second round Interviews

The second round of interviews began on 10th July and finished on the 20 August 2006. In the second round of interviews, there was a shift away from the focus on background and early schooling to a focus on their experiences

at university. Individual interview schedules were prepared for each participant based on their responses from interview one and the analysis of round one interview data.

The interviews comprised three main parts, in the first part the participants were asked to clarify some of the statements that were made in their first interview. In the second part, specific issues that were raised by some of the participants in the first round were shared with the wider group and explored in more depth. In the third part, some of the themes came through in the first round were articulated and the participants were invited to comment on these themes.

Seventeen participants were interviewed during the second round. Once again, the interviews took place in a variety of places: my office (2 interviews), at the participant's workplaces (6 interviews), in some of the participant's homes (5 interviews) and at my home address as well (2 interviews). Two of the interviews in this round were conducted via the telephone. There were two reasons for this, one participant was domiciled at home with an ill child and she felt that it would be more convenient for her to be interviewed over the telephone. The other participant had relocated to the South island and conducting a telephone interview seriously reduced the travel costs involved. The majority of the interviews were held in Hamilton (10 interviews). However, I travelled to Te Awamutu (1 interview), Cambridge (1 interview), Taupo (1 interview), Ngaruawahia (1 interview), Te Kuiti (1 interview) and Rotorua (2 interviews) to ensure all participants were interviewed.

The audio files from the second round of interviews were transcribed by two professional typists. Once the audio files were transcribed and I was satisfied that the transcripts accurately reflected the interviews, the transcripts were returned to the participants for comment and correction.

Third round interviews

The final round of interviews began on the 30th October 2006 with the last interview being held on February 20, 2007. Issues in the first two rounds of interviews were explored in more depth in the third round. The questions asked in this round revolved around the responsiveness of the institution to the needs of the participants as adult Māori university students.

Sixteen participants were interviewed during this round. Once again, the interviews occurred in a variety of places: my office (2 interviews), at the participant's workplaces (4 interviews), in some of the participant's homes (4 interviews) and at my home address (4 interviews). One of the interviews in this round was carried out over the telephone and the other interview was conducted in the grounds of Waikato hospital. The majority of the interviews were held in Hamilton (11 interviews), however I travelled to Cambridge (1 interview), Taupo (1 interview), Te Kuiti (1 interview) and Rotorua (2 interviews) to interview the participants as well. The audio files from each interview were transcribed and returned to participants.

Archival research and document analysis

In addition to the primary field data, I located a range of relevant documentation (policy documents, statistical reports, historical texts, curriculum documents and other secondary sources of information) that were then analysed. An extensive literature review was undertaken and two timelines constructed. One timeline explored the provision of University Education in New Zealand, mapping out key events in higher education that had particular significance for Māori (Chapter Three). This timeline also included a brief commentary on the historical, social, economic, educational and political climate that helped to shape the experiences of the participants in the study. The second timeline provided a brief overview of the history of the Tainui-Waikato people, the indigenous caretakers of the land where the university is situated and then followed the establishment and development of

the University of Waikato with a focus on the policies and practices that affected Māori student population (Chapter Three). I regarded the development of both of these timelines as an integral part of the study. Delving into the past provided me with an opportunity to connect with events, people and places that were important for Māori. In a Māori sense, it would have been inappropriate to embark on this process without looking back into the past and paying respect to the ancestors who had already walked this path. As a Ngāpuhi woman working in the Waikato area, it would have also been culturally inappropriate to write and read about the history of the University of Waikato without paying respect to the Mana Whenua (the autonomy of the indigenous people) of the region, the Tainui – Waikato people. An informed understanding of the history was essential in this regard. Once this process had been completed and the timelines constructed, I was able to contextualise the participants' experiences in the social, historical, political and cultural context. Subsequent to this, I also included a chronology of Māori education policy (Chapter Two) which provided further background to help contextualise the participants' stories.

Data analysis

Data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data. Qualitative data analysis is a search for general understandings about relationships among categories of data (Marshall & Rossman, 1990, p.111).

Qualitative research generates an abundant amount of data. One of the greatest challenges facing the researcher is how to condense this into manageable pieces while at the same time maintaining its integrity. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) maintain that “there is no one single or correct way to analyse and present qualitative data,” the researcher must consider what approach that they will take as there are a number of ways that data analysis can be achieved (p.461). Qualitative data analysis involves reading

and re-reading data, organising, sifting, sorting, explaining, interpreting and generating theory. The intention is to move from description to explanation and theory generation (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007).

I used thematic data analysis in this study. Byrne (2001) claims that “thematic analysis is a way of seeing, as well as a process for coding qualitative information” (p.904). This approach to data analysis involves the identification of themes from within the data. These themes are not pre-determined and then imposed by the researcher but emerge as the researcher reviews the data. Data collection and analysis can take place simultaneously, and continued background reading can also help to inform part of the analysis process. In the following section, I outline the procedural steps that I took.

Data analysis began as soon as the first transcripts had been checked by the participants for accuracy. After reading through all of the transcripts, I identified what appeared to me to be significant statements and phrases by manually highlighting excerpts relating to participants’ background, early education and pathway into university. I then wrote summaries for each of the 20 interviews. After completing this process, I was able to identify broad categories and emerging themes across all of the interviews. The significant statements from each interview were then organised into clusters of themes. The summaries and the emerging themes were shared with my supervisory panel and became the basis for designing subsequent interview schedules and fed back to the participants for comment.

An advantage of using the Delphi technique was that, second and third round data often validated the information collected in former rounds. It also provided the opportunity for some participants to clarify, extend and re-evaluate their earlier statements. For example, in her second interview, Aroha remarked that she had second thoughts about what she had said in a

previous interview. Maamaa also stated that “she had changed her mind from when we last spoke.”

Feeding back the information to the participants was a really important aspect of the study because this enabled them to participate in the data analysis process as well. This is a key feature of Kaupapa Māori approaches, where the participants are closely engaged throughout the research process (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). This was also helpful, because the participants’ comments helped to challenge, confirm and refine my ideas as a researcher therefore enhancing the trustworthiness of the study.

Following the second and third round of interviews, significant statements were once again identified and organised into clusters of themes. In some cases, previously coded interviews were revisited as new themes emerged and the information was added to different clusters. The themes from the second round were fed back to the participants for comment in the third round of interviews.

Once the data collection phase was complete, and the information sorted into clusters of themes, further analysis and refinement of major themes was undertaken. Member checks with four participants were used to confirm that the results reflected their lived experience (this is further discussed in the next section).

Trustworthiness and rigour

The question of how best to judge the rigour of qualitative research projects has stimulated much debate. There are many different views of what constitutes quality and this has been a recurring theme in qualitative research literature for over twenty years (Kline, 2008). Despite the on-going dialogue, Rolfe (2006) suggests that “we seem to be no closer to establishing a consensus on quality criteria, or even on whether it is appropriate to try to

establish such a consensus” (p.304). He identifies three major positions in the debate over what should constitute quality in qualitative research. The first perspective is that qualitative research should be judged according to positivist validity measures; the second position encompasses the view that a different set of criteria is required from those used in quantitative research and the third position, rejects the idea of developing any set criteria at all (Rolfe, 2006). While the debate over what might represent quality in qualitative research is still highly contested, Rolfe (2006) points out that the second position has generated the most debate.

One framework for judging the rigour of qualitative studies that has been developed and used frequently is Lincoln and Guba’s (1985) notion of ‘trustworthiness’. Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose four criteria that they believe should be considered when assessing the trustworthiness of a project. These include: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Shenton, 2004). Credibility concerns the degree that qualitative research is credible or believable from the perspective of the participant in the research (Coryn, 2007). Transferability concerns the extent to which findings can be generalised or transferred to other contexts or settings. Dependability involves showing that the findings are consistent and could be repeated. Confirmability concerns the degree of neutrality or the extent to which the findings of a study are shaped by the respondents and not researcher bias, motivation, or interest (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

There is still a lot of debate over the value and appropriateness of these four measures. While there is some support, there are also strong criticisms that these constructs are merely the re-labelling of the quantitative criteria (Rolfe, 2006; Lincoln & Guba,1985; Kline, 2008). Critics question how dependability (external validity) can ever be measured when a study does not use formalised sampling methods? If qualitative and quantitative research is based on different epistemological and ontological assumptions, how is it

possible to create similar standards of evaluation? Perhaps this is neither a necessary nor desirable requirement. Quantitative research and qualitative research pose vastly different sorts of questions and require different sorts of information to answer them. The quality of the information gathered can be judged in terms of how well each particular question can be answered.

This being said, I have employed a number of techniques to enhance the trustworthiness of this study. In designing the study, I decided to conduct three rounds of interviews rather than a one shot interview. This technique provided a richer and more credible data set than one or two rounds of interviews would have generated. As previously stated, after each round of interviews I analysed the data and then provided feedback on emerging themes. Participants were asked to comment on these themes in successive rounds. In this way, participants became involved in the process of data analysis. I implemented “member checking” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) with four of the sixteen participants throughout the research process. I shared the main findings and the *Manu Tukutuku* model with these participants and they offered comments on whether or not they felt the data were interpreted in a manner that was consistent with their own experiences and whether the model was an appropriate and effective representation for them. The final draft of the thesis was also presented to these participants for comment and feedback.

I also drew on qualitative studies such as Ministry of Education statistical data to contextualise the participants’ stories. I described the research context in detail and outlined my biases and assumptions. I have included the participants’ verbatim responses and this has provided ‘thick’ description (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). I also kept detailed notes as an important means of tracking the decisions made throughout the field work and analysis stages of the research.

Ethical considerations

Confidentiality

A prime ethical objective of this study was to reduce the potential harm that this research might have for the participants. It was decided very early on in the project, that pseudonyms would replace real names in the final report. However, a number of participants were happy to be identified, with many opting to use their christian names or names that could be easily identified by peers. This was not in itself problematic, as the participants were, as one participant put it “happy to stand behind” what they had said. Nevertheless, it did pose problems when they made references to other people who could be easily identified by association. It was for this reason that I decided to use pseudonyms to help protect the participant’s anonymity from being compromised and to help reduce the likelihood that the identity of other people mentioned during the interviews would be revealed.

Formal consent procedures

Information sheets outlining the aims and intentions of the study were sent to the participants once they had expressed an interest in participating. The information sheets explained the rationale for the research, the objectives of the study and outlined what participants would need to do should they decide to formally take part in the research. The information sheet also contained information regarding confidentiality, the right of withdrawal, the complaints procedure and the use of information (Please refer to Appendix A for further details). Participants were asked to sign consent forms once they understood what would be involved and were willing to participate.

Ethical considerations within a Māori context

Māori have their own ideas about what is and what is not ethically acceptable behaviour. Māori approaches to research ethics can differ markedly from institutionally defined codes of conduct and ethical practice. In order to

illustrate my point, I will draw on the principle of informed consent. In a Māori context, obtaining consent is not so much about appreciating the merits of a project, receiving an information sheet and signing an official consent form. It often has more to do with feeling safe and comfortable with the qualities of the researcher. Linda Smith (1999) suggests that in an indigenous context:

Consent is not so much given for a project or a specific set of questions, but for a person, for their credibility. Consent indicates trust and the assumption is that the trust will not only be reciprocated but constantly negotiated – a dynamic relationship rather than a static decision (p. 136).

She goes on to suggest that the qualities of the researcher are often under scrutiny from the moment the researcher begins recruiting Māori participants. Signing a consent form does not guarantee that participants will participate in a meaningful way in the research. The researcher's ability to foster a relationship with their participants will often decide whether or not Māori participants will remain involved in the project. The importance of relationships in an indigenous context is further highlighted by Linda Smith (2005):

... for indigenous and other marginalised communities, research ethics is at a very basic level about establishing, maintaining and nurturing reciprocal and respectful relationships, not just among people as individuals but also with people as individuals, as collectivities and as members of communities, and with humans who live with other entities in the environment (Smith, 2005, p.97).

Ethical behaviour within a Māori context requires the researcher to act in culturally distinct ways. Linda Smith (1999) has identified seven cultural values that she believes guide Kaupapa Māori research practices. These values include: aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people); kanohi kitea (the

seen face, that is, present yourself to people face to face); titiro, whakarongo...kōrero (look , listen and speak), manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous); Kia tupato (be cautious); kua e takahi te mana o te tangata (do not tramp over the mana of people); and kua e mahaki (don't flaunt your knowledge).

Kana and Tamatea (2006) identify six understandings as being vital to the context of Kaupapa Māori research methodology. These understandings include: mana whenua (autonomy of the indigenous people of the region), whakapapa (genealogy), whanaungatanga (forming and maintaining relationships), ahi kaa (respect for the home people), kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) and kanohi kitea (a visible face).

In the following section, I have outlined what I believe are the three fundamental Māori values that have driven this research project.

Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people)

This principle is about looking after each other, showing respect and acting appropriately in the research exercise. It involves being responsive to participant needs and in some cases timetables, being hospitable and caring. Linda Smith (1999) claims that "it is common practice in many indigenous contexts for elders to be approached as the first point of contact and as a long term mentor for an indigenous researcher "(p.137). This was a feature of the current study in the sense that a kaumatua helped to guide the research throughout its progress. The role of the kaumatua was integral to this study because as well as protecting the interests of the participants in this study, the kaumatua also helped to ensure that the researcher (a relatively young Māori woman) was culturally safe.

Na tōu rourou me tōku rourou ka ora ai te iwi (With your basket and my food basket the people will thrive)

This value acknowledges the importance of a collaborative research approach where the researcher and the research participants share skills and knowledge. It also encompasses the notion of interdependence and trust. The principle encourages kotahitanga (unity) and working together, it also underlines the importance of reciprocity and generosity in the research enterprise.

I expected a great deal from the participants in this study. They took part in three interviews that lasted approximately two hours. The field based research took approximately two years to complete (February 2005 to February 2007). Two participants withdrew from the study during this time and it is interesting to note that both were people I did not know prior to undertaking this project. The rest of the participants were known to me as family members, professional contacts, past students and past teachers. I do not believe that the participants would have persevered with the project had we not had existing relationships and did not enjoy sharing and working closely together. The commitment from the participants has been staggering considering the time it has taken to complete this research and demonstrates their commitment to share.

Whakaiti (Humility)

This principle is similar to Linda Smith's concept of kua e mahaki (don't flaunt your knowledge). The concept of whakaiti recognises the importance of remaining humble at all times throughout the research endeavour.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has outlined the methodological approach taken in this study. It has discussed qualitative methodology and outlined the role of the researcher and the participant recruitment and selection process. Kaupapa Māori research principles informed all aspects of this study. These principles were implemented to ensure Māori views, perspectives and protocols were fully incorporated throughout this study. The study adopted Bishop's (2005) IBRLA framework to address power and control issues in the research process.

Interviews comprised the main form of data collection. The Delphi technique was implemented to help ensure the participant's beliefs were being reflected. Archival research and document analysis were also undertaken to help contextualise the participant's stories. This chapter has addressed trustworthiness and rigor and provided a detailed outline of the process of data analysis. General ethical considerations in regards to the research were outlined, as well as those specific to working in a Māori context.

Chapters Seven to Ten introduce the major findings of the study. These chapters feature the participants' voices.

CHAPTER SEVEN WHĀIA TE ITI KAHURANGI

*Whāia te iti kahurangi
Ki te tuohu koe
Me he maunga teitei*

*Seek the treasure you value most dearly;
if you bow your head, let it be to a lofty mountain.*

This is the first of four chapters (Chapters Seven to Ten) that present the major findings from this study. At this stage, it is important to reiterate how the following chapters have been organised. Each of the findings chapters represent a dominant theme that has emerged in the study. Key findings are outlined at the end of each chapter and recurring themes are identified as they emerge. The major findings are discussed further in Chapter Eleven and the conclusions and implications are presented in Chapter Twelve.

In this chapter, the participants share their recollections of primary and secondary school. The chapter demonstrates that the participants' educational histories were very diverse. However, it also shows that most participants had a strong determination to succeed in education (whāia te iti kahurangi) and participated in a range of post-compulsory tertiary education and training courses after leaving school. The chapter examines their reasons for wanting to study at university and their choice of education as a field of study.

Early education

Schooling experiences were identified as an important topic in terms of this research since all participants lacked the formal school-based qualifications needed to enter university, but had entered university via special admission. In order to understand what had led to this situation, each participant was

invited to discuss their early education. Most participants chose to focus on their primary and secondary education, however a few people did speak about their early childhood education and their intermediate experiences.

Primary schooling

Participants' early experiences of primary education were diverse. Fifteen of them shared their recollections of primary school and nine of the participants commented that they enjoyed this experience. Of these nine, five attributed their enjoyment to the child centred philosophy, the qualities of particular teaching staff and the small schools they attended. The following comments were typical:

... primary school was cool, we loved primary school. It was fun, exciting, we always had lots of things to do - teachers were amazing (Huhana, b.1950s, u.2003)

The teacher really helped me to enjoy school because she was really patient and focused on all her students doing well in primary school... (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003)

I really loved primary school, I don't know - probably because the primary school I went to was quite little and all the teachers were nice and my brother went there as well (Kura, b.1980s, u.2003).

Academic achievement was highlighted as another reason why two of the participants liked school. Both Maia and Rere discussed their early academic achievement and talked about the ways that this achievement was acknowledged at primary school:

My first school I went to was in Invercargill because we lived across the road. I was one of, two brothers and a sister who were there at the

same time so that's four - plus probably two other Māori families there, I didn't know what a Māori was - Pākeha as - and I was a clever little kid right from the start and I've still got all of my certificates at my Mums... I don't know - I just loved school. Looking back I was probably a nerd. Went to school with pigtails and the little short pinafore dresses and everything... I remember my primer one teacher, only because that year, I probably would have got a certificate every other week. So that's what I remember about the teacher, he was the one that always gave me the certificate (Maia, b.1970s, u.2002).

I loved getting straight A's in my reports. In my primary reports, the lowest I got was a B+, in most of my stuff, so I was a nerd, I was a real square (Rere, b. 1970s, u.2001).

Although, Maia and Rere spoke positively about their primary education, it is interesting to note the way they described their early educational success. As adults, both suggest that they were 'nerds' at school. Using a pejorative term such as 'nerd', indicates that they may now feel a little uncomfortable about this success or worse still, may not be proud of these early achievements.

The final two participants indicated that they enjoyed primary school because they participated in bilingual education programmes. Aroha grew up in a predominantly Māori settlement in the eastern Bay of Plenty and attended a bilingual school in the area during the late sixties. She recalls being able to speak both Māori and English at the school and claims that this was the reason that she had no academic problems as a native speaker of the Māori language, and therefore liked school. Rongo attended a Kōhanga Reo for one year before enrolling in a bilingual class at a local primary school in the early 1980s. Her mother secured a position as a kaiawhina [teacher's aide] in the unit, and later became a qualified teacher. She explained that her maternal grandparents were both native speakers of Māori. She also recalls that her

mother had become committed to learning te reo Māori as an adult. It was her mother's passion for Te Reo Māori that led to the establishment of the bilingual class at her primary school and the subsequent development of another bilingual class at the intermediate she attended. Both participants spoke positively about their experiences in these schools, especially the presence of te reo me ōna tikanga.

Six participants commented that they did *not* enjoy their primary education. One mentioned bullying as an issue, another participant said that he disliked a particular teacher, and a third mentioned a general dislike of schooling altogether. Maamaa and Mihi found that school became progressively harder for them as they got older. It was at primary school that these two first began to struggle academically and this was cited as the main reason why they did not like primary school:

Well, I loved primary, I loved the junior classes. I suppose I loved primary school up to what was it standard two in those days. Standard two, from standard two on, I hated it... because the work was hard and I really wasn't interested in school. The only thing that I liked about school was P.E [physical education] and sports. I loved those things, but the academic side of school I hated (Maamaa, b. late 1940s, u.1990).

My early schooling experiences were, I could say, very negative. [There] wasn't really anything that I could honestly say I remember about it but sports. I was really good at sports, as far as all the subjects went. I'd normally sit at the back of the classroom. I found it really hard to keep up (Mihi, b.1960s, u.2002).

However, while Maamaa and Mihi were struggling at primary school, others reported that they were beginning to excel academically. Ngaere was placed in the top stream at primary and secondary school. She recalls being

uncomfortable with this situation because she was isolated from her Māori peers:

... primary from what I can remember, I was put into a special class and it was for kids who could do well [accelerate class], which I didn't like. The work was good, but I didn't like being in there because I think there was just one other Māori, and all my mates had gone into the other class. I was in there for three years (Ngaere, b.1950s, u.1984).

This statement demonstrates one of the costs of succeeding at school. For Ngaere, a cultural cost of her early educational success was being singled out from the majority of her Māori peers and targeted for special treatment. Her feelings of uneasiness are understandable considering the high value the Māori culture places on whanaungatanga (maintaining relationships) and the notion of mahi tahi (working as one) and kotahitanga (unity). All three values emphasise the importance of working together and drawing on the strength of the collective.

Secondary schooling

All sixteen participants shared their recollections of secondary school, but, only one reported that he actually enjoyed the experience. Another participant said that school was “okay” because it provided her with a means to escape family chores. However, most of the participants found secondary school to be challenging. There were several reasons for this. Three participants found their transition from primary to secondary school difficult, and five experienced difficulty meeting the academic demands. Two others, including Ngaere, talked about the loneliness they experienced as a result of being placed in top streams away from their Māori peers. Family circumstances, teenage rebellion and the perception that Māori students were treated differently and in some cases unfairly also featured in the narratives of four participants. These challenges are now explored in more detail.

Maata and Kura found their transition to secondary school difficult. Both made the move from a small primary school to a much larger secondary school and found it difficult coping with the unfamiliar structures that were in place, such as fifty minute classes and multiple teachers. Maata described her transition as “daunting.” Her shyness and lack of confidence compounded the difficulties she experienced in this new environment:

Oh, I was a good girl, I wasn't naughty or anything like that although I did start wagging in my fifth form year and then in my sixth form year that was moumou, [a waste of time] and really for my own good, they shouldn't have put me up [for the examination]. I suppose the school probably didn't really meet my needs and I suppose I didn't really let them know what my needs were, because I really wasn't that confident to go up to a teacher and say look, I'm just not coping. There is no reason why I shouldn't have succeeded because we had a family full of people who did. I suppose I was a hard worker but I didn't know the system. I wasn't very good with how the system worked and I think that makes a difference. If you can work the system - you will be successful and I didn't click onto that until I was in my twenties and I went back to Uni (Maata, b.1960s, u.1988).

The secondary school that Kura attended was just across the driveway from her old primary school. Despite the close physical proximity, she still found the transition difficult:

No, I didn't like college because it was so big and such a difference... and I didn't feel that I was prepared enough for college [secondary school] when I left primary school, because in primary school you knew your teachers. But then when I went to college [secondary school], I had six different teachers in one day who spent like 45 to 50

minutes with us and like they couldn't even remember our names. So I didn't like it (Kura, b.1980s, u.2003).

Although Aroha did not describe her transition to secondary school as quite so challenging, there are strong indications that this involved a great deal of acculturation. Aroha's secondary education involved a thirty to forty minute bus ride out of her Māori community to a nearby town. At this school the primary language of instruction was English. In the following statement, Aroha describes how she acclimatised to this new schooling environment:

I think that we [Māori students] were too scared to do anything, too scared to make the wrong move when you're stuck in class with a lot of Pākeha kids and you didn't want anyone to notice that you were different or they classed you as different so you tried as hard as you can to fit in and to do what everybody else was doing. So we did the discussions and that and sat back and wrote when we were not confident to give it a go - or answer the questions... I think we suppressed a lot of things, like going into Whakatane was a whole new world and we had to try and be part of it to fit in.... We were separated and in a whole lot of different classes, then we'd get together maybe at lunchtime and share what we did in the morning...(Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001)

One of the costs of succeeding in this new school environment was the adoption of English as the predominant language in the school. This need to take on aspects of the majority culture, in order to 'fit in' is clearly implicated in the suppression of the Māori language (as has been discussed in Chapter Two).

The participants in this study were diverse in terms of their academic achievement at secondary school. As previously mentioned, Maamaa struggled with her school work from standard two onwards. She commented

that her schooling “wasn’t a happy experience. It was just hard slog all the way” (Maamaa, b late 1940s, u.1990). Maamaa felt that her experiences at secondary school were even worse because the secondary school she attended was so much larger than her primary school. Reflecting on her experiences at secondary school Maamaa stated:

I wasn’t ready to learn at school. I didn’t have the one to one teaching and teaching for individual needs that is available today. My teachers’ delivery of curriculum was boring, uninteresting. The only Māori content was action songs, poi and haka. Nothing they taught or did made me proud to be Māori. I was always made to feel inferior, either by the teacher’s actions or statements (Maamaa, b.late 1940s, u.1990).

For Maamaa the inclusion of selected aspects of Māori culture under the cultural integration policies during the early 1960s did little to address her learning needs. It also did little to provide for her cultural needs because it taught her only things that she already knew.

Mihi’s schooling experiences were again similar to Maamaa’s, in that she found it difficult to learn at secondary school and believed that schooling had very little to do with whom she was or what she knew. Mihi’s lack of understanding and inability to keep pace with the rest of the class meant that she became disruptive in class, “that sort of turned into a behavioural thing with me, I didn’t care anymore, it was just go to class, upset the class, marched out to detention, so no, I learnt nothing.” Mihi first began noticing that there were differences in the way that Māori students were treated at secondary school. She felt that these differences were created by a streaming process that grouped students on the basis of their academic achievement. Mihi felt that this system was unfair for Māori students:

...big groups of Māori were always put in the lowest grade, and you still had friends that were up there [in the higher streams], but it was a small proportion, and that was where the separatism started, and that was actually when I first started feeling any type of racism whatsoever, I experienced it at secondary... So just sort of like, come in, put to the test straight away, graded on that, and that's where we stayed all year. There was no moving [out of the stream you were initially placed in], so I came through with one or two Pākehā and the rest were Māori. I don't believe we were given the same acknowledgement as the ones up in A & B [the top streams]...We got the same subjects, but they really moved us more towards transition from school to work. Putting us into labour jobs. So it wasn't so much about, you're going to be a lawyer - I never dreamed I was going to go for a teaching degree (Mihi, b.1960s, u.2002).

Several other participants found themselves struggling academically in their secondary education as well. A combination of shyness and a lack of confidence to speak up in class meant that Rongo would not ask the teacher for help at secondary school. As Rongo puts it, "if you don't know it and you won't ask – what do you do?" Rongo attended a single sex secondary school which did not offer Māori medium options for students. This was in stark contrast with her primary and intermediate schooling experiences where she was a member of a bilingual class. Clearly, there were cultural costs involved for Rongo when she entered the mainstream environment, one definite cost was the loss of te reo Māori in the schooling environment and another was having the Māori culture affirmed. Rongo admits that she had only "bad things" to say about her secondary schooling experience, maintaining that, "it was hard to be Māori at college":

You'd have these sly sorts of comments from teachers about Māori things, and they would think nothing of it, but then it sort of really hurt.

You'd never say anything, you'd just put up with it. Ever since third form, no-one could pronounce my name properly... and once I was brave and asked if they could pronounce my name and they just hard out shot me down. Oh no, I can't it's just too hard and you sort of think about that sort of stuff these days and you can't say stuff like that because it doesn't make you feel that great, and that's my Grandmother's name. That's something you just can't get wrong (Rongo, b.1980s, u.2003).

When Māori content was introduced, Rongo felt that it portrayed Māori in a negative way:

I remember doing Social Studies, I did alright in Social Studies but then we didn't have it in fifth form. But they brought a bit of Māori element in there, I did like learning stuff like that or then they'd bring in Māori stuff and it was bad stuff like Te Rauparaha that was in Marlborough, the Wairau Massacre and stuff and it was sort of like how he had done the massacre, it was all his fault. I know it is not now and if all these kids are still learning it, I mean there were no positive Māori things – especially from the Pākeha side of things (Rongo, b.1980s, u.2003).

This statement made by Rongo provides a clear example of history being taught through a monocultural lens, with the teacher failing to appreciate or even recognise that Māori have their own version or views on these historical events.

Maata described her academic achievement at secondary school as “hopeless.” She passed one School Certificate subject and two Higher School Certificate subjects while at secondary school. When asked to comment further on her academic achievement she remarked:

My sister said to Mum, don't send her to 6th form, it's just too hard and even if I had done my second year sixth, I don't know even then if I would have passed. My listening skills and my retention skills weren't that hot. I knew I was never dumb, but factual stuff, I probably used to struggle with a bit (Maata, b.1960s, u.1988).

Even those participants who did achieve well at primary school faced their own challenges at secondary school. As previously mentioned, Ngaere was a high achiever at primary school. This carried on into secondary as well where she was placed in the top stream once again. As one of few Māori in this class, she again felt a sense of loneliness and cultural isolation:

... going over to the academic stream of secondary school. Again, there were like two others in that 34, and all my friends were in the other classes and it was quite a lonely place (Ngaere, b.1950s, u.1984).

Ruita found secondary school different from primary school, stating that it was "a different atmosphere altogether." She maintains that she did relatively well at secondary school despite the change in environment. Even though Ruita achieved well at school, she also experienced a sense of loneliness. The cost of succeeding academically was that she too was isolated from her Māori peers. She cites this as one of the reasons why she chose to leave school:

The reason why I left school was because I was the only Māori in sixth form at that time, it was a lonely journey. I went to the stage where you sit examinations; I actually passed UE English that was the only subject I passed (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003).

Participants' narratives indicated that even achieving well at primary school did not always guarantee academic success at secondary school. Whina,

Maia, Tipene and Rere achieved well in the early stages of their schooling, but this began to change when they were at secondary school.

Whina maintained that she was politicised from a very young age, and although she was academically adept, her inquiring mind and matter of fact approach had a tendency to get her into trouble at school. Whina's conflict with teachers became even more prolific when her family moved back to the Waikato region and she began attending a local secondary school in the area. She felt that stereotypical ideas to do with her background, particularly her ethnicity and social class, as held by teachers, began to impact on her at secondary school:

...absolutely hated secondary, nothing I can remember was positive about secondary... No, it was a lot of things, the attitude, colour [ethnicity] was an issue. And if you came from a wealthy family, I had some mates that were...Māori mates that were quite well off, they got preferential treatment. So that was alongside, so you sort of went in this pecking order of things. It was funny because Māori were categorised and there was a lot of stereotyping and there was the upper class, lower class and medium and we were in the lower class... That was their attitude, they stereotyped us and decided which one of us girls could go on trips because we obviously couldn't afford it because we came from a single parent background and a solo father, no mother, they've got to be poor with a lot of kids. They live in a railway house so when we would take our money for class trips, they would only allow one of us to attend class trips and the school decided that we couldn't afford it even though we had taken the money ... (Whina, b.1960s,u.1991).

The enjoyment Whina had once felt at school began to fade at secondary school and her academic achievement began to suffer as a result, even

though she was placed in the top stream at the secondary school she attended:

... at the time it was awful, I was put in 3W because it was the top class because of those diagnostics [tests] and I know they did it reluctantly, it wasn't come on lets go, it wasn't like that at all. They [teachers] would walk [me] to the class but they would sort of look at me suspiciously - I think she cheated - that suspicious look and it was implied, it was all in the eyes, it was in the tone - and we can look at moving her later if she doesn't fit. Now what does that say? Yeah, I was the only Māori kid in that class, the Pākehā kids were lovely though, they were good but my experiences with the teachers weren't very good because they singled me out. Could you sit there...That's what they used to say, they told me where to sit I never had a choice as opposed to all the other kids. So come the end of that third form year, I had just had a guts full of that school and I really hated it and it shows in my fourth form year because my academic record went from above average to a complete does not care, does not listen, does not try. That was the catch phrase in my reports after that (Whina, 1960s, u.1991).

Maia also found herself in trouble at secondary school when she embraced her Māori identity and began to mix with other Māori students. Through her conversations with other Māori pupils, she began to experience how Māori students were being treated unfairly, and this boiled over into some bad behaviour at school. She cites her peer group as having a big influence on her life at that time:

...for form three and most of form four and that's when reality kind of hit, hey you're a Māori because...I met all these ones [peers] from other schools, Māori, and then I used to get drunk on the field and go down at the back of the college there's a gully, used to follow them and go and

smoke and wag school, that's when I turned to the dark side. That led to so much. That's when I learnt, I got their perspective of what it is to be Māori... My third form teacher I made her cry, and it was her first year, I really feel sorry for her now I look back. Mrs J, she came straight out of here [Training College] I think. She was our English teacher and form teacher and that's when I had all these radical Māori ideas about how people were being put down and that, so I was plain stubborn and she cried (Maia, b.1970s, u.2002).

Half way through the fourth form, Maia's family relocated to another area. Maia was unhappy about the move and she suggests that at this point she became a "rebel without a cause." She was placed in the top stream at her new secondary school. Her aunt and uncle worked at the school which meant that she no longer acted out at school. In her fifth form year, she "flew through" School Certificate however, she also found out that she was pregnant. Maia left school in sixth form to have her first child, "I had my baby and that was pretty much it for schooling."

Tipene (b.1970s) recalls that he "... wasn't into anything Māori" at primary school or intermediate, his friends at primary school were mostly Polynesian and at intermediate they were Pākeha." This changed in his third form year when he became interested in kapahaka. Kapahaka was compulsory for all Māori students at the secondary school he attended. Kapahaka is understood to embrace a form of pedagogy that works for Māori students. In Tipene's case this turned out to be correct because he credits kapahaka as being his focus during his years at secondary school and the major reason why he remained until seventh form:

One of the factors why I stayed at school was actually kapahaka, so when I got to college – that was my first taste of kapahaka - third form - because I was Māori I was automatically put into the Māori whānau. I

had no choice - I never had Māori friends, so I was somewhere alien... So in 3rd form, I was pushed into a Māori group, kapahaka was compulsory I had no choice with that either. This is when I started getting into my Māoritanga. My tutors were actually my own whanaunga [relatives] I found out and one of the tutors was my stepmother's ex-husband's brother – so there was a link there – there was a big link, but I didn't find that out until my fifth form – so that was also an awesome thing too (Tipene, b.1970s, u.2000).

Tipene maintains that he did well at secondary school up until his fifth form year. He claims that he could have passed School Certificate but his family couldn't afford to pay for the exams. He worked to pay his own way through Sixth Form Certificate. However, the hours at work left little time for study, not surprisingly his grades were affected. In addition to this financial burden, Tipene claimed that he began rebelling against his family in the fifth form. In his sixth form year, Tipene began 'hanging out' with people who were not motivated academically and half way through his seventh form year he had missed too many days at school to continue. Following the advice of a school guidance counsellor he left school to pursue a hospitality course.

Rere (b.1970s) attended a Māori Girls Boarding school but she was later suspended and then expelled from this school. Her sister was head prefect at the school and Rere insists that there was an underlying expectation by teachers that she would be just like her sister:

I wanted to like school but just didn't and the teachers turned me off. Because they assumed I'd be like my sister and I wasn't and I was expelled. Probably the best year I had there was my fourth form year because I had a really good teacher. Even though she was our Christian Living teacher, she taught us about life as well and I liked her, but the maths teacher I didn't like. The economics teacher I didn't like and our

Principal was really hard on me all the time and I can't recall a week at school when I did do the work for the whole week. I was there for half a term in fifth form and I wrote letters and I just mucked around and then I got expelled for hostel and school issues. I was suspended first – went home and had the family, meeting thing – you know you've dishonoured the family – rah, rah, rah. The principal gave me another shot to come back, telling me that I had to sit School C [School Certificate] early because you're good at that and you're a possible prefect, but she wasn't reflecting what the teachers were saying – so when I went back to school it just seemed the same – so I was naughtier and I got expelled before the end of term one in my fifth form year (Rere, b.1970s, u.2001).

Rere returned to Tauranga and started attending a local secondary school in the area. Shortly after, she began to 'wag' school. She left school half way through her fifth form year, the reason for this was simple, "they asked me not to come back to school and so I didn't." This particular practice is often referred to as a "kiwi suspension", and equates to the voluntary withdrawal of a student from school. In addition to leaving school, Rere ran away from home and then found out that she was pregnant.

However, while some participants rebelled against the school system, Pania and Wai embraced it because it provided a "means of escape." Pania was raised by her grandparents and recalls working all the time when she was not at school. She stated that schooling provided a "good break" from the work that awaited her at home. Although Wai didn't enjoy her schooling, she recognised at a very early age, that schooling provided the means to escape a life in the "village." It was for this reason that Wai carried on with her secondary schooling, attending a boarding school and moving away from home:

When I was old enough to come to college [secondary school], I decided I wanted out of the village, because all the girls became roustabouts or the town bike [prostitute]. So that wasn't for me either and so I decided even in primary school that I was getting out of the village and moving, going to college [secondary school] and doing the best I could in education, which meant that I really did struggle even through secondary school, struggled all the way. I'm not an academic, struggled all the way, but what I took from my home life was that I was a hard worker and honest and things like that and so I actually got the opportunity to work to pay for my own school fees, and I worked in the administration office as a college [secondary school] student (Wai, b.1950s, u.1998).

The participants' narratives clearly show that their experiences of secondary school were much more challenging than their primary school experiences. Fourteen of the sixteen participants left school early. Ten participants finished school when they were in their sixth form year, four left when they were fifteen years of age and the remaining two finished when they were in the seventh form. In terms of their academic achievement, six participants left school with no formal school qualifications at all, while six others passed the school certificate examination. One passed three school certificate subjects, and three others managed to pass one subject. One participant managed to pass university entrance English and another passed two subjects in higher school certificate.

Eight participants entered the paid workforce directly after leaving school. They found employment in a variety of industries: agriculture, forestry, fishing, health and community services, shearing, hospitality, publishing, trades, manufacturing, retail, administration and transport. Five participants entered tertiary education straight after leaving school and three left school and became parents. However, by the time these sixteen participants entered university via special admission, twelve of them had become parents.

Active pursuit of further education and training

Although the majority of participants left school early, they did not give up on education or their aspirations for achieving academic success. As noted earlier, five participants engaged in further education and training directly after leaving school. However, by the time all participants had enrolled at university, fourteen of the sixteen had participated in some form of post-compulsory education and training. These fourteen participants undertook a wide variety of courses, including: community and social work; computing; business; hairdressing; receptionist and/or secretarial work; bar tending; te reo Māori and one had become a nanny. This demonstrates the high value the participants placed on education, despite their many adverse experiences in secondary school.

However, some of the participants were more successful than others when it came to their *initial* experiences in tertiary education. Some participants such as Maataa found tertiary education to be easy as compared to secondary school, while others continued to struggle. This is illustrated in the following statements:

They had those people, those guidance counsellors [at secondary school], I went to see her. I reckon they put me on the wrong path altogether. They said the best thing for Maata is to go to [polytech] and do a receptionist course, and mum being mum... Mum thought she was doing the best thing for me, so I went to Waiariki for a year and all of a sudden everything was just really easy and I thought, gees, maybe I should have stayed at school (Maata, b.1960s, u.1988).

I did a polytech course, computer and small business studies and I just couldn't get around the computer, and I failed it, well not failed the test, you do an onsite test, like a run through, do this, do that – I was the

only one who got lost, I ended up somewhere else. But it was good fun I got the certificate somewhere (Maia, b.1970s, u.2002).

Yeah, I left home straight away, took off, ended up with mum's family, and tried a few courses at polytech, catering and bartending but I got kicked out...I got kicked out, I wasn't fitted out... I knew I liked to work, I knew I was more physical instead of more academic, but yeah, I tried that for a couple of years ... I went to polytech and then the shearing shed and that was me. Shearing sheds for about ten years (Mihi, b.1960s, u.2002).

The most popular choice of course taken by this group of fourteen participants was te reo Māori. Nine people said that they had participated in a Māori language course prior to attending university. There were several reasons why the participants chose to learn te reo Māori. Some participants did not know much about their language and/or culture and decided to enrol in programmes and courses to reclaim their language or foster a stronger sense of Māori identity:

... it was like - I don't know that much about te reo - so I did Ataarangi [Māori language programme]. I did Ataarangi night classes (Wai, b.1950s,u.1998).

After that I went to a [tertiary Institute], that is when my Māoritanga went into fruition, when I went to learn te reo Māori properly. That's the beginning of my Māoritanga. They gave me the option of going into carving or te reo, and I went into te reo because I wasn't very good at art. I stayed there for one year (Tipene, b.1970s, u.2000).

Mihi was part of the land occupation at Pakaitore in Whanganui in 1995. She recalls listening to people such as Tariana Turia (Māori politician) and Ken

Mair (Māori political activist). According to Mihi, it was the first time that she had felt nurtured and appreciated as a Māori person and this made her feel proud to be tangata whenua (an indigenous person). From here, Mihi enrolled in a Māori language programme for a period of three years.

... so my kui [grandmother] who was up there [at Pakaitore, the site of a major protest in Whanganui involving the occupation of traditional Māori land now enclosed in the city centre], she walks up and says kōtiro [girl], it's time for you to go on a te reo Māori course and I'm like, no. No I don't know how to speak Māori I was like no, no, no, don't do that to me - and she says I want to see you on Monday at the office. Oh no I'm really scared about that and she was just like, pai ana [its okay] – go with Ken [Mair] and them and do all this [protesting], but she said, you are only going to be half on wairua [spirit], she goes, how can you do that tikanga [protocol], how can you do all that without your reo [language] and your understanding. Your foundation is your reo dear, and I'm like well I'm scared, she says well they're all scared. So a lot of us from Pakaitore went straight over to the te reo course waiting for us and they actually kept vacancies there because they knew it was coming to a close at Pakaitore, so they shifted a lot of us on. And we're like sitting there at the age of, I can't really remember twenty seven I think I might have been then, I was sitting there as an adult student for the first time going back to school again (Mihi, b.1960s,u.2002)

For others, learning the Māori language was part of a greater movement of Māori language revitalisation. Education in this sense offered a means to revive the language especially in terms of overall whānau development:

... it wasn't until I put my boy in Kōhanga Reo that I decided well, what's the point of putting him in there if I can't even converse with him so that's when I started learning te reo [Māori language] down south in

Christchurch ... it was a polytech course and I was fortunate because my teacher was actually from [where I was from] (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003).

Nine participants in this study were involved in the Kōhanga Reo movement, seven of these working as kaiawhina or kaiako (teaching assistants). Participating in the Kōhanga Reo movement reignited an interest in education for several participants:

...I knew there was a Kōhanga meeting – the Kōhanga was being established in our area and I was at home. I lived across the road from the marae, and the meeting was being held at the marae and I was at home cooking dinner and my brother-in-law walked past my window and said you better get over there, you've just been voted treasurer. So I dropped things and ran across the road but it was too late, I was treasurer. So this is what whānau does, so I got involved in that and also because my kids were involved and after a little while there, I said this is hard work, there must be an easier way. But also, firstly, before that – as I was getting involved I realised I needed more language, so I did the certificate in Māori studies from here [continuing education course through the University of Waikato], so – that was three years while I was in Kōhanga. And then as we got more serious in Kōhanga, I realised I needed more help, just having the language was not enough... so I started in the Diploma of Teaching that came along in Turangi (Ngaere, b.1950s, u.1984).

From there I went to Kōhanga when my baby was nine months and [I] happened to fall into education stuff, the stuff started coming back to me. Kōhanga had done it for me because I liked Māori things (Rere, b.1970s, u.2001).

Although initially happy with their involvement at Kōhanga, some participants then found they wanted more of a challenge. Ruita and Rere completed the Whakapakari programme [a language qualification designed for those involved in Kōhanga Reo] but found that they wanted to achieve more:

In Kōhanga, I started feeling I wasn't going to grow or develop because I did the whakapakari paper... it's neat but there were no advanced stages, I just needed something more challenging (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003).

When they asked who wanted to do the Whakapakari package, I put my hand up and said yeah.... But, when I saw that you could not go outside of the Kōhanga with that tohu [qualification], that's when I decided to come over here [to university] (Rere, b.1970s, u.2001).

Tipene, Mihi and Aroha also spent varying lengths of time working in Kōhanga. This experience provided the catalyst for them to pursue a university education:

...Kōhanga Reo – 6 months I stayed there and I couldn't handle it because one, I thought their philosophies were stupid. I couldn't handle it because they weren't teaching the kids anything and I thought there had to be something better. Something better for our tamariki besides go and play. I thought this is really stink ... there's got to be something better and this is my journey into Uni (Tipene, b.1970s, u.2000).

I stayed with them [at Kōhanga Reo] only for a year, they [the community] begged me to stay for another year but that was the beginning of really seriously thinking, about being a kaiako. I thought I'd really love to stay here but at the end of the day no-one is feeding me or filling my kete [kit] – I'm going to leave. And they were like –

where are you going to go? I said me and my kids are going to go to Waikato... (Mihi, b.1960s, u.2002).

So at the end of my nine years [at Kōhanga] through talking to my sisters, everyone was going, you may as well go and get a degree and get paid properly but it wasn't about money for me - I really don't care I wanted to be there because I wanted to be with the kids [children]. But there was nothing more that I could offer the kids and my kids were growing up, my boy was getting older and he was in college [secondary school] and I said well I can apply [for university] (Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001).

Many participants in this study demonstrated a strong interest in the field of education. In fact, twelve participants worked in various sectors of education before enrolling at university. As previously mentioned, seven were involved in Kōhanga Reo. Five other participants had worked in mainstream educational settings. Manaaki assisted his aunty in a kindergarten, Kura trained and then worked as a nanny and Huhana helped establish a day-care centre in Australia. Maamaa and Wai each had experience working as teacher aides in conventional state primary schools teaching basic Māori language to students. These experiences also influenced some of the participants' decision to enter university. Manaaki's statement was typical:

I worked as an untrained reliever with my aunty... she had a kindergarten there and it was awesome, I really loved it. I learned a lot about different areas because a lot of the kids would come and sit on me and she was like, make sure they sit on the side of you. I didn't know about any of that sort of stuff-so that kind of helped me with the groundwork into teaching (Manaaki, b.1970s, u.2000)

An important point to note here is that all sixteen participants chose *education* as a field of study at university. As noted in Chapter Six, the participants gained a range of qualifications including diplomas, undergraduate degrees, graduate diplomas and post-graduate degrees in the field of education. One participant is in the final stages of writing her Doctoral thesis. One of the major reasons why the participants enrolled in teacher education programmes at university was because they believed their participation in this area would benefit the wider whānau. This is explored in the following section.

University education as a pathway to whānau and community development

For twelve of the sixteen participants who had children, parenthood provided the impetus that they needed to pursue a higher education. Manaaki and Whina both recall re-evaluating their future plans once they became parents:

... when you have children-you start thinking about the future because I couldn't see Video Ezy [his current job] giving me a future (Manaaki, b.1970s, u.2001).

The jobs that I had done was truck driving, roaming around which didn't include a child on your back. So I had to settle down, but to do that settling down process I needed the skills to do it and I wasn't going to settle for a certificate, I wanted a degree. To me the difference between a certificate and a degree is something like thirty to forty thousand [dollars], so I really wanted that and I wasn't prepared to wait the years to climb the ladder to get an increase in salary (Whina, b.1960s, u.1991).

Aroha saw university education and the profession of teaching as a means towards upward social mobility. She believed that an academic degree would lead to more opportunities:

You can't get a better job without a certificate, a tohu [qualification] to say, that you can do this. I couldn't do it with my reo alone - that was the other big lesson. Although I am a fluent speaker of Māori, it can't work for me on its own, I had to come and get a degree to say that I am capable of doing these things. I wanted bigger doors to open for me (Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001).

She also recognised that there were financial benefits that would accrue as a result of going to university and these would benefit her whānau directly:

My kids have always been number one in my whānau, but financially was the other big thing too, helping my kids financially. I'm not going to say a better life because we have had a good life, we've grown up in our values and what I believe in and everything and they grew up through that so what would be a bonus would be the financial side of things. I can help support them financially as they get older (Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001).

In addition to financial rewards, some participants also believed that the knowledge that they gained at university would help them with their own children's schooling. Whina believed that attaining a university degree was a way of making sure what happened to her at school was not going to happen to her children. She felt that completing a Graduate Diploma in Secondary Teaching would provide her with the knowledge that she would need to become an advocate for her children:

I knew what hardship was and I knew what it was like, hardship without a mother, hardship without money, I was the youngest of the girls [referring to her sisters] so what I always got was hand me downs, so yeah it was just my own personal drive. That was my desire, I really wanted that, I could have been here ten years later and I would have been still getting my degree. I wouldn't want to give up and plus part of

that decision was influenced by my secondary school years because I didn't want my kids going through the same things I went through so I chose education so that I could walk alongside my kids and I could argue for my kids and I could say hey, this is what they are entitled to (Whina, b.1960s, u.1991)

Wai wanted to find out more about what happened in education so that her children would not "fail" at school. This provided the motivation for her to enrol in a Bachelor of Teaching Degree:

I really wanted to know why our Māori kids fail in schools... [and I was adamant that] my kids weren't going to be there - so totally selfish reasons why I went there. What goes on over that side of the desk? [The teacher's side of the desk] (Wai, b.1950s, u.1998).

Aroha also believed her university education, especially a degree in teaching would help her to better prepare her daughter for life in the 21st century:

I am a single Māori mother that thought I couldn't do anything else besides look after my children, but it took me a few years but I'm here now and I'm going to make a change, make life better for my kids. Not so much in values and beliefs and who I am, [but] probably financially and academically, knowing at the end of this I will be able to help prepare my daughter for the global world, because I have a better understanding of the education system, that I could guide my daughter (Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001).

The importance of becoming role models in the whānau was also important to some of the participants. These participants felt that it was their responsibility to act as positive role models for their children and for the wider whānau.

They decided to go to university in the hope that their children and other whānau members might emulate this example:

One day I'm standing there doing my radar reflectors [manufacturing work] and talking to my kids. Oh, so what do you want to do when you grow up? I'm gonna make radar reflectors and my eyes just about dropped out of my head, cos I thought, no, I'm doing this to survive. No, this isn't a job. This was not what you call a job ... Yeah and interestingly enough at the end of that year that was the last year for that contract. And so I thought, oh I can't let my kids grow up thinking that all I can do is make radar reflectors, I think that it was around about then that I started going to polytech to do something (Wai, b.1950s, u.1998).

I'm a mother with two kids that aint got another parent. That's all I can say, I'd be lying if I went anywhere else...Yeah, role model for them, provide first, make a better life for my two kids and then making them see Mum did it, we're alright, we're gonna do it. Give them a bit more in every way, financial, education, because I wasn't an education bunny so it's like, my kids will fall that way if I stay that way, so I'm going to do something absolutely crazy [and enrol at university] (Mihi, b.1960s, u.2002).

Well I've got kids now I've got a twelve year old and a ten year old and even though they know Mum's clever I wanted to instil in my kids a sense of purpose and a sense of achievement. You set your mind to it - you can do anything you want and I wanted to be involved with my kids - so I thought what can I do - my options at the time were go back and get a job and earn ten to fifteen dollars an hour, or get a degree and get a position that can take you further. Then you decide what it is that you are going to do. So for me to go back to university, it was for them [my children], to show them that you have options - the choice is yours - you

need to understand what your options are. What are my options Mum? These are your options boy. Now you decide what it is that you want to do - and I believe not only for my babies but for my nieces and my nephews, my cousins who are trying to decide what it is that they want in their life (Huhana, b.1950s, b.2003).

For some participants who had older children, this gamble had already produced positive benefits. Several participants claimed that their success at university had an empowering impact on other whānau members. They contend that some whānau members were choosing to stay at school longer while others were enrolling at university because they had witnessed them complete their degrees. This was identified by several participants as one of the major benefits of their university education:

Our nieces and nephews I think are actually quite proud of us and they see us standing as role models for our whānau. “Gee Aunty, if you can do that, I can do that”, giving them that encouragement and giving them a better look at life for them. Quite a few of my nephews and nieces are staying at school a bit longer... (Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001).

Yeah, they [mature Māori students] know that if they change it for themselves, it will change for their kids and that’s what happened when I went to Uni, after my first year and the kids go “Cher mum, you passed” you know and then my next daughter went, and my next daughter went. So, it was about, well if Mum can do it and she aint all that bright. But I think we do have really clever kids (Wai, 1950s, u.1998).

... my children, three have degrees, two are working on post-graduate diplomas...it opens the world to them too. University for them wasn’t a scary place because I was kind of associated with it all the time. I never ever kind of made it known, that’s where they went, it was an unstated

expectation, because I asked them, do you think that I pushed you that way. No, no it was just our life, we would go here, there, there and then go to university and so that kind of life plan was put in place when they were quite young and they just carried on through. And because they spent their late teens and early twenties here, they married people who were also here. So they are professional couples as opposed to marry Tom Jones from Woolworths, not that I am chucking off at that, they meet people who were of the same academic background or level – so they become professional couples which has given them so many more options, life expectations are higher and they strive for things more. And my moko [grandchildren] have also spent time at university, so university is somewhere they have been, it's not something way out there, that they have no recollection of, it's just part of their life. And it will probably just continue on as they grow up. I think that's one of the major influences of university, especially for women but maybe for men. But definitely for Māori mothers, it's a ripple on effect to the whānau (Ngaere, b.1950s, u.1984)

Another strong motivator to enter university was the fact that some of the participants wanted to be of service to the wider Māori community:

I think I've always been passionate about Māori children really. I think it's just part of being brought up in [a small, predominantly Māori settlement], being Māori, part-Māori...I don't know why, I've always been drawn to it (Maata, b.1960s, u.1988)

I've grown up with my Mum always staying around education, she was always on that learning path and she always wanted to do things for Māori kids, I was always around her like when she went for meetings and everything and I'd always tag along and I've always seen her doing things. I think it's always been in the back of my mind that I always

wanted to do something like that too. She just looked like she really enjoyed it and I don't know Māori things have always been passionate for me and seeing her do what she was doing, I just sort of thought – well I can do that too. I don't know she always went to meetings and there were heaps of Māori, people there and it was really positive – good to see that all these Māori were doing things. All the positive side to Māori things I didn't have in college [secondary school] but I knew I wanted it. It's got to be something to do with growing up with Mum and doing things (Rongo, b.1980s, u.2003).

I've been involved with a particular school in Hamilton, where my children went to school in the eighties and my mokopuna are now going to the same school. Yes, yet nothing has changed where Māori children are concerned. My grandchildren were coming home and telling me that they were learning te reo (ray ow) [very poor pronunciation of the word]. And that really, really brassed me off and I said no, so that place hasn't changed and I'd like to do something you know, for my mokopuna (Pania, b.1950s, u.2000).

Maamaa spent ten years teaching in the classroom and most of that time in a Māori immersion context before returning to university. She did not feel that her Diploma of Teaching or her block course programme prepared her as much as the programme for the graduates who were then entering schools. She decided to go back to university in 2002 to upgrade to the Bachelor of Teaching Degree. Maamaa believed up-skilling was important in order to provide the best opportunities she could for the students she taught:

For me my obligation and my responsibility is to keep myself up skilled for the betterment of education in New Zealand, especially for our Māori students first of all, and students in education as a whole (Maamaa, b.1940s, u.1990).

This section has shown that the participants' reasons for entering university, and teacher education in particular, were often underpinned by a strong desire to promote a better life for their whānau and for Māori generally. Māori collectivist values are apparent here. These values were also influential in terms of their persistence at university as well. The participants continued to persevere at university because they strongly believed that this would benefit the whānau:

I thought I started something and I didn't want to teach my kids you can start something and not finish it - so we've gone through that together as a whānau and a lot of it is my kids, making a better life, financially (Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001).

Chapter Summary

This chapter has focused on the participants' early educational experiences and has shown that these were very diverse. Many of the participants experienced challenges in their early schooling. However, this did not seem to discourage them from pursuing further education and training after leaving school.

The reclamation of Te Reo Māori me ōna tikanga emerged as a strong theme in this chapter. Nine participants took steps to reclaim their language and culture by enrolling in te reo Māori courses prior to entering university. In addition to this over half of the people in this study demonstrated a commitment to the wider project of Māori language revitalisation by enrolling their children at Kōhanga Reo and being actively involved in this movement as kaiako, kaiawhina (teachers or teaching assistants) and/or parents.

The participants placed a high value on education and demonstrated a very strong interest in teacher education. Twelve participants had worked in the education sector prior to enrolling at university and all sixteen chose education as a field of study.

Some participants were committed to undertake university study because of their strong desire to provide a better life for their family (whānau development). Others saw this as a way of supporting their own children's educational development and several others wanted to be of service to the Māori community. The idea of becoming a tertiary education role model for the whānau was also discussed as an important reason why some participants elected to pursue university study.

As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, key findings will be further discussed in Chapter Eleven. Chapter Eight, introduces another major theme that has emerged from the study, the Whānau.

CHAPTER EIGHT WHĀNAU

*He kōpū puta tahi, he taura whiri tātou;
whiringa a nuku, whiringa a rangi, te whatīa e.*

*Issue of one womb, we are a rope woven of many strands;
woven on earth, woven in heaven, it will not break
(Māori Marsden cited in Metge, 1995, p.79).*

The participants in this study spoke at length about whānau members who shaped their lives. They made numerous references to grandparents, parents, aunties, uncles, brothers, sisters, children and grandchildren. They talked about their living relatives as well as those who had passed on. Shirres (1997) writes that “so basic to being a person and to being Māori is to be whānau, family, not just with the living but also with the dead” (p.53). This came through very strongly in the narratives that were shared.

In this chapter, the participants discuss their early upbringing and whānau background. They identify whānau members who influenced their decision to enrol at university as well as those who provided on-going encouragement. The chapter outlines the type of support provided by whānau. It also highlights the challenge of balancing whānau roles and responsibilities with university study.

Diverse whānau backgrounds

All sixteen participants in this study were raised in New Zealand. Ten reported growing up in small rural settlements or towns, three indicated that they were raised in cities and three respondents stated that they had lived in both cities and small towns when they were young. Thirteen were raised by their

biological parents, although three of these experienced the loss of a parent when they were young. Whina's (b.1960s, u.1991) mother died when she was almost six years old, Huhana's (b.1950s, u.2003) father died when she was at secondary school and Rere's father died when she was in form one (Year 7). Rere recalls that the death of her father had a profound impact on her early development:

I know that my best days were up to form one [Year 7], but my Dad died in form one so I had a big change there, but up until form one, I loved school... we were brought up with books and stuff really early. But after form one, I've put my finger on it—from form one onwards – everything sort of went blah (Rere, b.1970s, u.2001).

Three participants were raised by members of their extended family. This practice of shared responsibility for child rearing, commonly known as 'whāngai', is a traditional practice amongst Māori, and is still much in evidence today. Pania and Aroha were both raised by their grandparents and Tipene talked about his biological and his whāngai families:

Yeah my grandparents were [strict]. On a Saturday if we did not do our chores in the morning, no way were we going to sports and the bus would go past and we would be crying. But we soon caught on to that. We made sure that we finished our chores and they said one thing and we did it. There was no humming and haaring. They said it, we did it and that was it. So we did things. They taught us all the values (Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001).

... there were chores like cutting wood for the coal range, getting coal, filling up the coal buckets, digging the spuds out of the garden for dinner, all that sort of kai [food], only because I was brought up by my grandparents. So, they were much older (Pania, b. 1950s, u.2000).

I am the second youngest in my whāngai family. But the oldest in my family – there's really two of us, myself and my sister but we were whāngai. I was about two when that happened and I remember that too. It was a bit of a sad moment, but a happy moment too, I remember sitting on the vacuum cleaner, the Electrolux. My family gets freaked out with my memories, I remember sitting on the Electrolux, it was orange and everyone having an argument and I'm wondering what's happening and Mum just packed up and left. And later on, [I] found out that it was because of hard times with money (Tipene, b 1970s, u.2000).

Two people in this study were native speakers of te reo Māori (Māori language) and grew up speaking Māori as children. In both cases, their grandparents were important in terms of facilitating their Māori language development. Aroha describes her early bilingual capabilities:

So we had both reo. I could converse in two reo because the only reo that we had at home was Māori, total Māori because my grandparents couldn't kōrero Pākeha [speak English], so we actually taught our grandparents to kōrero Pākeha. My grandmother couldn't converse, maybe a couple of words in Pākeha (Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001).

Whina claimed that her language development was facilitated by her father and her grandfather:

My reo came from home, my father, my grandfather, from home, there was no Kura Kaupapa, the recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi ... I grew up in schools where the school mottos were in Latin and that was actually one of the principal languages that I had to learn was a bit of Latin besides English (Whina, b.1960s, u.1991).

Even though only two participants were Native speakers of *te reo Māori*, nine others made attempts to learn the Māori language before entering university (this was outlined in Chapter Seven), and all participants enrolled in Māori focussed programmes at the University of Waikato (this will be discussed in further detail in Chapter Nine).

Four respondents lamented the loss of *te reo Māori* within their own families, particularly when it came to intergenerational transfer:

We never spoke Māori in our house because my parents were of the generation of getting the bash [corporal punishment] if they did speak it (Wai, b.1950s, u.1998).

My grandmother and grandfather used to speak it all the time but Mum never ever did but I remember her telling me that my uncles used to get the strap all the time [at school] so Mum very quickly learnt not to speak it and she lost it. The others lost it as well because they learnt that they needed to. I was there when they had *whaikorero* [formal speeches on the marae] but I never took any notice as a kid but I grew up there with my *whānau* near the marae going back and forth, so I felt fairly comfortable there (Ngaere, b.1950s,u.1984).

Mum didn't speak Māori at home but she did speak Māori but not to us at home. Now I really wish that she had because it's been a battle learning (Tipene, b.1970s, u.2000).

When Dad was young they used to *kōrero* and they were fluent but as he was growing up he lost it ... (Kura, b.1980s, u.2003).

These comments illustrate the extent of Māori language loss within the *whānau* of these participants. The affect that assimilation policies have had

on successive generations of Māori is evident in these descriptions. Even as late as the 1970s, Māori parents still believed that their children would be better placed in their education if they learnt English rather than Māori. This illustrates the lasting effects of cultural hegemony. This is demonstrated in the second to last comment above made by Tipene.

Several participants were brought up in close proximity to their ancestral marae. Wai and Ruita mentioned family members, parents in particular, being extremely committed to the family “pa” or marae. This translated into these participants having an active involvement at their marae when they were growing up:

We were on the corner on the road to the pa so we did heaps at the pa, we did heaps for the marae but home was home. Go there and do what you do and come home. We never slept on a marae, we would go there to fix breakfast first thing, do the dishes late at night, whatever, set the tables and everything, clean up and go home... I think a lot of the things that we did were very Māori because my parents were very giving and (Wai, b.1950s, u.1998).

My mother was totally committed to supporting our pa [marae], our local pa so more or less anything that happened be it a tangi [funeral ritual] or a birthday or a whānau reunion we actually went to practically every occasion up there because of her commitment (Ruita, b. 1950s, u.2003).

Other participants were raised away from their ancestral marae:

I've never even really been back to our marae back home in Murupara either but I identify my home marae because I was brought up in Tokoroa, I go back to that one anyway (Manaaki, b.1970s, u.2001)

Although Manaaki is not active at his marae, his use of 'our marae' indicates that he does have a strong sense of connection to this marae and with that a sense of belonging.

One person felt that she did not always feel comfortable at her ancestral marae. Further conversation uncovered that the source of this discomfort emanated from the fact she was not raised around that particular marae and was not sure where she fitted in:

I still don't feel real comfortable being there, I don't know why I should because I love the marae. We've got a beautiful marae, I just don't feel comfortable being there (Kura, b.1980s, u.2003)

Whānau attitudes about education

Nine of the sixteen participants mentioned family members who had attended teachers training college and/or university. Five of these had a parent who was a teacher. There were indications that education was viewed within some families as the key to upward social mobility. For example, Maamaa (b.late 1940s, u.1990) claimed that education was very highly valued in her family. Testament to her family's commitment to education was her father's monetary contributions to the Māori Education Foundation. Her father gave money on the understanding that it could be accessed when her brothers were ready to go to boarding school. Unfortunately, when the time came to do this, his application was declined on the basis of his income, he now earned too much. Maama explained that from then on he sold livestock to pay for the education of his four sons and when this was not enough he worked two jobs to put them through boarding school. All of Maamaa's brothers attended a Catholic Māori boarding school, and following on from this, two went on to Teachers Training College and one to university. Both Maamaa and her sister did not get sent away to boarding school. They instead attended the local secondary school in a township nearby.

Aroha recalled that university was discussed with only a few of her whānau members and these family members were given special consideration where education was concerned. Aroha went on to say that other members of her extended family, not just primary caregivers, contributed money to help towards the costs associated with education:

... there were a lot of people involved in sending her [aunty] to [secondary] school. It wasn't just them [grandparents]- their immediate family- it was the other uncles, the rest of the extended whānau that got together to support my grandmother and grandfather to send my aunty off to school and that was it, it just stopped there (Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001).

Several other participants spoke about how highly education was valued in their families:

We [her family] were about education and I'm thinking that, that stemmed from the fact that my father was basically head of his household at the age of fourteen, because his dad was struck with polio. So that left my dad as the oldest, to look after his fifteen siblings and his parents. So then he was about, making sure that all his siblings had a damn good education and knew how to work because the longer they stayed in the house the longer he had to financially support them, so all of those sorts of things... Education, getting qualified, and even if that meant you were qualified to do a trade, and then you got out there and did it. (Wai, b.1950s, u.1998).

... my father came down hard on me too when I was at High school because he really wanted us to be well educated, our family. So there was this extra push and this is why I stayed there until 6th Form (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003).

Half of the participants received direct encouragement from whānau members to go to university. Ruita stated that her brother and sister in law were very influential in terms of her decision to enrol at university:

It was actually my brother and sister-in-law – they were at uni [university] at the time and they were in their Bachelors at [the School of Māori and Pacific Development] ... they really talked me into going into Uni. My brother was going – come on sis – you can do it at Uni! It was their push that made me look at Uni... and they actually made the path easier for me. I didn't know what to expect, I had been out of the schooling system for a while, they sort of made the huarahi [path] easier for me for going to University, so their push made me look at university (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003).

Rere commented that it was her sister who finally convinced her to apply for university. Her sister had become a teacher and was a graduate of the University of Waikato:

I came for a joke, I think I told you that, I was at Kōhanga and my sister said why don't you go to uni and I said only brainy people go there because I didn't know you could get in on your age [special entry for adult students] because I didn't have UE [university entrance] or anything and she said "you can still go" and I said "whatever" and it was a dare at first because [her best mates were working there] ... and she said "it's all good, all my mates are there, just go " because I had applied as a joke originally and I had a pretty good lifestyle at home... then [the university] rang and said "you've got an interview" and that's when I started to freak out and I thought "I've got an interview" ... but it was originally a joke, a dare (Rere, b.1970s, u.2001).

Despite 'the joke', Rere went on to achieve well in the university environment and after attaining an undergraduate degree, went on to pursue post-graduate study.

Aroha also commented that her whānau members were the people who had encouraged her to attend university:

Then my sisters - two of the big girls came here to uni, they came to do their teaching degrees, oh one came to do a teaching degree, the other one came to do a BA [Bachelor of Arts Degree]. Those were my cousins but we grew up as sisters, then my other sister came up to do teaching with the support of the whānau, so she came and left her kids behind with my mum and mum looked after the kids and she came up to do her study. They always said well you know, you should go and do your degree, you should go and do a teaching degree... (Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001).

Pania claimed that it was a relative working at the university who encouraged her to enrol:

I went to an open day at the university anyway. One night I went to a meeting there. There were a whole lot of people talking and I think it was...the Tumuaki [Principal] of Te Timatanga Hou [A bridging programme for Māori students at the University of Waikato]. She was there and also I had a relation that was tutoring there as well and I wanted to know a little bit more about what they did. It was my cousin, she said to me, come back and study. Study, but I don't know how to! And she said that's why they have Timatanga Hou. Yeah, and so I did it... (Pania, b.1950s, u.2000).

However, not all motivational support came from whānau *within* the university. Some of the participants received encouragement from whānau members

who were not university students or faculty. Maia claimed that it was her partner who pushed her to go to university:

...he was the one telling me just try and get a degree in anything. You've got the brains, do it, so he pushed me heaps and so I applied for open polytech, but then I didn't like that, then I just got all the brochures in from the different uni and then it was a big decision – which way do you want to go from here ? ... Most of it was my Tane [partner]. He's the one who pushed me into going to uni... (Maia, b.1970s, u.2002)

However, not all of the reactions and comments the participants received from whānau were positive. Ruita and Manaaki received negative feedback from some of their whānau members, but these comments made them even more determined to enrol and succeed at university:

I said I'm going to uni and when I told all my brothers and sisters, they all laughed. You are a cabbage bro-you won't make it, and that just motivated me more. Right you've ticked me off, I'm going to uni-see you at my graduation so being the first person to graduate from my family, and everyone is just really supportive. My brothers' overseas are saying come over to Australia-they are heaps proud of me for this achievement. So that's how I got into teaching (Manaaki, b.1970s, u.2001).

Ruita recounted a similar experience:

Coming in as a mature student, one barrier I came across was my [extended] whānau. Not my immediate whānau. They'd say – what are you going to Uni for – you've got a good job, enough for you and your son to live on. And I said to them, I'm not just going there for myself, I'm not going there for an individual journey to develop myself -

I'm going away for my iwi [tribe] – think about that. I was doing that all the time, my whānau were on my back all the time, this is my extended whānau. And I said look, you are comfortable where you are, I'm not, I need to find mātauranga ano [more education]. A lot of them said to me, you won't finish Ruita, you won't finish but I said, give you a bet I'm going to finish, I remember saying that to one of my cousins – you watch me, I'll finish. But if you do finish you're not going to come home – you watch me, the day I finish, is the day I'll come home. That was one of the barriers even before I even thought of going to Uni (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003).

The determination to pursue education on behalf of the collective is once again demonstrated in this statement. For Ruita, going to university was not solely about individual gain, it had to do with whānau and iwi development as well. Ruita remained true to her word and after attaining a Bachelor of Teaching degree she returned to her home area and is currently working in a local Kura Kaupapa Māori. In this sense she is 'giving back' to the iwi (tribe).

Whānau provide support while studying

Thirteen participants talked directly about the support they received from whānau members while they were studying at university. As well as providing the encouragement to enrol at university, family members provided academic guidance when they first started university:

I remember my first assignment I went and picked my brother's brain. Now can you tell me what they want for this paper? Can you write it down for me so I can understand? (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003)?

Probably because my older brother had gone through teacher's training in Wellington, I was able to tap into him. I found that the assignments were really hard to understand and get a grip of and I was

also able to tap into [my sister in law] and [my other brother] too because [my sister in law] was one year ahead of me and she threw a lot of light on the subject (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003).

Manaaki talked about the academic support he received from his wife. She had attended another university and was aware of university processes. She imparted this information on to her husband on his first day:

My wife told me, she said, you don't have to be brainy-you've just got to work hard and she gave me all this advice. On my first day she packed me a lunch-I felt like a kid. She gave me all the advice-always sit up the front, I've got a notebook for you, write down all the dates of your assignments. Why do I have to? Because you're useless at remembering things...If you sit at the back you get too distracted because you can see everything. Whereas, if you sit at the front, you can just see the lecturer. Another piece of advice she gave me was always do your readings because when you go to the lecture you are not writing everything down-you are just sitting there going-oh yeah-just writing little notes, that's the structure of uni life. You don't have to be brainy, you don't have to be a brain box to know that it's just common sense really-you just got to know how they operate (Manaaki, b.1970s, u.2001).

Wai found that discussions with her husband helped her to clarify her ideas in relation to her studies at university. She felt that these discussions were beneficial for both parties as her husband was also a student at that time:

...my husband was a brilliant support because he likes to read. I hate to read but my husband loves to read. So often you know, I'd say here read this and we'd talk about it. You know, or I'd certainly discuss the sort of things we'd covered in class, so that I could hear, you know, were we on target, was this outside my scope or things like that, it was

useful both ways because he was doing his counselling certificate at the Polytech at the same time and so we would share theories backwards and forwards and, techniques and skills because I hated, I've always hated reading (Wai, b.1950s, u.1998).

Maamaa and Aroha also approached whānau members for academic support:

I went to my daughter [who was an academic staff member] for support (Maamaa, b.late1940s, u.1990)

I've got a lot of whānau that have been into uni and know what it's all about. My tutors, and I had to teach myself too, I had to learn to research, I had to learn how to write my essays. I could write some of my assignments without a problem and then I had a lot of problems with others but my whānau and my tutors helped me understand writing an essay better and gave me direction of how to understand some of the words I didn't understand at all and how to break them down (Aroha, b.1960s, u. 2001).

These examples illustrate the process of ako in action (as described in Chapter Four and Five) and also relates to the social and interactive nature of learning. These episodes are consistent with sociocultural theory (outlined in Chapter Five).

Seven participants talked about the financial challenges that they experienced as a result of their decision to attend university. For parents, moving to a new city meant that the whānau needed to make adjustments. Manaaki discusses what the move from Tokoroa to Hamilton meant for his whānau:

... coming from Tokoroa and a five bedroom house, going to uni and you are in a two bedroom flat with just one door and boy those were just hard times, it was hard times. And the financial, because we were living on \$140 a week and I guess it was good for me and my wife and my family because we come from, we both come from big families and in the church, they teach you how to make do with what you have got or how to preserve and stuff like that and so my wife was really good at making wicked meals out of nothing, so that was a really big help and we really budgeted our money and went to op shops and got clothes. So we really lived on what we had (Manaaki, b.1970s, u.2001).

As a single parent, Huhana found that the financial strain took a toll on her family and her ability to study:

When you are raising two kids and you are barely making it through because WINZ [New Zealand Social Welfare] only gives you so much money and you've got petrol to think about and your car to think about getting to university and all these impact on your family life. Not only that, [but also] on your ability to study ... (Huhana, b.1950s, u.2003).

Again, these comments illustrate the major impact that sociocultural contexts have on learning and wellbeing, and they also reinforce the cultural significance of Durie's Whare Tapa Whā model (as outlined in Chapter Five).

Several participants found it difficult to survive financially and having the support of whānau helped them to continue on with their studies:

Yeah, there were always our parents who would drop off stuff and we had one of our friends, and we didn't even tell them that we were in a really tight situation and they just dropped off all these groceries for us

and we were really blessed and really grateful for that (Manaaki, b.1970s, u.2001).

My sisters were always ringing up, my brothers, how you doing sis? My uncle rings up – do you need some firewood, my sister comes down from Auckland, we've just about run out of food, she would bring a whole box of kai – put it in my freezer or fridge. So I think if I didn't have that, it would have been so much worse. It has been a struggle but it would have been worse, I don't know if I would've completed it. But I think in terms of being successful my whānau helped me at every turn (Huhana, b.1958, u.2003)

And finance, well I was lucky that I had my partner with me and because I was under twenty five, I couldn't get any money because you had to go on your parents income and so I wasn't able to get any money and so my Mum would send me money every week (Rongo, b 1980s, u.2003).

A few of the participants stated that they were appreciative of whānau member efforts to help also with menial tasks around the home as this left them more time to concentrate on their university studies:

... the other support was my family, they were always there, they were always motivating me, and they were always encouraging me. And again, the things I didn't understand, they were always there to help me to the point where my daughter used to feed me, cook for me, so I had all this time to concentrate on my assignment. As I said before, the only time I stopped looking at my books was when I slept. My daughter would knock on my door and say mum tea is ready, mum lunch is ready, mum breakfast is ready and that was the external support I got from my family. My husband was home and he was always happy to hear what I had done during the week because I left him and went for

the week and then I would come back on a Friday. And you know it was just knowing that I had that support, it just made me so much stronger (Maamaa, b. Late 1940s, u.1990).

I guess all I had to focus on was my degree, I had a good partner at home who used to cook the dinner and do the housework (Pania, b.1950s, u.2000).

My sister would come down and take them [children] out to the lake for a picnic or whatever, at odd times I would have liked to have been able to go but I had my mahi [work] (Huhana, b.1950s, u.2003)

Whānau roles and responsibilities

Although the whānau provided a great deal of support, they also presented challenges for some participants. One of the themes to emerge from the interview data was the difficulty that many participants had balancing whānau commitments and university study. In a collectivist culture, maintaining whānau relationships and responsibilities is culturally expected. If you are unable to manage this, then your identity can be challenged. Making study a priority was not easy for some who had family and community responsibilities. The following statements are illustrative:

I suppose just for me and a lot of people in our class trying to separate our home stuff from school which is pretty hard but I guess that can be for anybody not just Māori students but you know how we always put whānau first and sometimes it can be a challenge (Kura, b.1980s, u.2003).

Probably time - with assignments - you've got to juggle that with family, with church (Manaaki, b.1970s, u.2001).

The hardest thing for me was pleasing my whānau, they were so used to me being able to do a lot of things and I always found it hard to say “no” and I did it and a lot of my schoolwork suffered because I did it. Whānau pressures [they are] a lot of it... just part of my life anyway, who I am and what my life was all about and I had to deal with it eventually. It made my schoolwork harder but I dealt with it, I had to deal with it and I learnt to say “no” (Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001).

Enrolling at university and studying full time meant that the participants needed to make sacrifices. One of the sacrifices of university study to be highlighted by twelve of the sixteen participants who were parents was the time they spent with their children. Several felt that their children had ‘missed out’ because they were attending university. Mihi claimed that moving her children away from their home base interrupted extended family networks and this was a cause of concern for her:

My son was only one and a half when we moved to Waikato so that was a huge one, knowing that I was a couple of towns away from him. That’s always been a big issue though right through my whole four years at uni, it’s been a huge issue because he’s travelling from Hamilton and back to Huntly, that was the biggest with my kids having no immediate whānau. It was a big sacrifice but I knew I couldn’t have that in Wanganui because it wasn’t set up to go where I wanted to go and I wasn’t getting any younger and I knew I had to take it (Mihi, b1960s, u.2002)

A few participants appeared to feel some guilt over the time that they missed with their children:

I lost out on my eldest just that two years with him because he ended up in a Kōhanga Reo and then the youngest he was fine because I had stepped away so the first year of [university], the first year at uni I

enrolled my boy who was born in July 1990, I enrolled him... into Kōhanga so I only had so many months with him and the rest of the time that whole year ... he was in Kōhanga so I missed him completely. I had no control over his schooling...(Whina, b.1960s, u.1991)

For three years, my time at university, my children have missed out on a lot, let's not kid ourselves. When we are studying full time, we are studying full time, full time means full time, weekends. I tried to make it so it was balanced, but who knows what balanced is - you know. Sometimes I guess when the pressure was on I was more likely to get into work and when it was off, it was like, can I just lie down here for a while and catch up on my sleep (Huhana, b.1950s, u.2003).

... home alone children - feel sorry for my kids because my other half [partner], he leaves at dark and comes back at dark. He's gone by about 5:30am and gets back at six. Then I leave home at half seven usually if I've got a nine o'clock class, I either drop my girls off at the corner and their bus doesn't come until ten past eight, so they're sitting out there rain, hail or shine. They've got a key when they get home, tell them go home. Turn the TV on, don't open the doors, don't answer the phone, but they're used to it now (Maia, b.1970s, u.2002)

The university environment was criticised by several participants because they did not feel it was whānau friendly and therefore child friendly. This made the task of balancing whānau and academic responsibilities even more difficult:

Well, it makes you feel like it's not a place where you're allowed your family to be and it's not because they tell you that – looking at it, it was a bit selfish for me to say something like that - the uni should get over it because that's the way it is. Sometimes we do have to bring our kids

to uni and I can't really say that because it's not fair on the ones who haven't got children in the class ...I don't know it's just separate and your whānau has just got to wait (Mihi, b.1960s, u.2002)

Not allowing kids - there was a time when you were allowed them down at the media centre [computer lab], I think there was always a policy, but she [person who runs the centre] sort of let it ride for a little while, but I found that hugely difficult with the hours. Bringing children into class was never a problem for us, but we did get a tutor who is not here anymore, didn't last very long-she used to get hang ups about kids in the classroom. I know that there are heaps of classes and heaps of students but just the way that the time was structured. Maybe they need to let you know in the beginning what is expected and prepare you for the shock because we had kids all the time in our class - it didn't worry us but in the computer class-not allowed kids in there - but that was a challenge - was organising my family around here [university] (Rere, b.1970s, u.2001)

Parents in particular talked about the need to organise their family life around their university study. The participants put strategies in place so that their study would not interrupt the family routine. They demonstrated a commitment to putting their children and whānau first:

...you hear all the stories about uni students who suddenly haven't got a family and uni is the be all and end all. I had too many kids [ten children] for me to allow that to happen in our household so initially it seemed like I kept my nose in my books and ran out of time for the family and my husband commented once, he only had to comment on it once and I thought "change", which is when I moved to early morning...That's when I would be sitting up there [university] at four am in the morning. I thought "no they're all asleep I can go now" and

basically they're awake for one and a half hours in the morning before they're out the door but I'm here [at home] 100% after 3pm into the evening ...(Wai, b.1950s, u.1998).

I travelled up Monday mornings, leave about 4am get here in time to drop my girls off at School...that was nine to three, Monday to Friday... We'd come up Monday morning and go back Friday afternoon, and that was for the first six months and then [friend A] was moving back [home] because she had done her papers, so then I found a place in Huntly. So we paid two lots of rent, two lots of power bills but I forgot to pay [her partner's] power one time and he rang up from Turangi, he had been in the dark all night. It was a big scramble to get the power paid (Maia, b.1970s, u. 2002)

... a lot of times, I would come home and look after my babies and I wouldn't start studying until nine o'clock at night sometimes, ten o'clock at night and finish maybe the next morning and the only reason for that was that I wanted to do well but that took a lot of courage to do that and a lot of self discipline. But again, it's that thing, you have to succeed. I had to succeed, I couldn't give it half... (Huhana, b.1950s, u.2003)

... I didn't let it interfere with my role as a parent. I made sure that my children were cared for and my husband was catered for and I would do all my study either late at night when they were all in bed or two or three in the morning, so that my study wouldn't impact in any way on my family life (Maamaa, b.late 1940s, u.1990)

A few participants talked about the difficulties involved in balancing important family events with university study. The following statement by Wai provides another powerful example of the cultural expectations often faced by Māori students which are not always understood by the university:

When my brother died, earlier, in my third year at Uni, my brother died in America and here I was tossing, do I go to the funeral, or, am I going to miss these papers. So that really put a dent in my study though I was out of the country for ten days, you know I missed the deadline for this, should have been out doing the practicum and I thought, why should I have had to have done that, you know, I couldn't see why I had to feel like that. It was a toss between going to my brother's funeral, or I stay here and pass my test or do this all again next year. You know, so, yeah that was quite annoying. For the fact that when I got back I did have to catch up and I understand all that, but I suppose the time span was unrealistic really. Because in that time span, there are other things, aspects of your world as well, there's not just going to Uni. I mean I don't go to a lot of tangi. But, when it's your own immediate family, there's no place else to be (Wai, b1950s, u.1998)

In the next example, Ngaere provides another example of trying to balance study with whānau roles and responsibilities:

I remember going to a tangi and sitting in the back seat of a car, gone in, come back out, got my things and I was sitting there writing assignments and I figured this is wrong – it had taken me five hours to get here so I've got to do this, I'm not, not doing it. All my whānau were there, I went around and said hello and then out (Ngaere, b.1950s,u.1984).

Balancing whānau and academic demands becomes extremely difficult when you do not have the support of your spouse or partner. Ngaere remembers that this was a situation that she found especially challenging. She sees this pattern repeating in the lives of some of the Māori women she teaches at university:

One of the things I have found, probably Māori women more than anyone else is the impact of the whānau—I admit, I had that too, it became hard when the husband is not supportive and you haven't got dinner on the table because you are up to your eyeballs in paper and the kids haven't got sorted etc, etc, but it does impact on students because it's so difficult for them that they pull out and we've lost a lot of students mainly because of their husbands, its mainly the husbands who don't support them because if they had the support they can cope with just about anything. But their husbands are complaining or whatever reasons and life becomes really difficult – they pull out just because of the marital stuff. Kids you can cope with I think but husbands just make it so difficult, they compound everything (Ngaere, b.1954, u.1984)

Kura and Ruita found that family problems and personal circumstances caused a number of their peers to leave university:

We had quite a few drop out of our class, the majority were [because of] personal problems like they had kids or were going to have kids or issues with their partners, one left to get married (Kura, b.1981, u.2003).

... whānau something drastic happened in their whānau or maybe even strains on marriages, I've seen that...I've seen it myself like one of our mates said "demanding time when she had to get assignments out... (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003).

Chapter Summary

This chapter has highlighted the importance of the whakapapa-based whānau to the lives of the participants in this study. The participants came from a diverse range of whānau backgrounds. Despite this, the narratives have shown that the whānau continues to operate as a core cultural force shaping the identity and well being of many of the participants.

The findings of the preceding chapter showed that some of the participant's whānau members provided the inspiration and motivation for them to go to university. The narratives presented in this chapter demonstrate that whānau members also provided encouragement. Eight participants received direct encouragement from whānau members to enrol at university. Nine participants identified whānau members who had engaged in tertiary education and five stated that they had a parent who was a teacher.

Many participants received ongoing support from whānau members while they were studying at university. However, on the other side of the ledger, for some participants, whānau also acted as a barrier when it came to their participation and performance at university.

A number of recurring themes emerged in this chapter. In Chapter Seven, it was shown that many participants placed a high value on education. The findings in this chapter provide some evidence that education was also highly valued in some of the participants' whānau.

Te reo me ōna tikanga was a further recurring theme. The narratives presented in this chapter provide clear evidence that some participants had greater access to Te Ao Māori (the Māori world including language and culture) when they were young than others.

Chapter Nine, presents the third major findings chapter, Te Ao Māori, the Māori World.

CHAPTER NINE

TE AO MĀORI

E kore e piri te uku ki te rino
Clay will not cling to iron.

The proverb cited above is a line from a famous haka (posture dance), *Mangumangu Taipo*. It draws on the analogy of wet clay which when wet adheres strongly to iron but when dry, loses its grip and eventually falls away (Karetu, 1987). The proverb is often used to encourage Māori to take pride in Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) and their identity as Māori because western adornments, like dried clay on a digging tool, will eventually fall away (Karetu, 1987). I believe that this is a fitting starting point for this chapter which considers the complex interplay between culture, identity and place.

In this chapter the participants discuss their experiences of ‘being Māori’ within the university context. They discuss their reasons for opting to enrol in Māori focussed programmes and comment on institutional support for Māori cultural aspirations. The chapter also explores some of the challenges that the participants experienced in relation to their identity as Māori.

Choosing to participate in Māori focussed programmes

A number of studies have shown that indigenous and minority students struggle in mainstream tertiary institutions because of issues relating to culture (Gonzalez, 2002; Jefferies, 1997; Kuh & Love, 2000). Indigenous students often face severe challenges because they have experienced little success in terms of their early education. For many of the participants in this study, both points apply. They were very aware that going to university was going to be “hard work”, but, the decision to enter Māori focussed programmes helped to allay some of their initial fears about being culturally isolated in the university context.

All participants were enrolled in Māori focussed programmes at some stage during their time at university. These programmes included: Te Timatanga Hou (A Māori Bridging Programme), Te Tohu Paetahi (BA in Māori language), Rūmaki and Whānau (Māori Medium Teacher Education Programmes), the Kaiarahi i te Reo programme (a special programme designed to produce Māori teachers who could cater for Kōhanga Reo pupils entering primary schools) and an off – campus Diploma of Early Childhood programme based in Turangi (these programmes were briefly introduced in Chapter Three).

There were three main reasons why these participants chose to enrol in Māori focussed programmes and why they thought their participation in these groups would be beneficial. These reasons are summarised under three main subheadings: Te Reo Māori, Being with other Māori and Drawing on Māori cultural capital. Participants at times listed more than one of these reasons for entering Māori focussed programmes. In these cases, I have counted the number of individual mentions.

Te Reo Māori

Ten of the sixteen participants indicated a strong desire to maintain and/or develop proficiency in te reo Māori as one reason why they wanted to enter Māori focussed programmes. Mihi thought she would be able to maintain her reo by enrolling in the Rūmaki programme. This was very important to her after she had worked hard previously to reclaim the language through a three year Māori language course:

To keep my reo [language], that's the only reason why I took Rūmaki [the Māori medium stream of teacher education]. It was more about my reo than finding a [kaupapa-based] whānau [extended family support network] because I was so psyched up I'd already gone in the deep end by moving here with the kids so I didn't really care about that, worrying about having people here to look after me but keeping my reo was a

huge point. At that time I thought it would happen at Waikato I did [think that], but no, it didn't. I lost a lot, but no fault of the uni, I could have chosen to speak Māori but I went on that waka [canoe] and went English but I'm paying for it now... (Mihi, b.1960s, u.2002).

After graduating with a degree, Mihi became a teacher in a Kura Kaupapa Māori (total immersion Māori school). She found the transition challenging, as indicated above by the term "paying for it now", because at university she reverted back to using English. In her new role as a teacher, she needed to develop her Māori language proficiency quickly. A cultural cost of success at university for Mihi was her Māori language proficiency, even though she was enrolled in the Rūmaki (Māori medium teacher education programme).

Rongo completed a Diploma in Māori studies at a polytechnic before heading to university. She believed that enrolling in a Māori focussed programme would help her to build on this foundation:

I really just chose it because, it was really for myself, I wanted to learn more, I wanted to speak Māori, that's really the main reason that I went onto this course. It wasn't because of the whānau atmosphere and all that because I'm used to doing things for myself, by myself. I didn't really go to uni expecting to be part of a little group or anything like that because I'm just used to always doing things by myself or looking after myself so I just wanted to go into that course to learn more about Māori. Just learning to speak Māori really. I thought I would have learned to speak Māori a bit more (Rongo, b.1980s, u.2003).

Although Manaaki did not enter university specifically to learn the Māori language, he did see his participation in a Māori programme at university as a way of learning more about his language and culture. In the following statement, Manaaki talks about the traditional response given to young Māori

who do not know about their language and culture, that is, to return to their traditional tribal areas to be taught by the home people. For Manaaki, like many other Māori, this would have involved moving back to a rural locality where there were few employment opportunities:

My [Māori] language [was] not very good, my culture – [I only had] a cupful but that’s why I wanted to go there [to university]. Some people said “you need to go back home and get back to your roots” so to speak but I don’t see the point in doing that because you go to Murupara and then what? I’ve got to find a job and then what? So I found [that I was] inadequate with language and culture coming [in to university] but after finishing [university] it grew tenfold (Manaaki, b.1970s, u.2001)

Manaaki felt satisfied that his time at university had enabled him to improve his facility for speaking te reo Māori and improved his knowledge of Māori culture. This was a sentiment shared by one other participant, Kura, who believed she had learned more about te reo Māori me ōna tikanga while she was at university.

Being with other Māori

Seven participants identified being with other Māori as another important reason for entering a Māori programme. They believed that being in the company of other Māori would cultivate a sense of ‘togetherness’ in the university context and this would aid their achievement at university:

My comfort zone was “I’m ok with being in a Māori group” more than mainstream (Wai, b.1950s,u.1998).

Knowing that there were going to be Māori in the roopu that's the main reason [I went into that programme and] because I had come in with te reo (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003).

I chose that group because of the whanaungatanga [family-style relationships] that I thought I would get out of it. That was the first reason because I'm not academic, I've never been academic as I said before I come from a non-academic background and I don't see myself as an academic today. I've just got a little bit of knowledge and what I've got I'll help wherever I can but I chose the Rūmaki firstly because of the whanaungatanga... (Tipene, b.1970s, u.2000).

I'll tell you the thing that I really enjoyed is holding our mana in our group because I think going to university is a scary, scary thing but when we came together as a whānau / rūmaki group, we all came in and supported each other (Huhana, b.1950s, u.2003).

The narratives show that fourteen of the participants formed very strong bonds with other Māori students while they were at university, even though not all of them entered university with the explicit intention of forming such bonds. These relationships aided their transition into the university context, provided moral support and encouragement at stressful times and in many cases influenced their academic success (this is discussed in Chapter Ten).

Drawing on Māori cultural capital

Four participants chose to participate in Māori focussed programmes at university because they believed that they would feel more at ease in this context. Rere and Huhana said that they both felt much safer in these programmes instead of the mainstream:

I felt safer there [within Māori focussed programmes] because I felt that I was dumb when I started, so if I was dumb then I can't have been the only one in a Māori group. Honest, I just didn't want to fail in the mainstream (Rere, b.1970s, u.2001).

I didn't want to go in mainstream. I'm an older student, I've travelled a lot, I've done lots of things and I didn't want to have to put up with this racist thing and it's very real. It's an intangible feeling, the sense of it. I didn't want to have to put up with students looking down at me in mainstream... I gave it some thought and I just knew that I'd feel more comfortable being in the whānau group. Mainstream didn't appeal at all, not at all (Huhana, b.1950s, u.2003).

These comments illustrate the long-lasting destructive effects of previous experiences in mainstream education. They indicate past experiences of racism and marginalisation. This illustrates once again the effects of hegemonic practices which created a sense among many Māori students that Māori were somehow intellectually inferior (as outlined in Chapter Two).

Some of the participants made the choice to enter Māori programmes because they believed they would struggle in the mainstream. Whina and Aroha (the two native speakers of te reo Māori), felt that they stood a better chance of succeeding in Māori focussed programmes because these programmes were based on the cultural beliefs, values and preferred practices within Te Ao Māori and would allow them to draw on their cultural background. This made them feel more confident about participating:

So I took my strength, I didn't want to fail at uni and it was a scary place and so I went with my strongest field which was Māori as a stepping stone in and a security thing really to get me used to the system (Whina, b.1960s,u.1991).

Mainstream was scary for me so I did apply on my application ... to be in a Māori environment because I didn't think I would be able to go into a mainstream group of people... Mainstream is alright but I didn't think I had the ability to be in a group of Pākeha people and be able to converse with a group of Pākeha people because my first language is Māori - so Rūmaki made me feel more comfortable. That's why I went to Rūmaki. I didn't think I had the ability to complete my study... Mainstream is outside my upbringing, I didn't grow up in a mainstream environment, I grew up in a whānau environment and that's what Rūmaki had to offer... that's why I went to Rūmaki, it gave me more confidence and it is who I am as Māori (Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001).

The institution's support for Māori cultural aspirations

In the previous section, it was established that ten participants enrolled in Māori focussed programmes with the hope of developing and/ or maintaining their proficiency in te reo Māori. One of the major criticisms from participants was the institution's commitment to te reo Māori and Māori cultural aspirations.

Eight participants were graduates of the Rūmaki (Māori medium teacher education programme). When they enrolled they believed that most if not all of their papers would be delivered through the medium of te reo Māori. However, this was not the case. Eight participants were critical of the level of Māori language in their Māori focussed degree programme. The following comments were typical:

I thought I was coming into total immersion, because that's what was said in the interview and so when we first got in and I remember me and a few others were like what's this? (Rere, b.1970s, u.2001).

Oh – where do you start? If they are going to have a Rūmaki [immersion] programme make it a Rūmaki [immersion] programme, don't have bits and pieces - and make it all relevant to us ...(Maia, b.1970s, u.2002).

They never explained to us that the majority of our papers were going to be in English. We just naturally thought “oh well Rūmaki, all our papers are going to be delivered in Māori”. That was totally misleading-doing a Rūmaki course - they need to explain to these students when you have your admission interview that these papers are delivered in English and I think that was really disappointing, being misled that way (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003).

Kura and Huhana who were members of the whānau group also would have liked to have learnt more te reo Māori [Māori language] as part of their degree programme:

I actually was disappointed because I thought I'd learn a lot more [Māori language] but I didn't - but I guess because you're studying towards teaching and you're so concentrated on that, that the other stuff falls behind (Kura, 1980s, u.2003).

...Waikato uni was my university of choice because I was told one, you would go into a Whānau/Rūmaki group and so I actually believed or the inference was there that “yes, you will do some of your subjects in te reo Māori, in te reo” and so I thought “well here is a challenge for me as well in that I am going to learn my reo - whereas that was not the case (Huhana, b.1950s, u.2003).

Another area of dissatisfaction reported by nine participants in this study was the process of submitting assignments in te reo Māori (the University policy

regarding Te Reo Māori was introduced in the nineties as outlined in Chapter Three). Some of them shared their frustrations when it came to writing their assignments in Māori. There were a number of issues raised. The first difficulty of submitting an assignment in Māori is finding a suitably qualified person to mark the assignment. This was seen as a challenging issue by several participants:

We applied for the exemption to write in Māori, we'd gone through the [university] calendar. She [the lecturer] told us she couldn't mark our work and we could not write in Māori. What the bloody hell? So you come from a programme like Te Tohu Paetahi [BA programme majoring in Māori] where you're expected to write in Māori, you arrive in a completely different school [at the same university], a completely different set of regulations, you apply for what you need to and then you get told by your own Māori lecturer that you can't write in Māori because they don't have anybody who can mark it in Māori (Whina, b.1960s, u.1991).

Yeah, at the end of the day, if you wrote an assignment in Māori, the lecturer has to find someone else to mark your paper, so in order to meet the demands of the assignment and your lecturer it's easier to write in Pākeha (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003).

For those who did submit assignments in Māori, the length of time taken for the assignment to be marked and returned was identified as a barrier:

Sometimes it took a long time to get my marks back when they sent it away - and I didn't see what I needed to improve on before my next assignment was due in, so eventually I thought to myself I can do this in Māori and Pākeha and I'll give it a go...(Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001).

Another issue raised by Maia and Aroha was that translators, although fluent in te reo Māori were often unfamiliar with the topics, the content and the context they were covering in their assignments. They felt that the translations did not always capture what it was that they were trying to say:

I think it was [one department], they sent papers off to another [university department] to get translated, which gives straight translations, [but] they don't have any understanding of the topic, I don't think that they are even told what the topic is, which would help. They come back and the lecturers say well you didn't put this, and this too, which is hard (Maia, b.1970s, u. 2002).

Sometimes I'd write my essays in Māori and I actually stopped writing my essays in Māori because they used to go across to the reo block [School of Māori and Pacific Development]. Nothing about [I have nothing against] A block but they had no [knowledge of the] context of what we were writing about so they lost the essence of a lot of my essays. I had to go through again and talk to the lecturer and our tutors and explain to them because I didn't agree with a few of the marks they gave to me because they were translating word for word...I went back to [my lecturer] and I said "I thought you were going to take them to [a Māori lecturer here] and he said "oh come on you talk me through it" so I talked him through it and he changed my mark (Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001).

Like Maia, Ruita did not think this situation was fair to Māori students. She believes that students are disadvantaged when they write in Māori and their tutor does not mark it:

I really believe that you write an assignment for your lecturer to mark, not someone else to mark. I can remember one time, with a literacy

paper, I said “I was going to write my assignment in Māori” and I knew that our lecturer wouldn’t be able understand and he goes “oh ok, can you sit down and tell me what the assignment’s about?” and I said “no, I’m not telling you about this assignment”, “but I want to mark it instead of giving it to another lecturer to mark” and I said “no, you mark it” but he had to take it to another lecturer. I think if you write in Māori and you know who is going to mark your paper, it’s an advantage but if you don’t know who is going to mark it then you’re at a disadvantage (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003).

Several participants commented that they stopped writing their assignments in Māori because of these issues. Once again, succeeding in education came at the cost of Māori language. The following comments were typical:

I would have been more comfortable writing my assignments in Māori but in order to “pass” you had to write to satisfy your Non-Māori lecturers (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003).

I stopped writing my essays in Māori because I was eventually able to write them in English and get a good mark so I was quite happy with that but I learnt that over two years...That was the only thing that discouraged me was the marking (Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001).

I wouldn’t do my assignments in Māori because I didn’t want to be misquoted or misunderstood, so I wrote them in English which was really, really hard. It would have been a hell of a lot easier to have written them all in Māori but I didn’t want to be marked down because of a misunderstanding by the marker (Maamaa, b.late 1940s, u.1990).

Preparing students to teach in Māori Medium contexts

Another criticism aimed at the Rūmaki programme in particular was that some participants felt that their degree programmes were not adequately preparing students to teach in Māori medium schooling contexts. Several participants felt that much of their programme was based on the mainstream model and this was not relevant to the context that they were going to teach in. Rongo provides a succinct summary of many of the issues in this area by pointing out the importance of institutional responsibility when it comes to delivering Māori medium programmes:

...the people who are taking the courses need to understand that if we are part of the whānau group, [if] we are part of the Rūmaki group, or whatever, then we are obviously going to be teaching in whānau classes and bilingual classes and Rūmaki classes so you need to make sure that what you deliver is going to help us. What's the point in saying that you have got a group like this, when what you are delivering has got nothing to do with where we are going to go at the end of three years. Where are they actually aiming, because a lot of our courses were not aimed at where we were going, it was aimed at mainstream. So if you have got the label on a particular programme, you really want to make sure that you deliver. It didn't come across a lot of the time (Rongo, b.1980s, u.2003).

Maamaa was a deputy principal in a state school, before returning to University in 2002 to upgrade to a degree. After ten years working in a Māori medium context, Maamaa had up to date curriculum and assessment knowledge. However, when she returned to university and joined the Rūmaki group, she found that these aspects were not taught to students. The literacy paper that she undertook with other third year students in the Rūmaki programme was based on the conventional mainstream literacy programme, which she considered was not relevant in Māori medium contexts. Maamaa

was critical that the institution was not preparing students sufficiently for Māori–Medium classrooms:

Reading and literacy was from the English perspective, the English way of assessing and doing reading. There was no consideration of the differences in Māori and the English language, there was none of that and that's what makes me say this, it is from an English perspective...there is no consideration for te reo Māori and how we learn and teach, what is assessment to us which is totally different from what we learnt in that course (Maamaa, b.late 1940s, u.1990)

Mihi expressed similar concerns in relation to Maths, as a beginning teacher in a Kura Kaupapa Māori, Mihi felt inadequately prepared:

I'm struggling through Poutama Tau [a Maths programme used in Māori medium classes] as we speak ... I've never had poutama tau in my life because I haven't seen it at uni - nothing - it's like "what is poutama tau?" So now they're throwing a huge heap of books [at me] – and [saying] "read these if you have any questions", they will give them, but that's Poutama Tau...If we're recognised as a Rūmaki group then why weren't we taught Poutama Tau? (Mihi, b.1960s, u.2002).

Several participants were critical of the way that programmes were merged together in the School of Education. Some participants found themselves in blended tutorial groups comprising some or all of the following groups - Rūmaki, Whānau and Mainstream. Ruita found this situation to be very unsatisfactory:

... our Rūmaki, we shouldn't have to join up with mainstream T groups. We should have autonomy of our own and we shouldn't have to be going into working with mainstream...Rūmaki whānau should just be

there, have their own tutors that cater for what we need to know when we're out teaching. We shouldn't have to come together with any other mainstream T group [tutorial group] because we're just doing different paths of learning. For instance we were led to believe that we were going into classes where there was going to be predominately Māori spoken and that didn't happen (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003).

Rere discussed the difficulties of blending the bilingual, whānau and immersion (Rūmaki) streams as well:

So we were expecting a full immersion programme, Rūmaki and ended up being bilingual. So we ended up being whānau anyway and the whānau just ended up being people that couldn't speak but loved the kaupapa. But it was hard and we had a hui, me [fellow class mate] [Māori lecturers] and two other people I don't know of, they were pākeha ladies and they sent us up there to air our views and I aired our views and [Māori lecturer] hit the roof. Because she said it was supposed to have been explained when you enrolled. And we were moaning because we wanted everything in reo, from our reo tutor but they were always converting it into Pākeha for other people that couldn't speak and then we were like, what are we enrolled in the course for? Which made them probably look incompetent or made them look like that's not how they explained it and that's it straight up. That's not how they explained it to us and we were told that the Rūmaki was a full immersion course. So, that's what I was told at my interview. And then they told me "pick it, pick it!" [choose this course] and I thought, okay! (Rere, b.1970s, u.2001).

Several participants questioned the university's responsiveness to Māori. For both Tipene and Maia, funding was identified as a problem. Tipene saw the institution's commitment to Māori cultural aspirations as purely tokenistic:

As I said tokenism, 100% tokenism, it's pathetic really. We'll give the Māori an hour of kapa haka every week so they're happy and they can have a sing song and then what we'll do for them is give them a few Māori lecturers that can speak Māori but the rest of course is in English because that's not what the main language is. We're not going to spend any more money on up skilling our lecturers to speak Māori or update the resources so that it is in Māori and it is translated. No, that's too hard and it's not even cost effective, it's too much money (Tipene, b.1970s, u.2000).

Maia felt that the university was relying on the reputation that they had built up in the past and less emphasis was being placed on Māori aspirations:

... in the past they [University of Waikato] were strong for Māori things, but I think that they have taken it for granted and now that they have got a good reputation- the ones that come out – that are Māori and are good academics, that they don't need to keep proving it now by pumping out Māori...They have already got that reputation now, so I don't think that they are worried about it. Not worried about making it better or keeping it strong. Maybe if it comes up as a political issue for some funding or whatever, then they will start pulling finger to do more. If there was another budget out there specifically for Māori, that they could get something out of (Maia, b.1970s, u.2002)

The institution's response to Māori

Despite all of these criticisms, seven participants did think that Māori values, beliefs and cultural practices *were* acknowledged at the University of Waikato. They went on to describe the different ways that they saw this happening. Most of the instances that were cited had to do with formal welcoming

processes, programmes and the physical layout of the university. However, some did mention the language as well:

Well I suppose we should be grateful that we can have powhiri and things like that. They do acknowledge that we have the wharepuni [meeting house] there and we can do our whānau [extended family] kind of things, I don't know if all places let you do stuff like that? Because even in Te Tohu Paetahi [the BA programme in Māori], one of our ones in the class, her Dad had died, then when she got back, we had a whakatau [ceremony] for her and even [a Māori lecturer] was saying when one of the mainstream Pākeha had died, they [Pākeha teaching staff] got him to karakia [bless] her office, her old room. I think they do acknowledge in a way, but more could be done (Maia, b.1970s, u.2002).

Well, we had a powhiri at the start. Your enrolment letters or things like that might have tēnā koe on them or things like that or they have got that whole area that is for Māori development and that. Well they have got that programme, whānau programme and they have got the marae (Rongo, b.1980s, u.2003).

I think that they acknowledge Māori, particularly at this school [School of Education], really, really well. I have seen some lecturers, when they are welcoming, they do their mihi, these are Pākeha lecturers. They are very sensitive to Māori students in the respect that with my Pākeha lecturers, they say if you need anything - they just drop whatever they are doing and attend (Manaaki, b.1970s, u.2001)

I think that it's a very informal acknowledgement. I don't know, it must be to do with the university culture. It's the fact that sitting here you can hear the Māori language going on as Māori people walk past. It's not

something that you would have in a lot of other places – people just speaking naturally... It's a very informal kind of acknowledgement of Māori. I think probably the things that are happening at the marae. The welcomes, the formalities that are around in Māori. Some of our classes are started with a karakia (Ngaere, b.1950s, u.1984).

Nevertheless, many participants felt that a lot more still could be done to acknowledge Te Ao Māori at University. Tipene, Maia and Rongo questioned the institution's commitment to Māori cultural practices, especially when Māori students were often the ones that were called on to help facilitate or lead the process:

I don't think our values are valued, but they're fast to grab the Rūmaki lot when they're having a powhiri or something (Maia, b.1970s, u.2002).

You know we were "dial a powhiri." If [someone] said we need some kai waiata [singers], if they needed karakia [prayer] for a lecture, we'll even give you a song, sweet as (Tipene, b.1970s, u.2000).

Rongo commented that it was the lecturers and the programmes that mattered most, if the university wanted to demonstrate its commitment to Māori, then the programmes and the faculty needed to demonstrate a commitment:

I suppose you can do as much signs and that in Māori and have the old powhiri and all that sort of stuff, but I mean that is just sort of like tokenism sort of stuff, isn't it. But I think, when it comes down to it, the lecturers and the courses, are really what makes the university and how well they deliver it (Rongo, b.1980s, u.2003).

The challenges to ‘being Māori’ at university

Even though all participants were engaged in Māori programmes at university, they were not totally divorced from the mainstream context. In fact, all of the participants had taken papers and classes where they mixed with Non-Māori students in mainstream programmes. The participants were positive about their identity as Māori. However, they found that this identity was challenged in the mainstream environment, especially in forums where cultural issues were discussed. Fourteen of the sixteen participants talked about instances in their university life where they had felt marginalised as Māori.

Negative attitudes of some Non-Māori students

The participants highlighted a number of occasions where they felt offended by the insensitive remarks of some Non-Māori students. These encounters often left the participants feeling upset, angry and marginalised. The belief of some Non-Māori students that Māori students were receiving more privileges than other university students was raised as an issue by several participants. One example that was discussed was scholarships and the perception that Māori were given more ‘handouts’ on the basis of ethnicity. The provision of Māori scholarships was regarded as unfair, even though many of these were financed from private donations and trusts set up by individuals or businesses (Māori Education Trust, 2010):

You hear some of the mainstream groups say “oh those bloody Māoris [Māori] get those scholarships” and “blah blah blah”. Tough bikkies, Get over it - so what? It’s harder to get a Māori into Uni than it is to get a Pākeha in there. That’s true, that’s what I’ve said anyway and if it’s going to help, if those institutions who are giving the grants or the people like Alma C Baker [scholarship foundation] excellent, awesome people, if they are willing to give money to Māori to help them get into

Uni and complete it, well thank you Alma C Baker, thank you (Tipene, b.1970s, u.2000).

Another thing that I was dissatisfied with was Manaaki Tauria [scholarship for Māori students] some people [Non-Māori students] would say “it’s coming up to that month for the Māori now so they’re like “the underprivileged people here get some money.” I heard that in the lecture theatres [from Non-Māori students saying] “oh you guys get your Manaaki” and I said “yep, and what?” (Manaaki, b.1970s, u.2001)

Several participants believed that some Non-Māori students held negative attitudes towards Māori focussed programmes as well. These programmes were seen as less demanding by some students. They felt that teaching staff were ‘easier’ on Māori students in these programmes and that Māori students received a lot more support:

Sometimes they think they [teaching staff] make it too easy for you – and there’s a lot of that [prejudice] out there – there was a lot while I was there-but there’s a lot there now. They think – oh , she did that Māori programme, so that’s going to be easy to get through and sometimes they think they have all these special, little extra bits because you are in that group. So we used to get that as well (Maata, b.1960s, u.1988).

Oh just mainstream [students] saying that they think Rūmaki get a lot more privileges and we get treated different and that we got told the overall mark actually topped all the rest. That’s what all mainstream were going on about. The Rūmaki whānau get a lot handed down to them (Mihi, b.1960s, u.2002).

It is important to note that these comments were being made at the time Maata was a student, in the late 1980s, and yet these attitudes were still

prominent in 2002. Aroha believed that many of these attitudes were due to ignorance. She felt that in many cases Non-Māori students did not understand the nature of these programmes:

I don't think they knew the in-depth reason why we were in a Rūmaki group. A lot of the attitudes were "a whole lot of Māori they can do special things"... (Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001)

Huhana was incensed by these attitudes, especially the idea that Māori groups were granted more privileges:

... we don't feel privileged - we are going to do exactly the same mahi [work] as everyone else and our output has to be the same as everybody else. Don't call it being privileged. I feel honoured to be at university, I feel honoured to be there, but there's nothing privileged about it, we don't get any privileges for being there. ..Our lecturers ... they expect us to do the hard yards like everybody else (Huhana, b.1950s, u.2003).

It is worth noting here, that many of the participants were engaged in Māori medium teacher education programmes. Some were still developing their te reo Māori, while having to grasp the extensive new terminology in the Māori curriculum documents. Even for those who were fluent speakers, this new terminology was challenging.

Culture blindness and the 'we are all one' philosophy

Some participants talked about instances where they were exposed to ethnocentric behaviour that disrespected Te Ao Māori (the Māori world). These episodes usually occurred in large mainstream lectures where cultural

issues were raised and historical injustices towards Māori were outlined. One participant remembered:

... we were in a learning and teaching Māori lecture and [a Māori lecturer] was teaching and there were these girls behind us and they were saying what a load of crap - let's just sign the book and get out of here... And then we had someone blow up, it's not our ancestors' fault, it's not our fault that our ancestors killed your ancestors - why can't we deal with it [just move on] now. I remember thinking there's no way there are people out there like this... (Rere, b.1977, u.2001)

Rere maintained that in her final year she was still confronted by culture blindness. After three years in preparation to become teachers, some mainstream students continued to deny that cultural differences actually existed. What is even more concerning here is that the students in this example were returning to ingrained 'we are all one' philosophies and were now accusing Māori of wanting to become 'special' and wanting to receive special treatment:

...then when we got to third year... a Pākeha guy stood up and said well what do we have to do? What do we have to learn? What things do we have to fulfil? [A Māori student] stood up and said we can't teach you how to have a [positive] attitude, you've either got one or you haven't and it's something you won't understand unless you've been through Kura Kaupapa, or you're sitting where we are sitting and he said I'm not trying to offend you but I just don't understand why you [Māori] need to be different, why you need to be special? No one could come back at that because he was being true and honest and the scary thing was that he ignited all these other people to go yes why do they [Māori] have to be [special] - and we were like, oh lets go back to our own T group [Māori group], I remember looking at [another Māori student and] going

no way- these are going to be people in mainstream schools...these were the people who still couldn't see a difference and they still couldn't understand and a girl got up and she said my students will all be treated the same because they will all be the same in my eyes-they are all equal and [Māori student] said to her what about those who have cultural needs that need to be taken into account, she said like what - kapahaka? [This would likely have been particularly frustrating to Māori students, because it suggested that all that this Non-Māori student knew about Te Ao Māori was kapahaka] (Rere, b.1977, u.2001)

It is important to note the way that Rere and her peers coped with these hurtful cultural assaults by retreating back into the safety of their own tutorial group (in this case, a Māori tutorial group or cultural enclave). This highlights the support that these groups offer for Māori students.

The participants found discussion around the Treaty of Waitangi to be particularly contentious and at times very uncomfortable. In tutorials and lectures where the Treaty of Waitangi was discussed, some participants claimed that they were exposed to insensitive comments from some Non-Māori students:

we were having a discussion in groups about what the Treaty meant to us, and she [the lecturer] split the whānau [Māori students] up and there was like only two of us in a group – and this one fella stood up and said well, [you Māori] we're lucky it wasn't the French who came and took us over (Kura, b.1980s, u.2003).

... we'd have some lectures and then we'd mention the Treaty and then one ... ignorant pākeha [student] yells out: "Oh but didn't the Māori eat the Moriori?" And I think it's all that ignorance.... (Maia, b 1970s, u.2002)

The implication in the first statement is that Māori should be grateful that the British colonised New Zealand, because the French would have been a lot harsher in their treatment of Māori. The implication in the second statement is that just because Māori respond to inter-tribal warfare in pre-European contact times, which somehow absolved Pākeha from taking responsibility for their own injustices towards Māori. These types of comments infuriated the participants as did comments that justified British colonisation on the grounds that Māori had conquered the Moriori.

Another situation described by Whina, demonstrates that it wasn't only the students who had difficulty dealing with the topic of the Treaty of Waitangi. Some teaching staff also found it problematic. What is concerning in the following example is that once again, Māori students were themselves problematised by the lecturer:

... issues about the Treaty of Waitangi, you would never see a Māori go yeah, but what about our land now, we haven't got any. Māori were never ever that way inclined to yell down at the lecturer, but you would get a sympathetic Pākeha who would say it and the next minute it would be the Māori who would get dragged out over it, not just the Pākeha student and we would go why don't you just shut up, if we want to talk, we know what we want to say, but obviously we are not saying it, because we know better. But that's what they would do, you would get the students, the Pākeha students that were right into pro-Māori but they didn't do us any good because they were pushing their own agenda off the backs of Māori and we were copping it, because then the lecturer wouldn't growl them, they would turn around and look at the group of Māori and go look if you have any questions leave it for the tute [tutorial]. We would be sitting there going, we didn't say anything and I used to say well you know you need to be talking to

those clowns at the back about that, that's where it came from and she was aware where it came from, but it was an issue that was close to Māori, so the Māori would cop it. Māori would cop it more [even] if it was a Pākeha fighting for a Māori (Whina, b.1960s, u.1991).

Ngaere was not exposed to negative comments from Non-Māori students as a student because her courses were based mostly off campus, however, in her role as a lecturer she noticed that a lack of understanding on the part of Non-Māori students often meant that Māori students became increasingly isolated and marginalised in mainstream classes:

I think this is probably not from my experience, because I was in a different situation, but I have seen from my work as a lecturer how difficult and isolating it can be. And I think if you are not in a Māori group ..., they've had to deal with a lot of anti-Māori – not necessarily anti-Māori - just lack of understanding. They have to deal with that – I don't because I am a lecturer, but they have to deal with a lot of the stuff on a day to day basis – and they are isolated... (Ngaere, b.1950s, u.1984).

The inability of some Non-Māori students to see beyond their own culture was a source of discomfort for a number of participants. However, Maia points out that it was not only the Māori culture that was subject to the ethnocentric behaviour of some students:

Even in a social studies paper in our first lecture, we were watching this video that had scenes from all around the world, the natives of each country in their own surroundings, doing what they do. I think it was with the Eskimos and they were eating seal, we were all up the front and all the Pākeha at the back were saying oh, disgusting and I just turned

around and said what, you just want to go down the road to McDonalds or something and then they gave us this filthy look. I don't know, they just haven't been exposed to as much as they should, not just with Māori, but with all cultures. I think the ones coming in now are just used to having one way, they can't see past themselves that anyone could live differently (Maia, b.1970s, u.2002)

Disrespecting Te Ao Māori

Several participants felt that Māori knowledge was not always valued by other students. A number of participants cited instances in lectures where they could hear disrespectful comments being made:

Sometimes we would sit and if the Māori lecturer was lecturing - you could hear them, "what are we doing here, I'm not listening to this" ... (Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001).

Kura and Wai felt that there was a lot of resistance when Māori topics and knowledge were introduced:

... anything Māori in any of our papers, people [other students] have always questioned it but accepted everything else (Kura, b.1980s, u.2003)

I'm prepared to learn all about everybody else but nobody else moves anywhere to learn about Māori and they teach about everywhere else (Wai, b.1950s, u.1990s).

Wai felt that a lot of this resistance was due to ignorance and a general lack of understanding. On some occasions, she also felt that Māori students needed to defend themselves. However, this is no easy feat for a member of a small minority in a large group of students:

I remember when [a Māori Principal] came in and spoke about Kura Kaupapa and I can't even remember but I was just fuming that the Pākeha were just asking all these ignorant questions "well I know all the answers for Pākeha schools and I know the answers for Māori schools". Obviously they don't move out of their space, that's how ignorant the questions were I thought. Frankly, I thought they were dumb arse questions and I felt like we had to defend ourselves (Wai, b.1950s, u.1990s).

Pania agreed with Wai, that some students needed to be more informed:

I think this is coming from a Māori point of view - Non-Māori need to be more educated on things. They're bringing more and more Māori content into uni in these principal lectures and it's just a lack of understanding on the Non-Māori part really I feel. I mean for years we've had to learn everything Non-Māori, the least they could do was see it our way (Pania, b.1950s, u.2000)

Māori protocol was another area where participants thought that other students were sometimes disrespectful. Mihi and Rere talked about two specific examples where they felt other students were disrespecting Te Ao Māori. In the first example, Mihi talks about students sitting on tables in the student cafeteria, this is considered culturally inappropriate to Māori:

... It's really not fair to Māori, a good example is down at the cafeteria –they are hard out preaching to you about this and that, about being culturally sensitive. We've got [student] teachers down there who could be teaching our nieces and nephews down there in mainstream, that are sitting on the god damn kai [food] table... We are all getting told

about this in our papers, but that sort of thing is carrying on (Mihi, b.1960s, u.2002)

As noted in Chapter Five, spirituality is a key aspect of Māori culture. In a Māori context, most learning sessions would begin and end with a karakia (prayer). In one paper, this practice was adopted in larger lectures. However, Rere felt that this practice was not always appreciated:

I got to the point where if we can't do waiata [songs], himene [hymns] , let's just not do it at all because I remember thinking - this is just terrible. This is in [a specific paper]...everyone had to get up and sing and it was easy so easy, the words were on paper, but the mainstream lot were just so disrespectful-I was like no- just stop. Let's just do karakia [prayer] and that's it. I remember [Māori lecturer] asked us all the time would you lead us in prayer, in karakia and waiata and even in [another paper], [a Māori lecturer] would always look to us to lead. But nah let's just leave it because if we can't do it [properly], just leave it- don't worry about it. And then you get the comments we've already prayed why are we going to pray for those sorts of people and I just thought it was disrespectful-so it might be best just to leave it (Rere, b.1970s, u.2001)

Marginalisation in the mainstream

Ten participants felt that Māori students working in mainstream groups were often isolated. Several experienced this isolation themselves, for example, Wai and Maamaa described instances where they were one of very few Māori in a mainstream tutorial class. They felt that in these situations they were largely ignored, and they both believe that this is because they were Māori and because their approach in class discussions was very different from other students:

I often felt like a novelty, you're there but they don't hear you, any of your discussion is hugely blown off in class but never taken to any depth. The discussion is never really inclusive of how Māori live or experience, it's more about - I suppose - if you're a waha nui [big mouth] - so then you get out there - so may be this is about me, I wouldn't throw myself out there (Wai, b.1950s, u.1998).

I was never acknowledged, I was in a group with four or five others, I was the only Māori in there. I was never asked for an opinion when we had to discuss different topics in our groups. I was never asked an opinion - so every now and then I would actually put my opinion in - and then we had to role play some of the teacher ethics. We had to role play some of the scenarios and I felt that I was given a part that no one else wanted to do, that's what I felt and I felt that I wasn't valued as part of a team ...That's what I mean by that because the attitudes of the students in that group I felt were really European and everyone sort of vying for attention, out there, and in your face and wanting to be right and jumping in to give all their knowledge and answers (Maamaa, b.late 1940s, u.1990).

However, although ten participants saw isolation in the mainstream as a difficulty, four participants did recognise that working in a mainstream group would not be problematic for *all* Māori. They did see that some Māori, particularly those with little access to Māori culture and language might be comfortable in the mainstream environment. The following comments are representative:

It depends on your background I suppose. Urban [Māori] who are used to being in that environment, I've seen [those] Māori students going through mainstream and these are Māori students going through the mainstream. They didn't know there was Rūmaki, but it didn't stop

them, they still applied and went through mainstream like nobody's business - they're quite comfortable because they're used to the environment and it's probably the urban kids who have been educated through their parents (Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001).

For me the ones who have been brought up with their reo and their tikanga and their kawa attached, we found it a struggle. We struggled against a lot of things...you had to draw a fine line between "this is what they [teaching staff] want, put it this way although it goes against your own upbringing of how you're been taught" and then you meet your Māori peers who didn't have a care in hell about anything Māori and were there specifically for the degree and they didn't have the same internal struggles. There were just as many of them as there were us, because you'd look at Māori sitting on carvings, sitting on tables and you'd struggle with that and you'd say "get off man, get off the table, it's not for your arse" and they just didn't give a shit and the scary thing is for me [to accept] was those punks would in the end get the jobs working with our people back home and telling our people how to be the good Māori that they never were - but they've got the degree, they've got the higher grades, you know what I mean? (Whina, b.1960s,u.1991).

Inappropriate behaviour of some staff

Although the participants were more inclined to talk about the negative attitudes of other students, several participants mentioned instances where they felt that individual staff members had not acted in a culturally appropriate manner. Pania and Mihi both cited instances where they felt that lecturers had breached Māori protocols:

Okay, as a roopu [Māori group], you know we would have our karakia [prayer] in the mornings and those things, waiata [songs]. Some

lecturers just thought it was, you know we were cutting into their time and, they would like, just stand there and stare at us, wait for us to finish and they looked like we shouldn't be doing that, you know that sort of thing (Pania, b.1950s, u.2000)

Our [curriculum] teacher, [she] made her home available to us but I've got to be honest about this, when [she] took us she sat on this table in front of our whole roopu [group] one time, just sat there and we were just like. I don't know, unis are unis I suppose but I think if you are going to be teaching a Rūmaki-Whānau group, get with the programme! (Mihi, b.1960s, u.2002).

The participants expected culturally appropriate and culturally responsive behaviour from the teaching staff, especially those teaching in Māori focussed programmes and working with Māori groups. As lecturers in these programmes, they expected staff to respect Māori protocols and processes. They also expected teaching staff to pronounce Māori terms correctly and act appropriately in a Māori context. These things were seen by the participants as signs that teaching staff respected their culture, their language and the students themselves:

... when you're on this side [as a student] and you see all that and you know the word is "powhiri" and "reo" and not "pouwhiri" and "reow" and if you've got a degree and you're an academic and you can't put all of this together no matter how you put it, they just can't put it together, so you really know the desires of their hearts (Wai, b.1950s, u.1998)

... they still can't say kuaha, [but "ku ehee"], I mean come on and "tena kaway" and it is really frustrating because I thought they would have moved on from that and that's the lecturers as well. My god, these professors who stand there and tell you Maari [misspelt to indicate

mispronunciation] about how you were raised and where you were raised and where you came from and how you migrated, [got it all wrong], but that's ka pai [good] we will just go and write another thesis next year and rewrite history. But in all of that they still get the pronunciation of our words wrong and some of them, it's more than just a name, it's an ancestral link, it's whakapapa [genealogy] (Whina, b.1960s, u.1991)

In this statement, Whina is angered that some Non-Māori academics present themselves as authorities on Māori and proceed to tell Māori students about their history and culture, based mainly on the work of Non-Māori researchers (some of which has been discredited as for example, the Great Fleet myth as outlined in Chapter Six) and yet they cannot pronounce the Māori terms correctly.

Kura and Ruita talked about individual staff members who they felt had stereotyped Māori students, believing that they were less capable than those in other groups:

Well I can think of one tutor at Uni that I thought looked at us as though we weren't as good as our mainstream counterparts. Yeah, I can only think of one (Kura, b.1980s, u.2003).

One particular lecturer was going on about his mainstream [group] this and mainstream that, and they're good with their hands and blah blah and I said we're hands on people too so don't tell us that they're better than us. One lecturer actually compared us to mainstream and they shouldn't compare us ... (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003).

Rongo felt that in some cases, lecturers were sometimes oblivious to the fact that they were stereotyping Māori because they had no idea what it felt like to be Māori, let alone what it felt like to be Māori in this learning environment:

I think in cases lecturers, the Non-Māori ones, they probably don't fully understand that they are stereotyping. They are up there, being academic and all that, but if they don't know what it is like to be Māori, they'll never understand certain comments, that they have maybe said can be hurtful because they don't understand. How could I ever say to a lecturer, look you can't say that. If people don't understand another culture then they don't understand that they are actually saying something that may be hurtful (Rongo, b.1980s, u.2003)

However, despite all the challenges that the participants faced as Māori, they were still determined to succeed at university and all of them went on to complete qualifications. As Maia stated:

You can't change the world, we all know that it is a mainstream institution, you would expect something different if we had gone back to our own Whare Wānanga, back to your own iwi, back to your own marae based one but I think that you have to look at it as if, well we are in this mainstream environment, if you want to get to the end of the tunnel, just ignore all that and get on with the work (Maia, b.1970s, u.2002).

This statement provides further evidence of their strong commitment to succeed. When asked if they would recommend university study to other Māori, fourteen of the sixteen participants said they would. Many stated that they had already done so, especially in regard to their own families. In this sense the participants did see value in the institution, but, most could also see that more could be done to make the university environment more responsive to the needs of Māori special admission students.

Chapter Summary

A clear theme that emerged within this chapter was that being academically successful at university for the Māori participants in this study involved maintaining their cultural integrity and learning more about te reo and tikanga Māori. All participants, regardless of their background wanted a university education that was inclusive of their language and culture.

All participants enrolled in Māori focussed programmes while they were at university. The findings show that they became members of these programmes to develop their fluency in Te Reo Māori, to establish relationships with other Māori and because they believed that their cultural background would be validated in this context. This demonstrates once again that reclaiming te reo me ōna tikanga was important to many participants. It also demonstrates the importance of whanaungatanga (establishing relationships) with other Māori students.

The narratives presented in this chapter have shown that many participants criticised the university's commitment to Te Reo Māori and Māori cultural aspirations. The eight Rūmaki graduates were highly critical of the level of te reo Māori employed within their programme. Some participants were also frustrated by the policy and practice of submitting their work in te reo Māori and criticised the University for combining Mainstream, Whānau and Rūmaki groups. Several also felt that the university needed to do much more in terms of preparing those who wanted to teach in Māori medium school contexts.

Racism, discrimination and marginalisation emerged as strong themes in this chapter. The narratives show that the participants found that their identity was at times strongly challenged in the mainstream university context. Several participants reported feeling isolated in mainstream classes. In these cases, their relationships with other Māori became vitally important for their wellbeing and success. There was a realisation by some participants who were

knowledgeable about their reo and tikanga that Māori who knew little about their language and culture would not find it difficult to work in a mainstream context. This serves as a reminder of the level of diversity within the Māori community.

The following chapter introduces the fourth and final major findings chapter, whakawhanaungatanga (building social support networks at university).

CHAPTER TEN

WHAKAWHANAUNGATANGA

Waiho i te toipoto, kua i te toiroa

Let us keep close together, not far apart

(Landcare Research New Zealand, 2003, p.13).

This chapter, the fourth in this section, explores the social support networks that the participants established within the university setting. The chapter examines the relationships that the participants created with fellow students. It also explores the importance of the student-faculty relationship to the participants' success. In this chapter, the participants also discuss the formal learning support service at the university.

Creating a sense of 'whānau' at university

Many participants spoke about the strong whānau relationships that they formed with other students. The opportunity to work closely with the same group of students over a sustained period of time was viewed positively by the majority of participants. In the School of Education, the process of placing students together in T-groups (tutorial groups) and specific programmes helped to facilitate the development of learning communities and cultural enclaves. Being grouped with other Māori in tutorial groups (cultural enclaves) was viewed positively by thirteen participants, and the following statements were typical:

I loved the fact that I was in that group [first whānau/bilingual group] and I felt quite special being in that group because we were one of the first [groups] and that made it special so being one of the first we were paving the way for other people to come through (Maata, b.1960s, u.1988)

The first thing [I enjoyed] was being in the roopu [group] that I was in and going right through in the same roopu [group] (Pania , b.1950s, u.2000)

Making really good friends like the T group that I went through, they're actually my sisters in education and although we've all finished at uni, we still keep in close contact with one another (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003)

Maamaa was in the Kaiarahi i te reo programme (distance programme for fluent speakers of Māori - who were training to become teachers) when she first attended training college during the 1990s. In 2002, she joined the Rūmaki group (Māori medium pre-service teacher education programme) for a year when she decided to complete a BTchg Degree. She recalls enjoying being a member of both groups:

I enjoyed getting together with the [Kaiarahi Reo] group, because we were from all over. Some students, some of us were from Taupo, Murupara, Rotorua, Taumaranui, Gisborne, Tauranga and we all came together for these [on-campus] block courses. And it was so nice to meet with them again... (Maamaa, b late 1940s, u.1990).

... working with those young kids for my Bachelor of Teaching Degree, semester B. I enjoyed it, I enjoyed being with those young kids. Being part of their group and they included me, even though I was a lot older than them with more experience than them, they included me and I felt really privileged... (Maamaa, b.late 1940s, u.1990).

Although the institution helped to facilitate the development of learning communities by placing the students in specific cohorts, it was the students themselves who made these communities work. Placement in a group does not mean a student experiences inclusion. In many cases, the participants

drew on their own diverse tikanga to help them navigate the university environment. In the following statement, Manaaki discusses the long term collective vision that his roopu (group) set for themselves and the Māori values, practices and customs that they drew on to help them achieve this goal:

... we were all there for the same reason. We all had the same goal and that was to all pass altogether as a roopu and we established things in the beginning. It was really good that [one student] said that “if we are a whānau roopu we need to say our karakia [prayers] every morning, sing our waiata [songs] every morning and start our day and finish our day off properly and do things properly and make sure all of us have the same goal. It’s no use taking different paths to get there, we all get there the same way” and we established that in the first two weeks and that really made me focus on wanting to pass (Manaaki, b.1970s, u.2001).

Fourteen participants talked about the close personal relationships that they formed with fellow students. They drew on the metaphor of the whānau (extended family) to describe these strong connections:

... the people that were in our group, it was just like, a big family. A big family, you know, it was fun. I enjoyed that. I used to miss them when we had a break, you know semester break (Pania , b.1950s, u.2000).

... they [older students] were like our big sisters, our mums and our aunts. That’s what we used to call the older [students] Aunty A and Aunty B and that’s why we were so close because it was really whānaungatanga [connectedness] that’s what it was, it was whānau [extended family] (Manaaki, b.1970s, u.2001).

... we really came together as whānau and I was able to work successfully with everyone in the roopu [group]. At that time, there were nineteen of us but in the second year there was only ten or eleven, so you become closely knitted and able to work with one another (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003).

As noted in Chapter Five, Metge (1995) uses the term kaupapa-based whānau to distinguish between two types of whānau, those that are based on kinship or genealogical ties and those that have come together for a common purpose. Many of the participants at university described being members of kaupapa-based whānau that came together for a common purpose and operated according to traditional whānau and Māori values. In the following statement, Huhana talks about the importance of whakawhanaungatanga and the tuakana–teina principle (where older students looked after new students):

But I think because we are Māori and whānau is very important, we kept those whānau links really strong by meeting after each class. Even though two may have gone off to do an English class and we might be in maths, we'd say we want to meet here at 12pm and we needed to bring our packet of lunch and open it up and everyone would help themselves and that's how we kept our sense of whānau, and if it was somebody's birthday on - we'd make a cake and I think it was having kaitahi [shared food], once every three months we would say, I think it is about time for a kai tahi [shared food], we'll see how those first and second years or if we were second years, we'd see how our first years were going (Huhana, b.1950s, u.2003)

The kaupapa–based whānau provides support

Just like the traditional kinship-based whānau, being a member of a kaupapa-based whānau involved both rights and responsibilities. There were a number of ways that the 'kaupapa-based whānau' supported each other and

demonstrated the capacity to care. One way was providing financial assistance. Wai describes a situation where her kaupapa-based whānau rallied to support her:

I can think of when I went over to the United States for my brother's funeral, the group had a collective koha [gift, in this case money] for me because we were all living on the student allowance so just something to contribute...When I got back I'm thanking everybody and then I learn one of the members of the group the week before had her wallet pinched, she had disabled kids so what happened when I came the next week, I brought her a box of groceries. When she came to town she'd do her grocery shopping and I knew where she lived and this is a way I could help out, I don't have any money but I can give you all this food and stuff just taking care of those human needs otherwise you can't think past anything else otherwise you're sitting in class thinking, how am I going to feed my kids? How am I going to fill my car up with petrol? (Wai, b.1950s, u.1998).

Huhana and Pania also spoke of situations where the kaupapa-based whānau would offer support to promote the health and wellbeing of other members in their group. Participants demonstrated that they cared for each other's spiritual, physical and emotional welfare and this helped to cultivate a sense of belonging and connectedness:

... our sense of whānau, looking after our girls- we had girls who would lose their flat or would have personal problems at home – you better come and stay with me, I have got the space, you better come and stay for a few days. We had a girl and she has just finished, she's graduating in October, we didn't just let her down, we got behind her and said hey, come on sit up with me. That's the main thing, you just got to keep those bonds strong (Huhana, b.1950s, u.2003)

In our first year when we used to go out on placement, one particular school we went, we'd all meet after our placement, because it was a day that we did not have to rush back to Uni, so we'd sit and have our meeting, our class meeting at the school [placement school] and discuss things whether it be - problems within our group, whether it was some people were struggling and needed a bit of help, whether it was to organise a party at the end that we wanted. It was things like that. It was just better - so much support (Pania, b.1950s, u.2000)

Kaupapa-based whānau provided the encouragement to persist when the participants lacked motivation and drive:

[Student A] was definitely a big influence on me in passing because she was always on my back, she said boy you haven't finished this, boy I'm going to come over with the bat if you don't, and I really need that, I need people to push me otherwise I just don't, I'll just be one of the followers... I guess me and [Student B] were in the same boat because of being the only two males in the group. You've got all these beautiful wāhine [women] trying to gently persuade us, the women in our group were just a motivating factor for me (Manaaki, b.1970s, u.2001).

But our ones [the other students in our group], if you were behind they'd help you get your assignments done, do them for you? No. No they didn't. They'd get on your case, "Hurry up, hurry up, what do you need?" (Maia, b.1970s, u.2002).

The participants drew on the strengths of kaupapa-based whānau to help them with their academic work. Being able to discuss assignments and share

ideas helped the participants to clarify their understanding and this facilitated academic success:

We would go away and we would kōrero about what the topics were or what the issues were about and restate what was said in the lecture, pick out the important things that the lecture had, where we should focus on. I know my mates and even here, they used to come here [to her personal residence] and we'd sit there and we'd do our mahi [work] and if we weren't sure about something, we'd bounce ideas off each other, that was the biggest help we got from each other (Huhana, b.1950s, u.2003)

We did help each other a lot in terms of getting work done and academic stuff as well so we had a lot of good support but I don't know if it was any different from any other T group. We did other things, we would go to tangi and all that tikanga stuff which was what I liked, and waiata, and doing a bit of mahi-a- ringa and stuff like that but I think that's probably about all, we were quite supportive of each other (Maata, b.1960s,u.1988).

Several talked about the collective strategies they used to become academically successful, this often involved the whānau sharing knowledge and working collaboratively:

Like with us we were in a group where people had different experiences. We had te reo [Māori language], but we could share, like [the other students in the group] they had [Pākeha] knowledge they could help us with those things and we could help them with their reo so we put those things together and we were able to get through...it enhanced it both ways it wasn't until we got into a group and talked to

one another and found our strengths and weaknesses we could work it through (Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001).

Aroha went further to say:

... we learnt to put things together that would work for us as students, “we can do what those Pākeha can do”. Those are the attitudes that we had, we can find a way because there were a few of us that were academically inclined in our group so we got together as a group and said “we can do this, you fella’s can do this”. “We can find a way to do this” so we did it as a whānau group and worked together ... (Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001).

Maamaa shared a similar experience:

We were allowed to present our assignments in groups. It was up to us younger ones to get what we were supposed to be doing and take it back to the older ones and they would give us the knowledge, the tikanga and te reo that went with it and that was their job. Within our group, we all had jobs to do and that’s what I mean about being inclusive of everything, a Māori world view, its everybody and that’s an example, the older ones fed us the knowledge in te reo, we gained what was needed of us to pass and then the younger ones, they did the English part of things (Maamaa, b.late 1940s, u.1990)

In cases where the participants were among the few Māori students in a class, they would seek ways to work together. In the following statement, Ngaere talks about a Māori peer that she collaborated with and how important this relationship was to her:

I had a really good friend of mine - we talked about it and we were at the same level and we knew that we wanted to do further study [upgrade from a diploma to a degree] and we were able to support each other to achieve that and we kind of did the same papers so that we could support each other (Ngaere, b.1950s, u.1984).

Although the participants liked to work collaboratively together, this did not preclude them from being competitive. Maamaa and Pania were both members of Māori groups and enjoyed being in these groups, however, they also enjoyed the competition:

...we would work together in groups and it was neat to do all the study and I found it a challenge and I always, I dunno, I always pitted myself up against everybody else and I just love that challenge of being up there and out there (Maamaa, b late 1940s, u.1990).

After a while you really wanted to be better than each other, there was a lot of that going on but yet we all felt we needed everyone to pull together to get through it together (Pania , b.1950s, u.2000).

Rere and Maia would test their academic abilities by comparing their academic performance with that of mainstream groups. Out-performing the mainstream was a source of enjoyment for Maia. She grew great satisfaction from finding herself “still there” in the programme after three years:

Getting higher marks than the ones in mainstream. I've been rubbing it in, oh not so much rubbing it in but you see some of them sitting in their study groups going hard, come out of an HD [Human Development] test or something. You look on the board and a lot of us know each other's codes [student identification numbers] and yeah, we

are way up this half...I suppose now being third year and looking to them and saying yeah, I am still here too (Maia, b.1970s, u.2002).

Rere stated that there was one person in her kaupapa-based whānau that she really enjoyed competing against. When her T-group combined with another group, she found that there was even more competition which she welcomed:

Yeah so we used to organise study groups but for me and [peer A], our sort of drive was each other. "What did you get?" and like that and it turned from something not so good in the beginning to something really good. We have an awesome friendship now and we used to bounce [ideas] off each other and then when we mixed with whānau permanently, nah it was the likes of [peer B] and others that were up around the A's [grades] sometimes and we'd think "oh yeah we can push off you guys" but it was always me and [peer A] pushing against each other all the time... (Rere, b.1970s, u.2001).

For Whina and Manaaki, there was competition within their whakapapa-based whānau as well as within their kaupapa-based whānau. This is reflected in the statements below:

I had family members in there so we were very competitive. I had three other sisters and a brother doing law so there wasn't just the roopu [group] competitiveness but the whānau support and competition at the same time because we were unlike most Māori students that went to uni. We were a family of four in the same programme, we were considered adult students because we're all over 24 so it was don't disgrace the whānau name either...So we carried with us the expectation of (a) the whānau name (b) sisters that weren't going to let you give up and we did that for each other (Whina, b.1960s, u.1991).

When I went in to uni, my wife's sister [and I], we went in the same year and she came straight from school and that was another reason why I wanted to pass my papers because I didn't want a young kid, shining their light over me and because I am a very competitive person, especially if it's a young kid and they run circles around you, I hate that and so that's why I did everything I could to make sure that I passed and so I graduated before her, [although] it was only because she had babies and stuff like that (Manaaki, b.1970s, u.2001).

Faculty–student relationships

Faculty were identified as being important by the participants because they were able to support their academic achievement. Fifteen of the sixteen participants stated that they approached teaching staff (lecturers and tutors) directly when they needed support.

For a number of participants, the relationships they established with teaching staff were extremely important in terms of their success. Tipene was adamant that if lecturers spent time building closer relationships with Māori students the success rate would improve:

If the Uni really, really wanted to show their acknowledgement of Māori people ... lecturers would have more time for the students. As Māori we feel we make a connection. I made a connection with [Māori lecturer] and that connection will stay to do this day. I tried to make a connection with my Pākeha lecturer, [but] I have no connection with them today and I failed their course, how many times. They don't cater in that sense and they don't acknowledge you in that sense, where if they really look at the wairua Māori [Māori spirit], they really looked at it, the Uni, they would actually see that Māori make connections with their tutors, their kaiako. And it's a big thing and that's why the Wānanga [Kaupapa Māori Tertiary Institution] is successful. Their

tutors can have a relationship with their students because they are allowed to in that Māori context.

Now, if the Uni had that type of thing, I think Rūmaki would have thrived but the Uni doesn't allow, to my understanding, lecturers to have that time for Māori to be Māori within an academic environment because that academic environment is a harsh environment and doesn't cater for Māori. The Māori that have been successful within those circles, within the academic world, they have been successful because they sometimes have had to disconnect themselves from the Māoridom, from the whānau and the whānau absolutely accept that because they know what the outcome is and then they have had to come back in and re-establish relationships and stuff and that's a hard thing to do. If the Uni allowed our lecturers to be like that I think their success rate with Māori students will go up (Tipene, b.1970s, u.2000).

This statement speaks to the very heart of Māori success, to succeed in the modern world but to succeed as Māori.

Manaaki talked about a Non-Māori lecturer who he thought was particularly effective. This lecturer used cultural referents to deliver lessons. This was viewed very favourably:

I felt that with [Non-Māori lecturer], only because he could speak te reo Māori and he related really well to us, and we related really well to him and it was just the way that he taught... I just loved it because he taught me things that I had never thought of, he made you really, really think about different concepts. I just thought that just his style of teaching was really, really well delivered (Manaaki, b.1970s, u.2000).

Manaaki commented that this particular lecturer got to know his students and would support students when they approached him after class:

I saw him on the street, a couple of months ago and he remembered me and I didn't think he'd remember me because [my name] is not an easy name to remember. But he remembered, oh kia ora [name]. Far out - and that told me that we were genuine, that he took the time to remember our names...That's really, really important because for me, it made me feel valued despite all the thousands of people, students that he had to remember, he remembered my name. But like, I remember going to him and asking for help and he just dropped everything and said how can I help you? [Non-Māori lecturer] was another person, so these [lecturers who are successful with Māori students] just aren't people who are Māori, Māori lecturers, they are Pākeha lecturers who had a passion for us [Māori students] succeeding, or who helped me to reach my potential and to pass and they did it (Manaaki, b.1970s, u.2000).

Four participants talked about this particular lecturer, his ability to establish relationships with Māori students and his effective teaching style:

... believe it or not, he [lecturer] was brought up in Mangapehe and I said "you're kidding", and he said "do you know where Mangapehe is?" and I said "yeah my father's from there". He was awesome, because some Pākeha have Māori hearts and I really believe that he is one of them and I think he was brought up among Māori (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003).

... just his whole teaching style suited us and I've no doubt it suited other cultures as well but he made that effort (Wai,b.1950s, u.1998).

Several participants felt that in order for Māori university students to become academically successful, it was important that teaching staff understand their cultural background and worldview:

... when you go in as a roopu Māori [a Māori group] and you have a lecturer that has no idea where you're from, or even if you are married or have children and nor do they care [then] we can't learn, we didn't learn (Mihi, b.1960s, u.2002).

I found that Māori [teaching staff] were really approachable and some of the Pākeha tutors were approachable too but I found that [other] Pākeha tutors didn't know where we were coming from as Māori and that's understandable, them being Non-Māori. They just really didn't know where we were coming from (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003).

The participants spoke highly of lecturers who were approachable. They were also appreciative of lecturers who made themselves available outside the classroom:

We had a kaiako/kaimahi in Turangi as a support for us and she was great. She was part of the community there, and she was with us for three years. She was wonderful – she did over and above what was required, what would normally be required – there were several [students] ringing in the middle of the night. She did a lot more of that type of thing than others would. Mind you, she was part of the community. It's not easy to pull yourself away when you are so close to it (Huhana, b.1950s, u.2003).

Yeah and I think it's the same with some of the Māori lecturers. They have a desire for you to pass and so they do all that they can for you to pass. I have had lecturers - here's my home phone number - and I

know that they are not meant to do that but they actually go out of their way for you and that tells me that if they are able to do that, then I better get off my butt and show results (Manaaki, b.1970s, u.2001).

Whina, believed Māori lecturers helped support academic achievement by scaffolding the learning of Māori students:

Yeah and Māori lecturers tend to put in a bit more as well. They always have though, I've never seen anybody not give 120% of themselves to the point where they are not giving you the answer but they can sit down and tell you where you went wrong in that assignment, what you should have been doing. Helping you to use your brain as well, you are analysing alongside of that Māori lecturer, you don't feel like a heel but you realise that it was something as simple as this that you could have done but you missed. But they will show you through the whole process and they will take you all the way, they won't spoon feed you, but they put you in control of the learning. Whereas the Pākehā lecturer, you feel like a heel, you don't feel that you are in any more control because you go up and you question your assignment and they go look it's as good as you gave. That's it, so what do I need to get better so you end up enrolling yourself into the student teaching and learning unit (TLDU), so that you can learn how to write properly and learn how to research properly. So all he is doing is keeping the job open for the TLDU lecturer, whereas the Māori lecturer will take that time (Whina, b.1960s, u.1991)

Some participants commented that Māori lecturers were effective because they could relate what they were teaching to a Māori context. This facilitated greater understanding and made learning more meaningful for Māori students:

The Māori tutors could pitch what they wanted us to learn – at our level of understanding. Whereas this European tutor, she just pitched it at her level - which was well above my level and didn't seem to take the time to bring it down to a level where I could understand (Maamaa, b.late 1940s, u.1990)

Those [Māori] lecturers actually inspired me to keep going and they helped by putting things in context for me because they actually know or knew where I was coming from and where my life experiences were. I suppose they had the same experiences where - and I'm sorry to say - but other lecturers that may not have been in the Māori context or Pākeha, most Pākeha lecturers - not all of them - didn't know where you were coming from and they have that whakaaro [idea] that you're at Uni now and you're supposed to be an adult student and that means you are able to do this, this and this. You are able to study - you are able to write essays... (Tipene, b.1970s, u.2000)

You know, the Māori lecturers, they are able to do that. They can tailor their programmes around Māori ideas because they understand, they know where we are heading. But the Pākeha lecturers, if they have no idea of where we are going to teach, then how can they deliver. But they need too, because we have paid money to them, we've given them money to teach us (Rongo, b.1980s, u.200)

Some participants thought it was important that teaching staff have high expectations of Māori students. Tipene and Maia said it was very important to them that lecturers believed they would become academically successful:

... the lecturers that we had like [three Māori lecturers]... these are people that we looked upon and they were such an inspiration and if anything, their belief in us. I'll talk about me, their belief actually kept

me going and that's one of the reasons I kept going. It wasn't because I can do this, it was because another person said I could do it and I'm a person that actually doesn't like to disappoint so going through the motions was saying "ok these people believe in me even if I don't believe in myself". Look I'll do it and it did take a lot but the lecturers were a big help and a big inspiration and just seeing them there, just seeing Māori in those places...(Tipene, b.1970s, u. 2000).

He [Māori lecturer] would push us, I mean I always hear people say he's easy. But if they would actually listen to what he was saying, because he is always telling us go hard or go further. Don't just do this and stop, keep going and get in the system, it's the only way the system will change is if you are in it or part of it. I know a lot of our ones would slack off in his class and that but he was a hard marker and he was consistent and if they listened to him properly he would have good things to say about going further. He would always acknowledge Māori academics, past and present and he would say, see what about so and so and Ngata and like Wharehuia [two important iconic Māori scholars] and them, he would always refer to them and where they came from, like poor families kind of thing. He would say "you can do it - that can be you (Maia, b.1970s, u.2002).

Some participants were more likely to approach Māori teaching staff when they were experiencing difficulties and needed support. Out the fifteen who contacted teaching staff when they needed assistance, twelve mentioned the names of Māori teaching staff. Several indicated that they had established very strong connections with some Māori staff and used the metaphor of the whānau yet again to describe these relationships:

Yeah and the support of the Māori lecturers that made it easier as well, I don't think I would have been able to get through without having

somebody to run down the hall to and not knowing there were people there who were supportive. Mind you, I'm not saying – most of our lecturers we have come through, have always said they are there, they are always there. But it wasn't as easy for me to go to my Pākeha lecturers as it is to go to my Māori lecturers although they said – even the Pākeha lecturers said - to come (Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001).

Well it's like when I go and speak to a Māori lecturer ...[Name of Māori lecturer] is like my sister and ...[Name of Māori lecturer] is like my Pāpā [father] and ...[Name of Māori lecturer] was like my father and ...[Name of Māori lecturer] was like my Mum. That's how they treated us. It's just the beautiful close relationships, we just connect. They know the world that I have come from. I don't have to relate verbatim the experiences that I am going through, I just need to tell them the essentials and they sit down and tell me to have a cup of tea, they know my world, they get me to relax and it just comes out without them even having to ask questions...So my first point of call has always been the Māori lecturers because I am Māori because some of the feelings I have, I mean I go to [Māori staff member] because you just feel comfortable and it's an emotional thing (Huhana, b.1950s, u.2003)

When I'm talking about our T group, whānau inside the uni, I'm talking about our kaiako [teaching staff] that made a big difference for us because you've got your kaiako and they're Māori. You know that they believe in you, that's what we got from all our kaiako there “come on you can do it, come on girls” and that helps a lot and like I was saying before going back to being Māori again, our kaiako made themselves available at their homes too so that made the learning a lot easier (Mihi, b.1960s, u.2002).

As part of the kaupapa-based whānau, these Māori staff provided manaakitanga for the holistic wellbeing of the students, body, mind and spirit.

Two participants commented that Māori lecturers were sometimes a little too supportive of Māori students, as the comment below illustrates:

They did try to give us Māori tutors to push us through. And in saying that sometimes they make it too easy. Kei te pai kare [that's alright dear]. And there are a lot of Māori students who are capable of doing everything without having everything kei te pai - it's just [that some] people are lazy and who know – I'll be able to get through this because Matua [a respectful term for lecturer or teacher, with the meaning of parent] would say, "oh kei te pai." They are to our own detriment in a lot of cases. But as a network, as a support network, because of the transitioning, they [Māori staff] were really important and giving us tools to be able to reach those levels without giving it to us on a plate (Maata, b.1960s, u.1984).

However, there was one instance where a participant mentioned one Māori lecturer that he felt was not supportive:

That last course that I just did, I won't name it and I won't name the lecturer - but as Māori students, we saw each other in the lecture theatre and we got together and we were still quite confused with what was going on in the course and we went to the lecturer and asked the lecturer if they could help us and we got a flat "no" ... It was a flat "no, I don't get paid to do that" ... You were flatly refused; it was disheartening because [that lecturer] was Māori as well (Tipene, b.1970s, u.2000).

Having a visible Māori presence on the faculty was recognised as important by seven participants. Māori lecturers were important because they were seen as role models, something that the participants could aspire to:

... to go into a huge lecture room and you don't know what it looks like and you see one of yours [Māori] standing up there clever as Māori - big inspiration to keep you going. It's the drive, it's like they can do it, you can do it and they're here for you ... (Mihi, b.1960s, u.2002).

Unless we have people like our Kaumatua [elders] in there, our [Māori] lecturers that understand where we are coming from, our concept of where we grew up, what our values are and what we believe, the same way as mainstream [it is difficult]... (Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001).

Be good if they had more Māori faces, across the tables...the students won't come until you got the staff. If you have Māori staff, people might be inclined to go there, by word of mouth, we know exactly who is a good tutor, who is good for the Māori students, who is good for the Pākeha, who is good for them, you know and fortunately, or unfortunately, that's how we operate. And we know who to target. Not because they are gonna just allow us to walk through the door, but because when we need support, it's there (Huhana, b.1950s, u.2003).

Although many of the participants felt that more Māori faculty were needed at university, some acknowledged that ethnicity by itself was not going to improve the success of Māori students. Several participants believed that staff needed to be well qualified and passionate about what they were doing:

You can have more Māori faces there but it doesn't necessarily mean that they're going to give quality Māori teaching. I mean they went through a few of those while we were there and you could get away

with anything and that was with our own. So I've got no problems with where they come from as long as they are there with that passion (Maia, b.1970s, u.2002) .

... there should be more Māori faces but not just Māori faces, Māori faces with qualifications and Māori staff with a passion to teach (Maamaa, b.late 1940s, u.1990).

Another participant who believed that it wasn't the lecturer's ethnicity that was the major issue, argued that it was whanaungatanga that counted, whether or not they were able to connect with Māori students:

... it would be great to have more Māori staff but I think it's the way that staff members are able to connect with the group. They could be Māori, Chinese or whatever as long as you can connect to that group you've got me hooked. [Non-Māori lecturer] did it and [another Non-Māori lecturer] did it and they aren't Māori, it's just the way you connect to the group (Manaaki, b.1970s, u.2001).

The importance of the relationship between faculty and students is further emphasised in the statement above.

Formal learning support services at the university

Participants talked about accessing the Teaching and Learning Development Unit (TLDU), an on campus learning support service that helped students with their academic skills. There were mixed responses about the effectiveness of this service.

TLDU was not attached to any particular Faculty or School, and the participants, most of whom were enrolled in the School of Education found

the location problematic. The fact that they did not know the people that worked there was also highlighted as a barrier for some participants:

How better to show Māori that he's stupid by taking them down to TLDU and making him feel like a dumb arse. It was a pride thing first and foremost and I don't know those people...Well I did go to [Māori lecturer A], the ones that I felt comfortable with, I'd go to [Māori lecturer B], I could go to [Māori lecturer C], I could go to [Māori lecturer D], you know, sweet as, just getting that little bit of one to one this is actually what I want, just have a look over here, that was a big help rather than going to a stranger who doesn't know anything about what's going on and you have to explain to that stranger what you have to do blah, blah, blah and then taking it back to class, that's what my whakaaro [idea] was I'd rather go to the source than go somewhere else...(Tipene, b.1970s, u.2000).

... it's like you are taking me out of my comfort zone. I don't know your faces. I have never had to talk to you before. It's a strange environment, so if you are asking me to come over there it may be very difficult even if you are the nicest person in the world. So if you come over here, come over to my space, but even then sometimes it's very hard to connect (Huhana, b.1950s, u.2003)

Kanohi kitea (the face seen) is an important value underlying Māori culture. Being a known face in terms of students is necessary for building relationships and trust, whakawhanaungatanga. When the participants were having difficulties, some were reluctant to seek out the help of strangers. They much preferred to work with people they already knew. It is for this reason some participants chose to approach lecturing staff rather than access support from the Teaching Development unit. Another reason was that several students found through experience that there were better outcomes

for those who spoke directly to the lecturing staff rather than people in the TLDU service:

...we were finding what she [TLDU lecturer] had told me for one assignment and what [the lecturer of the paper] had told me were totally different, totally different and I followed [the lecturer] and student B, she followed hers and she got a C I think. She wasn't a C girl either and I remember thinking "oh there's something wrong here" and she kicked up a stink and refused to go back (Rere, b.1970s, u.2001).

Another issue raised by the participants in relation to the TLDU service was that students could not just 'drop in' when they needed help, this was unsatisfactory to some:

I went over there once and the thing was that you had to book to go and see them. I wanted help, right there and then and it was just on the other side of the uni...Its out of the way over there, you need someone to come over or something. But I just found it easier to go to lecturers (Rongo, b.1980s, u.2003).

I went to TLDU once, but they were so booked out. You know, you've got to get in there early. But that put me off straight away, what's the point in coming down here, I can't get in to see them, they are too busy (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003).

Plus you had to take your draft there, like, so many hours before. So no one bothered (Kura, b.1980s, u.2003).

For several years, a Māori lecturer worked in the TLDU service and this staff member would seek out students in Māori medium teacher education programmes and run academic writing workshops especially for them. This

process seemed to work well for some participants. Once again, the relationship (whakawhanaungatanga) between the lecturer and the students was pivotal here:

There was [a Māori lecturer in TLDU], she was awesome. She was another person that really helped with my essays and stuff like that. And also with researching, she taught us how to skim and scan. It's funny, I just finished a whole unit with my class on skimming and scanning and everything I learnt was from [lecturer] and she said throughout your three years at university, make sure that with every book that you read, that you have a notebook and you write down all the titles. She said I guarantee you that by the third year, you will be referring back to that notebook and just seeing which ones will be useful to your essays and she was right. She said that you really have to practice what you preach, just relating theory to text and she was awesome (Manaaki, b.1970s, u.2001).

Several other participants talked about this member of staff:

There was somebody there in TLDU who used to seek us out. She used to seek us out and see if there were any areas that we needed help with because a lot of the students in our roopu were mature students and so they'd been working and it was the first time in an academic institution. It was offered to us all the different things that TLDU would help us with like mathematics, putting an assignment together, if we needed help in the library and if you didn't have that experience then you were lost...Although I didn't seek their help as much as others. I know it helped some of my peers like some of the other women that were my age (Pania , b.1950s, u.2000).

We only had her for a small time in the first year. We only had her for about four classes and things just broke down and stopped which is a shame. [Māori lecturer] was a real big asset for us especially for those who didn't know how to do assignments which is a shame she didn't come back... alright for those that were already onto the mahi (Mihi, b.1960s, u.2002).

Chapter Summary

The findings in this chapter show that participants formed strong bonds with Māori peers and established kaupapa-based whānau (informal learning communities and cultural enclaves) to help them succeed at university. Kaupapa-based whānau provided a range of support, they provided motivation and encouragement, in a few cases they contributed financial assistance and they also helped to cultivate a sense of belonging and togetherness. In addition, the kaupapa-based whānau helped to facilitate academic success. These social support networks kept the participants focussed and motivated towards their goal of gaining an academic degree.

The narratives presented in this chapter reinforce the importance of teaching staff to success at university. The findings show that the vast majority of participants approached teaching staff directly when they needed academic support. Some participants said that they were more likely to approach Māori rather than Non-Māori staff when they were experiencing difficulties because they felt more comfortable “going to their own.” Māori lecturing staff were identified as important role models by some of the participants in this study. Several participants used the metaphor of the whānau to describe the close relationships that they established with staff.

Participants had mixed responses about the TLDU service. They identified two main problems. The first was that they did not know the teaching staff in this area and therefore were reluctant and often unwilling to seek advice from strangers. Secondly, this was not a drop-in service, appointments needed to be made in advance.

In the following chapter, Chapter Eleven, the key findings from all four major findings chapters are analysed and discussed. The conclusions and implications of the study are then presented in Chapter Twelve.

CHAPTER ELEVEN DISCUSSION

*E hoki ki tō maunga teitei
Kia purea nei koe i ngā hau o Tawhirimatea*

*Return to your highest mountain
And there be cleansed by the winds of Tawhirimatea.*

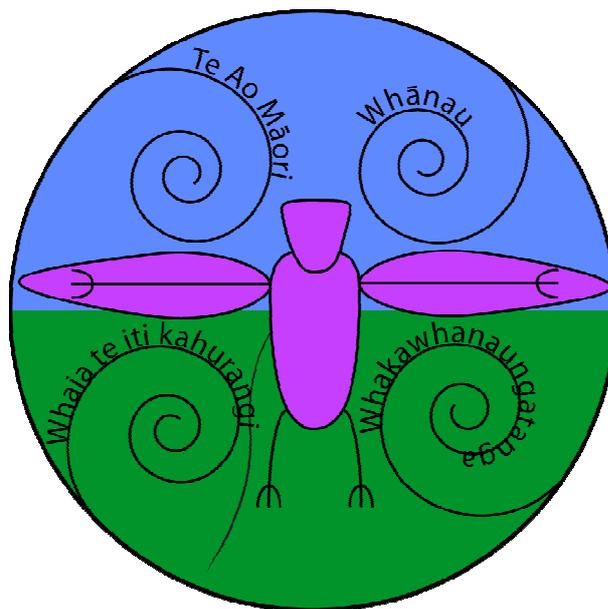
This chapter provides a summary and discussion of the major themes that were outlined in the findings chapters (Chapters Seven to Ten). The *Manu Tukutuku* model presented and discussed in Chapter Five has been used as the organising framework for this analysis. The first section attempts to address one of the main research questions, what experiences and challenges do Māori special admission students have on their way to becoming academically successful? It looks at the factors that contributed to and hindered the participants' academic success at university. The following section addresses the second major research question, what does it mean to be Māori and a special admission student at university.

Becoming academically successful at university

As noted in Chapter Four, student persistence in higher education is complex (Prebble et al., 2004; Scott & Smart, 2005). In many cases, there are multiple factors that are involved (Prebble et al., 2004; Scott & Smart, 2005; Yorke & Langdon, 2004). Although it is important to acknowledge individual circumstances, research and literature has shown that there are some factors that can enhance the success for indigenous and minority students in higher education (some of these were outlined in Chapter Four). This study sought to add to the existing knowledge in this area, with particular regard to Māori special admission students at university.

This study has revealed four main factors that influenced the success of the majority of participants in this study. These factors can be connected with the four koru (spirals) in the Manu Tukutuku model. The Manu Tukutuku model was outlined in Chapter Five. However it has been reproduced below and provides a useful framework for the following discussion.

Figure 5: Manu Tukutuku Model



Whāia te iti kahurangi (a strong determination to succeed)

The findings demonstrate that a strong determination to succeed was a crucial factor in terms of the participants' success at university. Whāia te iti kahurangi is represented by the koru in the lower left hand quadrant of the Manu Tukutuku model.

The sixteen participants in this study would not be considered by many to have been academically successful in terms of their early education. As demonstrated in Chapter Seven, most participants (14/16) left school early with hardly any school qualifications. However, this early departure tends to mask the fact that they had very diverse schooling experiences. Not all

participants left school because of non-performance. Six participants experienced a measure of academic success in their early education by passing the school certificate examination, while others struggled with their academic achievement from primary school onwards.

Despite their divergent schooling experiences, most participants (14/16) found their secondary education to be much more challenging than their primary education. The participants' narratives presented in Chapter Seven show that there were multiple factors that influenced their decision to leave school. Some of these reasons were structural. For example, three participants found the move from small primary schools to much larger secondary schools problematic. For Wai, this transition was made all the more difficult because the predominant language at her new school was English and she was a native speaker of Māori. Another structural issue that was highlighted had to do with the process of streaming. Mihi, believed that her educational opportunities were restricted because she was placed in a low stream at secondary school with no chance of moving into higher streams. She also felt that the best teachers taught the higher streams at school. In the case of Ngaere and Ruita, academic success meant that they were placed in high streams at school but were consequentially isolated from their Māori peers.

There is some evidence in the research literature to suggest that transition (from primary to secondary schooling) and streaming impact negatively on Māori students. Bishop et al's. (2003) research identified a number of structural issues that impacted on the achievement of Māori students in mainstream secondary schools. Transition from primary to secondary school was identified as one issue. Jefferies' (1997) research also highlighted transition as an issue for Māori students. This study went further to highlight streaming as one of the factors that further complicated the transition process. The findings of the current study provide some support for Jefferies' (1997) findings.

Other issues raised by participants related directly to their identity as Māori and the failure of the education system to be fully inclusive of their culture (Bishop et al., 2007; Macfarlane, 2004; Bishop & Glynn, 1999). As a school student during the 1950s and 1960s, Maamaa, the eldest participant in this study, maintained that the only Māori content that was included in the curriculum was action songs, poi and haka. This is consistent with what was expected from cultural integration policies (as outlined in Chapter Two). Maamaa believed that these aspects were not relevant to her cultural needs or her learning needs. She went further to contend “Nothing they taught or did made me proud to be Māori” (Maamaa, b.late 1940s, u.1990).

However, what is even more alarming is that Rongo, one of the youngest participants in this study was still claiming that “it was hard to be Māori at college [secondary school]” when she was at school during the 1980s and 1990s. As noted in Chapter Two, the 1980s was the period when Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori were introduced. Rongo participated in Kōhanga Reo and bilingual education programmes. However, bilingual schooling options were not available at the secondary school she attended. Even though policy changes would have meant that there was more emphasis on the need for schools to embrace cultural diversity through multiculturalism policies and then biculturalism policies, these did not go far enough for Rongo. Her cultural and linguistic needs were not met at the secondary school she attended and she found it hard to succeed in this environment.

There were further cultural issues that had impacted negatively on some of the participants. Whina shared her experiences of being stereotyped on the basis of her ethnicity and social class. She also spoke about low teacher expectations and the affect that these had on her academic achievement and her behaviour at school. Rongo described mono-cultural teaching practices that she considered disrespectful of Māori history and culture. The mispronunciation of her name was another source of resentment.

These findings support the results from previous research that shows that Māori have been subjected to continuous disadvantage in the New Zealand education system because their cultural needs have not been taken into account (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Bishop et al., 2003; Bishop et al., 2007). As demonstrated in Chapter Two, Māori have had little power or control over their own education until relatively recently.

Family and personal circumstances, for example, the death of a parent, pregnancy, teenage rebellion and socio-economic factors such as not being able to pay exam fees also had a bearing on some participants' lack of achievement and eventual departure from school. In some cases, the participants grappled with multiple issues which had cumulative effects. For example, Tipene could not afford to pay his examination fees so he found paid employment to remedy the situation. Unfortunately, paid employment meant less time for study which translated into low level achievement and eventual departure from school.

It is clear that the participants in this study left school early for a wide range of reasons. Jefferies (1997) points out that prior to the 1970s, much of the literature in terms of Māori education rationalised this failure on deficit-grounds, family background and personal issues. However, from the 1980s he states that much of the literature concentrated on the systems failure to deliver appropriately to the cultural needs of Māori. Nevertheless, Jefferies' (1997) study found that there were "powerful factors from both sides which have been working against Māori children participating and achieving their potential – the different factors often have cumulative effects" (p.2). The findings of the current study support this assertion.

Early withdrawal from school has been a common experience for many Māori over successive generations. As illustrated in Chapter Two, a number of reports have underlined the fact that Māori students are not realising their potential at school (Currie, 1962; Davies & Nicholls, 1993; Hunn, 1960; Department of Labour, 2009). Even though there has been positive progress

over the years, Māori are still more likely than their Non-Māori peers to leave school with few if any qualifications (Department of Labour, 2009). Poor academic preparation, failure to reach required levels in early education, inadequate schooling qualifications and negative schooling experiences have been identified as barriers to Māori participation and success in higher education (Jefferies, 1997; Ministry of Education 2001; Nikora et al., 2002). It is clear that these factors can have a direct impact on Māori participation and performance in tertiary education.

However, what is exciting about the findings of the present study is that they demonstrate that poor performance in early schooling does not always translate into poor performance at higher levels of education. Other factors may help tertiary students to succeed such as strong social support from peers and faculty or help from whānau. Maturity, life experience and a strong commitment to succeed may also mediate the influence that negative schooling or inadequate schooling qualifications may have had in terms of a student's success (Di Gregorio, Farrington & Page, 2000).

Participants' narratives showed that they were very resilient when it came to pursuing further education and training. All participants possessed a strong determination to succeed. The findings reported in Chapter Seven demonstrated that the participants did not appear discouraged by their early schooling experiences, in fact most (14/16) participants had undertaken some form of post compulsory education and training by the time they had enrolled at university. For some participants, tertiary education provided them with their first taste of academic success. However for others, like Mihi, their initial tertiary experiences were not as successful as they would have hoped:

Yeah, I left home straight away, took off, ended up with mum's family, and tried a few courses at polytech, catering and bartending but I got kicked out...I got kicked out, I wasn't fitted out... (Mihi, b.1960s, u.2002).

Nevertheless, even these adverse situations were not enough to discourage the participants from pursuing further educational opportunities. This provides yet another example of their remarkable determination to succeed when it comes to pursuing the goal of educational success.

Tinto's (1993) model of student departure (as outlined in Chapter Four) recognises personal commitment as an important factor influencing student persistence in higher education. He maintains that a person's commitment or in this case, their determination, has a direct impact on their ability to finish university. The findings in this study suggest that the participants had a very strong personal commitment to succeed in tertiary education and at university in particular. This was an important factor contributing to their success. However, the findings also demonstrate that for many, this personal commitment was underpinned by a strong purpose to empower the whānau and wider Māori community.

Phinney, Dennis & Orsorio (2006) claim that student motivations for attending college can be influenced by cultural values. In Chapter Five, Māori culture was described as a collectivist culture that placed a great deal of emphasis on interdependence. It was also established, that traditional Māori attitudes and values towards knowledge (and education), view it as a communal rather than an individual good (Greenwood & Te Aika, 2008; G.Smith, 1995). From a Māori perspective then, a person gains an education in the hope that this will benefit the collective (whānau, hapū and iwi). These traditional attitudes and values were reflected in the participants' narratives. For example, many of the participants in this study enrolled at university to support their whānau:

I am a single Māori mother that thought I couldn't do anything else besides look after my children, but it took me a few years but I'm here now [at university] and I'm going to make a change, make life better for my kids. Not so much in values and beliefs and who I am, [but] probably

financially and academically, knowing at the end of this I will be able to help prepare my daughter for the global world, because I have a better understanding of the education system, that I could guide my daughter (Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001).

Other participants pursued a university education in the hope that their children and wider whānau would follow their example. A further reason why participants chose to go to university was the opportunity to be of service to the wider Māori community. In all these cases, their reasons for pursuing a university education were about empowering the collective. These findings are consistent with international research on indigenous students in higher education that shows that persistence at university often means that indigenous students are moving a step closer to making a better life for their families (Guillory & Wolverton, 2008).

There is ample evidence in the findings to demonstrate that the participants faced a number of hurdles in the university context. Chapter Eight, showed that some participants experienced challenges in terms of balancing family life and others faced financial hardship while they were students at university. Chapter Nine revealed that many of the participants experienced discrimination and marginalisation at university. Difficulties arose for those writing and submitting assignments in Te Reo Māori. However, in spite of all of these challenges, the participants never gave up on their aspirations of succeeding at university. They persisted in their university studies and were able to attain academic degrees.

Guillory and Wolverton (2008) point out, that as well as providing the motivation to go to university, family and tribal community can also provide the reason to persist even when they experience challenges in the university context. Aroha's statement below is consistent with Guillory and Wolverton's (2008) claims that persistence at university, at least for some participants, was driven by whānau aspirations:

I thought I started something and I didn't want to teach my kids you can start something and not finish it - so we've gone through that together as a whānau and a lot of it is my kids, making a better life (Aroha, b.1960s, u.2001).

Although a strong sense of purpose can provide an important reason to persist, it can also contribute another level of pressure, especially when the extended whānau have contributed the energy, effort and resources to support students in higher education. A high level of whānau expectation can bring increased pressure to bear on Māori special admission students and the consequences of this are not always positive. It is in this sense, that whāia te iti kahurangi (a strong determination to succeed) can have both a positive and negative influence, depending on individual circumstances, as discussed by Mason Durie (1997).

Whānau

The whānau (whakapapa-based whānau) was highlighted as an important factor in terms of the success of many participants in this study. The influence of the whānau is symbolised by the spiral in the top right hand quadrant of the Manu Tukutuku model.

The research narratives were saturated with descriptions of interactions with whānau members. The participants spoke openly about whānau members who shaped their early upbringing. The whānau were also influential in the participants' lives while they were studying at university. Participants' stories strongly support claims that the whānau structure continues to operate as a prime support that shapes the identity and wellbeing of many people within contemporary Māori society (Durie, 2003; Mead, 2003; Metge, 1995; Pihama, 2001; G. Smith, 1995).

The findings also show that among some participants' families, education was highly valued and big sacrifices were made for the sake of education. As

Ruita illustrates, “my father came down hard on me too when I was at High school because he really wanted us to be well educated, our family” (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003). In one participant’s family, a parent worked two jobs to pay for the cost of his sons’ education, while in another whānau, members of the wider extended family contributed money to the costs associated with higher education. These comments support findings from previous studies which suggest that families can indeed influence and shape attitudes towards academic achievement (Tiakiwai, 2001).

The findings reported in Chapter Seven and Eight demonstrate that the participants’ whānau empowered them to pursue higher education by providing the motivation and encouragement to go to university. Eight participants reported receiving direct encouragement from whānau members to enrol at university. For two other participants, whānau members did not support the participants in their decision. However, this only deepened their resolve to pursue a university education.

Many of the participants were exposed to tertiary education models within their whānau. Nine were able to identify whānau members who had been involved in higher education and five stated that they had a parent who was a teacher. Jefferies’ (1997) maintains that children of parents with tertiary qualifications are more likely to attend tertiary education than children of parents without qualifications. Although, this was clearly the case for five of the participants, parents were not the only tertiary education role models within the participants’ whānau.

The participants identified a range of whānau members (aunts, siblings, parents, cousins, spouses, and children) who were tertiary education models. It was these whānau members that assisted some participants with their transition to university. A good example of this was the advice Manaaki received from his wife:

My wife told me, she said, you don't have to be brainy-you've just got to work hard and she gave me all this advice. On my first day she packed me a lunch-I felt like a kid. She gave me all the advice-always sit up the front, I've got a notebook for you, write down all the dates of your assignments. Why do I have to? Because you're useless at remembering things...If you sit at the back you get too distracted because you can see everything. If you sit at the front you can just see the lecturer. Another piece of advice she gave me was always do your readings because when you go to the lecture you are not writing everything down-you are just sitting there going-oh yeah-just writing little notes, that's the structure of uni life. You don't have to be brainy, you don't have to be a brain box to know that it's just common sense really-you just got to know how they operate (Manaaki, b.1970s, u.2001).

Durie (2003) posits that one of the key capacities of the whānau is to empower (whakamana) other whānau members (as noted in Chapter Five). He believes that instead of leaving individuals to their own devices, whānau members can help to facilitate their transition into new environments. The example above illustrates the way that whānau can help other whānau members broker entry into unfamiliar domains such as the university. In this example, Manaaki's wife provides clear systems advice and direct guidance and in doing this she helps to negotiate her husband's entry into the university.

In addition to illustrating Durie's notion of whakamana, this example is also a clear expression of whanaungatanga. Durie (1997) identifies that one of the benefits of whanaungatanga is being able to draw on collective resources, in this case, knowledge. As Rangihau (1992) notes "...we [Māori] give the

talents we have so everybody can share in these sorts of experiences” (p.184).

There were other instances where participants drew on their whānau networks to help them become academically successful. The findings reported in Chapter Eight showed clear examples of participants drawing on whānau support to help them achieve academic success:

Probably because my older brother had gone through teacher’s training in Wellington, I was able to tap into him. I found that the assignments were really hard to understand and get a grip of and I was also able to tap into [my sister in law] and [my other brother] too because [my sister in law] was one year ahead of me and she threw a lot of light on the subject (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003).

Rendon et al. (2000) claim that cultural translators and role models within the university context perform an important role for students from historically underrepresented groups because they can offer knowledge and guidance that can help students understand unfamiliar customs (as outlined in Chapter Four). For some of the participants, such as the case with Ruita and Manaaki, they were able to find this type of assistance in their family environment as well. In Bourdieuan terms, some participants were fortunate in that they were able to draw on whānau cultural and social capital to help them succeed (Bourdieu, 1986).

In addition to providing academic support, whānau also contributed financial and physical resources to support some participants while they were at university. Rongo talked about her mother putting money into her bank account on a weekly basis so that she could survive at university. Manaaki discussed the food packages that his parents donated. In another example, Huhana explained:

My sisters were always ringing up, my brothers, how you doing sis? My uncle rings up – do you need some firewood, my sister comes down from Auckland, we've just about run out of food, she would bring a whole box of kai – put it in my freezer or fridge. So I think if I didn't have that, it would have been so much worse. It has been a struggle but it would have been worse, I don't know if I would've completed it. But I think in terms of being successful my whānau helped me at every turn (Huhana, b.1950s, u.2003)

The cost of higher education has been identified as a barrier to Māori participation in tertiary education (Jefferies, 1997; Nikora et al., 2002). The findings in this study demonstrated that some participants did indeed struggle financially while they were studying at university. In several cases, the generosity of their whānau made it possible-for them to keep pursuing the goal of attaining an academic degree. In this sense, the participants' whānau demonstrated the capacity to share (tohatohatia) (Durie, 2003).

Another of Durie's (2003) capacities, the capacity to care (manaakitia) was also evident in the findings. Whānau members dedicated time to assist with childcare and performed extra duties around the home. Huhana commented that her sister would take her children to the lake for a picnic, she was grateful for this as it gave her more time to focus on her studies. Maamaa's daughter took on the role of chief cook, so that she could concentrate on completing her assignments.

The findings in this study demonstrate the importance of whānau support for many of the participants in this study. Not only did whānau provide encouragement and the motivation to succeed at university but they also provided academic and systems advice, contributed financial and physical resources as well as the dedication of time to help support the participants. In this sense the findings illustrate the effectiveness of Durie's (1994) Whare

Tapa Whā model that reinforces the importance of extended family relationships for individual wellbeing and emphasises the whānau as a principal support system providing cultural, emotional, physical care and nurturance. The findings also validate Pere's (1988) Te Wheke (octopus) model, especially the importance that this model attaches to the notion of whanaungatanga and its direct contribution to the health and well being of an individual and /or whānau.

However, as well as being a support, the findings reported in Chapter Eight showed that whānau roles and responsibilities could also hinder the participants' success. Participants' narratives demonstrated that balancing whānau obligations and commitments with university study was clearly a challenge for some. Twelve of the sixteen participants in this study were parents and two talked about their feelings of guilt over the time they missed with their children. Participants tried to organise their time around family routines, to put whānau first, but this proved to be extremely difficult at times.

Tinto (1993) states that adult students in particular can find it difficult to balance external commitments (such as family and work) with university study. This notion is reinforced in a number of studies that were reviewed as part of this study (Guiffrida, 2005; Hunt et al., 2001; Jefferies, 1997; Schwab, 1996; Somerville, 1999). Durie (1997) also claims that there can be costs associated with whānau membership and the process of whanaungatanga. The expectation that whānau members will contribute to whānau wellbeing and participate in whānau activities, regardless of whether or not they were studying at university, put a lot of pressure on several participants. The current study showed that this was particularly the case for Aroha, who claimed that it was hard to say 'no' to her family and for this reason her degree took longer to complete.

There is also some evidence in the findings to support Jefferies' (1997) notion that it is particularly difficult for Māori students to balance family and study

commitments because of the strong collective whānau orientation that exists in Māori culture. This is illustrated in the comment made by Kura:

I suppose just for me and a lot of [Māori] people in our class trying to separate our home stuff from school which is pretty hard but I guess that can be for anybody not just Māori students but you know how we [Māori] always put whānau first and sometimes it can be a challenge (Kura, b.1980s, u.2003).

In summary, the results of this study validate the findings of previous studies that show that the whānau can be both a strong support and a barrier for indigenous and minority students in higher education (Guillory & Wolverton, 2008; Hunt et al., 2001; Jefferies, 1997; Somerville, 1999). However, it also provides some evidence to challenge Tinto's (1993) claim that students must disassociate from their home communities (particularly, family and peers) in order to succeed at university. For some of the participants in this study, whānau support was critical to their success.

Whakawhanaungatanga

Establishing and maintaining strong social support networks with peers and faculty members was identified as an important factor that contributed to the success of many participants in this study. This factor is represented by the koru in the lower right hand quadrant of the Manu Tukutuku model.

The findings presented in Chapter Ten demonstrate that social support was an important factor in the success of the participants in this study. There were two main types of social supports that proved valuable to the participants – relationships with peers and relationships with faculty.

Research suggests that peer social support networks can enhance student persistence at university (Astin, 1993; Day & Nolde, 2009; Guillory &

Wolverton, 2008; Tinto, 1993). Padilla et al. (1997) explored the strategies used by twenty eight successful minority students in overcoming barriers to academic success at college. The students in this study were from four different ethnic groups: Latino, African American, Asian American and Native American Indian. This study showed that one of the actions that successful minority students took to overcome a lack of nurturing in the university context was to create a supportive “family” on campus (Padilla et al.,1997, p.131). This finding is consistent with the results of the current study which showed that the participants developed close relationships with peers and formed supportive kaupapa-based whānau on campus (see Chapter Ten). These relationships helped contribute strongly to the participants’ success at university.

The findings reported in Chapters Nine and Ten demonstrate that many participants (13/16) formed strong bonds with their Māori peers while they were studying at university. This is further evidenced by the fact that they often referred to their peer group as a ‘whānau’ and in some cases referred to individual members by kinship terms. For example, Manaaki commented “That’s what we used to call the older [students] Aunty A and Aunty B”, Ruita described her peers at university as “my sisters in education.” Pania said her tutorial group “was just like, a big family.”

The School of Education in particular, helped to facilitate peer support networks through the implementation of a tutorial group system. This enabled many of the participants, through the block scheduling of timetables, to study together in kaupapa-based whānau groups. This was especially the case during their first year of study. In many cases, the participants’ tutorial groups acted as both a cultural enclave (Kuh & Love, 2000) and a learning community (Tinto, 1993).

Metge (1995) suggests that kaupapa-based whānau can provide an alternative and important source of support for Māori who are separated from

their own kinship networks. This was exactly the case for many of the participants in this study. The findings demonstrate that kaupapa-based whānau, just like the traditional whakapapa-based whānau, provided for the emotional, intellectual, physical and spiritual wellbeing of participants.

Kaupapa-based whānau provided motivation and encouragement for individual members and embodied Durie's capacity to care (manaakitia). For example, Maia claimed that the peers in her kaupapa-based whānau would rally around, if assignment deadlines were not met, "they'd get on your case, hurry up, hurry up, what do you need?" (Maia, b.1970s, u.2002). In a few cases, the kaupapa-based whānau also demonstrated the capacity to share (tohatohatia) by contributing financial assistance, such as at the time Wai went to the United States for her brother's funeral. The findings also show that the support provided by the kaupapa-based whānau extended both inside and outside the university setting:

... our sense of whānau, looking after our girls [Māori peers in her tutorial group] - we had girls who would lose their flat or would have personal problems at home – you better come and stay with me, I have got the space, you better come and stay for a few days. We had a girl and she has just finished, she's graduating in October, we didn't just let her down [when she wasn't able to graduate with us] , we got behind her and said hey, come on sit up with me. That's the main thing, you just got to keep those bonds strong (Huhana, b.1950s, u.2003)

Tinto (1993) argues that peer social supports within the university can help to bring the social and academic worlds of students together. There is some evidence to suggest that this is what occurred for some participants in this study. Members of the kaupapa-based whānau organised social events such as parties, birthdays and study groups and also worked closely in classes on

campus. In this way, they built strong bonds with peers which transcended the domain of the university.

One of the advantages of being in kaupapa-based whānau (culturally safe groupings or enclaves) was that the participants were able to practise tikanga Māori. Manaaki provides a good example of this when he stated that his whānau group would start the day with karakia [prayers] every morning and sing waiata [songs]. Another advantage of being in kaupapa-based whānau was that the participants were often able to validate each other's experiences because they shared the same cultural world view and a common history. Over time, many participants developed a strong sense of belonging and a strong sense of community. In times of crisis, such as when students experienced discrimination and prejudice within the university, these cultural enclaves provided a protective haven. This was demonstrated by Rere's comment in Chapter Nine:

...then when we got to third year... a Pākeha guy stood up and said well what do we have to do? What do we have to learn? What things do we have to fulfil? ... and he said I'm not trying to offend you but I just don't understand why you [Māori] need to be different, why you need to be special? No one could come back at that because he was being true and honest and the scary thing was that he ignited all these other people to go yes why do they [Māori] have to be [special] - and we were like, oh lets go back to our own T group [Māori tutorial group] (Rere, b.1977, u.2001).

The findings presented in Chapter Nine and Ten support previous research which shows that cultural enclaves can help to build a sense of community for indigenous and minority students, provide access to shared resources, affirm and validate lived experiences and offer a safe haven (Guillory & Wolverton, 2008; Sonn et al., 2000).

The kaupapa-based whānau also supported many of the participants in terms of their academic development. The findings in Chapter Ten show that many participants enjoyed working together collaboratively. Through this process the participants were able to share knowledge and ideas, talk about assessment expectations and work out strategies to overcome hurdles in their learning:

We would go away [from lectures] and we would kōrero [talk] about what the topics were or what the issues were about and restate what was said in the lecture, pick out the important things that the lecture had, where we should focus on. I know my mates and even here, they used to come here [to her personal residence] and we'd sit there and we'd do our mahi and if we weren't sure about something, we'd bounce ideas off each other, that was the biggest help we got from each other (Huhana, b.1950s, u.2003)

In this example, the participants themselves took the lead in facilitating each other's academic development. The participants were able to discuss ideas and create shared understandings. This resonates well with sociocultural theories of development which recognise that learning is a socially mediated process (Vygotsky, 1978; 1986; Claiborne & Drewery, 2010). Of particular relevance to this example is the notion of intersubjectivity (Wertsch,1985). Wertsch (1985) maintains that intersubjectivity exists when learners work collaboratively to create shared meanings and situational definitions which in turn, helps them to build new knowledge and understanding.

The findings presented in Chapter Ten show that all members of the kaupapa-based whānau were expected to play a role in the learning process. In other words, there was shared responsibility for learning:

We were allowed to present our assignments in groups. It was up to us younger ones to get what we were supposed to be doing and take it back to the older ones and they would give us the knowledge, the tikanga and te reo that went with it and that was their job. Within our group, we all had jobs to do and that's what I mean about being inclusive of everything, a Māori world view, it's everybody and that's an example, the older ones fed us the knowledge in te reo, we gained what was needed of us to pass and then the younger ones, they did the English part of things (Maamaa, b.late 1940s, u.1990)

This example reflects the tuakana–teina approach to learning. The tuakana, the older or more expert person (brother, sister or cousin) helps or guides a younger or less expert teina (originally a younger sibling or cousin of the same gender) in their learning and development. In this episode, the tuakana–teina roles are interchanged and the teina also sometimes take the lead. This process embodies the principle of ako (as noted in Chapter Four and Five), at a very deep level, and once again affirms traditional attitudes to knowledge as well as the cultural expectation that whānau members will share their knowledge to benefit the collective (Greenwood & Te Aika, 2008; G. Smith, 1995).

Again, there are strong links here to sociocultural theories, particularly an emphasis on the role that more skilled peers can play in the development of other peers (Vygotsky, 1978; 1986). The notion of scaffolding is also evident (Wood & Wood, 2009). The example cited above also provides some support for Vygotsky's (1978) contention that even with respect to adult education, "higher functions originate as actual relations between human individuals" (p.57). They also highlight the importance of the 'cultural milieu' and the way that culture and language underpin cognitive development (Berk, 2000; Claiborne & Drewery, 2010; Rogoff, 2003; Vygotsky, 1978).

Tinto (1993) believes that all learning communities comprise three main elements: shared knowledge, shared knowing and shared responsibility. The kaupapa-based whānau in this study exemplified all three elements. Shared knowledge evolved because the participants took courses together. Shared knowing came as a result of shared learning experiences, dialogue, discussion and the search for joint meaning. As noted in the previous example, shared responsibility for learning occurred when members of the kaupapa-based whānau did their part to advance the group.

However, although the participants liked working together in supportive kaupapa-based whānau, they also enjoyed challenging each other. Collective identity and collaborative learning did not mean that there was an absence of competition. In fact, several participants said that they derived a sense of satisfaction from competing academically against other members of the kaupapa-based whānau. Competition provided several participants with the drive they needed to get higher grades, thereby improving their academic performance. This demonstrates that as well as ascribing to collective goals, the participants had a strong personal drive to succeed. In other words, it was not just the kaupapa-based whānau that helped them to succeed academically, but their personal commitment to do well was also important in terms of their overall success.

Research suggests that positive teacher and student relationships are crucial when it comes to the educational success of Māori students (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Bishop et al., 2003; Macfarlane, 2004). Even in the tertiary education context, the importance of the faculty – student relationship is seen as central to academic success (Guillory & Wolverton, 2008; Hunt et al., 2001; Kidman, 1995; Love, 2009; Padilla et al., 1997; Walker, 2000). The results of this study corroborate these findings.

Teaching staff were identified as a major influence in terms of the success of the participants in this study. Fifteen of the sixteen participants stated that

they approached teaching staff directly when they needed support. The participants spoke freely about both their positive and negative interactions with lecturers and tutors and how these experiences affected their learning.

Faculty who were viewed by the participants as being particularly effective got to know their students. They took time to personally engage with them, they learnt their names and got to know their background. Effective members of the teaching staff were also described by the participants as being approachable or accessible both inside and outside the classroom. These staff members took time out of their busy schedules to work alongside students and invited them to contact them when they needed support. In some cases, they even provided home phone numbers so that students could make contact. There were other qualities that participants identified as having a positive impact on their success, such as teaching staff affirming that they could succeed at university and providing ongoing encouragement.

An understanding of the participants' cultural worldview was described by some participants as being vitally important. Several spoke highly about the efforts of Non-Māori lecturers who demonstrated a respect for Māori cultural traditions, beliefs, values and the Māori language by incorporating this knowledge (in more than a superficial way) into teaching sessions. This was illustrated in a comment made by Manaaki. He identified a Non-Māori lecturer as being effective "because he could speak Te Reo Māori and he related really well to us, and we related really well to him..."(Manaaki, b.1970s, u.2000). In this example, the staff member demonstrated that he was able to foster strong relationships with Māori students.

What is interesting about the qualities mentioned by the participants in this section is that they are not new. They have been identified and described in successive research reports as having a positive influence on Māori students at all levels of the New Zealand Education system. For example, many of the

qualities mentioned in Bishop et al.'s. (2007) effective teaching profile (outlined in Chapter Four) are comparable to the qualities listed by the participants in the current study. The most applicable of these include the ability to care for students and their performance, a capacity to interact with Māori students as Māori, and the ability to implement a range of approaches that promote effective teaching interactions and relationships with learners (Bishop et al., 2007).

The importance of fostering positive relationships with students was also reinforced in Greenwood and Te Aika's (2008) study of the factors leading to success for Māori in tertiary settings. Greenwood and Te Aika (2008) found that respectful and nurturing relationships with students was an important factor in terms of the success of Māori in tertiary education. These relationships involved staff being accessible, showing a willingness to become co-learners, and responding to individual students' needs and preferences. These aspects were also mentioned by some participants as being important in terms of their success.

Māori lecturers were identified by many participants as playing an important role at university. They represented a visible Māori presence on faculty and as such were important role models for participants. As Whina claimed "big inspiration, if they can do it I can do it." This confirms Greenwood and Te Aika's (2008) claim that "strong Māori role models are, in turn, draw cards for their communities" (p.91).

Some participants said that they were more likely to approach Māori faculty when they were experiencing difficulties. Of the fifteen people who stated they approached staff when they needed support, twelve mentioned contacting Māori staff. The reasons that the participants gave for this was they believed Māori staff shared a similar world view, were able to understand without needing everything spelt out in detail and participants felt more

comfortable with this. In this sense, Māori staff members often acted as validating agents providing both encouragement and support (Rendon, Jalomo & Nora, 2000).

In terms of pedagogical practices, Māori lecturers were also described as effective because of their ability to put course content into a context that was meaningful for Māori participants and for tailoring programmes around Māori concepts. Clearly, Māori staff helped some participants to bridge the cultural distance between Western/European academic world views and Māori world views. Māori lecturers were also able to speak in a language that the participants understood. This suggests that they also acted as cultural translators, helping students to straddle two very different worlds (Rendon, Jalomo & Nora, 2000)

The findings demonstrate that the quality of the student teacher relationship, to a large extent dictated whether or not the participants would approach individual staff members for assistance. As Huhana commented, “we know exactly who is a good tutor, who is good for the Māori students, who is good for the Pākeha... that’s how we operate. And we know who to target. Not because they are gonna just allow us to walk through the door, but because when we need support, it’s there” (Huhana, b.1950s, u.2003).

The importance of being ‘kanohi kitea’ (a known face) was fundamental to the way the participants approached staff as well. A major problem in terms of accessing the university’s official learning support service was that the participants did not know the teaching staff in this area and therefore were reluctant and often unwilling to seek advice from strangers. Those participants who did provide positive feedback about the university’s learning support service were those who had established a relationship with a Māori lecturer working in this service. This lecturer had taken the initiative to schedule regular times to meet with kaupapa-based whānau in their own space within the University, at the School of Education. This once again

highlights the importance of the student – teacher relationship for learning and success.

Several participants used the metaphor of the whānau to describe the close relationships that they established with some university staff. In this way, these staff members were included in kaupapa-based whānau as members of the learning community. This further embodies the traditional essence of ako, with the teacher and learner engaged in a reciprocal relationship and both positioned at the heart of the teaching and learning process (Hemara, 2000).

Overall, the findings from this study show that the participants formed strong social support networks with peers and established kaupapa-based whānau that helped them to become academically successful at university. This endorses the findings of a number of other studies that have shown that peer social networks can contribute to minority and indigenous student persistence and success in higher education (Day & Nolde, 2009; Dennis, Phinney & Chuateco, 2005; Guillory & Wolverton, 2008; Jackson et al., 2003; Johnson et al., 2007; Phinney & Haas, 2003; Sonn et al., 2000).

The findings from the current study also provide some evidence to support Hunt et al's. (2001) suggestion that, "Māori students not only value the support of their tutors; they depend on it" (p. 19). By underlining the importance of the faculty–student relationship to minority and indigenous success at university, the current study once again validates the findings of national and international research undertaken in this area (Greenwood & Te Aika, 2008; Kidman, 1995; Museus & Quaye, 2009; Schwartz and Ball, 2001; Love, 2009; Lundberg, 2007).

Te Ao Māori (The Māori world)

The second major research question that this study attempted to address was, what it meant for the participants to "*be Māori*" and a special admission

student at university. Chapter Nine and Chapter Ten showed that there were a number of issues that arose for the participants in relation to Te Ao Māori (the Māori world). The influence of Te Ao Māori is denoted by the koru in the top left hand quadrant of the Manu Tukutuku model.

Diverse Realities of Māori

The findings in Chapter Seven and Eight showed that the participants comprised a very diverse group of Māori students. They were diverse not only in terms of their educational experiences (as outlined earlier in this chapter) but also in terms of their whānau backgrounds and access to te Ao Māori.

The participants' narratives in Chapter Eight showed that in some of the participants whānau, there was the capacity to affirm and support Māori cultural knowledge and values (pūpuri taonga) (Durie, 2003). For example, Aroha and Whina were native speakers of Māori and said that their grandparents had helped to facilitate their Māori language development. In the families of other participants, the potential for intergenerational Māori language transfer was apparent, but, some older whānau members were unwilling to pass on this knowledge because they were among the generations that had been physically punished at school for speaking Māori.

The findings in Chapter Eight showed also that participants came from a diverse range of whānau backgrounds. Several appeared to have had a very traditional upbringing having been raised in close proximity to their ancestral marae and having maintained close associations with members of their extended family. Other participants maintained that they had, had very little exposure to their marae when they were growing up, or had lost that contact when they needed to leave home. This demonstrates that, as in earlier times, the Māori community today is not a single homogenous community (Durie, 1997, Rangihau, 1992; Selby, 1996; L. Smith & Reid, 2000; Somerville, 1999). However, regardless of this diversity, all participants strongly identified

as Māori, were able to affiliate to iwi kinship groups (as shown in Chapter Six) and possessed a strong commitment to te reo and tikanga Māori.

A passion for Te Reo and Tikanga Māori

The revitalisation of te reo and tikanga Māori emerged as a strong theme throughout the four chapters of findings from participant narratives. Durie (2003) suggests that for many indigenous peoples establishing a 'secure identity' is considered important for good health and wellbeing. A secure identity for Māori involves fluency in the Māori language and regular contact with Māori cultural institutions (Durie, 2003). He identifies language acquisition as an important step in terms of attaining a 'secure identity.' The findings demonstrated that many participants had taken steps to reclaim te reo me ōna tikanga.

As noted in Chapter Seven, nine participants had taken Māori language courses prior to enrolling at university. Te Reo Māori was the most popular field of study for those who had engaged in post-compulsory education and training prior to entering university. The historical time period is a very important consideration when interpreting these findings. As outlined in Chapter Two, increased Māori politicisation during the 1980s and 1990s brought Māori language and cultural issues to the fore and Māori communities became very aware of the fragile state of the Māori language. During this time, there was a strong push within the Māori community to revitalise the language (G. Smith, 1995; 2003). As noted earlier, this was stimulated in large part by the development of Kaupapa Māori educational initiatives such as Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori.

The findings from this study provide strong evidence to support this view. Several participants were motivated to learn the Māori language because of their involvement in broader socio-political movements. For example, Mihi was motivated to undertake a three year Māori language programme after

being involved in protest action at Pakaitore (Whanganui) during the 1990s (see Chapter Two for more information). Ruita decided to go to polytechnic to learn te reo Māori when she enrolled her son at a Kōhanga Reo. In fact, over half of the participants in this study were involved in the Kōhanga Reo movement, seven in actual teaching roles.

The findings showed that their participation in Kōhanga Reo acted as a stepping stone back into education for some participants, for other participants it provided the catalyst to learn te reo Māori. This is consistent with King's (2001) claims that many Māori parents have taken steps to reclaim te reo Māori as a result of their participation in Kōhanga Reo and their commitment to the kaupapa of Māori language revitalisation (King, 2001). The findings also provide some evidence to support G. Smith's (2003) claim that many Māori adults and parents became conscientised during this time and started to believe that education and schooling could make a positive difference.

According to Paulo Friere (1970) critical consciousness is necessary for social transformation, because it is through this process that oppressed groups realise the extent of their oppression and begin to push for change. The participants' narratives outline several examples where participants like Mihi became critically conscious and became part of the broader movement to bring about social transformation.

Succeeding as Māori

A clear theme to emerge in this study was that being academically successful at university for these Māori participants meant learning more about their language and culture. They tried to retain their cultural integrity within the university and actively pursued a pathway that they thought would provide access to Te Ao Māori within the mainstream environment.

The findings in Chapter Ten showed that many participants brought their passion for te reo and tikanga Māori with them into the university setting. All participants enrolled in Māori focussed programmes. Ten of the sixteen claimed that their motivations for entering these programmes was based on the expectation that they would be able to maintain and or develop fluency in te reo Māori. Seven chose to enter these groups because they believed that they would be able to work alongside other Māori students and that this support would enable them to succeed in this new environment. Four participants entered these programmes because they believed that their cultural worldview and background would be more valuable in this context.

Clearly, the participants had very definite expectations about what they wanted to get from their participation in Māori focussed programmes. They wanted access to te reo and tikanga Māori, they wanted to work with other Māori students and they wanted their habitus and cultural capital to be validated. In other words they wanted to succeed academically, but they wanted to succeed as Māori (Durie, 2003).

The findings in Chapter Nine reveal that some participants were satisfied with what they learned at university in regards to Te Ao Māori. For example, Manaaki found that being in a Māori programme provided him with the opportunity to learn more about his language and culture. He stated that his knowledge in relation to both areas grew “ten-fold” while at university. Kura also stated that she had learned more about her language and culture from her time at university.

The findings in Chapter Nine also showed that some participants believed that Māori values, beliefs and practices *were* acknowledged in the University context. They saw this happening in a number of ways, including: powhiri (official Māori welcomes), Māori programmes, the meeting house and marae

complex on campus, the use of Māori language, Māori greetings, signage, Māori carvings, formal Māori welcomes.

However, other participants were very disappointed with their university experience. For these participants there was a clear mismatch between their expectations and what was actually delivered. This was particularly noticeable in the narratives of the eight graduates of the Rūmaki programme. These participants questioned the University's commitment to Māori cultural aspirations, especially in regards to te reo Māori and the delivery of Māori focussed programmes. On entering university many were under the impression that the Rūmaki programme would be taught totally through the medium of Māori and many were disappointed that this was not the case. Rūmaki graduates in particular felt that more consideration needed to be given to adequately preparing students to teach in Māori medium contexts. Several pointed out that the institution needed to take more cognisance of where their students were going (i.e. into Māori medium classes and schools) and prepare these students for work in these areas.

Initially the Rūmaki programme was established for students who were fluent in te reo Māori. It was developed at a time when there was an urgent need for teachers in Kura Kaupapa Māori and mainstream schools (during the nineties). In the early period (early nineties), most of the courses were delivered mainly, although not exclusively, through the medium of te reo Māori (Kana, 1997). However, over time, more and more courses within the programme began to be delivered in English. In addition to this, finding suitable candidates who were sufficiently fluent in te reo Māori became difficult. As a consequence, students with a passion for the kaupapa (topic) but not necessarily fluent in the language were permitted access to the programme. This presented both lecturers and students with huge challenges. Reduced staffing levels have meant that over time Rūmaki groups were merged with mainstream tutorial groups in some papers. Some

participants felt that this was in many cases at the expense of the Māori language and even of the autonomy of the Rūmaki programme itself:

.. our Rūmaki [programme], we shouldn't have to join up with mainstream T groups. We should have autonomy of our own and we shouldn't have to be going into working with mainstream...Rūmaki whānau should just be there, have their own tutors that cater for what we need to know when we're out teaching. We shouldn't have to come together with any other mainstream T group because we're just doing different paths of learning. For instance we were led to believe that we were going into classes where there was going to be predominately Māori spoken and that didn't happen (Ruita, b.1950s, u.2003).

Not surprisingly, these participants questioned the institution's commitment to Māori cultural aspirations. There was some recognition among the participants that their needs were often subverted by dominant majority interests. They also felt that the strong neoliberal agenda within the university context compromised the quality of the Rūmaki programme:

We're not going to spend any more money on up skilling our lecturers to speak Māori or update the resources so that it is in Māori and it is translated. No, that's too hard and it's not even cost effective, it's too much money (Tipene, b.1970s, u.2000).

Another criticism put forward by some participants concerned University policy and practice in relation to submitting work in Te Reo Māori. The participants outlined a number of issues. The first difficulty was finding a suitable assessor to mark the assignment, while the length of time taken for the assignment to be marked and returned was another issue. Another concern that was raised was that translators were not always familiar with the

topics, the content and the context they were covering in their assignments. These issues led several participants to stop submitting their work in Te Reo Māori (as outlined in Chapter Nine).

Chapter Three showed that Māori and some Non-Māori supporters have fought hard to have te reo and tikanga Māori recognised and included at New Zealand universities. As noted in Chapter Three, it was the actions of two Māori law students that prompted the development of a Māori language policy at the University of Waikato. The full Māori language policy came into effect in 1996. In spite of this fact, the current study provides clear evidence that as late as 2005, there were still challenges involved for those submitting their work in Te Reo. Pihama (2001) suggests that any Kaupapa Māori analysis should explore the way that Te Reo Māori and tikanga Māori are positioned. It is a clear, that some participants felt that te reo Māori me ōna tikanga were marginalised in the university setting. The current study shows that the battle to have Te Reo Māori recognised and validated within the university setting is ongoing.

Fourteen of the sixteen participants described other instances where they felt that they were marginalised as Māori apart from te reo. The findings in Chapter Nine show that the participants were exposed to passive and active forms of racism. Most experienced the more subtle forms of discrimination, such as negative attitudes towards Māori content and issues, cultural insensitivity and lack of awareness:

... we were in a Learning and Teaching Māori lecture and [a Māori lecturer] was teaching and there were these girls behind us and they were saying what a load of crap - let's just sign the book and get out of here...(Rere, b.1977, u.2001)

Sonn et al., (2000) claim that although cultural insensitivity (modern racism) is more subtle, “the interpretations and meanings that this form of racism has for the groups subjected to it can be just as damaging” (p.133). Active racism was typically experienced in classes and discussions about cultural issues, such as the Treaty of Waitangi. What is remarkable is that the findings show that even though racism and discrimination did impact negatively on the participants’ wairua (spirit) and wellbeing, they did not let this frustrate their attempts to become successful at university.

The participants’ narratives presented in Chapter Nine showed that Te Ao Māori had a strong influence in terms of their experiences in the university setting. Bourdieu’s notion of cultural capital provides a useful tool in terms of interpreting these experiences. Bourdieu (1986) suggests that in order to succeed at university, members of non-dominant classes must take on a secondary habitus, that of the university which is closely aligned with the habitus of the dominant group. The findings show that this was indeed a reality for some students. The most obvious example is the decision made by several participants not to submit assignments in Te Reo Māori. Several participants’ believed that in order to succeed at university they needed to write in English.

However, although their habitus and cultural capital could act against them, the findings showed that it could also help them in some situations such as fitting in to Māori focussed programmes, establishing peer social support networks with other Māori students and forming kaupapa-based whānau. In this sense, the existence of Kaupapa Māori programmes within mainstream universities helped to bridge the cultural distance between a student’s culture of origin and the culture of the institution.

As noted in Chapter Four, Prebble et al. (2004) identified two predominant discourses in relation to the literature and research in this area, the assimilation discourse and the adaptation discourse. There are those that

believe that all students must assimilate in order to achieve at university (Tinto, 1993) and those who believe that it is possible for students to adapt (Kuh & Love, 2000; Museus & Quaye, 2009). The findings from this study provided evidence to support both discourses. Many participants fought hard to maintain their cultural integrity in the institution, this is evidenced by the fact that they formed kaupapa-based whānau and these operated in accordance with tikanga Māori (Māori values, customs and practices). However, as mentioned earlier, there were also times where some participants felt that they had no choice but to assimilate in order to become successful at university.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has identified four major factors that have contributed to the academic success of the participants in this study. The chapter has shown that the participants all possessed a strong determination to succeed. Their strong commitment to succeed was demonstrated time and again in terms of their unwavering ability to pursue educational success in spite of the challenges that they faced. The findings presented in this chapter demonstrated that the participants believed in education. Their resolve to become successful in education was also strengthened by a strong desire to improve whānau and community wellbeing.

The whakapapa-based whānau was identified as an important source of support while the participants were studying at university. The chapter demonstrated that whānau members provided a diverse range of support that enabled the participants to carry on with their studies. Nevertheless, whānau obligations, expectations and responsibilities could also impede the participants' ability to succeed.

The importance of establishing and maintaining social support networks within the university setting was identified as another important factor that contributed to the success of the participants in this study. Relationships with peers and teaching staff were seen by many participants as vital to success. Māori staff in particular played an important role in terms of helping the participants to become familiar with the university setting.

The chapter showed that the participants' habitus and cultural capital as Māori was also a strong influence on their success at university. In some cases, their identity as Māori aided their success at university. However, there were times where the institutional culture was not inclusive of their habitus or cultural capital.

Chapter Twelve presents the final conclusions and discusses the implications of this study.

CHAPTER TWELVE CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

*He taonga tuku iho,
Ko te manu tukutuku,
Kua ngaro kē ki ngā hau e wha,
Kua whakamiharo ā tātou nei ngakau
Kia puta ake ki te wheiao, ki te ao mārama!*

*A treasured kite lost to the winds
Brings much joy when found again (Maysmor, 2001, p.6).*

The findings from this study contribute important insights to the research on Māori academic success at university. The study has focussed on understanding the various challenges Māori special admission students had on their way to becoming academically successful. Following a Kaupapa Māori approach, the study has focussed specifically on what it means to 'be Māori', and 'a special admission student' at university. The substantive findings were presented in Chapters Seven to Ten. The key findings were summarised and discussed in Chapter Eleven. This chapter presents the final conclusions and discusses the implications of the study.

Overview of key findings

This study investigated the experiences of sixteen Māori adult students who entered university via special admission provisions. It has shown that these participants faced a number of challenges on their way to becoming academically successful. Nevertheless, they found ways to overcome these challenges and went on to successfully attain academic degrees.

The study found that the participants' determination to succeed was a key factor influencing their success. In most cases, this determination was

underpinned by a strong purpose to empower the collective, particularly, the whānau and the wider Māori community. The participants in this study actively pursued further educational opportunities despite the fact that most of them had left school early with few (if any) formal school qualifications. They showed that they valued education and were extremely resilient in their pursuit of educational success.

The whānau was identified by many participants as an important source of support and a major factor in their success at university. The whānau provided for the physical, emotional and spiritual needs of many participants while they were studying. However, whānau expectations, responsibilities and obligations were also found to hinder participants' academic success within the university setting.

The ability to establish strong social support networks with fellow students and academic staff was also recognised as another crucial factor contributing to the success of many participants in this study. The participants formed strong bonds with other Māori students and established kaupapa-based whānau within the university. These kaupapa-based whānau provided for the participants' intellectual and emotional needs within the university context. The relationships formed with staff were also crucial to participants' academic success. The quality of these relationships determined whether or not the participants would approach individual staff members for support and this had a direct impact on their success. Māori staff in particular played an important role in terms of helping the participants to become familiar with the university setting.

All participants strongly identified as Māori and wanted a university education that was inclusive of their language and culture. The study found that in some cases the participants' habitus and cultural capital as Māori worked well for them in the university setting. For example, they were able to draw on tikanga Māori to help build strong bonds with other Māori students and establish

kaupapa-based whānau. However, some participants found their habitus shaped by Te Ao Māori (their language, culture, identity, worldview) worked against them in certain situations. Institutional culture was not always inclusive of their cultural capital or responsive to their needs and aspirations. This made the journey more challenging for some participants.

Overall, this study has found that four main factors contributed to the academic success of the participants in this study: whāia te iti kahurangi (a strong determination to succeed); whānau (extended family); whakawhanaungatanga (building social networks within the university) and Te Ao Māori (knowledge and understandings arising from the Māori world and a Māori world view).

Implications for theory

As noted in Chapter Four, the most commonly used theory to discuss student persistence and attrition is Tinto's (1993) interactionist model of student departure (Braxton, 2000, Prebble et al., 2004; Scott & Smart, 2005). Tinto's theory originated from the United States, and although it offers some very important insights, caution should always be used when applying global constructs to localised situations. As Scott and Smart (2005) claim "system-wide differences in the type of students, modes of learning, institutions and provision between countries will lessen the impact of some factors, and fail to recognise others when applied to New Zealand context" (p.5).

While the findings of this study supported some aspects of Tinto's (1993) theory especially in regard to the importance of social support networks at university and the importance of personal commitment, I found that it did not go far enough in terms of accounting for the influence that the sociocultural context has in terms of a student's experience at university. Tinto (1993) does point out that minority and adult students can have more difficulties adjusting to college life. However, to fully understand the experiences of the participants in the present study, it was important to look at the influence of

the cultural–historical context and Te Ao Māori and how this impacted on their learning experiences and actions within the university context. Only by doing this, was I able to reach a deeper level of understanding of the participants' experiences. A prime example of this was the great strength of the participants' personal commitment. At a deeper level, I found that this was often fuelled by a strong desire to empower the collective (whānau, hapū, iwi) and to a large extent this was driven by traditional Māori values.

As noted in Chapter Four, other researchers share a similar view and believe that Tinto's theory does not go far enough in terms of recognising cultural differences (Guifrida, 2006; Johnson et al., 2000; Rendon et al., 2000). This has led some people to develop their own theoretical frameworks (Braxton, 2000; Prebble et al., 2004). The Manu Tukutuku model represents my own attempt at theorising the experiences of the participants in this study from within Te Ao Māori.

As a theoretical model, the Manu Tukutuku provided a useful tool to interpret the experiences of Māori adult students in mainstream university contexts. Although this model emerged as a result of my research with adult students, it also has the potential to be useful in relation to Māori university students generally because it is grounded in Te Ao Māori and based on Māori values. As noted in Chapter Five, the Manu Tukutuku model works on the basis that the four winds (major factors) can impact the kite (manu tukutuku or student) in a positive or negative way. Each factor (whāia te iti kahurangi, Te Ao Māori, whakawhanaungatanga, whānau) is important for successful academic achievement and together these winds enable the kite to fly (tukua kia rere!). However, the model also recognises that some factors may be stronger than others because of an individual's background or personal circumstances at different times. In this sense the model attempts to account for the diversity within Māori communities.

In addition to providing a frame for understanding the experiences of Māori special admission students, the model also provides a useful 'toolkit' for those looking for ways to support Māori university students. The Manu Tukutuku model can be used by university staff to explore what factors might be adversely affecting a student's success at university and to identify areas where additional support may be required. In this sense, the Manu Tukutuku model not only introduces a new theoretical perspective, it also provides a useful tool for practice.

Implications for policy and practice

Universities throughout the western world are under increasing pressure to improve the participation, retention and persistence of students in higher education (Zepke et al., 2005). In the New Zealand context, recent policy documents such as the New Zealand Tertiary Education Strategy (Ministry of Education, 2010) signal increasing responsibility and accountability for tertiary institutions in terms of ensuring that Māori students will succeed at higher levels of education.

One of the intentions of the present study was to provide some recommendations to improve policy and practice. In the following section I have identified four main areas of focus and presented some recommendations. I have drawn on information from literature, research and policy and have included some examples from lived experiences to illustrate my ideas. These suggestions are not exhaustive, but do suggest a pathway forward.

The Importance of Special Admission

As discussed in Chapter Eleven, one of the most "exciting" findings to emerge from this study was that Māori special admission students do succeed at university. The findings showed clear evidence that poor performance in early schooling did not always translate into poor performance in higher education.

It is therefore very important that universities continue to accept people who enrol via special admission.

Special admission entry provisions were viewed favourably by all participants because they provided a 'second chance' at education. All sixteen participants were adamant that special admission policy be maintained. However, in the current economic and political climate there are fears that the numbers of students accessing university through special admission will be curtailed.

Restricted entry as a result of tertiary education funding reforms has meant that priority for entry into university now goes to school leavers. This has serious implications for Māori students, most of whom enter university at an older age. Universities have an obligation to ensure Maori and other underrepresented groups are able to access high quality educational institutions.

Institutional culture is inclusive of Māori cultural capital and responsive to Māori needs and aspirations

Universities need to be a lot more inviting for indigenous students (Ministry of Education, 2003). In order for indigenous students to foster a sense of belonging, they need to be able to see their culture and language reflected back to them and affirmed in the university setting. They should see this not only in terms of the physical layout of the university (i.e. university marae, signage, carvings), but also in terms of curriculum, pedagogical practice and faculty representation.

Durie (2003) argues that for 'Māori to live as Māori' educational institutions need to provide access to Te Ao Māori, especially language and culture. This message is re-emphasised in the *Ka Hikitia* policy document (outlined in

Chapter Two) and is reiterated again in the latest New Zealand Tertiary Education Strategy:

Tertiary education has a particular responsibility to maintain and develop Māori language and culture to support Māori living as Māori in both Te Ao Māori and wider society (Ministry of Education, 2010, p.12).

The findings in this study showed that some participants were frustrated by their lack of access to te reo Māori at the University of Waikato, even though they had enrolled in Māori medium programmes. Several participants also felt that they needed to put *te reo Māori* aside in order to become successful. This situation is totally unacceptable.

New Zealand Universities have a partnership obligation under the Treaty of Waitangi to support Māori cultural aspirations with regard to te reo and tikanga Māori. Universities need to adequately resource programmes to ensure the academic success of Māori students who are fluent in te reo Māori as well as those who have yet to attain fluency. This is especially the case in terms of initial teacher education programmes because these programmes have strong implications for the quality of education that the next generation of Māori children will receive. This claim is supported by the New Zealand Tertiary education strategy (2010-2015) which states “improving the quality of te reo Māori in initial teacher education programmes will be important in helping Māori to achieve success throughout the education system” (Ministry of Education, 2010, p.12).

Racism and discrimination is not tolerated

The participants’ narratives clearly demonstrated that discrimination and racism can and does adversely affect Māori academic success at university. Tertiary institutions must continue to make every effort to eliminate racism

and discrimination on-campus to ensure all students feel valued and culturally safe.

At the institutional level, the first step in addressing racism and discrimination is acknowledging that it exists and taking collective responsibility for addressing the issue. At the individual level, a lecturer needs to be vigilant also when racist remarks or discriminatory behaviours are presented in classroom interactions. When this occurs students must be made aware that this is not acceptable behaviour. This is particularly important in initial teacher education programmes.

Sonn et al. (2000) in speaking of racism in Australian universities, claims that cultural ignorance and racism need to be addressed through policy, cultural awareness training and the promotion of multicultural education. Love (2009) claims that open forums and student and faculty surveys regarding racial climate on campus can promote awareness. However, in terms of Māori students, the *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face to face) approach is often favoured. Rather than asking Māori students to fill in written surveys, the best approach would be to talk to them as a collective. Creating an environment where students feel comfortable enough to disclose or report instances where they have experienced discrimination or racism would be essential as the first step.

The institution creates opportunities for Māori students to develop social support networks

The opportunity for Māori students to build networks with their peers was highlighted as important success factor in this study. Institutions can support social networking among Māori adult students by supporting ethnic organisations on-campus, by providing specially designed courses, and promoting a learning communities approach (Tinto, 1993; 1997; Prebble et al., 2004). Prebble et al. (2004) suggest that institutions can further facilitate

student social networks by organising student events. Over the time that this study has been carried out, an increasing array of Māori student events have been staged at the University of Waikato. From inter-school sporting events, to kapahaka competitions, Matariki (Māori New Year celebrations), Kingitanga day (celebration of Māori King movement and its importance for the University of Waikato in particular), te Wiki o te reo Māori (Māori language week events) as well as Māori focussed and Māori friendly orientation activities. A Māori mentoring system has also been instituted university wide to better support the learning needs of Māori students.

However, while these are all very encouraging developments, in terms of wider institutional culture, the most important area continues to be the classroom (Tinto, 1993). This is where most learning interactions occur. The participants' narratives demonstrated that several felt isolated in the classes where they were the only Māori student or one of very few Māori in tutorial classes. In these situations positive student-teacher relationships become increasingly important.

The importance of student-teacher relationships (inside and outside the classroom) was underlined in this study. In the words of one of the participants of this study "If the Uni really, really wanted to show their acknowledgement of Māori people ... lecturers would have more time for the students" (Tipene, b.1970s, u.2000). Teaching excellence is recognised and rewarded in this university context. However, in a university climate where a research orientation is very highly required and valued, time is a precious commodity. This study found that the participants actively targeted those teaching staff whom they believed would provide the support they needed. In many cases, these staff members were Māori. Teaching staff performed an important role in that they acted as cultural translators and validating agents, but this takes a great deal of time. It should not be left to a small minority of

university staff to carry this load by themselves. The responsibility for pastoral care of Māori students needs to be addressed at the institutional level.

Overall, the importance of fostering positive relationships with Māori special admission students cannot be emphasised enough. The better the relationship between faculty and students, the more likely Māori special admission students are to succeed (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Bishop et al., 2007; Greenwood & Te Aika, 2008; Macfarlane, 2004).

Reflections on the research process

In this study, an overarching Kaupapa Māori theoretical Framework was followed. In Chapter Six, I provided a detailed account of Bishop's (2005) IBRLA Framework. In the following section I draw on this framework to reflect on the research process.

Who initiated the research and for what purpose?

Bishop (2005) maintains that Kaupapa Māori research should promote power sharing between the researcher and the research. He believes that traditional research practices have been problematic for Māori because they are located within the "cultural concerns, preferences, and practices of the Western world" (p.112). Bishop (2005) maintains that Kaupapa Māori research projects should evolve directly out of Māori aspirations, needs and interests.

As noted in Chapter One, the idea for this study was born out of the conversations I had with my mother and other Māori special admission students that I have had the privilege of working with at the University of Waikato. Our conversations about university life, study and their educational success at university inspired the present study. In this sense then, the present study evolved from within the Māori community.

In the very beginning, my research focussed on honouring Māori educational success and sharing the participants' inspirational stories more extensively

within the Māori community. However, as my field research developed and I learned about the challenges and hurdles that many were facing in the university itself, my research became focussed more on how we could better support Māori special admission students at university. The research focus was on actively listening to the students' voices and trying to construct strategies for transformational change.

Who specifically was expected to benefit from this research?

Māori academics have criticised traditional research practices for producing a great deal of benefits for the researcher and very little in terms of Māori communities (Bishop & Glynn, 1992; 1999; G. Smith, 1992; L. Smith, 1992; 1999; 2005). Bishop (2005) suggests that researchers need to consider and justify how their research projects will benefit Māori.

Although the benefits from this study will not directly benefit the research participants themselves, we (they and I) understood that our participation in a project such as this might prove beneficial for future Māori special admission students. The participants and I shared a common goal of improving the situation for Māori special admission students at university.

However, I do believe that there have been some indirect benefits, for example, several participants have found talking about their educational journey quite empowering. For those who experienced very negative schooling experiences, having the chance to talk about these and then in the next breath talk about their success at university was quite a liberating experience.

As a Māori researcher, I have also benefitted greatly from this experience, especially in terms of my own approach to teaching and working with Māori university students generally. The interactions with the participants have informed my own pedagogical practice. For example, I am actively engaging with Māori students a lot more outside the classroom setting and have placed more emphasis on engaging in social activities. I have also gained from this

project because the participants permitted me to use the information they provided to meet the research requirements for a university degree.

Are Māori 'voices' and 'lived realities' represented? Are Māori cultural aspirations, preferences and practices evident?

According to Bishop (2005) traditional research practices have misrepresented Māori knowledge. The principle of representation then, has to do with how accurately the participants' voices and worldviews are represented within the thesis. I have tried to foreground the participants' voices in this thesis, especially in Chapters Seven to Ten. However, in saying that, one of the challenges, in terms of presenting the results according to themes is that sometimes such findings can mask individual differences. I have tried to capture as much diversity as I could while remaining faithful to the dominant themes. This is one of the dilemmas that face qualitative researchers who aim to represent the authentic experiences of each of their participants.

What authority do we claim for the text?

I have employed a number of techniques to enhance the legitimacy of this study. As suggested in Chapter Six, I used the Delphi technique, I involved the participants in data analysis, and I implemented member checks with four participants throughout the entire research process. I have also been fortunate to have had two cultural supervisors who have worked alongside me, to check that the study was grounded in Te Ao Māori.

Who is the researcher accountable to?

The principle of accountability has to do with the obligations and responsibility that the researcher has for the wellbeing of the Māori research participants. As suggested in Chapter Six, my 'insider' position as a Māori researcher and my relationships with all the participants meant that I was very accountable to

the participants in this study. However, because this position strengthened my connectedness with the participants, they were able to talk freely and openly with me, which proved to be a strength rather than a limitation of the study. In addition to this, my whakapapa ultimately makes responsible to whānau, hapū, iwi and the Māori community as a whole. My whakapapa also makes me accountable to my people, in terms of helping to make the university a better place for them.

Implications for further research

As noted in Chapter Four, interest in Māori success in higher education has grown markedly over time. Nevertheless, further research is urgently needed in this area. Prebble et al. (2004) claim that there is a need for research that will both replicate the international research on withdrawal and non-completion. They also claim the need for research into what teachers do well in institutions to enable diverse students to persist and achieve in the face of adversity. I believe that it is important for research to meet both of these needs. However, I think there is a need also to look closely at the lived experiences of Māori students, particularly over an extended period of time. I believe it would be really informative to track a larger cohort of students through their three year university degree programme at more than one institution, to examine the hurdles that they might come across during this time and how they might overcome these. Such research would also provide further valuable information on what factors facilitate the persistence of Māori students despite multiple barriers and challenges they encounter along the way to success.

There is also an urgent need for more researchers in education to acknowledge and develop theoretical models of student persistence that are responsive to the knowledge bases and cultural experiences of Māori students as they encounter Western/ European knowledge bases and academic experiences within New Zealand universities. The Manu Tukutuku

is my own attempt to develop such a model, and let it fly (tukua kia rere!) so that others might reflect on it.

A final note

I began writing the introduction to this thesis on a rainy day, with black skies overhead. As I write this final note, the sun is streaming through the window. This seems like a very fitting end point, I have finally emerged 'Mai i te Wheiao ki te Ao Mārama', from the darkness and into the light.

Mai te rangi
ki te whenua
ki ngā tāngata katoa.
Ngā manaakitanga
o te runga rawa!

GLOSSARY

The words listed in this glossary provide translations for words contained in this thesis.

Ahi kaa	The home people or people who keep the home fires burning
Aho	Line
Aho tukutuku	Cord or line of the kite
Ako	To learn or to teach
Ako Māori	Māori preferred pedagogy
Akonga	Learner or student
Aroha ki te tangata	A respect for the people
Ataarangi	A teaching method for learning the Māori language
Atua	God or gods
Efts	Equivalent full-time students
Gisborne	A city on the East Coast of the North Island
Hā a koro mā a kui mā	Breath of life from forebears or ancestors
Haka	War dance or posture dance
Half castes	Of Māori and European descent or parents were Māori and European
Hapū	Sub-tribe
Hau e wha	The four winds
Haumia or Haumiatiketike	God of uncultivated foods
Hawaiki	Legendary homeland of the Māori people
Himene	Hymns
Hine-ahu-one	The earth formed maiden
Hinengaro	The mind, source of thoughts and emotions
Hine-nui-te-po	The goddess of night or death. Formerly known as Hinetitama
Hinetitama	Daughter of Hine-ahu-one
Hori	A derogatory name for Māori
Hui	A meeting or gathering
Iwi	Tribe
Ka pai	Good or well done
Kāhui Ariki	Māori Royal family

Kai	Food
Kaiako	Teacher
Kaiarahi	Teaching support person
Kaiawhina	Teaching Assistant or Teacher aide
Kaimahi	Worker
Kai tahi	Sharing food together
Kai waiata	Singers
Kaitiaki	Caregivers or protectors
Kanohi kitea	The visible face or the seen face
Kanoki ki te kanohi	Face to face
Kapahaka	Māori cultural performance
Karakia	Prayer
Kaua e mahaki	Don't flaunt your knowledge
Kaua e takahi te mana o te tangata	Do not tramp on the mana of people
Kaumatua	An elder
Kaupapa Māori	Māori philosophy, topic
Kawa	Protocol
Kei te pai	I am well or I am good
Kete	Bag or kit
Kia Ora	Hello
Kia piki ake i nga raruraru o te kainga	The mediation of socio-economic factors
Kia tupato	Be careful or be cautious
Kōhanga Reo	Language nests or Māori medium - early childhood learning centres
Kōrero	Speak
Koroua	Elderly man
Kotahitanga	Unity
Kōtiro	Girl
Kuaha	Door
Kui	Grandmother
Kuia	Elderly woman
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Total immersion Māori school
Mahi	Work
Mahi-a-ringa	Doing work by hand
Mahi tahi	Working as one
Mai i te kore, ki te pō, ki te ao mārama	From nothingness to darkness, into the world of light
Mana ake	Uniqueness
Mana Motuhake	Self determination or caring for the performance of students
Mana Whenua	Indigenous people or home people
Manaaki ki te tangata	Share and host people or be generous
Manaakitanga or manaakitia	Caring or capacity to care
Manu	Bird

Manu tukutuku	A kite
Māoritanga	Māori culture
Marae	A sacred place for meeting
Marautanga	Curriculum
Mātauranga Māori	Māori education
Matua	Parent or father or respectful term for teacher or lecturer
Mauri	Life force
Mokopuna	Grandchild
Moriori	Indigenous group from the Chatham Islands
Moumou	A waste of time
Murupara	A place in the central North Island close to Rotorua
Ngāpuhi	A tribe from the upper North Island
Ngā Moteatea	Ancient chants
Ngā Tamatoa	Young warriors
Ngā taonga tuku iho	Treasures handed down by the ancestors
Ngai Tahu	A tribe from the South Island
Ngāti Awa	A tribe or sub-tribe of the central upper North Island of New Zealand
Ngāti Porou	Name of a tribe from the East Coast of New Zealand
Otaki	A place on the west coast of the North Island of New Zealand
Pai ana	That's good or it's good
Pakaitore	A place in the town of Whanganui
Pākeha	People of European descent
Papatuanuku	The earth mother
Poi	A light ball with a short string attached to it, which is swung and twirled rhythmically to the accompaniment of a song
Poutama Tau	Maths programme used in Māori medium classes
Pōwhiri	A formal Māori welcome
Pūpuri taonga	The capacity for guardianship
Rangatahi	Young person
Rangihoua	A place in the Bay of Islands, upper North of New Zealand
Ranginui	The sky father
Rarohenga	The underworld
Raupatu	Confiscation

Reo	Language
Rongomatane	God of cultivated foods
Roopu	A group
Roopu Reo Rua	Bilingual Group
Rotorua	A place in the Bay of Plenty, central North Island of New Zealand
Ruatoria	A place on the East Coast of New Zealand
Ruaumoko	God of earthquakes and volcanoes
Rūmaki	Māori immersion
Taha hinengaro	Dimension of the mind
Taha Māori	Māori side or Māori perspective
Taha tinana	Bodily health
Taha wairua	Spiritual dimension
Taha whānau	Extended whānau/family
Tainui	A tribe from the central north island mainly around the city of Hamilton
Tamariki	Children
Tane	God of forests and trees
Tane Mahuta	God of the forests
Tangaroa	God of the sea
Tangata whenua	Home people or an indigenous person
Tangi or Tangihanga	Funeral
Tapu	Sacred
Taranaki	A place on the West Coast of the North Island of New Zealand
Taumaranui	A town in the centre of the North Island
Taupo	A city, area in the centre of the North Island
Tauranga	A place in the Bay of Plenty, central North Island
Tāwhaki	A māori demi-god
Tawhirimatea	God of the winds
Te Aitanga a Mahaki	A sub tribe from the central/east side of the North Island of New Zealand
Te Ao Kōhatu	The ancient world
Te Ao Māori	The Māori world and a Māori world view (also encompasses language and culture)
Te Ao Mārama	The world of light
Te Araroa	A place on the East Coast of New Zealand
Te Arawa	A tribe from the central North Island, mainly around the city of Rotorua
Te Aute	A well known Māori Boys Secondary School

Te Kōhinga Marae	University Marae
Te Kuiti	A town in central North Island
Te pō	Night or darkness
Te Rauparaha	A well known Māori chief from the 1800's
Te Reo Māori	The Māori language
Te Tohu Paetahi	A degree taught in the Māori language
Te Whānau Reo Rua	Bilingual teacher education programme
	A younger person
Teina	
Tēnā koe	'Hello' to one person
Tikanga	Protocol, customary practices, culture
Tikitiki	A place on the East Coast of New Zealand
Timatanga Hou	University Bridging programme
Tino rangatiratanga	Sovereignty
Titiro	Look
Tohatohatia	The capacity to share
Tohu	Qualification
Tōhunga	A priest or person with sacred knowledge
Tuakana	An older person
Tuhoe	A tribe in central north island
Tukutuku	Refers to the winding out of the line
Tūmatauenga	God of war and man
Tūmuaki	Principal
Tupuna	Ancestors
Turangawaewae	A place of standing
Turangi	A place in central north island
Tūturu	Steeped in or strong sense of
Urupa	Graveyard
Uwha	Femal element
Waha nui	Big mouth
Waiata	A song
Waikato	Tribal boundary encompassing the Hamilton area and more
Waiora	Well-being
Wairuatanga	Spirituality
Waka	A canoe or vehicle for transport
Wānanga	Institution of higher learning
Wānanga Māori	Institutions of higher learning
Wanganui or Whanganui	A place on the West Coast of the North Island of New Zealand
Whāia te iti kahurangi	The determination to succeed

Whaikorero	Māori speech
Whakaaro	Idea
Whakamana	To empower or capacity to empower
Whakapakari	Language paper in Kōhanga Reo
Whakapapa	Geneology
Whakapiringatanga	Create an environment that incorporates pedagogical knowledge and imagination
Whakarongo	Listen
Whakatakoto tikanga	The capacity to plan ahead
Whakatau	Less formal greeting ceremony
Whakawhanaungatanga	Building relationships or social supports
Whānau	Family
Whanaunga	Relatives
Whanaungatanga	Relationships
Whāngai	Adopted by a family member or family as a whole
Whare Tapa Whā	Four-sided house
Whare Wānanga	A place or house of learning
Wharekura	Secondary school component of Kura Kaupapa Māori
Wharenuī or Wharepuni	Meeting house
Whātumanawa	Emotional aspect or beating heart

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APPENDICES

Appendix A : Information Letter

Dear Participant,

Thank you for expressing an interest in this research project about academically successful Māori Special Admission Entrants to University. This letter explains my research in a little more detail and seeks your written consent to take part in this study.

The original idea for this research topic came from a conversation I had with my mother about her experiences as a mature Māori student and her pathway to becoming a teacher. I became particularly interested in my mother's story mainly because she left school at a very young age with no formal qualifications. As I listened to her story, I wondered why a mature Māori woman who "hated" school would want to attend university. More importantly, I wanted to find out how she became so successful at university? I started delving into the literature to find answers to this question, however, it soon became obvious that very little has been written about the mature Māori students who have entered university under Special Admission entrance criteria. I would like to add to the knowledge and understanding in this area by making the experiences of this particular group of students visible. I would like to enlist your help in order to achieve this aim.

This research project attempts to find answers to three main questions : What experiences do Māori Special Admission Entrants to University have on their way to becoming academically successful ? What does it mean to "be Māori" and a Special Admission Entrant at University? What can be done to make the University environment more amenable to Māori Special Admission Entrants?

As part of your participation in this project, you will be asked to comment about your early educational experiences and describe your pathway into university. You will also be asked to share your experiences of being an academically successful Māori Special Admission Entrant to University. In your role as research participant you will be expected to :

1. Participate in three (two hour) interviews.
2. Read the transcripts from your interviews and make any changes that you see are appropriate (You have the right to withdraw or amend any information in these transcripts up until the end of the data collection phase).
3. Comment on key themes that emerge from the research in light of your own experience.

As a doctoral student at the University of Waikato, I am bound by several ethical guidelines that I would like to inform you of :

1. Informed Consent – Once you have sufficient information to make a decision, I need to collect a signed Consent Form from you in order for you to participate in this research.
2. Confidentiality – Pseudonyms will be used to protect your anonymity in this research. Individual names will not be revealed in any publication or dissemination of research findings. Personal and contextual facts that may reveal your identity will not be used or will be altered to protect your anonymity. In the information gathered from you, your identity will remain confidential to myself and two research supervisors.
3. Right to Decline – You have the right to decline to participate in, or to withdraw from the study up until the end of the data collection phase. This phase will end as soon as you have approved and returned your

third and final interview transcript to the researcher. You also have the right to amend or withdraw any information that is collected from you up until the end of data collection.

4. Receipt of information – You will receive copies of the transcripts from your interview and will be asked to check these for accuracy.
5. Anonymous extracts will be used in my thesis and in associated publications such as conference proceedings, journal articles and lectures.
6. Right to Complain – You have the right to complain if you have any concerns about my conduct in this research. You may direct your complaints to my Principal Supervisor :

Supervisor

Contact Details

I have included a Consent Form, Personal Details Form and a self addressed envelope in this information package. If you are willing to participate in this research, could you please fill in the Consent Form and Personal Details Form and return them to me in the envelope provided. The personal details form will help me to organise the research project. For example, the information will help me to organise interviews according to location (Wellington region, Auckland Region etc).

Once again, I would like to thank you for the interest that you have expressed in this project and I look forward to your continued involvement should you decide to become involved in this research.

Yours Sincerely,

Appendix B : Consent Form

I consent to the recording of my interview. I agree that the supply of information is voluntary and that the recording of my interview and associated material will be held at the researcher's home address:

I understand that the taped interviews will be transcribed professionally and that I will receive copies of these transcripts to check that they are accurate. I also understand that I may amend these transcripts up until the end of the data collection phase. I understand that the data collection phase will end as soon as I approve and return my third and final interview transcript to the researcher.

I have been informed of my right to remain anonymous. A pseudonym (mock name) will be used to protect my anonymity in this research. I choose to be known as _____ in this study.

I understand that my identity in all the information gathered about me will remain confidential to the researcher and two research supervisors.

I agree to the use of anonymous extracts in the thesis and in associated publications such as conference proceedings, journal articles and lectures.

I understand that I am free to withdraw from the research without any redress or consequences up until the end of data collection.

I have been informed of my right to complain and understand that I can approach Supervisor with any concerns I have about this research project.

Signed

Date

Appendix C: Personal Details Form

Full Name

Address

Date of Birth

Iwi affiliation(s)

Hapū affiliation(s)

Occupation

Contact Numbers

phone _____	fax _____
e-mail _____	mobile _____

Education

Please list all the schools/institutions that you have attended, city/country and years attended (e.g. Sunset Primary School, Rotorua, 1984 – 1985, Westbrook Primary, Rotorua 1986 - 1988).

Primary School(s)

Secondary School(s)

In what year did you leave school? _____

At what age did you enter University ? _____

Tertiary Institution(s)

Academic Qualifications (please include the years they were conferred)

School Qualifications

Tertiary Qualifications

In what year did you leave university? _____

Appendix D : Interview Prompts

Early Educational Experiences.

Tell me about your schooling experiences - primary, intermediate and secondary.

What was school like for you?

What did you like about school ?

What didn't you like about school?

How did you achieve academically at school?

How was education and schooling viewed by your family?

At what age did you leave school?

What made you decide to leave school?

Was your decision to leave school supported by the members of your family ?

Pathway into University.

Tell me what you did after leaving school.

When did you decide to go into tertiary education?

What motivated you to attend a university?

Were there any key people or events that contributed to this decision to attend university?

What did your family and friends think about your decision to attend university ?

University study.

What did you expect university to be like? Was it all that you expected it to be?

Tell me about the degree programme you enrolled in at university. What motivated you to choose this particular course of study?

What did you enjoy about studying at university?

What did you find challenging about university study?

- environmental conditions, expectations.

Academic success.

What has academic success and "getting your degree" meant for you personally and for your family?

What sacrifices (if any) have you and your family made in order to achieve success at university?

What rewards have there been ?

How has your experience at university been different from your experiences at school?

Why do you think you were so successful at university?

What do you think has contributed to your academic success at university? What support networks have you accessed?

Being a Māori Special Admission Student at university.

Tell me what is it like being a Māori special admission student at university.

What have you found the most rewarding about being a Māori Special Admission Student in a university environment?

What have you found the most challenging about being Māori Special Admission Entrant in a university environment?

You have succeeded at university however not all Māori Special Admission Entrants to University do so. Why were you so successful?

What else do you think needs to be done to make it easier for Māori Special Admission Entrants to succeed at University?

What do you think are the main issues facing Māori Special Admission students studying at university?