"Everything Has Shaped You"

Contributors to young Māori university students' ability to flourish

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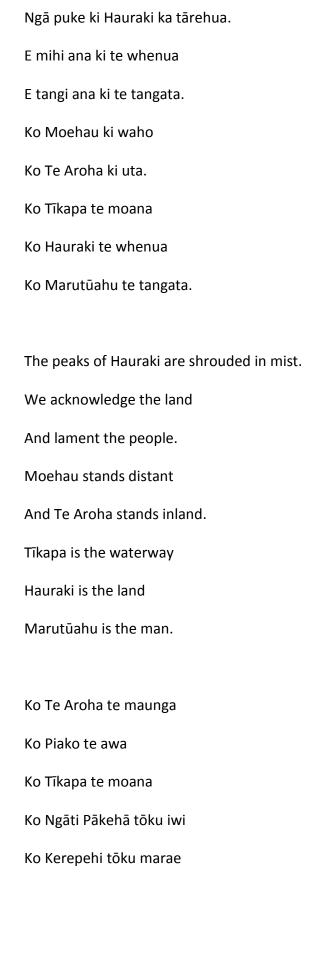THE UNIVERSITY OF
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Abstract

There are many disparities when considering the health and wellbeing of Māori in Aotearoa today, and the education sector is no different, with Māori less likely to leave school with level 2 certificate or higher compared with non-Māori. In response to the deficit orientated research on Māori and education, my thesis explores those factors contributing to young Māori tertiary students flourishing. My research includes five students from the University of Waikato who were between the ages of 17-24 years. A multi-method qualitative approach was utilised while engaging a Kaupapa Māori research framework. Participants were found to have a range of interconnected factors which contribute to their ability to flourish both inside and outside of the university. Of particular importance to my participants was relational connectedness or whanaungatanga within and outside of the tertiary environment, landscapes which offered multiple forms of care, and notions of both collective and individual motivation. Some of the challenges experienced by my participants included a sense of socio-cultural isolation, the minimal inclusion of Māori worldviews and perspectives within the general curriculum, and the personal stress of responding to negative stereotypes of Maori as generally unproductive members of society. Flourishing for my participants is therefore multi-layered, and recognises the interconnected nature of health and wellbeing.

My Pepeha

Ngā puke ki Hauraki ka tārehua.

E mihi ana ki te whenua

E tangi ana ki te tangata.

Ko Moehau ki waho

Ko Te Aroha ki uta.

Ko Tīkapa te moana

Ko Hauraki te whenua

Ko Marutūahu te tangata.

The peaks of Hauraki are shrouded in mist.

We acknowledge the land

And lament the people.

Moehau stands distant

And Te Aroha stands inland.

Tīkapa is the waterway

Hauraki is the land

Marutūahu is the man.

Ko Te Aroha te maunga

Ko Piako te awa

Ko Tīkapa te moana

Ko Ngāti Pākehā tōku iwi

Ko Kerepehi tōku marae

Ko Ngatea tōku kāinga

No Hauraki āhau

Ko Gavin tōku mātua

Ko Debby tōku whaea

Ko Danny tōku whaiāipo

Ko Darcie tōku ingoa

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Finally, I have to acknowledge the many researchers who have contributed to my knowledge surrounding this topic, due to their prior research (Mason Durie and Russell Bishop in particular make a dent in my reference list!).

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Chapter 1: Background and Literature Review

Despite the long-standing awareness of the disparities between Māori and non-Māori (particularly New Zealand European) within tertiary education, inequalities still persist today (Ashwell, Nikora, & Levy, 2003; Bishop, 2012; Curtis et al., 2014; Diamond, 2013; Dutton, Mayeda, Keil, & 'Ofamo'oni, 2016; Gorinski & Abernethy, 2007; O'Shea, Harwood, Kervin, & Humphry, 2013). Choosing to focus solely on individual factors in the belief that individuals have ultimate control over their ability to attain a higher education, disregards the environmental factors that largely control people's access to such choices and for Māori in particular, the consequences of colonialism (Bishop & Glynn, 2003; Suraj & Singh, 2011). However, by focusing solely on environmental factors and societal structures for explanations of the wider disparities between groupings, we can sometimes lose sight of individual achievements and progress that are taking place within education by Māori students (Durie, 2006b). These achievements can offer us important insights into what is going right and working well (Kaumoana, 2013). Thus, it is important to consider the individual *within* the environment, while also offering strategic solutions for supporting individual strengths while addressing environmental issues of importance (Diamond, 2013; Durie, 2006b; Phinney, Dennis, & Chuateco, 2005). This research considers the importance of having more respect for, and understanding of, Te Ao Māori (the Māori world), so that Māori values and practices can be interwoven with those of European, to the point that Māori can truly thrive as students and as Māori in general within society.

Research Focus

My research will explore the factors contributing to young Māori university students' ability to flourish. I will also investigate the interconnected nature of social, cultural, familial, educational, physical, and spiritual issues that may contribute to human flourishing. In terms of human flourishing, I will draw upon Mason Durie's description of Mauri Ora – Indigenous Human Flourishing, in which he illustrates several pathways toward a flourishing life for Māori,

involving cultural, family and whanau, societal, and environmental pathways (Durie, 2016). In Durie's framework, flourishing involves feeling confident and strong in one's culture, having a strong and healthy family and whānau unit, being involved and supported in society, and being within and contributing to a healthy environment (Durie, 2016).

The concept of flourishing in general has been discussed in much recent research in which researchers draw on a range of factors related to the health and wellbeing of both individuals and whānau within society at both the individual level as well as at the societal structural level (Hodgetts, Stolte & Rua, 2016; Kingi, Durie, Durie, Cunningham, Borman, & Ellison-Loschmann, 2014; Marks & Shah, 2004; Nikora, 2015; McEntee, Dy-Liacco & Haskins, 2013; Swearer & McGarry, 2011). The importance of flourishing for Māori can be understood when considering the disparities between Māori and non-Māori statistics for health, crime, and poverty. For example, considering statistics ranging from 2010-2013, Māori make up over double the rate of death by suicide per 100,000 compared with non-Māori (Ministry of Health, 2015b); Māori comprise just over half of the prison population (Statistic's New Zealand, 2012); and Māori are twice as likely to be unemployed than non-Māori (Ministry of Health, 2015b). Another crucial reason for this research is to challenge the deficit based research on Māori with a strengths based approach on Māori succeeding within the tertiary environment.

This background chapter consists of five sections that highlight the importance of my research. Section one provides some background to the colonisation of Aotearoa, and the long term impacts of colonisation on Māori today. This section considers how colonial processes have systematically undermined Māori ways of being and participation as Māori within Aotearoa. Section two focuses on health and wellbeing and how this relates to my topic in the broader sense. I will firstly discuss the dominance of the biomedical model of health, which offers a narrow focus on physical health, before considering more holistic Māori health models. The importance of considering more holistic approaches lies in the need to understand the many contributors to health, especially from a Māori worldview,

which prioritises holism. The concept of identity will be discussed within this section, which will include an introduction to whānau and geographical connectedness as two important contributors to Māori identity, and discussion of the interconnected self. Following this I will consider some Māori health and wellbeing statistics for both adults and young adults to outline the general picture of Māori health and wellbeing. Alongside this there will be discussion of the social determinants of health to illustrate how wider societal issues impact on the health of Māori beyond a purely biomedical approach. Section three of this chapter outlines the history and some definitions associated with human flourishing. Section four examines some of the literature on Māori in the tertiary environment, given my focus on Māori university students, and I will present some statistics regarding pass rates and qualification completion, and the barriers and supports that students have encountered during their studies. I will also focus on supports available specifically for Māori at the University of Waikato given my participant group. Section five will summarize key points covered in this chapter and provide an outline of the remainder of this thesis.

Section One: Colonisation within Aotearoa

The first interaction of Europeans with Māori involved Abel Tasman in 1642, then the next engagement did not occur for well over a hundred years when Captain James Cook arrived in 1769 (King, 2001). These initial interactions were the first exposures of Māori with Europeans, which were followed by further encounters, firstly with sealers, whalers and traders from 1790 and then with missionaries from 1814 (King, 2001). Trade made up a large part of the interactions between Māori and Europeans in these early times, in which Europeans saw value in natural resources, for example flax, timber, seals and whales, while Māori were interested in European tools and technologies (Orange, 1989; Walker, 1990). With the arrival of the Europeans to Aotearoa there was also the introduction of types of disease which Māori had no natural immunity such as tuberculosis and influenza (Walker, 1990). Disease, along with the land wars of the mid-1800s ensured the Māori population diminished substantially to the point of extinction by the beginning of the 1900s (King, 2001; Walker, 1990).

During the early settlement of British citizens, traders, business people, convicts and explorers into Aotearoa around the early 1800's, a sense of law and authority was required to curb some of the less savoury deals and transactions, particularly over land, between the British and Māori (King, 2003; Walker, 1990). In order to affirm a societal structure within Aotearoa, and to make certain of British claim to the country, the Treaty of Waitangi was developed by the British in 1840 (Walker, 1990). The intention behind the Treaty was to outline terms of engagement between the British and Māori by setting up a governance structure that allowed for a lawful British settlement but allowed for Māori power and authority to be maintained (Thomas & Nikora, 1992). Despite the intentions of the Treaty of Waitangi, the relationship between the British and Māori was always going to be complicated because the Treaty had two versions, one version in English and one version in Māori (*Cultural identity: A resource for educators; Whakamana tangata*, 1992; Orange, 1989). The differing versions meant that interpretation of the Treaty was going to be difficult (*Cultural identity:*

A resource for educators; Whakamana tangata, 1992; Orange, 1989). For example, within the Treaty's three articles, article one of the English version claims the Crown having "all the rights and power of sovereignty" (Orange, 1989, p. 30) over Aotearoa land, and thus Māori land (*Cultural identity: A resource for educators; Whakamana tangata*, 1992). However, the Māori text provides for colonial governance over Māori land and not 'sovereignty' (*Cultural identity: A resource for educators; Whakamana tangata*, 1992; Walker, 1990). Further, the fact that 400 chiefs signed the Māori version as opposed to the 30 that signed the English version is important to consider, especially given the fact that the English version (with the least signatures) was the version of the Treaty presented to the Queen to be signed (*Cultural identity: A resource for educators; Whakamana tangata*, 1992). As a result, the Māori version of the Treaty is operationalised within contemporary governance issues. A second issue surrounding clarity of the Treaty was the differing understandings and value placed on things; for example resources such as land being sacred for Māori compared with land as being secular and a commodity for European meant that agreement was improbable (Thomas & Nikora, 1992). Despite the differing wording and apparent understanding surrounding the Treaty versions, it has been claimed that the 'spirit' of the treaty was clear, in that Māori believed that they were entering into a partnership with the British, in which protection applied to the Māori people as well as their resources, and participation within the new society would be shared (*Cultural identity: A resource for educators; Whakamana tangata*, 1992; Orange, 1989).

During the first few decades after the signing of the Treaty, it was a surprise to Māori that many more Europeans would continue to arrive to Aotearoa, and this put pressure on making Māori land available for purchase by settlers (King, 2003; Orange, 1989). With this increased population from new arrivals and the violation of the Treaty through the mid-1800s, internal rife between British Crown and Māori was occurring that eventually lead to what is now considered the Aotearoa Land Wars and the subsequent population decrease of Māori as a result of civil war between Māori and the Crown as well as the effects of

introduced diseases as mentioned earlier (King, 2003; McLauchlan, 2014; Walker, 1990). European numbers had grown while Māori numbers had fallen, to the point where "Māori had gone from a position where they made up 98% of the population to only 8%" (Te Wananga o Aotearoa, 2011, p. 30) by the 1900s. With the shift in population majority, Europeans became the dominant group within Aotearoa, and this is where the societal structure of Aotearoa took its greatest turn (King, 2003).

The land wars of 1843 – 1916 were many battles due to many reasons, but not least of which was the dishonouring of the Treaty and the confiscations and legislations surrounding land (McLauchlan, 2014; Walker, 1990). Simultaneously, a number of Parliamentary Acts were put in place that disadvantaged Māori from their land and breached the Treaty, such as The New Zealand Settlement Act of 1863 which in order to pay for the war, Māori land was confiscated in large quantities (Mason, 2003); the Public Works Act of 1864 where the Government could claim land on the basis of using it for public development, for example roads or buildings (*Cultural identity: A resource for educators; Whakamana tangata*, 1992); and the Māori Affairs Act of 1953 where Māori land not in 'use' was deemed waste land and could be claimed (*Cultural identity: A resource for educators; Whakamana tangata*, 1992). Each of these acts contributed further manipulation by Europeans over Māori, and took away the precious resource of land to be used economically. Māori were slowly and systematically having their culture and identity stripped away from them in all regards. During the 1860's a policy was put in place which set English as the sole language to be spoken within schools, while speaking Māori was prohibited and even punished (King, 2003). The Tohunga suppression act of 1907 is another example of the loss of culture, in which attempts were made to stop Tohunga, or Māori healers from doing their work due to concern about the 'misleading' nature of the type of healing (spiritual and supernatural), and also the desire to promote European models of health (Jones, 2007; Moon, 2003). Māori were expected to assimilate by leaving behind their cultural ways and practices to fit into the new European life and worldview (Derby, 2011).

The 1960's brought about the Hunn Report (King, 2003). This report brought to light the reality of urbanisation for Māori, and how the government was not prepared for the number of people who would require living arrangements in the new urban setting (including houses, jobs, and education) (King, 2003). Rural living became a thing of the past for majority of Māori after the Second World War (Derby, 2011). The need to move into the cities in order to find work was the motive, and the majority of Māori shifted at record breaking speeds so that come 1986, 83% of Māori lived urbanely compared to 83% living rurally in the early 1900s (Derby, 2011). This mass move created issues not found before, in which many Europeans who lived urban life had likely never lived around many Māori, and this led to discrimination of Māori, but also differing tribes now had to live near one another and this in itself was another issue (Derby, 2011). There were benefits to the Hunn report which aimed to tackle some of the issues that arose in regards to employment and education. An example of which was the introduction of the Māori Education Foundation, which had the purpose of aiding young Māori through secondary and tertiary schooling (King, 2003). Training courses prior to employment was another example, as well as housing opportunities, such as hostels being made available (King, 2003). However, despite the development of these helpful opportunities, they were insufficient for the number of Māori moving to urban life, and the number of issues this created (King, 2003), and so Māori were largely not supported by the Government in this move (Derby, 2011). In the words of King (2003), a cycle was created for Māori in which: "lower standards of educational achievement led to lower-income jobs or unemployment, which led to lower standards of housing and health, which led to higher rates of crime, which led back to lower educational attainment, and so on." (p. 477). Many of the difficulties Māori faced with this early urban movement living included finding adequate housing, paid work, having limited education, and general discrimination (Derby, 2011). These issues are difficulties we see today with many Māori.

Māori have suffered intensely as a result of colonisation, as have many other indigenous groups: as described appropriately by one researcher "they became a

disadvantaged group in their own land." (McKenzie, 2005, p. 13). Colonisation occurs when "control over spirituality, land, law, language and education, health and family structures and finally culture itself pass from the Indigenous people to the colonizers." (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010, p. 354). The act of colonising countries has resulted in the destruction of indigenous peoples worldwide, including the Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and the First Nations of North America and Canada (Durie, 2004; Pack, Tuffin, & Lyons, 2016). The colonisation process decimated native languages, cultural practices, and ways of being (Durie, 2004; Pack et al., 2016; Robson & Harris, 2007; Rochford, 2004). A fracture develops in the identity of indigenous peoples and their future generations if they cannot form connections to their culture (Durie, 2004; Paringatai, 2014; Te Hiwi, 2008). Because Māori are considered a collectivist and holistically focused group (Durie, 1997; Durie, 1998; Pere, 1991), this connectedness to culture and ways of life involving other people and the environment is crucial. Although efforts are constantly being made by Māori to replenish their culture, it can be a slow and difficult process for many Māori, and many young Māori today are at risk of growing up having difficulties with their cultural identity (Te Hiwi, 2008). The concept of identity will be discussed in the next section in more detail.

In summary, this section has attempted to explain how the actions of the past have influenced the struggles faced today by many Māori with regard to their cultural identities and position within society. This has set the scene for consideration of the health and wellbeing of Māori within Aotearoa, the influence that European authority has had over societal structure, and how Māori fit within this structure. The next section of Chapter One focuses on health, where I will begin with a general background before focusing more specifically on Māori health and wellbeing.

Section Two: Health and Wellbeing Background

The Māori cultural sense of self is argued as being inherently relational, connected and interdependent (Durie, 2004; Marsden & Royal, 2003; Ministry of

Health, 2015b), which means the health and wellbeing of an individual is often considered within the health and wellbeing of the collective. This is indicative of health being 'holistic', as it is seen by many indigenous populations around the world (Carson, Dunbar, Chenhall, & Bailie, 2007). This section will give an outline of health, focusing first on the European dominant view of health, which includes the biomedical model; the World Health Organisation's definition of health; and the biopsychosocial model of health. I will define wellbeing as it will be understood in the context of this thesis, and then focus on some Māori health models. Following this, I consider three important aspects of Māori culture in relation to my research: identity, whanau, and geographical connectedness. Following this is the concept of the interconnected self, which we can relate to identity. I will then consider some of the Māori health and wellbeing statistics in an attempt to position contemporary Māori health, before finishing with the importance of the social determinants of health and why health is more than bodily (mal)function.

It has often been the view of European society that the physical state of a person, in other words the bio-medical perspective of health, is of primary concern (Carson et al., 2007). The bio-medical model of health "assumes disease to be fully accounted for by deviations from the norm of measureable biological (somatic) variables." (Engel, 2012, p. 379). The bio-medical model of health thus focuses more on physical symptoms, measurable concerns, and health equating to the absence of disease (Wade & Halligan, 2004). Scientific study was, and still is, held in high importance, and "classical science readily fostered the notion of the body as a machine, of disease as the consequence of breakdown of the machine, and of the doctor's task as repair of the machine." (Engel, 2012, p. 382). While this particular model is obviously important, focusing on the body as the only arena for health can sometimes be at the expense of other equally crucial and strongly influencing aspects of health and wellbeing, such as the social, mental, spiritual and cultural facets of people's lives (Carson et al., 2007; Durie, 2004; Engel, 2012). In 1946 the World Health Organisation (WHO) developed a definition of health that is still used today; that health is "a state of complete

physical, social and mental well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (World Health Organization, 2016d, p. 1). Shifting from the bio-medical model, the inclusion of the social and mental facets of people's lives in this definition by the WHO offered a more encompassing view of the multiple factors of health, as opposed to focusing on the physical state alone. This definition points out the flaws in considering health to mean only the absence of disease by factoring in relationships and general social engagement as well as mental health, which is more difficult to 'measure' but no less important in its relation to an individual's life as a whole.

Spirituality is not clearly outlined within the above definition from the WHO in regards to health, yet spirituality is another important aspect of health for many people (Verghese, 2008). One need only consider the place of Christian-based chapels and Chaplains in hospitals to realise religious faiths must play some role in health and healing. The same could be said for many other religious groups. In an attempt to address the importance of socio-environmental aspects for health, the biopsychosocial model was developed by George Engel in 1977 (Ghaemi, 2009). Engel was dissatisfied with the limited nature of the bio-medical model of health and tried to highlight the importance of combining the biomedical model with psychological, relational, socioenvironmental and spiritual/moral ideas of health and illness (Hodgetts et al., 2010). However, despite this model having existed since the 1970s, and the acceptance of multiple factors of causation (Hatala, 2012), the model is criticised with regard to measurement and definability of the additional factors of health (psychological, relational, socioenvironmental, and spiritual/moral) (Ghaemi, 2009), and also criticised in regards to the apparent separation of claimed holistic factors (Hatala, 2012; Smith, Fortin, Dwamena, & Frankel, 2013). These critiques speak to the difficulty in building a comprehensive definition and understanding of such a complex and interwoven reality as the holism of health (Hatala, 2012; Smith et al., 2013). The importance of understanding such critiques and limitations in relation to my thesis is because of the emphasis I will place on holistic health, and the difficulty of creating a clear picture of a more holistic model of health. Despite its

limitations, what the biopsychosocial model of health shows is that there is a growing understanding of the need to include factors much broader than bodily functions.

In considering health and wellbeing, one might wonder about the differences between the two, and whether they can be used interchangeably. As with health, the concept of wellbeing has various definitions. Wellbeing can be defined as ". . . not a matter of individual health, but rather a transaction between individuals and their environments." (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010, p. 30). This definition concludes that wellbeing is more than just health, and that it is also more than just the individual; instead, wellbeing is how the individual fits into the world around them (Marks & Shah, 2004; McEntee, Dy-Liacco, & Haskins, 2013; Nikora, 2015). A second definition of wellbeing or wellness is "...the realization of the fullest potential of an individual—physically, psychologically, socially, spiritually, and economically—and the fulfilment of expectations associated with one's roles in the family, community, spiritual life, workplace, and other settings" (Smith, Tang, & Nutbeam, 2006, p. 5). This definition more obviously blends together holistic health definitions with other factors arguably aligned more traditionally with the concept of 'wellbeing'. Here, wellbeing may also involve other related factors such as the growth or development of the individual in order to reach the 'fullest potential' that was outlined in the definition (Bernabé, Lisbona, Palací, & Martín-Aragón, 2014; Fredrickson & Losada, 2005; Marks & Shah, 2004). This last definition by Smith et al. (2006) was added to the WHO health promotion glossary and reinforces the WHO's understanding now of health and wellbeing to be inclusive of broader factors. For the purposes of this thesis, health and wellbeing may appear to be referred to as interchangeable; this is because of the interconnected nature of health beyond the individual body.

Māori health models.

From a Aotearoa perspective, there are a couple of traditional Māori models of health that are of particular relevance to my research (McNeill, 2009). My decision to consider Durie's Te Whare Tapa Wha model (Durie, 1998) and Pere's

Te Wheke model (Pere, 1991), was not only because they are arguably the most widely recognised Māori health models, but also because of my belief in their relevance to my particular research. These two specific Māori health models will now be discussed.

Durie's Te Whare Tapa Wha model depicts a wharenui, or meeting house.

Figure 1: Te Whare Tapa Wha

Figure 1: Te Whare Tapa Wha includes the four walls of a wharenui: Taha Hinengaro (Mental health): Inseparability of mind and body; expressing thoughts and feelings. Taha Whānau (Extended family health): Wider social systems; belonging, sharing and caring. Taha Tinana (Physical health): Good physical health. Taha Wairua (Spiritual health): Unseen and unspoken energies; faith and spiritual awareness (Durie, 1998)

This wharenui symbolises the four parts of an individual's health and well-being, which act as the four walls holding up the wharenui, keeping it strong and in balance (Durie, 1998; Ministry of Health, 2015a). Durie (1998) compares the individual person to a wharenui; that is, if each wall of the wharenui is strong, so too is the health of the individual. If, however, a single wall is weak or compromised, the structure of the wharenui is compromised, and the individual's health, in a holistic sense, is out of balance (Durie, 1998; Ministry of Health, 2015a). The importance of this model is that it not only includes a focus on the individual and their meaning, but also highlights the need to understand

how individuals fit into their social surroundings and their general wider environment, highlighting the "complex web of life" (Rochford, 2004, p. 48) that individuals negotiate. Because it is a Māori health model with a focus on the Māori worldview, this model enables the health sector to challenge mainstream health provision in Aotearoa, which is primarily bio-medically focused.

Similarly, the Te Wheke Model established by Pere (1991) considers an individual's health as linked with a variety of factors. The Te Wheke model highlights the need to understand the individual within the family collective and the wider environment they are all a part of (Ministry of Health, 2015a; Pere, 1991; Porter, Bothne, & Jason, 2009). The image in this model (see Figure 2) is of an octopus or Wheke.

Figure 2: Te Wheke

Figure 2: **Te Wheke highlights the interconnected factors of wellbeing. The head and body of the wheke represent Te Whānau – the family, while the eyes of the wheke represent Waiora – total wellbeing for the individual and family. Each tentacle represents one of the following: Wairuatanga – spirituality, Hinengaro – the mind, Taha tinana – physical wellbeing, Whanaungatanga – extended family, Mauri – life force in people and objects, Mana ake – unique identity of individuals and family, Ha a koro ma, a kui ma – breath of life from forebears, and Whatumanawa – the open and healthy expression of emotion (Ministry of Health, 2015a).**

The head and each tentacle on the Wheke represent an aspect of an individual's life (Ministry of Health, 2015a). This model emphasises that the needs of the individual are connected to such things as their whanau, kuia and koroua or elders, and a person's mauri or life force; this is very similar to Te Whare Tapa Wha.

Each of these Māori health models reflect the promotion of the Māori self as being connected to other people and the environment in its broadest form, and how the multiple interconnected factors must all be fulfilled in order for the

individual or whānau to be healthy as a whole. The importance of this belief in Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) clashes with traditional European approaches to health, as Rochford (2004) states:

> Māori believe that most health services follow a biomedical model based on a reductionist worldview, which does not recognize things that cannot be measured. As a result, the service is able only to respond to the physical (or tinana) needs of Māori (p. 47).

What this quote highlights is that the development of the two Māori health models (Te Whare Tapa Wha and Te Wheke) has been a response to the lack of consideration of the Māori worldview in the health sector, and a strategy for promoting Māori-specific health and wellbeing in society (Rochford, 2004). Related to the Māori health models is the interrelated complex concept of identity, to which I will now turn my attention.

Identity.

Identity is a concept that is important across cultures because a person's identity explains who they are in the world (Fadjukoff & Kroger, 2016; Nikora, 2015; Paringatai, 2014). However, what are seen as 'important' or 'determining' factors of identity may differ across cultures, depending on worldview. Identity is something that is always developing, at any age (Fadjukoff & Kroger, 2016; Nikora, 2015; Paringatai, 2014), and as one grows through different stages in life, different situations, and encounters different worldviews, one's identity will face changes and additions (Nikora, 2015; Paringatai, 2014). As mentioned in the colonisation section, developing a 'strong' Māori identity can be a lot more difficult today because colonising factors have led to the dominance of the European worldview (Durie, 2004; Paringatai, 2014; Te Hiwi). Growing up 'Māori' does not mean the same thing today as it did prior to colonisation, or even after colonisation, and it will continue to change as the world changes (Nikora, 2015; Paringatai, 2014). An important point was highlighted by Kidman (2012), who researched geography and belonging for young Māori. Her point reminds us of the importance of cultural identity, and how identity can be changed:

> Indigenous cultural identity then, is not a static creation locked in a frozen embrace with the past, rather it can be seen as an agentic articulation of selfhood that aids Māori young people in their navigation of an uncertain future. (Kidman, 2012, p. 198).

This quote suggests that young Māori have a certain control over their cultural identity and how it develops, despite past events, and that a strong identity enables young Māori to work through life with a foundation of who they are as a person and what they stand for in this world. Important for Māori identity are questions such as, "who are your whanau?" and "where are you from?" These two questions are not the only things of relevance to identity, nor are they necessarily more important than other factors such as te reo Māori, the Māori language but they reflect some core components of Māori identity I would like to address at this point.

Whanau

As a generally collectivist culture, whānau is crucial to the health and wellbeing of Māori (Durie, 1997). Defining whānau has always been difficult for Europeans, as the understanding of what this encapsulates is relational and interdependent, as are things in Māori life (Durie, 2004; Marsden & Royal, 2003). This means that the often translated equivalent of whānau as 'family' is insufficient; while whānau can refer to the immediate family, it is also the extended family and even broader connections than this (Mead, 2003; Walker, 2014). Mead (2003) defines whānau as being groups that can vary in size from small households to large extended families, which are reinforced by kinship or whakapapa, in which all members of the whānau are related in some way (Mead, 2003). Beyond the definition of whānau as being genealogically based (whakapapa whanau), the concept of kaupapa whānau is also important to consider. Kaupapa whānau is defined by Durie (2001) as being a group "who behave towards each other in a family-like manner" (p. 190) and by Waiti and Kingi (2014) as "not relations by kin, kaupapa whānau still fulfil the supporting and caring roles akin to whakapapa whanau." (p. 129). However, the importance of whānau for Māori is not only the influence whānau have on one's sense of identity, but also the

support system that is offered to an individual by whānau (Paringatai, 2014; Tomlins-Jahnke, 2002; Wilson et al., 2011). Here it is fitting to touch on social capital, whereby members of society can work and live together more or less easily based on underlying 'guides' such as values and understandings (Keeley, 2007). For Māori who can be a part of a large whānau group, these underlying values are of particular importance for maintaining cohesion (Kingi et al., 2014), particularly when the whānau generally work together for the good of the whanau, as opposed to the good of any one individual (Makereti, 1938). One particular value/practice that is very relevant when considering whānau is whanaungatanga (Kingi et al., 2014). Whanaungatanga is when an already established relationship must be constantly maintained (Bishop, 1995). This tends to invoke 'connection' and 'engagement' between family members or between people who may not be related but regard each other in a familial way (Bishop, 1995; Bishop, 1998; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2011). The importance of engaging in whanaungatanga is about there being a relationship that is fostered equally by those involved, providing a rewarding bond based on support and care, which contributes to one's wellbeing (McMurchy-Pilkington, 2011). For the remainder of this thesis I will be referring to whanaungatanga as the *entire* process of a relationship (which is an established relationship that obviously had to be previously established - whakawhanaungatanga).

While considering whanau, alongside health and wellbeing it is important to consider the role of Whānau Ora. Whānau Ora means the wellbeing of the whole whānau (Boulton & Gifford, 2014), and it is a response from the Government to address Māori health through promoting and maintaining the health of the whānau as based on the understanding that whānau health as a whole is crucial to Māori life (Boulton & Gifford, 2014; Durie, 1998; Pere, 1991). This means that rather than focusing solely on the individuals separately, whānau ora means considering individual health as it is determined within the health of the whanau, for example considering the cohesiveness of the whānau and their access to necessary resources (Te Puni Kokiri, 2016). In considering whānau ora we can recall the importance of the Māori health models (Durie, 1998; Pere, 1991).

Within this section I have considered identity in its relation to whānau importance and inclusivity. In addition to whānau being important, there can be particular spaces that are also important aspects of Māori identity.

Tūrangawaewae - Geographical connectedness

Tūrangawaewae or geographical markers are important to the identity of Māori (Durie, 2004; Kidman, 2012; Mutu, 2005; Tomlins-Jahnke, 2002). *Tūrangawaewae* can be defined as "'a standing place for the feet', although it is usually translated as 'a place to stand.'" (Kidman, 2012, p. 193). Tūrangawaewae is often regarded as one's traditional homelands within one's tribal lands and offers an individual a strong connection and sense of belonging reinforced by genealogy, because one's ancestors are a part of this land and thus they are too (Kidman, 2012; Royal, 2007; Tomlins-Jahnke, 2002). The relationship with one's tūrangawaewae as a tangible connection to the natural environment is intellectual, spiritual and emotional in nature (Durie, 2004; Orbell & Moon, 1985), which contributes to Māori health. This deep sense of connectedness with the environment comes from cosmological links to Papatuanuku, Earth Mother and Ranginui, Sky Father as well as their children such as Tane Mahuta (God of the forest) and Tangaroa (God of the sea) (Moon, 2003; Royal, 2007). Māori whakapapa traces their connectedness to these cosmological beings and creates a strong sense of obligation to care for the environment because they are a part of the land themselves, and caring for the land means caring for themselves (Moon, 2003; Royal, 2007).

The importance of tūrangawaewae is reflected in Māori pepeha, or tribal sayings, and the use of pepeha in Māori forms of greeting and processes of connecting with other Māori (Royal, 2007). These pepeha often include the identification of significant maunga (mountains), awa (waterways) and tupuna (ancestors), to explain to other Māori who they are and where they come from (Royal, 2007). The following is an example of a pepeha relative to the tribal people of Waikato:

Ko Taupiri te maunga

Ko Waikato te Awa

Ko Tainui te waka

Ko Tūrangawaewae te marae

Ko Waikato te iwi

Taupiri is my ancestral mountain

Waikato is my ancestral river

Tainui is my ancestral canoe

Tūrangawaewae is my ancestral marae

Waikato is my tribe

Here, the mountain of significance is Taupiri, the river is the Waikato, Tainui is the ancestral canoe that brought the Waikato people from The Pacific Islands to Aotearoa, Tūrangawaewae is the name of the marae of significance, and the Waikato tribe are the people. As a socio-cultural practice, pepeha, offer Māori a way to engage not only with their cultural identity in the broader sense, but also with their tribal identity, because the recited tūrangawaewae markers are significant to people's ancestral sense of being Māori and in this case, Waikato (Royal, 2007).

Another concept that contributes to the importance of tūrangawaewae is the notion of places as having health enhancing qualities (Gesler, 2003). There are multiple terms for this used within the literature, for example landscapes of care, therapeutic landscapes, or spaces of care. In the case of this thesis I will be referring to landscapes of care. Here, we can understand landscapes of care as developing through the relationship between a person, or people, and the space of relevance, in which personal care is provided (Gesler, 2003; Milligan & Wiles, 2010; Stolte & Hodgetts, 2015; Tucker, 2009; Wilson, 2003). This suggests that there can be a particular connection to certain landscapes; some people find 'meaning' and 'attachment' in them, as well as a relationship with this space and those involved, but also that through this relationship the space contributes to

one's health (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2002; Wilson, 2003). This links strongly to Māori beliefs surrounding health and identity through tūrangawaewae. It is important to note that while these landscapes may be 'public' or 'universal' (e.g. public areas like parks, beaches or hospitals), they can also be places less obvious or accessible to 'outsiders' such as paddocks on one's farm, or land within one's tribal area. Marae can also be an example, and is particularly important to consider in relation to my thesis. According to Mead (2003) a marae "is a significant site for carrying out the ceremonies and cultural practices of the owning group." (p. 96). Traditionally the owning group was the hapu (sub-tribe) of the area, meaning that most of those who owned the marae were linked genealogically; however, contemporarily owning marae has evolved, with marae being built on school, university, or even church grounds (Mead, 2003). With regard to the ceremonies and cultural practices of the marae, it has been described as a place in which Māori can "pray to God; rise tall in oratory; weep for our dead; house our guests; have our meetings, feasts, weddings and reunions; and sing and dance." (Tauroa & Tauroa, 2009, p. 19). The importance of the marae for Māori can be highlighted in the various events that can be held there and thus the many connections to the marae, which can be linked to the marae's role as tūrangawaewae and thus a connector to one's identity as Māori (Kidman, 2012; Mead, 2003; Tauroa & Tauroa, 2009). The crucial point to understand is the role of geographies in people's 'sense of place', or connectedness and belonging, which contribute to their health and wellbeing (Kidman, 2012; Tomlins-Jahnke, 2002; Wilson, 2003).

Considering what I have discussed thus far about Māori identity, it is important to note that various points of reference are used to build a Māori sense of self. Connecting with whānau and tūrangawaewae are just some of those things. But not all Māori claim a strong Māori identity, where colonial processes of assimilation have contributed to many Māori feeling disconnected from their culture, tūrangawaewae, tribal members and language, (Durie, 2004; Rochford, 2004; Te Hiwi, 2008). Māori today who do not have connections with parts of their traditional culture are no less Māori, but according to Durie (2003) their

potential to thrive as a culturally strong Māori person can be difficult if they lack access to things like their marae, tribal homelands, language and cultural practices (Durie, 2003).

The interconnected self.

Connection is a fundamental part of being human, as is reflected in Durie's Whare Tapa Wha model (Durie, 1998) and Pere's Te Wheke model (Pere, 1991). In both models an individual is considered healthy, with good wellbeing, if they are connected via a range of factors (Ministry of Health, 2015a). The connection could be about an individual understanding how they relate to the broader parts of their lives; in other words, where they fit in the world and with the people and things around them (Marks & Shah, 2004; McEntee et al., 2013; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010; Nikora, 2015; Ritskes, 2011; Smith et al., 2006; Waiti & Kingi, 2014). This relates to the interconnected self, in which the life of an individual is not solely about them as an entity; instead individuals are connected to others through relationships and also connected to their wider environment and cannot be isolated from these (Hodgetts et al., 2010). The people around us and the lives we live contribute to what we call our 'interconnected self' as claimed by Hodgetts et all (2010): "Who we are is connected to the places we inhabit, the things we use and the people we interact with." (Hodgetts et al., 2010, p. 140). This relates back to identity, in which we can consider whānau and geographical connectedness as being a part of the interconnected self because they are important for the identity of many Māori and thus a part of who they are. A theory which connects with the interconnected self is that of actor-network theory. Actor-network theory in its simplest form explains that all things in life and the world can be seen as 'actors' that have an influence over our lives, limited not only to humans and things which are 'alive' but also things which are not; for example, material objects and technology (Latour, 2005). The purpose of the theory is to highlight how one is never 'alone' in one's actions, and that there are always actors who play a role in life situations (Latour, 2005), fitting nicely with the notion of interconnectedness and the idea that nothing can or should be viewed in isolation (Hodgetts et al., 2010).

Despite the fact that today there is growing awareness of the multiple factors of health and wellbeing, and the Māori health models offering an appropriate guide to Māori belief surrounding health and wellbeing, another consequence of colonisation on Māori includes the poor contemporary health profile of Māori in Aotearoa today. It is to this material I would like to now consider.

Māori health and wellbeing statistics.

Māori comprise 15% of the total population of Aotearoa (Statistics New Zealand, 2013), and on average, Māori have higher rates of many health risks and lower wellbeing compared to European New Zealanders, who make up 74% of Aotearoa's population (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Alongside this, Māori also have more difficulty receiving appropriate healthcare (Ministry of Health, 2015b; Robson & Harris, 2007). Appropriate healthcare includes high quality care and service, but also education around what health promotion looks like, and the importance of risk prevention for example to combat the higher rate of Māori hospitalisation rates compared with non-Māori populations (Robson & Harris, 2007).

The major causes of death for Māori men between 2010 and 2012 were ischaemic heart disease, lung cancer, suicide, diabetes and motor vehicle accidents (Ministry of Health, 2015b). For Māori women the major causes of death were lung cancer, ischaemic heart disease, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, cerebrovascular disease (stroke) and diabetes (Ministry of Health, 2015b). Looking at other areas of concern for health risks, smoking rates show stark differences between Māori and non-Māori, both for youth and adults (Ministry of Health, 2015b). Because of the focus on young adults in this study, inclusion of younger cohort statistics are relevant; for 14-15 year-olds in 2014, the results showed that Māori males (5.4%) were more than three times as likely as non-Māori males (1.7%) to smoke daily, while Māori females (8.8%) were more than five times more likely to smoke daily than non-Māori females (1.7%) (Ministry of Health, 2015b). For those aged 15 years or older in 2013/14, Māori

males (41.1%) were more than twice as likely to be current smokers than non-Māori males (17.9%), while Māori females (42.7%) were more than three times as likely to be current smokers than non-Māori females (13.2%) (Ministry of Health, 2015b). In regard to the probability of an anxiety or depressive disorder, for 2013/14, Māori males (9.6%) were just over twice as likely to be diagnosed with one of these disorders when compared with non-Māori males (4.5%), while the rates for Māori females were 9.5% compared with non-Māori females 7.6% (Ministry of Health, 2015b). With regard to suicide rates for 2010-2012, across all age groups Māori males made up double the percentage of death by suicide (24.7%) per 100,000 cases for these years, compared with non-Māori males (14.0%), while Māori females made up just over double the percentage (9.8%) per 100,000 people compared with non-Māori females (4.4%) (Ministry of Health, 2015b). For Māori aged between 15-24 years, Māori males made up just over twice the percentage of death by suicide (52.4%) per 100,000 as non-Māori males (23.5%), while Māori females made up almost four times the percentage (29.2%) of suicides per 100,000 compared with non-Māori females (7.4%) (Ministry of Health, 2015b). As a point of comparison to another indigenous population, the rate of death by suicide of Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders for the year of 2010 was found to be 2.6 times the rate of non-Indigenous Australians (Australian Government Department of Health, 2013). Similarly then, the indigenous populations of consideration (Māori alongside Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander) can be twice as likely to die by suicide than the non-indigenous of the country in question, which can suggest concern about the general health of Indigenous populations when compared to non-indigenous.

For socio-economic factors such as education achievement and unemployment, the statistical disparities are not much different to the health statistics above, where Māori continue to have lower levels of education and higher levels of unemployment when compared to non-Māori (Ministry of Health, 2015b). With regard to completion of high school education (considered to be level 2 NCEA or higher) in 2013, Māori males had completion rates of 42.1% compared with non-

Māori male completion rates of 65.2%, while Māori females had rates of 47.8% compared with non-Māori female rates of 63.4% (Ministry of Health, 2015b). Considering unemployment rates for 15+ year olds in 2013, Māori males (9.8%) were more than twice as likely to be unemployed as non-Māori males (3.9%), while Māori females (10.9%) were also more than twice as likely as non-Māori females (4.1%) to be unemployed (Ministry of Health, 2015b). For imprisonment rates in 2012, Māori made up just over half of the prison population at 51%, while Europeans made up 33% (Statistic's New Zealand, 2012) which is astonishing considering Māori make up only 15% of Aotearoa's population.

What the statistics tell us is that Māori tend to have poorer health in general than non-Māori, so the question is why? Are poor Māori health outcomes the result of individual decision making? Or is there something else at play that allows a small proportion of Aotearoa's population to have the worst health outcomes? To gain an insight into why a health discrepancy exists between Māori and non-Māori, I will consider the social determinants of health, and how wider societal factors contribute to lower health and wellbeing for Māori.

The social determinants of health.

Health inequalities more or less highlight the differences in health position between groups within a society (World Health Organization, 2016a), for example, if looking at morality rates between social classes within society, the differences between these groups would show health inequalities (World Health Organization, 2016a). With reference to health inequalities, the WHO states the importance of understanding that these inequalities are linked to politics at the monetary, power, and resource level, rather than being reducible to the fault of the individual for the choices they make (World Health Organization, 2016c). An important point regarding health inequalities is that when they happen on a wider scale, for example when considering the general health status of an Indigenous population compared to the colonising population, there are more complex influences behind the inequalities than the individuals themselves (Carson et al., 2007; Simpson, Adams, Oben, Wicken, & Duncanson, 2015; World

Health Organization, 2008, 2016c). To really understand the health inequalities between groups is to understand the social determinants of health (SDH). One key theorist of the SDH is Michael Marmot Chair of the WHO Commission on Social Determinants of Health (World Health Organization, 2008). The following is a definition: "The social determinants of health are the conditions in which people are born, grow, live, work and age." (World Health Organization, 2016c, p. 1). With an emphasis on the word 'conditions', the SDH consider an individual's or a collective's health and explain how health is determined by the social, political and economic structures in place within that society, and thus the conditions of their life (Carson et al., 2007; Wilkinson & Marmot, 2003; World Health Organization, 2008). Some examples of SDH are accessibility to good, affordable housing (which is warm and free of health hazards); accessibility to clean water and nutritious food that provides good sustenance; and employment that is safe and fair (hours are appropriate for capabilities, payment appropriate to hours worked and living requirements) (World Health Organization, 2008). This aim of SDH is not to argue that individuals have no control at all over their lives, but instead that choices and opportunities are influenced to a significant level by societal structures that restrict people's abilities to act (Carson et al., 2007; Marmot & Wilkinson, 2005; Suraj & Singh, 2011). For example, consider the housing market, and the inability for families to control its fluctuation, but the reality of them having to potentially buy smaller, older houses which are now more expensive, or, having to continue to rent a house instead due to inability to afford the mortgage. Non-communicable diseases are also a very important part of SDH; these are diseases that are chronic or long-term, and not infectious or 'caught', and include conditions such as cancer and diabetes (World health Organization, 2016b). The incidence of non-communicable diseases such as cardiovascular diseases, cancers, respiratory diseases and diabetes is much higher for Māori than non-Māori (Ministry of Health, 2015b). Such diseases relate to socio, political, economic and physical environment in which Māori exist, and reflect the interrelated and interdependent factors that influence Māori health today and position Māori as defective. The SDH allow us to challenge the notion that Māori health is a direct result of individual lifestyle choices alone.

Having discussed health and wellbeing statistics and the social determinants of health which include some of the wider factors related to health and wellbeing, I will now consider the concept of human flourishing.

Section Three: Human Flourishing

This section will reflect upon the notion of 'Human flourishing' which is the focus of my thesis. Going back to ancient Greece, the philosopher Aristotle is known for the concept of *Eudaimonia* (Crespo & Mesurado, 2015; Deci & Ryan, 2008; Ryff, 2013), which, according to Sirgy (2012) "translates as flourishing, well-being, success, or the opportunity to lead a purposeful and meaningful life." (p. 7). The concept of Eudaimonia has been commonly used alongside another concept, *hedonia*, which focuses on happiness and how one's life is viewed (Deci & Ryan, 2008; Keyes & Annas, 2009); however, the concept of hedonia can appear as more individualistic compared to Māori notions of whānau and collectivism (Marsden & Royal, 2003). The point is that flourishing as a concept is ancient, and researchers such as Durie (2016) have been drawing on it in more recent times to consider Māori flourishing today.

Throughout the definitions of flourishing, there are some keywords that stand out, including strong relationships (Diener et al., 2010; Human Potential Centre, 2013), engagement in life (Diener et al., 2010; Human Potential Centre, 2013; Marks & Shah, 2004), growth or development (Fredrickson & Losada, 2005; Marks & Shah, 2004), reaching one's potential or fulfilment (Fredrickson & Losada, 2005; Marks & Shah, 2004; Smith et al., 2006), and meaningful life or purpose in life (Diener et al., 2010; Human Potential Centre, 2013; Keyes & Annas, 2009). Flourishing, then, may be considered as a life in which the individual is thriving as opposed to simply surviving; or in other words, living as opposed to simply being alive (Fredrickson & Losada, 2005; Keyes & Haidt, 2003), in which they are then an active member rather than a passive recipient, and thus, they are connected and engaged in life.

An interesting overarching keyword which appeared quite regularly within the literature in relation to flourishing is "wellbeing" (Diener et al., 2010; Marks & Shah, 2004; Nga Pae O Te Maramatanga, 2016; Nikora, 2015; Sirgy, 2012). Coming back to the wellbeing definitions mentioned in the previous section of this thesis, wellbeing was described more broadly than individual health (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010; Smith et al., 2006). Instead, wellbeing informed a more holistic view in which the individual as a whole was functioning well, which included an understanding of the dynamic between the individual and those within their environment who have influence over them and who in turn they influence (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010; Smith et al., 2006). This links to 'communality' between individuals which highlights that flourishing should be a collective focus rather than an individual pursuit (Swearer & McGarry, 2011). This argument is based on an 'ecology of human flourishing' which Swearer and McGarry (2011) define as

> . . . both a worldview and a lifestyle. An ecology of human flourishing, then, is an understanding of the world as organically interrelated and interdependent and is a way of being and acting in the world informed and motivated by such a worldview. (p. 2)

In this light, we can think back to the interconnected and interdependent self (Hodgetts et al., 2010; Hodgetts, Stolte, & Rua, 2016) and how the individual is not separate from other people and other things around them, and thus their environment.

As health should be considered holistically, the route to human flourishing is thus a holistic process toward general wellbeing. For Māori, complete wellbeing of the individual and thus the potential to flourish (Mauri Ora) requires consideration of the traditional Māori way of life in order to understand what is important to Māori (Durie, 2016; Nga Pae O Te Maramatanga, 2016). Here, Durie's consideration of indigenous human flourishing, or Mauri Ora, is crucial (Durie, 2016). Durie (2016) speaks of four pathways which lead to Māori flourishing; these include the cultural, the family and whanau, the societal, and

the environmental. The cultural pathway requires cultural needs to be met, such as Māori access to and the ability to engage in the language and tikanga, have access to Māori resources, and also to have this part of one's identity respected (Durie, 2016). The family and whānau pathway means the wellbeing of the collective in its entirety, similar to whānau ora, in which there are multiple factors involved in the wellbeing of the whanau, such as having strong bonds and being resilient (Durie, 2016). The societal pathway points to access to and involvement within all aspects of society, such as employment and education (Durie, 2016). Finally, the environmental pathway considers the health of the natural environment we live in and make use of resource wise, which can be damaged by itself (for example natural disasters), or by people (for example pollution) (Durie, 2016). Durie's consideration of Mauri Ora closely resembles the Māori health models that were mentioned earlier, not least of which is his own Te Whare Tapa Wha model (Durie, 1998). Thus, the importance of considering Māori flourishing is in paying particular attention to the interconnectedness of the Māori health models discussed, alongside Durie's outline of Mauri Ora – Indigenous human flourishing.

As can be seen from this section, human flourishing is a very complex concept, which can include many factors. For Māori however, it may be safe to say that connection is a crucial factor in human flourishing, based on the fact that things within the Māori world are interconnected, meaning that people, the environment, as well as parts of oneself, cannot be separate if one is to be 'whole' (Hodgetts et al., 2010) and in this case, flourishing, as we can see within the Māori health models (Durie, 1998; Pere, 1991). Next I will discuss Māori within tertiary education, and will introduce some of the Māori support systems specifically for the University of Waikato, due to my participant group.

Section Four: Māori in Tertiary Education

Consideration of the position of Māori in tertiary education is important given my research participants. The statistics surrounding Māori entry to and completion of tertiary education is related strongly to the secondary education

experiences, considering secondary education is the final 'foundation' before they enter tertiary study. According to Earle (2008), "Māori students have the lowest rate of progression from school to tertiary of any ethnic group." (p. 3). This means that a lack of necessary secondary qualifications could be the link to why tertiary education is pursued at an older age by many Māori (McMurchy-Pilkington, 2011; Wikaire et al., 2016; Williams, 2011). In secondary education, Māori tend to be overly represented in negative aspects such as truancy, behavioural issues, underachievement and participation, which also lead to dropping out early and/or having fewer qualifications when they leave (Bishop, 2012; Dutton et al., 2016; Kaumoana, 2013; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2011; Ministry of Health, 2015b; Williams, 2011).

Shifting my attention to tertiary education, in general, Māori are highly underrepresented in the tertiary environment (Ashwell et al., 2003; Bishop, 2012; Curtis et al., 2014; Diamond, 2013; Dutton et al., 2016; Gorinski & Abernethy, 2007; O'Shea et al., 2013). According to the 2012 Household Labour Force Survey from Statistics New Zealand, 8.1% of Māori 15 years or older had tertiary qualifications, compared with 17% of Europeans (Ministry of Education, 2011). Focusing more specifically on the University of Waikato (UoW), the 2015 Māori student profile statistics (Business Information and Analytics, 2016) offered important information regarding the general picture of Māori students. With regard to paper pass rates of Māori, in general Māori pass at a lower rate than other domestic students, an example being for the year of 2015 where Māori passed at a rate of 77% while other domestic students passed at a rate of 85% (Business Information and Analytics, 2016). According to the UoW, fewer Māori are enrolling and fewer are completing qualifications compared with non-Māori (Business Information and Analytics, 2016).

Many Māori within the present tertiary environment are the first in their families to complete high school, let alone attend a tertiary institute (Hall, Rata, & Adds, 2013; Macfarlane, Webber, McRae, & Cookson-Cox, 2014; McKenzie, 2005; Wikaire et al., 2016). Therefore, participation, retention and completion of

secondary qualifications are important considerations for Māori students that affect their ability to continue on to tertiary education, and can affect their transition into tertiary level standards (Diamond, 2013; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2011; Nikora, Levy, Henry, & Whangapirita, 2002; Wikaire & Ratima, 2011). For Māori in particular, insufficient and even inappropriate support has been found to be a barrier at the tertiary level, in which there is a lack of consideration of the Māori worldview and Māori needs within the curriculum as well as the general academic environment (Curtis et al., 2014; Diamond, 2013; Gorinski & Abernethy, 2007; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2011; Nikora et al., 2002). Research suggests that providing a tertiary environment that allows for Māori students to feel welcome and part of the environment through cultural practices and support systems contributes to Māori students' ability to be successful within that tertiary environment (Bennett, 2003; Earle, 2008; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2011; Wilson et al., 2011). However there are many barriers to overcome for Māori students at tertiary institutions including the transition into tertiary education (Levy & Williams, 2007; Nikora et al., 2002); financial barriers, as often Māori students come from lower socio-economic backgrounds (Gorinski & Abernethy, 2007; Hunt, Morgan, & Teddy, 2001; Levy & Williams, 2007; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2011; Nikora et al., 2002); employment commitments where Māori students are having to support themselves through work because financial support by families is limited (Hunt et al., 2001); difficulty with childcare commitments (Diamond, 2013; Hunt et al., 2001); negative stereotyping and/or institutional racism where Māori inclusivity is often related to tokenistic cultural practise such as a powhiri (Gorinski & Abernethy, 2007; Levy & Williams, 2007); and isolation (socially, culturally, and academically) (Curtis et al., 2014; Diamond, 2013; Gorinski & Abernethy, 2007; Nikora et al., 2002).

In regard to factors of benefit within the tertiary environment for Māori, Macfarlane et al. (2014) note that "There are no 'one size-fits-all' solutions for success but there are some underlying principles and practices" (p. ii of preface). For example, within the tertiary environment the process of whanaungatanga (which in this case can be both on-campus and off-campus with a range of

people such as whanau, friends, staff, and services) is crucial to Māori success and wellbeing (Curtis et al., 2014; Diamond, 2013; Hall et al., 2013; Masters, Levy, Thompson, Donnelly, & Rawiri, 2004; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2011; Wikaire & Ratima, 2011). I have already explained whanaungatanga in the earlier part of this chapter, and its importance here includes developing a sense of whānau atmosphere (in its broadest sense) and other social supports (for example friends and co-workers) as such practices have been found to contribute to Māori students' academic engagement and success (Gorinski & Abernethy, 2007; Williams, 2010) . Here, student academic engagement can include involvement or participation in the learning environment from a Māori perspective (Diamond, 2013; Kaumoana, 2013). This is because a notable strength in the tertiary environment is having the Māori worldview acknowledged and valued within the curriculum as well as the general environment (Earle, 2008; Gorinski & Abernethy, 2007; Hall et al., 2013; Honey, 2014; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2011). Support in the form of Māori support services on campus has also been deemed particularly important, and contribute toward the above mentioned strength (Curtis et al., 2014; Hall et al., 2013; Masters et al., 2004). Below I will outline some of the supports available for Māori students at the UoW, given my focus on students from this university.

Māori support services at the University of Waikato

In an attempt to respond to the needs of Māori students, the University of Waikato (UoW) campus has developed a range of support systems specific to the Māori student body. These support systems focus on the needs of Māori, for example providing support which stems from the Māori worldview so that it is appropriate and beneficial to the students (Levy, Amuketi, & Lane, 2008; Masters et al., 2004). This is because the 'standard' supports are often irrelevant to Māori learning styles, which are based on different cultural values (Levy et al., 2008). One example is the tendency to focus on individualised learning rather than cooperative learning, whereas cooperative learning is generally better suited to Māori (Masters et al., 2004). The Māori-focused supports pay specific attention to creating a comfortable and supportive, Māori, whānau environment around

students at the UoW (The University of Waikato, 2016). Te Puna Tautoko is at the heart of the Māori targeted support systems (The University of Waikato, 2016), which includes relevant mentoring/support groups across each faculty at the university as listed below:

- Te Aka Matua – Arts and Social Sciences
- Te Paetata – School of Computing and Mathematical Sciences
- Te Kura Toi Tangata mentoring unit – Education
- Te Piringa mentoring unit – Law
- Nga Kairahi Matauranga – Waikato Management School
- Te Ranga Ngaku – Māori Management student network
- Te Putahi o te Manawa – Science and Engineering
- Te Pua Wananaga ki te Ao – Māori and Pacific Development
  (The University of Waikato, 2016).

These units aim to promote Māori achievement through advice or assistance in overcoming problems students may have that are impacting on their achievement; for example, personal issues at home or on campus, or study-related issues (The University of Waikato, 2016). There are also important programmes for Māori students as shown below:

- Te Ahurutanga - Māori student leadership programme
- Te Toi o Matariki – Māori graduate excellence programme
  (Diamond, 2013; The University of Waikato, 2016).

Te Ahurutanga promotes Māori leadership through networking, offering opportunities in which students can gain skills and knowledge outside of theory-based learning, as well as encouraging students to be involved and contribute to their Māori student community (The University of Waikato, 2016). Te Toi o Matariki aims to support Māori students to continue into higher levels of education (graduate and post-graduate) and once at this level, to support them

throughout their journey in higher learning by strengthening their research skills; for example through workshops and conferences, and by offering networking opportunities (The University of Waikato, 2016).

Te Waiora, which is the Māori student association at the UoW is another important form of support for Māori students (Diamond, 2013). Te Waiora promotes a range of events for students (social, cultural and academic) which foster involvement and building relationships; this association also acts as a type of mentoring group as well.

Within the discipline of Psychology, there is also a Kaupapa Māori tutorial programme, which takes students through the material from their course but also caters for "students who wish to study in an environment that fosters manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, te reo Māori and tikanga Māori." (Levy et al., 2008, p. 2). This offers students the *choice* to engage in an environment relevant to traditional Māori practices if they wish, while standard tutorials do not give this option (Levy et al., 2008). While each of the above-mentioned support systems may work at different levels or within certain faculties, the core goal is the same, which is to see a flourishing Māori student body, both academically and culturally.

Though slowly changing, Māori engagement and achievement in general in the tertiary environment is still a lot lower compared with non-Māori, particularly European. What this tells us is that in general, the Māori student body is not flourishing academically as well as it could. However, there are clear signposts to barriers and strengths in regard to flourishing within the tertiary environment, and the growth of Māori support groups on campus also acts as a strong message for the need to progress Māori achievement and wellbeing within this environment, in a way relevant to Māori. The final section of this chapter will outline the remaining chapters of this thesis.

Section Five: Outline of Subsequent Chapters

There are four more chapters to cover within this thesis. Chapter 2 will present the methodology for this thesis, which justifies my research process and procedures. This methodology chapter is separated into seven sections, which includes an introduction to my research intention and aim, followed by methods, the framework I utilized, recruitment of participants, the interview process, ethics, and finally some limitations of this research. Chapter 3 of my thesis is my first analysis chapter, which is the focus of my research, where I consider the factors that contribute to my participants flourishing. This is split into four sections: whānau support; landscapes of care; collective and individual goals and motivations; and a chapter summary. Chapter 4 is the second and final analysis chapter, which relates to my research focus by considering hindrances to participants' ability to flourish, discussing possible improvements and then summarising flourishing in the context of this research. Chapter 4 has three sections: Being Māori in a European-dominant system; improvements toward flourishing: whanaungatanga; and what does flourishing look like for these young Māori? Chapter 5 is the concluding chapter, which pulls together the main points from this thesis and provides some 'take home messages' for readers with regard to the focus of this research.

Chapter 2: Methodology

Section One: Introduction

This chapter contains seven sections, as follows: introduction; methods; Kaupapa Māori research; recruitment of participants; the interview process; ethics; and the limitations of this research. This first section restates the aim of the research.

Intention and aim of the research.

The aim of my research is to explore those factors which contribute to young Māori university students' ability to flourish at Waikato University. The intention is to contribute to the body of research on human flourishing and wellbeing for Māori (Kingi et al., 2014; Nga Pae O Te Maramatanga, 2016; Nikora, 2015; Waiti & Kingi, 2014).

Section Two: Methods

Qualitative research.

My approach was primarily qualitative in nature (Corbin & Strauss, 2015; Denzin, 2016). One of the reasons I chose to use qualitative research techniques was because I was interested in conducting in-depth investigations with a small number of participants, focusing on the *quality* of information shared, rather than the *quantity* (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010). I used two qualitative methods to help collect rich and detailed stories of participants' lives (Corbin & Strauss, 2015; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010). Firstly, I drew upon a narrative approach using one-to-one in-depth interviews with a semi-structured interview schedule (Edwards & Holland, 2013). A narrative approach allowed me to gain detailed insights into the lives of my participants through the sharing of their stories. By story-telling, participants offered me a greater understanding of personal meaning and experience of their lifeworld's (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010; Woods, 2011). By using a semi-structured interview schedule, participants are not constrained within a particular set of questions; instead, the semi-structured questions guide the interview process to a certain extent, around proposed focus areas (Edwards & Holland, 2013; Galletta & Cross, 2013; Woods, 2011). This was

important to me as a researcher, because I wanted participants to elaborate on discussion points as they felt it appropriate. I could return participants to specific questions if I felt certain aspects had not been fully covered.

My second method was photo-elicitation, which is sometimes referred to as photo-voice (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010), or more specifically as an 'autodriven' interview (Clark, 1999). Photo-elicitation for my thesis involved the participant photographing things or gathering photos relevant to their life stories which are then used as points of discussion (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010; Richard & Lahman, 2015; Shaw, 2013). The 'autodriven' aspect of photo-elicitation means the participant has control over the photographs they want to take and include in the research (Clark, 1999; Padgett, Smith, Derejko, Henwood, & Tiderington, 2013). Photo-elicitation as an approach was the second step in the engagement process with participants. Once the initial interview was completed, participants were asked to progress through the photo-elicitation stage. Following the photo-elicitation stage, a follow-up discussion with the participants was held to discuss the meaning and importance of their images relative to the focus of the research (Clark-Ibánez, 2004; Mandleco, 2013; Padgett et al., 2013). According to several researchers, this type of method seems to work well with young people in particular, with reference to both adolescents (Drew, Duncan, & Sawyer, 2010; Leonard & McKnight, 2015) and children (Clark-Ibánez, 2004; Mandleco, 2013). Young people seem to like the novelty of the exercise, the interactive nature of engaging with their own environments, and the power to decide what is important (Drew et al., 2010; Leonard & McKnight, 2015; Pauwels, 2015; Richard & Lahman, 2015). The interaction and empowerment that participants gain through photo-elicitation is another way of giving voice to the issues of importance to participants as opposed to focusing on the needs of the researcher (Padgett et al., 2013; Pauwels, 2015; Richard & Lahman, 2015). The use of both methods allowed participants two opportunities to express their feelings and experiences surrounding my research topic, from two different angles (interview questions and through photo collections). The next section will consider my research framework, which is based on Kaupapa Māori research .

Section Three: Kaupapa Māori Research Framework

Because my research focus drew upon Māori participants, it was my responsibility to ensure I was ethical and considerate in my approach, and that the outcome of this research could be used to help rather than hinder Māori (Bishop & Glynn, 2003; Powick, 2003; Ruwhiu & Cathro, 2014; Smith, 1992). This is where the Kaupapa Māori research framework was applied; and this meant that my interpretations of participant's stories were based around this type of research. Kaupapa Māori research is about researching and developing outcomes that are relevant and appropriate for Māori, and incorporate an understanding of a Māori worldview for Māori people (Bishop & Glynn, 2003; Durie, Hoskins, & Jones, 2012; Smith, Hoskins, & Jones, 2012; Smith, 1992). One particular concept that is important in this context is Tino Rangatiratanga, or self-determination, which relates to empowering Māori during the research process (Berryman, SooHoo, & Nevin, 2013; Bishop & Glynn, 2003). Rather than just labelling this research as using a 'Kaupapa Māori research framework' there has to be legitimate action that asserts the position of Māori in society by doing the research from a relevant perspective (Pihama, 1993; Smith et al., 2012). Below I will discuss how I have used a Kaupapa Māori research framework in this thesis.

What Kaupapa Māori means for my research.

In order to work from a Kaupapa Māori research framework, there were several things I needed to do during the research process. Firstly, I tried to engage with a number of relevant professionals at the UoW who could provide a relevant Māori perspective for my research. This included my two supervisors, who are both Māori and have extensive research backgrounds working alongside Māori. I also met with relevant Māori professionals in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASS - my own faculty) such as the Māori student services coordinator, and the School of Psychology's Kaupapa Māori student advisor. The importance of these particular people was that given their positions within the university, and the fact that they themselves are Māori, they not only regularly engage with the Māori students at university, but also understand the importance of the Māori worldview. The purpose of engaging these professionals was to be open

with the research I was doing, and to also obtain any feedback and ideas surrounding my topic to ensure my research was appropriate and meaningful for Māori students at Waikato University. Some other ways in which I used a Kaupapa Māori research framework included engaging in whanaungatanga throughout the research, approaching Māori mentors for recruitment, and the use of koha (gifting) during interviews. These will be discussed in more detail within the following sections, because this is where they were relevant. In the next section I will describe the recruitment of participants for this research.

Section Four: Recruitment of Participants

This thesis involved three types of recruitment, and there were several specific demographical requirements for potential participants. Recruitment initially involved placing advertisement sheets (approximately 30) around the UoW, focusing on classroom blocks. This advertisement sheet included information about my research topic, my specific demographical requirements, some basic information about what would be required of participants, and my contact information. This advertisement sheet also informed readers that my research had been ethically approved and provided my supervisors' names. When advertising sheets proved not as successful as I had hoped, I employed two other recruitment approaches. One was approaching personal contacts in the hope that they would inform friends or family who fitted my demographics and might be interested in participating. The second was approaching Māori mentors within faculties across the university. By informing Māori mentors of my research, if they saw value in my topic they could approach their student contacts and let them know about my research. This way, students had a point of contact that they already trusted and were comfortable with, who could explain the value of the research to them before they needed to approach me if they were interested in participating.

I initially aimed to find 8-10 participants, with 5 being the minimum. The small number of participants was based on the qualitative nature of the research, and the need for multiple engagements with each participant. There were three

specific demographical requirements for potential participants for this research project. Firstly, participants had to be Māori, which was based around self-identification (as opposed to 'proving' they were Māori). Secondly, they had to be students currently studying at the UoW (which was due to proximity purposes for me, as a student at this university). The third and final demographical requirement was that participants were between 17 and 24 years of age. My focus on young people in particular was due to my interest in their recent shift from high school. Many Māori who attend university are the first in their families to do so, given that it is common for Māori to not complete full high school qualifications (Macfarlane et al., 2014; McKenzie, 2005). Because of this, I was interested in younger Māori who had either come straight from high school to university, or had made the decision to undertake further education not long after completing their secondary education. By focusing on younger Māori in tertiary education, findings from this research may be able to contribute further knowledge about how more Māori could view tertiary education as an accessible and valuable pathway to pursue after high school. Below I have included a table of demographic profiles of my participants:

Table 1: Demographic profile of participants

Demographic profile of participants					
Pseudonym	**Age range**	**Current qualification of study**	**Current paid employment**	**Current volunteering**	**Children**
Gemma	20-24	Master of Applied Psychology	No	No	Yes – one daughter
Hana	17-19	Bachelor of Teaching and Bachelor of Māori and Pacific Development	Yes - part time	Yes - on campus	No

Kushina	20-24	Master of Applied Psychology	No	Yes - off campus	No
Monique	20-24	Bachelor of Computer Graphic Design	Yes - part time	Yes - on campus	No
Rangiora	20-24	Bachelor of Social Science with Honours	Yes - part time	Yes - on and off campus	No

The next section will consider the interviewing process with participants. This will include explaining the preparation and actual interview process, followed by the process of writing up summaries, and then I will explain my choice of analysis, which was thematic.

Section Five: The Interview Process

This section reflects upon the interview process from start to finish and is separated into four areas. The first area for consideration is preparation, which considers how I prepared both myself and the participants prior to the interviews. The second area of consideration is the actual interview, which looks at what procedures had to happen during the interview. The third area will consider the summaries that were written up based on participants' interviews, describing why and how these were done. Finally, the fourth area will describe my analysis and my choice of thematic analysis.

Preparation.

In preparation for the interview I emailed the information sheet, consent form and demographics sheet to each participant so that they had the opportunity to read the information prior to the interview. In the same email, I also asked if the participant had any food allergies, as I baked food for us to share as a koha (gift)

(Mead, 2003), during the interview and for the participant to take away afterwards. All interviews were recorded via an electronic Dictaphone. The following handouts and forms were printed out: information sheet (x2), consent form (x3) and demographics sheet (x2). The participant received a copy of the information sheet, and one signed copy of the consent form to keep.

The interview.

Before starting the first interview, I would offer home-baked food as a way of setting the tone for our engagement. This was my initial offering of koha, so that as a researcher I could 'give' before 'receiving'. Participants were then given a copy of the information sheet and interview schedule, at which point I would give an overview of the interview, research focus and their role as a participant. Before going through the information sheet and paper forms, I emphasised to participants that this first engagement did not have to involve the interview if they simply wanted to build a rapport with me. The reason for this was that there was quite a lot of information to go through, and I did not want participants to be overwhelmed by this, and still feel they needed to do the interview straight after. I wanted to make it clear that meetings/interviews could be split up in whatever way was convenient for the participant's needs in terms of time and effort. Before going through the information sheet, I also asked participants for verbal consent to record the interview. This was because the first part of the information sheet involved introductions, and I was conscious that this could involve important information relevant to some of my points in the interview schedule. Thus, the session began with me introducing myself to my participant. After I had introduced myself, I offered the opportunity for my participant to introduce themselves in whatever way felt comfortable to them. Going through the information sheet was done as quickly, but also as carefully and clearly, as possible. I emphasised points of particular importance, such as voluntary participation and confidentiality, and I also aimed to keep my wording as simple as possible, as not all of the students had been involved in research or understood research jargon. After going through the information sheet, I made a point of asking if the participant had any questions before moving onto the

consent forms and demographics sheets, emphasising that participants need only share information they felt comfortable with sharing, and reminding them that they could ask me questions at any time. The remainder of the first meeting was spent going through the interview schedule. This schedule was split into four main sections: Background – cultural connectedness; university – flourishing; general life – flourishing; and looking to the future. Because the interview schedule was semi-structured, some of the questions on the sheet were not asked as they were initially written, and they were not necessarily asked in order, as I aimed to use what the participants were discussing at the time (Edwards & Holland, 2013; Woods, 2011). After we had covered all the relevant sections for the interview I asked if the participant had anything else they wanted to add, or questions related to the interview process and research. Finally I thanked them and explained what was to follow, which involved me putting together a summary of their discussion, and them beginning stage two of the research process, which was the photo collection process.

Summaries.

Choosing to write up summaries rather than full transcriptions was not only because of time constraints, but also because I wanted to only include information I initially considered valuable for my particular analysis. I also sent the summary reports to my participants for their review and comment. This was crucial to avoid misunderstandings or misinterpretations on my part, and to make sure participants were still comfortable with the knowledge and experiences they had shared with me. It was made clear to participants that I could remove any information they were uncomfortable with. Participants were informed that they would have up to one week after receiving the summary to approve of the contents, although I made several attempts to check in and give them more time if they requested it. If I had not heard from participants about the summary after making these attempts, or when the one week was up, I took this as approval that the summary was acceptable and reflected what participants felt they had said during the interviews.

Thematic analysis.

For this thesis I chose to analyse my data thematically. This meant that I looked for patterns or themes across all of my participants' stories (Braun & Clarke, 2006). How themes were chosen has been described by Braun and Clarke (2006) quite fittingly: ". . . the 'keyness' of a theme is not necessarily dependent on quantifiable measures – but rather on whether it captures something important in relation to the overall research question." (p. 82). In this research it was important for me to find out what was important to the participants, whether that was different *or* similar across the group; thus some of the themes I have included in my findings may be related to quantification, while others may not be. The themes I collected were then put into context as based around research surrounding Māori, both from academia as well as drawing on media portrayal of Māori, for example stereotypes. This context was important to highlight realities within society for many Māori, whether positive or negative realities. Next I will cover the ethics portion of this methodology.

Section Six: Ethics

Conducting ethical research is absolutely crucial, and while people may not intend to harm those involved in their research, they may still do so if they are not careful and considerate in their approach (Paoletti, Tomás, & Menéndez, 2013). To ensure this research was ethically appropriate it was assessed and approved by the School of Psychology Research and Ethics Committee at the University of Waikato before I began. The ethical actions taken throughout this research are outlined as follows.

Engaging in ethical research meant understanding the importance of privacy, confidentiality, honesty, comfort, and cultural appropriateness and sensitivity (Paoletti et al., 2013). I maintained the privacy and confidentiality requirements of my participants by giving them pseudonyms (depending on preference, these were chosen either by the participant or by me) so they were not identifiable by name. With regard to photos that participants included which could identify themselves, friends or family, locations or special objects, these were either

pixelated, not included, or included in original form only with the permission of the participant and others who could potentially be identified. It is important to note that even though none of my participants were opposed to being identified in this research, these procedures were still covered so that participants understood their rights. Personal details of participants and their stories are under personal password-protected storage accessible only by me. Participants were able to remove themselves from this research at any time if they felt uncomfortable or changed their mind about being involved for any reason. The cultural appropriateness of this research was based around the above-mentioned Kaupapa Māori framework. I will now cover some of the limitations from this research.

Section Seven: Limitations of this Research

As in all research, there are some limitations to this study. Firstly, my being New Zealand European may have been a limitation because of my limited knowledge of Te Ao Māori. This meant that interview questions that were focused around identity and Māori values and practices were harder for me to word appropriately and understand fully, which may have hindered the strength of my interviews. Another limitation was the range of my sample. While my listed age range allowed for undergraduates, graduate and post-graduate students, all of my participants had completed their undergraduate degrees and had either moved into post-graduate studies or were working towards graduate qualifications in other subject areas. This means that the participants all had several years of adjusting to tertiary study, which may yield different results than those from new undergraduate students. A final limitation I would like to speak to is the inability to generalise my results due to my small sample size. While generalisation was not the purpose of this thesis, acknowledgement of the limitation of this for other researchers is still important. I will now begin my chapter 3 by outlining the range of connections for my participants flourishing.

Chapter 3: The Connections for Flourishing

The following two analysis chapters are the focus of this thesis. These chapters will include the things that contribute to my participants' ability to flourish, as well as touching on some of the things that can hinder their ability to flourish. While knowing what contributes to flourishing is important, knowing what can hinder it is equally important because this knowledge contributes to the full picture of flourishing.

This chapter will consider three areas of importance to my participants' lives as Māori students at Waikato University. These areas include whānau support; landscapes of care; and collective and individual goals and motivations. The section on whānau will provide a discussion on whakapapa whanau, including a section on the importance of kaumatua, the role of whakapapa whānau for flourishing particularly in tertiary study, and whānau concern for the burden of work and studying, including financial assistance offered; this will be followed by consideration of whanau-a-kaupapa, which includes an outline of relationships in a more general sense, friends, and finally communities of practice. The section about landscapes of care covers the marae and the natural environment as spaces of care. Finally, the collective and individual goals and motivations section will consider academic motivation as based around collective purpose and social goals, the importance of role models, and passion and drive. While the three themes are the focus, other points were raised by my participants, which I will refer to from time to time, including identity, which is woven throughout each of the themes. It is important to note that while these themes appear separate, they are in fact interconnected and should not be viewed as isolated things.

This chapter will begin with the notion of 'whanau' and will start with an introduction to the importance of whānau as a whole, which will lead into a section specifically on whakapapa whanau. A section on kaupapa whānau will then follow.

Section One: Whānau Support

Support from whānau is important, whether that is whakapapa or kaupapa whanau. Here, whakapapa whānau is defined as Māori "who share common descent and kinship, as well as collective interests that generate reciprocal ties and aspirations." (Ministry of Social Development, 2010, p. 12). Kaupapa whānau on the other hand can be viewed similarly to whakapapa whānau in regards to bonds and support, while genealogical ties are not necessarily present (Durie, 2001; Waiti & Kingi, 2014).

Support from whānau can be what carries one through during times where situations or life itself seem at their most difficult (Diamond, 2013; Masters, 1997; Waiti & Kingi, 2014). Diamond (2013), considers how having social supports including whānau contributed to Māori tertiary students' ability to successfully negotiate their studies. Similarly, Masters (1997) looks into the many types of support that make up a support network and how the range of support provided (for example financial, social, emotional) is crucial in the tertiary journey for Māori graduate students. These findings relate to what was said by my participant, Rangiora, when he mentioned feeling that success at university would be difficult if a strong network was not available. Rangiora is referring specifically to the 'disconnect' and 'loneliness' that can be felt if a good support network is absent, such as whānau members, in its broadest form. This is especially relevant when stress or difficulties arise, because these are times when support is most necessary (Diamond, 2013; Masters, 1997; Waiti & Kingi, 2014).

Whānau was clearly important with regard to my participants' abilities to flourish. Whanau, however, while classically a broad concept, is even broader contemporarily, with both whakapapa and kaupapa whānau groupings potentially including a large amount of people (Durie, 2001; Mead, 2003). I will now turn my attention to the more traditional whakapapa whanau, and how they have been important in relation to my participants' general lives, before

explaining their importance more specifically in regards to university – keeping in mind the crossover between the two roles.

Whakapapa Whanau.

Whakapapa whānau is one of the most fundamental parts of Māori culture. Here there is an emphasis on links of whakapapa (genealogy) and it involves its members acting reciprocally in regard to responsibilities of a socio-cultural nature (McMurchy-Pilkington, 2011; Ministry of Social Development, 2010). Within the whanau, there are members of particular importance who have a role to carry these socio-cultural responsibilities through the whānau and wider groupings; these are the Kaumatua, or elders of the whanau.

Importance of Kaumatua

Included in Pere's (1991) Māori health model of Te Wheke is the role of kaumatua (elders), in which one of the dimensions of health is the 'Ha a koro ma, a kui ma' dimension, or the 'breath of life from forbearers' (Pere, 1991). This dimension highlights ones ancestors as a crucial part of life and thus health, in which one's ancestors pass down history and identity which maintains tradition and culture (International Research Institute for Maori and Indigenous Education in collaboration with Te Ropu Rangahau a Eru Pomare, 2000). The importance of this dimension to kaumatua is in considering the role of kaumatua as elders who are the force which carries Māoritanga (Māori way of life) forward; as the connection to the past is the propellant into the future (Chalmers, 2006; Durie, 1999; Tauroa & Tauroa, 2009). Within the 'Extensions on Te Wheke' (Love, 2004), there is specific mention of the role of elders or grandparents in raising their grandchildren, both in a general sense and also more specifically within Te Ao Māori (Love, 2004). Durie (2003) highlights the importance of kaumatua in providing whanau, hapu and iwi with cultural strength, wisdom, advice and guidance. Iwi are stronger for the active participation of kaumatua in tribal and whānau affairs as they are physical connections to generations past (Durie, 2003).

The following two photos and stories from participants relate to the importance of kaumatua in today's society.

Figure 3: Hana's grandmother and great grandmother

Figure 3 is a photo from Hana's 21st birthday, and shows a photo of her great grandmother (on the left), and grandmother (on the right), who have passed away. Hana explains the context and importance of this photo in the following quote:

> We did a table up for them so that they were like there [at her 21st]. . . They are probably just one of the biggest influences.

Hana's great grandmother helped raise her. Her great grandmother committed herself to helping raise her own siblings, and she ended up raising four generations of children. This meant that she had a huge part to play in Hana's growth, day-to-day living and sense of being Māori. This comes back to what was mentioned earlier about the role that kaumatua have in helping raise grandchildren, which means the influence they have on those children's lives is strong (Higgins & Meredith, 2011; Love, 2004). This focus on whānau members who have been influential in Hana's upbringing and who have contributed to the person she is today is not surprising, because whānau is considered one of the biggest influences on one's identity (Paringatai, 2014). Hana mentions that for the majority of her grandmother's life Hana was her only granddaughter. Hana explains "So I was pretty much the favourite [laughs], and she would do anything for me." What Hana found was that being the only grandchild, the care and effort that may otherwise have been shared across multiple grandchildren was simply for Hana alone. This again points to the classical immersion of the

grandparents in the grandchildren's lives (Higgins & Meredith, 2011), but more particularly the role of helping raise the first born child (Love, 2004), as was relevant for Hana.

Another participant included a photo that relates to this cultural belief surrounding elders.

Figure 4: Gemma's daughter and grandfather

Figure 4 is a photo of Gemma's daughter and grandfather. Gemma chose the above photo to acknowledge the importance of her daughter in her life, and that of her elders because of the influence they have over identity (Higgins & Meredith, 2011). Gemma mentioned she was especially happy that her grandfather and her daughter were able to meet, because such connections are important within the whanau. While this photo depicts her grandfather, Gemma's belief in the influence elders have also applies specifically to her grandmother. Similar to Hana, Gemma's grandmother had a strong influence over Gemma's upbringing through helping raise her, as well as influencing her Māori identity by being the only person in her family of Māori descent. Gemma refers to her grandmother's influence in the following quote:

> It's like not acknowledging your mum but acknowledging your dad for the reason you've become the way you are. You can't, because everything has shaped you. I just love my nana so much, and she came from a big Māori family and I reckon it's made me a better person.

In this quote Gemma refers to the role that whānau play in individuals' lives; whether it is inactive or active, and whether it is minimal or extensive, there is always a role to be played when whānau are involved. When Gemma says "I reckon it's made me a better person" she is referring to the fact that she has come from this grandmother who is Māori and is from a big Māori family, and that this has influenced her upbringing in a way she deems positive, whether this is through strong familial ties or strong relationships in general. What is clear is that Gemma respects the role that elders play in life, and acknowledges that Kaumatua, like all whānau members, have important roles in the lives and identity of Māori.

The importance of whakapapa whānau can be seen in how it weaves throughout a person's life and their identity as Māori. Continuing with the importance of whānau to flourishing, I will now shift my attention to discussing the role that whakapapa whānau plays in regards to flourishing within tertiary studies for the young Māori within this research.

The role of Whakapapa Whānau for flourishing within tertiary studies

Unsurprisingly, immediate or extended family were mentioned as important supports by all participants during their university journey. Immediate whānau was even mentioned as more or less the sole form of support sought for Gemma, particularly her parents. When asked where she goes if she needs support with her studies, for example if she is confused about something in her coursework, Gemma replied as follows:

> If I can't figure it out myself, or get my family to help me . . . Coz pretty much if my family can't help me I don't go further than that.

This shows that Gemma's immediate family is a significant form of support for her during her studies and that she would prefer to turn to them rather than lecturers or tutors if possible. Because Gemma currently lives with her immediate family, they offer several other types of support, including financial, social, and caregiving support for her daughter if Gemma needs it. This highlights multiplexity, which Masters (1997) talked about within her thesis, whereby multiplex relationships involve particular members of a support network offering multiple forms of support rather than one particular type (which would be uniplex relationships).

Because Gemma lives with her family, they are one of the main sources of social support for her; with a young daughter (eight months of age when this interview was conducted) as well as studying towards her Master's qualification, Gemma has limited time for socialising outside of these areas. Childcare has been mentioned as a barrier surrounding tertiary study (Diamond, 2013; Hunt et al., 2001), and while Gemma's parents help take care of her daughter when they can, they also work, so cannot always help. Gemma mentions finding that this limits what she is able to do day-to-day if she has to have her daughter with her, as highlighted in the following quote: "She's my number one thing now, so I can't really do anything." Gemma also notes:

> She's just real young and she's growing so fast, and I want to be there and watch her grow.

By choosing to care for her daughter herself, Gemma has that extra time with her daughter while she is growing.

Similar to Gemma, Hana also drew upon a parent during studies. She recalls how her mother motivated her to carry on with her studies at a time when she was struggling to communicate with the university. Hana said "She was a huge motivator in helping me stay on track, I suppose." At the time, Hana was trying to sort out her required practicum for her undergraduate degree and she was getting little support from the university and felt under stress. She mentions

calling her mother and telling her she wanted to just drop out, but her mother convinced her to carry on, telling her it would all work out, which it did. The importance of this example is in whānau providing encouragement and belief, especially in those times when judgement may be clouded by stress. According to Usher and Pajares (2008) "Encouragement from parents, teachers, and peers whom students trust can boost students' confidence in their academic capabilities." (p. 754). Here, these authors reflect upon the importance of encouragement and belief from other people, which can contribute to the development of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977), as can having high expectations of someone (Hollis, Deane, Moore, & Harré, 2011). Self-efficacy considers the idea that "the beliefs that people hold about their capabilities and about the outcomes of their efforts powerfully influence the ways in which they behave." (Usher & Pajares, 2008, p. 751). In Hana's case, her mother being supportive and believing in her acted in part as an initiator of Hana's own belief in herself. According to Durie (2006b) "Although the pathways to success are complex with multi-determinants, there is empirical evidence that student achievement is very often a product of the attitudes of others – parents, teachers, whanau, peers – and self-expectation." (pp. 15-16). This supports the important role that whānau – in its entirety – plays in regard to students' ability to be successful at university based on having belief in their own abilities.

The two following quotes by other participants further support this argument of the influence that others have on one's ability to realise their own potential.

> It's funny when people can see the potential in you but you can't see it within yourself. It's nice to have that belief. A lot of people believe in me, and sometimes I couldn't see it, because at the time I couldn't believe in it. – Kushina

> My mum's always been there from the get-go with me. She's always been supportive of anything and everything that I do, and yeah, she's probably the main reason above all [for where Monique is now] . . . and probably always will be. . . she's just fricken awesome. – Monique

The points made by Kushina and Monique reflect the role that whānau has played in showing them support through belief as well as acceptance (Kolkhorst, Yazedjian, & Toews, 2010). Whānau can offer alternate perspectives that reassure my participants about their levels of competence and successes thus far. Whānau expressing their encouragement and belief can relate to Gemma's experience where her parents 'rewarded' her success in graduating with her bachelor's degree.

Figure 5: Gemma's koha from parents

Figure 5 is a photo of a koha that Gemma received from her parents on her graduation day. 'Koha' translated simply means 'gift'; however, when giving a koha it should be of general and symbolic value (Mead, 2003). In the case of Gemma's gift, this shows two teddy bears in 'graduation clothes' as well as a Dr Seuss book: 'Oh the places you'll go!' The general value of this gift is firstly shown in the fact that Gemma chose to include a photo of it in this research which relates to her flourishing. In this sense, this gift is valued by Gemma. In regards to symbolic value; this gift symbolises her achievement for graduating with her degree due to the teddy bears being in graduation clothing, and the book is also symbolic of encouraging Gemma in her future flourishing. This is because the book highlights her parent's belief in her through the choice of book

in and of itself. The book is after all titled 'Oh the places you'll go!' which suggests that they have high hopes for her future. Receiving a gift like this from her parents gave Gemma a sense of achievement for the hard work she had put in. She mentions "I really wanna make my parents proud. . . that they did a good job." Here, Gemma means that she wants to show her parents that they did a good job in raising her, and acknowledge that they are proud of the person she has become and where she has ended up. Having this gift was encouraging for her in terms of what she had done so far with her studies, what she was continuing to do now (post-graduate) and what she may yet do in the future.

Although this is one participant's photo, what it highlights across all participants is that having whānau members who recognise your accomplishments can help them recognise their potential and their ability to flourish in the first place. Gemma's picture highlights a much broader and more important point in relation to the support whānau can provide whilst studying, and it was clear that participants believed whānau support to be a crucial factor for flourishing in tertiary studies, both because it is uplifting in times of struggle (for example Hana's mother encouraging her to carry on when she wanted to drop out), and in times of success and accomplishment (for example Gemma's parents' gift when she graduated). I will now turn my attention to the support whānau has provided in regards to the burden of working alongside studying, and the financial assistance.

Concern for the burden of working alongside studying, and financial assistance from family.

Holding down part-time work is a reality for many university students because of the need to meet living costs such as rent, power and food (Barron & Anastasiadou, 2009; Ong & Ramia, 2009) as well as study costs, including books and transport (Barron & Anastasiadou, 2009). Working while studying has also become increasingly important in order to gain work experience to increase job opportunities after graduating (Barron & Anastasiadou, 2009; Ong & Ramia, 2009). Financial barriers are commonly referenced by Māori, specifically within

tertiary study (Gorinski & Abernethy, 2007; Hunt et al., 2001; Levy & Williams, 2007; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2011; Nikora et al., 2002), so it is not surprising that employment commitments can also be a barrier for Māori (Hunt et al., 2001; Te Tari Matauranga Maori, 2007), particularly if employers are not understanding and supportive of the student's dedication to their studies (Gorinski & Abernethy, 2007). While there is access to financial support (for example student allowances and loans from Studylink, Work and Income or scholarships) (Nikora et al., 2002), these options are not always easily accessed or sufficient to cover essential living and study costs.

For Monique, holding multiple roles, including student, part-time worker and mentor, means that she sometimes struggles to juggle the requirements for each of these positions, and prioritisation can become blurred. With the potential for an overload of work or an imbalance in prioritisation (for example having to limit study time due to paid work hours), regular hours of work while studying at tertiary level can negatively impact passing and completion rates, and raise stress levels, thus affecting health (Cvetkovski, Reavley, & Jorm, 2012; Davies, 2013; Ong & Ramia, 2009). Given that in general the passing and completion rates for Māori tertiary students are a lot lower than for other groups (Diamond, 2013; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2011; Nikora et al., 2002), this information is both informative and concerning, indicating that employment could be negatively impacting Māori students' tertiary education. However, working while studying is not all negative, as Monique mentions in the following quote:

> It's challenging but it's really rewarding at the same time, being able to do what I do.

Monique's reference to 'rewarding' is in regards to the part-time work she has alongside her study, because she feels that working part-time has been a good transition into working life, although at times it can be difficult to juggle. Monique mentioned that whanau, in particular her partner, have been helpful in regard to balancing work and study. This is because he 'gets on her back' when she is prioritising work over study and encourages her to balance her focus. This

means that Monique's partner has been a crucial part in her ability to flourish in both work and study environments. In a study by Van Etten, Pressley, McInerney, and Liem (2008) in which they researched college seniors academic motivations, it was found that family members could be particularly helpful if they showed the students concern in regards to their studies and general wellbeing while studying, but also offered advice in regards to setting realistic goals and expectations for their studies. In relation to Monique's example, using family in its broader sense, her partner has played a role similar to this study in which he has been there offering concern if her studies are being neglected and reminding her to have realistic expectations on her own abilities to juggle study as well as work.

As mentioned earlier in this section, financial barriers are commonly referenced by Māori tertiary students (Gorinski & Abernethy, 2007; Hunt et al., 2001; Levy & Williams, 2007; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2011; Nikora et al., 2002). Whānau were helpful in offering financial assistance to some participants while they have been studying. For Gemma, living with her parents while studying has allowed her to be supported by them by not having to pay bills. Working as well as studying was not an option for Gemma with being a solo parent of a young daughter. Financial support from her parents has meant one less stressor that she has had to worry about whilst she is studying, so she is able to prioritise completing her university requirements and taking care of her daughter full time. Continuing with the importance of whanau, the next section will examine kaupapa whānau as a source of support, particularly while at university.

Whanau-a-kaupapa.

Contemporarily, whānau has come to sometimes refer to broader connections that are not necessarily linked through whakapapa, but instead through commonalities or groupings, which is where Kaupapa Whānau comes in (Durie, 1994). Given that contemporarily, kaupapa whānau is now a subset of the classical whanau, Durie's Te Whare Tapa Wha model (Durie, 1998) and Rose Pere's Te Wheke model (Pere, 1991) can relate to a much larger whānau

grouping, meaning that the health and wellbeing of participants could very well link to the health of those within their kaupapa whanau. The types of people who constituted a 'kaupapa whānau network' varied across the participants. The following quote highlights the importance of kaupapa whānau for Hana:

> So whānau not just limited to immediate family, but also my wider circle of friends or people in my workforce who I consider close, anyone who I consider close. That's something I found was extremely important to how, I suppose, I conduct myself daily. Not only whanau, but other people and how I impact them and how they impact me, and always developing myself and my values around that core thing I suppose, which is family.

For Hana, the concept of 'whanau' encapsulates much more than just blood relatives (McMurchy-Pilkington, 2011; Walker, 2014), meaning this group offers the most inclusivity of support people and networks in her life. The relevance of kaupapa whānau with regard to university is that Māori students may consider other Māori as whānau due to commonalities based on cultural and ethnic factors. However, not limited to other Māori, kaupapa whānau in general can be particularly important because of being away from home-grounds and thus whakapapa whānau (Waiti & Kingi, 2014). In the literature surrounding tertiary studies, one of the important reasons for whānau support is that Māori students can feel isolated and alienated in this environment because they are a minority presence (Curtis et al., 2014; Morunga, 2009; Nikora et al., 2002). Having a whānau environment on campus, whether that be whakapapa whānau or kaupapa whanau, has been shown to contribute to a sense of belonging and connectedness, which can help counteract negative factors associated with studying in a European-dominant system (Diamond, 2013; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2011; Morunga, 2009; Nikora et al., 2002). This whānau environment can come from a range of sources, whether support groups, clubs, or general friendships.

Relationships in a general sense.

Speaking generally about relationships, Rangiora expresses what he feels having relationships in general does for a person: "Relationships help blossom and help

provide the water to the seed to grow the flower." Here, Rangiora is using a metaphorical example to explain how relationships help a person. Relationships act as the resources to allow water (learning, further resource attainment) to nourish the seed (in this case the person, Rangiora), and thus allow the seed to flourish into the flower it is meant to become. Here, relationships are crucial in growing the flower/ helping the individual flourish. The important point Rangiora is referring to here is in relation to whanaungatanga (Bishop, 1995). The concept and practice of whanaungatanga comes from the singular word 'whanau' and is an established relationship that resembles the closeness of familial relationships (Bishop, 1995). The prior procedural concept which comes before whanaungatanga is whakawhanaungatanga, and this is about *establishing* a relationship (Bishop, 1995). Rangiora is not the only participant who emphasised the importance of whanaungatanga. Participants specifically mentioned the importance of engagement, relationships with staff, and as Hana puts it "knowing who you're dealing with" and how this is crucial for Māori students in particular because it relates to the Māori worldview by considering whanaungatanga (McMurchy-Pilkington, 2011). The importance of focusing on building and maintaining relationships with Māori students is highlighted in the following quote from Bishop (1998), which explains that whanaungatanga is "One of the most fundamental ideas within Māori culture, both as a value and as a social process" (p. 203).

While relationships are known to be important for Māori, the relationships between students as well as between students and staff are quite different in mainstream schooling when compared to the relationships within total immersion Māori schooling. Total immersion schooling within New Zealand is when the curriculum is taught in te reo Māori and draws upon Māori cultural philosophies, values and practices (Bishop, 2012; Harrison, 1998; Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2002; Smith, 2012; Statistics New Zealand, 2015). Total immersion schooling aims to strengthen Māori students footing in Te Ao Māori through enabling the young to learn and make use of the reo and receive an education based around more traditional aspects of Māori life and ways of learning

(Harrison, 1998). Whanaungatanga is just one of the values within total immersion schooling, and Monique recalled the difficulty of shifting from a wharekura (total immersion high school school) to a mainstream high school in relation to levels of whanaungatanga:

> At the kura that I grew up in, a lot of us were like family. Like even though we weren't blood related the bonds that we had, we were tight like whanau. So when I started mainstream it was hard, it was hard as.

She extends her explanation in regards to university:

> When I left total immersion and the difference in the relationships and the bonds between people. It's like totally different if you're coming straight from total immersion into uni.

What these quotes show is that without offering an environment where whanaungatanga is a priority, Māori students are more likely to struggle in their studies at university because the environment goes against some of the most important values in their worldview. Whanaungatanga in particular has been mentioned across the literature as important in tertiary study (Curtis et al., 2014; Diamond, 2013; Hall et al., 2013; Masters et al., 2004; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2011; Wikaire & Ratima, 2011). The importance of friends specifically is of relevance here, and friends have played an important role in the lives of these young Māori, as discussed in the next section.

The importance of friends

Several participants made specific mention to the importance of friends to their general life flourishing. While all friendships are different, a general definition of what friendship may look like is: "mutual assistance, relief from other roles in society, informal emotional support, advice and material help, companionship, intimacy, and can provide insights into our selves." (Young, 2013, p. 2). These examples highlight some of the many things offered by friendship, but also point to the importance of the relationship being *mutual,* which distinguishes a friendship from simply peers, in the case of educational settings (Alvarado & López Turley, 2012). While blog posts and magazine articles on academic life-

social life balance are vast, the academic literature surrounding this topic is surprisingly not copious. However, as a student, friendships can be particularly important, as highlighted in Young's (2013) quote above, for providing relief from other commitments such as study, and there is some evidence that friends can act as a protective factor against burnout by providing social support (Jacobs & Dodd, 2003). On the other hand, prioritising the social side of university life, for example lots of 'partying,' can become a hindrance to academic achievement (Davies & Casey, 1999), in which things such as attendance at classes and grades may be negatively impacted. Thus, there is a need to balance the necessary commitments in one's life, which participants mention has been a 'trial and error' process for them. Monique is one participant who brings up the necessity of balance:

> I love to party, I ain't gonna lie, but for me at the moment it's about a good balance. Work hard, play harder, that's me.

Monique recalls that it was not always easy to have this balance as an undergraduate, and even now it is not easy, but she has learned that balance is necessary if you want to do well but also juggle several priorities.

Several participants made specific mention of enjoying the moments with their friends when they did 'random unplanned things' or got together on short notice for a big gathering. Included below are several memorable photos for participants of times spent with friends.

Figure 6: Hana and friends' spontaneous get-together

The photo in Figure 6 is a spontaneous get-together Hana and her friends had one night. She mentions that it was:

> An intimate collective of our friends, and it was just a really good time. This is probably one of my most favourite nights me and my mates have had.

She recalls there was a much smaller group than usual and she feels that with a smaller group there is more connection because you can really talk and be with each person. For Hana, it is times like these, socialising and connecting with her friends, which highlight an important part of her life. Another quote by Hana reflects the value she places on her social life:

> I suppose it's, like, something that I thrive off socially, is to have people around me all the time. . . and I like to have people over [to her house], and I like to make sure that they're looked after. I dunno it makes me feel good if they feel good I suppose.

This quote shows that Hana finds enjoyment in socialising with others, and in caring for others by making sure they are comfortable and their needs are being met. This shows her engaging in manaakitanga, which is being hospitable or caring for/looking after others (Masters et al., 2004; Mead, 2003), which is highly valued in the Māori world (Mead, 2003; Webber, 2015). Part of manaakitanga for Hana means she has extra mattresses at her house because she often has friends coming to stay at her house for days, or a week at a time. The photo in Figure 7 illustrates this:

Figure 7: Hana and friends "living like family"

Hana refers to the photo above as the 'aftermath' of her twenty-first birthday in which she and twenty-five of her friends travelled up north to her hometown for her birthday. She mentions that this photo was taken when they had returned back to Hamilton and many of her friends stayed at her house for the next few days. Having extra mattresses for sleep-overs is not uncommon in the Māori world, as gatherings on the marae often involve many people staying the night in the wharenui (meeting house) and thus mattresses are laid out as one of the standard forms of caring, or manaaki (Mead, 2003; Tauroa & Tauroa, 2009). Notions of *practice* are very relevant here, such as social, cultural, and material practices. Theories of practice consider that participation in certain activities

reproduces those activities within the cultural knowledge in which they were developed (Maller, 2012; Reckwitz, 2002; Shove, Pantzar, & Watson, 2012). As a material object, the mattress example is symbolic of an important socio-cultural practice of hosting friends and families. Thus, for Māori, hosting people overnight or for several nights is a common socio-cultural practice as a manifestation of manaakitanga; this value is the underlying factor behind the mattress as a material object of importance, and a point by Jones (2010) reflects this: "When we look at how people experience and negotiate authenticity through objects, it is the networks of relationships between people, place and things that appear to be central, not the things themselves." (p. 181). This underlying importance of manaakitanga is shown in how the use of mattresses extends across the marae to households; family members staying at each other's houses is common, so they must be catered for when they do. While a form of manaakitanga, this practice is also clearly a sign of whanaungatanga due to the relational aspect involved.

Tying the material object and socio-cultural practice back to Hana's friends staying over at her house, she mentions this situation is "living like family" which reflects the strong familial ties that she has with her friends and how she caters for them the same as she would the rest of her whanau. The fact that Hana sees this social side of her life as 'standard' practice reflects the notion of the mundane and everyday life (Hodgetts et al., 2010). According to Hodgetts, Rua, King, and Te Whetu (2015), "The everyday constitutes the relational glue that bonds a cluster of evolving and shared domains of life within routines that are often taken-for-granted." (p. 124). This means that the things we do in our day-to-day lives may not always be appreciated because they seem 'standard'; however, it is for exactly this reason that they are so important in how we live our lives. What we do in our day-to-day lives, when considered more deeply, can tell us a lot about who we are as a person, what we value, who we connect to and who we do not (Hodgetts et al., 2010). Behind these everyday things are often underlying values and 'norms' that come from a blend of personal preferences and values alongside overarching cultural and societal values and

influences (Hodgetts et al., 2010; Hodgetts et al., 2015). In this sense, there are underlying factors behind Hana's engagements and activities that fit into her everyday life, particularly underlying cultural values such as manaakitanga and whanaungatanga.

Kushina is another participant who makes mention of the importance of friends in her life.

Figure 8: Kushina and her niece

Kushina chose this photo because of the ongoing relationship she has with her friend, who has been a form of support for her throughout the years. Kushina met her friend at university through the subject area they both studied in, and they would often meet up at cafes and chat and have some kai (food) together. These engagements were important for Kushina because they were moments in which she could talk through assessments and lecture content with someone from her class, but she could also have general socialising outside of class. These engagements have been important not only as forms of academic support, but also for emotional and general social support (Young, 2013). Kushina mentions that what she has been really thankful for is that even when her friend had her

child, she found things did not change in their relationship. She mentions they still make time for each other and meet up for things, and this suggests commitment and effort being put into the relationship (Young, 2013), showing the difference between being friends and simply being peers, in which friends highlight shared feelings and put effort into a relationship outside of class or study (Alvarado & López Turley, 2012). More than this, friends represent another form of whanau, and are considered just as important as other whānau members in the lives of these young Māori.

Continuing on with kaupapa whanau, there are groups which have offered familial-like bonding for my participants, and these groups can be considered communities of practice, which I will discuss now.

Communities of practice.

The concept of communities of practice can be mostly credited to Etienne Wenger, who described such communities as ". . . groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly." (Wenger, 2009, p. 1). Communities of practice must have a domain – the interest or issue, a community – the people and relationships around the domain, and a practice – the contribution as a part of a community within the domain (Wenger, 2009). The importance of considering communities of practice in this research is how they relate to the wellbeing of people through collective pursuit of a goal or activity in which the individuals themselves can contribute to the 'community' and where they also benefit through growth and learning (Wenger, 2009). According to Wenger, these communities may or may not be full of people who are from varied backgrounds, but the point is that they come together to work on a shared goal (Adell, Bendix, Bortolotto, & Tauschek, 2015), similar to whanau. For participants, communities of practice were relevant for some of the support groups or clubs they were involved in, on and off the university campus. Firstly I will consider some of the groups targeted to Māori.

Māori mentoring at University as a community of practice

There are many Māori support groups and services on campus at the University of Waikato. These range from mentoring by Māori staff members in each faculty, who are there to support students if they are struggling academically, to programmes that have been set up to promote excellence and leadership in Māori students (The University of Waikato, 2016). By the definition of communities of practice, these support groups, which predominantly support Māori students, are a way of improving the university experience for Māori students by bringing them together and supporting their needs as Māori within a European-dominant system. Wenger (2009) gives an example of a community of practice as "a tribe learning to survive." (p. 1). While this is potentially a harsh comparison to Māori students at university, it is nevertheless one way of looking at the situation given the history of colonisation, which lead to the disparities between Māori and European students in particular, as well as the stereotypes that can haunt Māori when trying to succeed. This is where the importance lies in my participants' choices to be a part of these groups, because they see the significance of having and giving support in the above ways while at university.

Māori support groups on campus were mentioned as being particularly helpful to Monique, Hana, and Rangiora's ability to flourish as students, because of the connections, opportunities, and general support that they offered. Monique mentions how her involvement in Te Waiora (Māori student association) has been crucial because it tries to cater for students' needs by "giving them a good balance, academically, culturally and socially." It is fitting that the name of this group, Wai ora, means 'healthy environments' (Ministry of Health, 2016). This means that this university group in and of itself aims to create a healthy environment within the UoW by providing the support and resources necessary for Māori students to flourish, which is engaging them on multiple levels. According to Diamond (2013), feeling both academically and socially integrated is linked to a sense of belonging, and this can increase retention rates, which are

generally lower for Māori than for European tertiary students (Hall et al., 2013; Wilson et al., 2011). Monique mentions that Te Waiora is:

> Just a really good support system and you see the benefits that you can get with a really good support system like them.

For Monique, this was catering to her needs holistically. Because of the connections with this group of Māori students, they were able to act as a Kaupapa whānau for Monique, and being a part of this group allowed her to engage with her academic work while being supported socially by people she could relate to culturally. While this group has been important for Monique during her studies, the fact that this group acts as a whānau has meant that the relationships extend past the university years, so members still keep in touch with each other even when they have finished their studies. This shows the strength of this type of support group and the relationships that can be cemented to further support members when they finish at university. Monique values the fact that through maintaining these relationships after university, current members of Te Waiora can see where past members have ended up. This can relate to the notion of role modelling, in which past students can inspire current students (intentionally or unintentionally) by showing them the opportunities available at the end of their studies, which may be opportunities they originally could not imagine (Spearman & Harrison, 2010).

Below is a photo of Te Waiora which Hana wanted to share for my research.

Figure 9: Members of Te Waiora

The group in Figure 9 comprised students from Te Waiora during a trip to the 2014 Te Huinga Tauira (the annual national Māori student conference), in Palmerston North. The students in the photo are all Māori, of different ages, studying different programmes at UoW and come from different areas around Aotearoa. This photo is an example of a University of Waikato Māori student support network in action. The purpose of the Huinga Tauira conference is to bring together Māori university students to meet one another, talk about issues that affect the Māori student body and wider communities, and to engage in traditional Māori cultural practices and sporting events (The New Zealand Union of Students' Associations, 2014). Put simply, the event is about Māori coming together to be Māori (The New Zealand Union of Students' Associations, 2014). The importance of this event is in creating an environment conducive to Māori flourishing, which reflects Māori values and a Māori worldview, but also helps the students feel connected to other Māori students (Earle, 2008; Gorinski & Abernethy, 2007; Hall et al., 2013; Honey, 2014; Levy et al., 2008; Masters et al., 2004; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2011).

Coming back to Hana's photo (Figure 9), she provides the context in the following quote:

> This was at the end of our trip, and at the beginning everyone was close, but at the end once you've spent five or so days with some people you're just crazy close.

What this quote reflects is the depth of connection Māori students seek by being part of these support groups – not just for Hana, but for Monique as well, who was also a member of this group. Such groups provide strong support on multiple levels: socially in regard to friends and family-like people; culturally through engaging Māori based practices; and academically through all being students.

With regard to the importance of this group to her, Hana states:

> They (Te Waiora) are a really big support system for me whilst at university. . .If I need help whoever's there will always help out and you can always count on them to pick you up I suppose if you're struggling, or they can find the avenues where you need to go.

Te Waiora has helped Hana academically by offering tips or helping her find the appropriate support for her more generally. As well as this, when Hana mentions how people in the group would 'pick you up' she means both academically by helping, and also socially by improving her mood and taking her mind off things; for example, taking a night off from university work and spending it with friends, as we saw in the previous section.

Te Waiora as a support group fulfils the three requirements of being a community of practice (Wenger, 2009). The domain is the actual group which has been set up to bring Māori students together and promote a strong environment around them which help academically, socially, and culturally. The community is the group of Māori student members (including those that manage the group), and any relevant staff members, all of which have relationships to each other and grow within the group and alongside one another. Finally, the practice is the relationships that are developed, the discussion and sharing of experience and stories that contribute to the learning, the involvement in the formal and

unformal events (for example kapa haka events, or parties involving members), and the questions and feedback that all work as a collaboration within the group. For similar reasons to Te Waiora, Rangiora's involvement within a Māori mentor group, Te Aka Matua (FASS Māori Mentoring), also fits as a community of practice. Similar to Hana, Rangiora found being involved with Te Aka Matua has been invaluable in terms of negotiating the University landscape. Rangiora mentions that those in Te Aka Matua were incredibly helpful with his assignments

> . . . brainstorming, researching for resources and organising my points together and then giving pointers when I have completed my draft.

He also mentions when he was unsure about which papers to take for his course they helped him structure his degree by sharing their first-hand experiences of the papers. What this support meant was that Rangiora was not alone when he was finding things difficult; he had people, other Māori, around him who helped to guide him through his journey. When he was doing well (for example got an A+ for an assignment), Te Aka Matua still supported him with encouragement and praise, which gave him a sense of achievement. This last point about support when one is doing well can be linked to what constitutes a 'healthy network' as shared by Masters (1997) in her thesis, where she mentions that a healthy network "provides opportunities for further development and enrichment." (p. 34). This emphasises that support is not only crucial in times of stress; it is also just as important for promoting or engaging further flourishing.

Beyond those support systems offered by the University, some of my participants were engaging in groups or communities beyond campus life, two of which are discussed below.

Kapa haka as a community of practice

Several participants mentioned other support groups outside of university that aided their progress through University studies. For Monique and Hana, participating in kapa haka has been very important to them. Kapa haka is Māori

performing arts or a 'cultural display' (Mead, 2003) in which traditional Māori dances and waiata (songs) are performed (Smith, 2014). Kapa haka is an effective way of engaging in one's Māori identity by learning about Māori history, tikanga and reo through Māori performing arts (Haami, 2013; Smith, 2014). The importance of kapa haka for my participants is the practices it represents. Kapa haka forms the basis of a community of practice because it is a group of Māori who not only enjoy the performance, but who also see the importance of engaging in practices such as these to carry on the traditional Māori art forms, and to continue learning about their own culture. This is not dissimilar to how kapa haka fits with notions of a socio-cultural material practice, in which my participants are engaging with other Māori using specific Māori materials (for example poi, and valued Māori garments such as piupiu, korowai), which develops their learning and relationships surrounding their cultural history and values (Shove et al., 2012).

Monique mentions that the people in her kapa haka group have helped her a lot because of the range of people involved, including students, teachers and principals. She recalls thinking:

> I didn't know how it was going to work with uni, but I've found it was a good balance for me. Instead of me focusing all my time on uni it was a good get away and also a good help having those kinds of people like teachers, other students, all that, alongside doing what I love to do – kapa haka. It was probably one of the biggest things of my uni [journey] that helped me.

Figure 10: Hana's kapa haka group practice

The photo in Figure 10 is of Hana's kapa haka group practicing for a competition. She mentions choosing this picture for the following reason:

> That sort of symbolises the, I suppose getaway place I go to. Competitive hakas or just any hakas in general I can sort of just let go of what things need to be done and can just enjoy performing in the moment, and just understanding the different waiata, and learning our hitori – our history. We meet different whānau and we have quite a tight-knit bond.

Kapa haka allows Hana to focus on being Māori in an environment that promotes and encourages her Māori cultural sense of self. She is able to forget briefly about her studies and her part-time work and enjoy the moment of creativity and acknowledgement of her Māori identity. There is evidence to suggest that extracurricular activities outside of one's tertiary studies can act as a buffer against burnout by focusing attention and accomplishment on another area of one's life (Jacobs & Dodd, 2003). Here, burnout can be described as a form of exhaustion, stress, and being generally 'run down' as a result of overwork (Colman, 2015). Another thing that Hana mentions about being involved in her kapa haka group is that, like her, the majority of the members are living away from home as well, so they all travel back to their home grounds for training. Hana mentions:

It's a great opportunity to come home. It gives you an opportunity to
come home and learn about your tikanga and have your reo there and
yeah, with likeminded Māori people who just love kapa haka.

For Hana, kapa haka supports her on multiple levels, not least of which is clearly
engaging her Māori self when being Māori at university can be challenging.

Karate as a community of practice

Kushina mentioned karate is one of the groups she is a part of that offers her
support, and also contributes to growing her whanau.

Figure 11: Kushina's first karate tournament

Kushina mentioned the above photo was taken during her first karate
tournament in Dunedin in 2012. The meaning behind the photo relates to the
fact that Kushina really pushed herself in preparation for this tournament. The
photo reminds her of how far she has grown in regards to karate; it also
highlights the good network she has formed with different people, and the
strong support she has received through the years. She mentions "It's just like
having another family," in which the people she practices alongside, and also
instructs, have become kaupapa whanau. This reflects not only the 'community'
aspect of the community of practice, but in this case it also reflects the 'practice',
in which Kushina learns and grows alongside other students doing the same, her
offering guidance where she can, and in return receiving guidance from others.

With regard to what being a part of this group offers her, she mentions peace of mind from university is one thing. It's also about a sense of belonging, and getting to know who she is as a person. She mentions there is trust with the people in these groups, which has been built over time, and there is a lot of aroha there, which links back to the importance of whanaungatanga and the maintenance of strong relationships over the years between the members of such a group.

This section has shown that whānau in its entirety is very important to the lives of these young Māori. The role of whakapapa whānau and kaupapa whānau are very much interwoven, and the young Māori in this research see a crossover of the roles that whānau members can play with regard to support. They also do not believe there is a difference between the importance of whānau inside or outside of the university as these environments are interrelated in their contribution to flourishing in general. The stories presented each identify one or more whānau members who have helped these young people feel supported and believed in, and who have offered them encouraging words or motivation to continue with their studies. Whānau is also just as important when these young students need time away from university and need social support and engagement in non-study activities. The next section will consider two forms of landscapes of care for participants.

Section Two: Landscapes of Care

Landscapes of care include locations, environments or spaces that are personal and can offer multiple forms of care towards holistic health – this may be physically, emotionally, mentally, spiritually (Gesler, 1993; Milligan & Wiles, 2010; Williams, 1998; Wilson, 2003) and potentially socially (King, Hodgetts, Rua, & Te Whetu, 2015; Milligan & Wiles, 2010). This relates back to the importance of Māori health models and the need for health to relate to all the interacting parts of an individual. Drawing specifically from the whānau wellbeing areas of the Māori health models (Durie, 1998; Pere, 1991) there may be landscapes that are caring for the whānau rather than just the individual. This can be shown in the

way that geographical locations are important for Māori, which comes back to the practice of reciting pepeha that connect Māori to their ancestors and important geographical markers (Royal, 2007). Landscapes of care is consistent with the importance Māori place on the notion of Tūrangawaewae, "a place to stand" (Kidman, 2012, p. 193). The importance of tūrangawaewae to landscapes which offer care lies in the fact that these landscapes offer a sense of belonging, connection, and a link to ancestors (Kidman, 2012; Mead, 2003). Another place, which is indicative of tūrangawaewae but is also a landscape of care, is the marae.

Marae (places of gathering) are fundamental locations within Māori culture, and they are considered tūrangawaewae (Kidman, 2012; Mead, 2003; Tauroa & Tauroa, 2009). Marae can be places in which to engage fully with one's Māori identity, by having a place to belong to, to be valued, and to practice tikanga (King et al., 2015; Mead, 2003; Tauroa & Tauroa, 2009). In this way, marae can very much act as landscapes of care for Māori (Hodgetts et al., 2015; King et al., 2015). Gaining a sense of health from the marae was pertinent for Hana: "I suppose it was kind of a normality growing up [on the marae]." Hana mentions a lot of her childhood was spent on the marae with her nana, helping her out in the kitchen and learning about the protocol. Even now when Hana goes back home she likes to try and stop in at the marae and help out where she can; this is the only marae that her iwi has, so it is especially important to her and her family. In considering the importance and normality of the marae to Hana and her family, life on the marae also reflects notions of 'the everyday life' (Hodgetts et al., 2015; King et al., 2015), which was introduced in the previous section. However, despite the marae being an important part of Māori culture, marae life is not part of 'the everyday life' for all Māori, due to many reasons, but not least of which is the alienation from more traditional ways of life that has occurred because of colonising factors. This highlights the important reality of differing lives and differing standards of 'normal', as highlighted in the following quote by Hodgetts et al. (2010):

> Differences between people raise the crucial point that everyday life is
> not always equitable. . . Some people may experience prejudice and
> inequities, whereas others may experience inclusion and acceptance. As a
> result, we need to conceptualize everyday life in a manner that
> emphasizes multiple lifeworlds and differences. (p. 61).

What this does however highlight for Hana is that she is appreciative of the fact
that presence on the marae *has* been such a normality for herself and her family.

Figure 12: Hana's nana outside their marae

Figure 12 shows Hana's nana outside the entrance to their marae. She mentions
that the photo is very old, and the marae has been 'done up' since then, but it is
indicative of how her nana would always take her there. For Hana, the marae is a
landscape of care because of the memories, personal connectedness and
familiarity it offers her; it is a place in which she can be Māori and be surrounded
by other Māori from her whakapapa. What this entails is an atmosphere of
whanaungatanga and manaakitanga; whanaungatanga because of the
relationships forged and maintained by those who are on the marae, and
manaakitanga because of the responsibilities surrounding hosts and visitors on
the marae; for example, providing food and a place to sleep. While the above is
Hana's story, it is typical of stories from some of my other participants, and
shows the importance of the marae in Te Ao Māori as a landscape of care. This
notion is reflected in the findings of King et al. (2015) mentioned earlier, in which
a group of homeless Māori men found a sense of belonging and connection on

the marae when they went there to work in the garden. This is the comparison to these homeless men's usual 'landscape of despair,' which is life on the streets without a proper home or the security of food and other resources (Hodgetts et al., 2015). Health and wellbeing wise, this landscape contributes to their spiritual health by connecting them to the wairua (spirituality) of the marae because of the many Māori who have passed and who watch over the marae and those within it; their mental and emotional health by offering them a place of solace, and general belonging; their social health by connecting with other Māori; and their physical health in the sense of physically contributing to the land (King et al., 2015). This research example links especially to factors of Durie's Te Whare Tapa Wha model of health (Durie, 1998).

Another participant, Kushina, mentions that she also grew up around the marae and was surrounded by marae tikanga.

> Being engaged with my marae and knowing the tikanga of my marae is very important to me. . . For me it was about being there for my family. . . As I've gotten older I've had to set an example for my sisters.

For Kushina, the marae is a landscape of care is because it is a place where her Māori self is cared for by being acknowledged, appreciated and expressed. She understands the privilege of knowing one's language and culture well enough that it can be expressed in an environment like the marae, where it can be strengthened and can flourish. This is about strengthening her identity as Māori (Mead, 2003; Tauroa & Tauroa, 2009). Because of the engagement with one's Māori identity and thus culture, the marae as a landscape of care also reflects the cultural pathway of Durie's Mauri Ora (Durie, 2016). This is because participants have access to, and ability within this part of their culture, and thus have the ability to carry this through their future generations (Durie, 2016). Moving on, the natural environment can be considered landscapes of care also.

Connection to nature as a landscape of care.

Another landscape of care can be the natural environment, or specific locations within the natural environment (Ewert, Mitten, & Overholt, 2014). The importance of the natural environment to Māori has been touched on when considering the significance of land as Tūrangawaewae (Kidman, 2012; Mead, 2003), and the importance of Pepeha and the connection to particular mountains or waterways that are prominent for the tribe of focus (Royal, 2007). These connect to the underlying importance of Papatuanuku as the earth mother to which we all descend, and thus the natural environment is a part of us and in turn we are a part of the natural environment (Moon, 2003; Royal, 2007).

The benefits of contact with the natural world include improved mood, stress relief, calmness and clarity of thinking (Ewert et al., 2014). These findings connect to Kushina's reported feelings. In times of stress and difficulty at university (for example large workloads, or confusion surrounding coursework), Kushina mentions she had to learn to take a step back from university and take care of herself. Some of the ways in which she did this included going for a walk around the gardens, a park, or the Hamilton Lake; she mentioned that being out in nature helped her 'clear her mind' so that she could go back to her work with a fresh outlook. Another participant, Rangiora, also mentioned that walking around the Hamilton Lake or something like hiking is refreshing for him when he needs a break from his studies. The likely reason for gaining clarity and a fresh outlook is the often quieter setting, with fresh air and pleasant, open scenery, which can act as an 'escape' from being surrounded by buildings (Hay, Robertson, Lawrence, & Heath, 2015; Maller, Townsend, Pryor, Brown, & St Leger, 2006). The photo below offers a visual of the example used by Kushina and Rangiora, the Hamilton Lake.

Figure 13: Kushina's view of the Hamilton Lake

Kushina included the above photo of the lake because she mentioned that just watching the serenity of the water had the ability to calm her by being immersed in something other than her current troubles. She found this was enough to either show her what she needed to do next, or to know that she could go back and work through whatever her trouble was after having a break and grounding herself. This experience for Kushina appears to relate to the ability of nature to 'refresh' people so that they can redirect or direct their attention (Berto, 2005). The purpose of one of the experiments in Berto's study was to see whether after completing a test which was taxing on energy and mental processing, the participants would 'recover' after viewing either 'restorative' pictures (natural settings such as mountains and a lake) or 'non-restorative' pictures (urban settings such as roads with cars and buildings or gated buildings) (Berto, 2005). When participants viewed the 'restorative' pictures, they had a sense of refreshment and were able to complete the post-test despite prior fatigue, whereas when the 'non-restorative' pictures were viewed, this was not the case (Berto, 2005). These findings suggest that even the sight of nature without being in it can offer clearer thinking and similar benefits to actually being in nature, such as those mentioned by Kushina. The experience of being in nature is no doubt a landscape of care for Kushina. This notion of nature as a landscape of care, tied with Kushina's experiences, relates to the following point by Frumkin

(2001): "Perhaps we as a species find tranquillity in certain natural environments – a soothing, restorative, and even a healing sense. If so, contact with nature might be an important component of well-being." (p. 234). Frumkin (2001) suggests that nature acting as a landscape of care can in fact contribute to one's overall well-being in life, and their flourishing.

Another participant, Hana, speaks of her love of the beach and how this relates to how she grew up as a child being near two coasts, meaning that going to the beach was a regular activity because it was easily accessible. She mentions that when she first came to Waikato University and was living in the Halls of Residence she felt 'land sick' because there were just buildings and land and no ocean. This is similar to a point made by Ewert et al. (2014), claiming that some people can show signs of psychological impairment because of a lack of access to nature. For Hana, who grew up surrounded by the ocean, then moved to a city where the closest beach was roughly an hour's drive away, it is no surprise that she developed a longing to go to the beach and experience the 'fresh air' and 'sea breeze' she grew up with. Since Hana refers to growing up by the sea as 'part of who she is', this too can be considered a landscape of care. The health of the natural environment can be tied to these participants connection to it, and thus the environmental pathway of Durie's Mauri Ora becomes extremely relevant (Durie, 2016). If the natural environment is not healthy, for example due to pollution or other damage, then the natural environment may cease to exist as a landscape of care for participants and people in general, and thus flourishing would be compromised (Durie, 2016). The next section will consider the notion of motivation and how this has been relevant to Māori students' pursuit of education.

Section Three: Collective and Individual Goals and Motivations

People have different motivations for making certain choices or taking part in certain activities. According to Siegling and Petrides (2016) "Motivators reflect what a person wants to attain, or the ulterior reasons for one's behaviour (interests, goals, preferences, needs, attitudes, desires, etc.)" (p. 1). Motivation

can be understood as the 'what' and the 'why' of someone's actions, in which a motivator is the 'what' while the reasoning *behind* the motivator and thus, the motivation, is the 'why' (Siegling & Petrides, 2016). Choosing to place this section at the end of this chapter was purposeful, and based on the fact that the information in this section (surrounding motivation and motivators -which may seem more individualistic) should not be taken in isolation as the only thing these young Māori have needed to enter university and need in order to flourish. It should be clear that there are multiple elements that have worked together to influence these young Māori students' choices, actions and lives (Durie, 2006b), and motivation is just one in an array of factors.

For Māori students self-motivation is considered an important factor both at the secondary (Macfarlane et al., 2014; Webber, 2015) and tertiary level (Honey, 2014; Kaumoana, 2013). However, given the general underrepresentation of Māori in Aotearoa tertiary education (Ashwell et al., 2003; Bishop, 2012; Curtis et al., 2014; Diamond, 2013; Dutton et al., 2016; Gorinski & Abernethy, 2007; O'Shea et al., 2013) it was of interest to know what the motivations were behind the choices of the young Māori in this research for coming to university, and what has helped them gain qualifications and continue working towards further qualifications. Also of interest was what these young students' motivation was behind their involvement in support roles, whether on campus or off, paid or unpaid. The young Māori in this research each have different lives, with different upbringings, beliefs, and goals; however, it was interesting to note that one theme emerged with respect to participants' motivation and involvement, and this was the motivation to contribute to the lives of others, in particular Māori lives, as is discussed below.

Collective purpose and social goals.

People can be motivated in regard to personal gain, or collective gain, which can relate to the type of culture they are from and the values that they are taught (Datu, Valdez, & King, 2016). Given my focus on Māori, there will be more collectivistic foci for the first part of this section on motivation. Being motivated

toward contributing to others' lives is not a new idea in the literature; it is linked to research surrounding notions of social goals (King, McInerney, & Watkins, 2012; Urdan & Maehr, 1995), gratitude (Froh, Bono, & Emmons, 2010), and role modelling (Pierson, 2013; Spearman & Harrison, 2010). In collectivist cultures, rather than choices in life being motivated by what can be gained for oneself, people generally tend to be motivated by what the collective can gain (Datu et al., 2016; Lee & Padilla, 2016), or by a collective purpose (Williams, 2011). This is because the identity of the individual is intertwined with that of the collective (Lee & Padilla, 2016). For my participants, motivation to contribute appeared to be motivation to do something that would benefit more than themselves; either motivation to 'give back', or to give to others. My participants' feelings do not come as a surprise given that Māori society is collectivist in nature, where an individual is imbedded in the wider whanau, or even iwi, and therefore contributes to something wider than themselves (Makereti, 1938; Williams, 2010). The prominence of this point is clear when remembering the definition of whakapapa whanau, in which members of the whakapapa whānau have "collective interests" and "reciprocal ties and aspirations" (Ministry of Social Development, 2010, p. 12). This means that when individuals make choices, for example pursuing education or not, they might consider how that may positively or negatively impact their whanau.

In relation to choosing to come to university, some participants mentioned that what they hoped to gain from university was knowledge and qualifications that could help their own whanau, or help Māori in general. What this 'help' meant was to highlight another avenue for Māori to pursue (academics), but could also mean working in a job or career that could directly impact Māori futures. The participants who held these views explained:

> I wanted to come to university to set another example of what you can
> do outside of your family, and outside of the normal ways of living [for
> Māori]. . . I've realised now that coming to university I planned to make a

positive change in normalising academic success within my family.
– Rangiora

For me it was kind of like building a pathway for the next generations to come. . . Just because we are Māori and we have our family doesn't mean we can't choose another pathway in life. . . I wanted to say hey, you can do it too. – Kushina

What the above quotes highlight is that Rangiora and Kushina both wanted to take their own path in life, choosing something different than their family had. However, in choosing this path (academia) both participants also wish to show other family members that higher education is attainable if they want it and that it can be valuable. This can be linked to 'social goals' for education (King et al., 2012), which in their broadest sense are defined by Urdan and Maehr (1995) as "perceived social purposes of trying to achieve academically" (p. 232). This means that the reasons for pursuing education come down to reasons of a social nature; for example, social affiliation, social approval, social concern, social responsibility, or social status (King et al., 2012). The above quotes by participants could relate to 'social status' which in this case is about gaining wealth and/or position after study (King et al., 2012), whereby these young Māori hope to show through their status as a 'student' and more importantly their status as a 'graduate' that Māori can and should be successful within the tertiary sector. This relates to a belief held by Durie (2006b) in which he highlights the need for whānau to provide encouragement for educational attainment in order to change the norm surrounding Māori in the education sector:

Celebrating success, no matter how great, is always worthwhile but success should become less and less the exception and more and more the whānau norm. Success is sometimes measured by entry into an educational system – participation being seen as a sign of accomplishment. However, while participation has been an important step towards the realisation of potential, it is not itself an endpoint.

Instead, successful completion should be the goal, and the reason to

celebrate. (pp. 16-17)

This means that education and the attainment of a qualification should be

encouraged within the whanau, which will help in the transition to educational

goals being something 'normal' within whanau. The belief in education being

valuable for Māori has been found across the literature; many Māori believe

education is an empowering option for their people that can help achieve Māori

goals within society (Bennett, 2003; Masters, 1997; Wilson et al., 2011). This also

relates to findings by Macfarlane et al. (2014) who conducted research alongside

Māori secondary students, and Brayboy (2004) with Native American college

students, both of which found students who were motivated to complete studies

to eventually gain skills and/or employment that would be of benefit to their

families and tribes at home. This belief in the empowerment that education can

provide does not dismiss the fact that the education system is inadequate for

many Māori learners, as this *is* very much the case. However, in regards to social

status as a goal, by receiving further qualifications these young students will

increase their career and earning opportunities which in turn could help their

whanau, which is a form of empowerment. The reasoning here is that social

status can relate to upward social mobility of the family, meaning overall

economic improvement for the family (King et al., 2012). In this case, upward

social mobility is then another potential benefit from Rangiora and Kushina

encouraging academics within their whanau.

With regard to pursuing a qualification at university, the social goals behind the

motivation of Rangiora and Kushina also relate to the next concept of role

modelling. Here, role modelling can be understood to mean people who may

inspire and motivate others to do things they may not have done by themselves

in a particular 'role' (Morgenroth, Ryan, & Peters, 2015). A couple of examples of

'role models' are the following: A parent who is caring and supportive of their

child, leading to the child hoping to be a similar parent one day to their own

children; or a famous nutrition and fitness blogger who, through a vision for the

future of health, inspires a newbie sport and leisure major at university to specialise in personal training. Each example represents a 'role,' and while the person or people inspired by the role model do not have to necessarily want to aspire to the same role, they may aspire to the same vision. In the case of Rangiora and Kushina's quotes about why they chose to attend university, both can be linked to a finding by Masters et al. (2004) in which Māori students studying at post-graduate level in Psychology acted as role models by reflecting education and career possibilities for other Māori students that were previously inconceivable. From my participants' quotes, their statements of "I planned to make a positive change" or "I wanted to say hey, you can do it too" is them acting as role models for their whānau members by highlighting a positive and beneficial pathway. This relates to research by Spearman and Harrison (2010) which focused on African Americans, stressing the importance of children and young people seeing that there are successful African Americans in all professions, rather than just those in the entertainment sector (sports, music, movies). This can extend to Māori by highlighting that Māori can become successful in careers or jobs other than the ones they deem 'normal' or 'standard' for Māori to be in, or in other words, stereotypical; for example those jobs that are low paid and may not require qualifications. This comes back to that belief held by many Māori that education can be the avenue which allows them to take other pathways (Bennett, 2003; Masters, 1997; Wilson et al., 2011). Figure 14 is a photo of Kushina's which relates to this.

Figure 14: Kushina and her sister at their other sister's graduation

This photo is of Kushina and her two sisters showing support for one sister who has graduated with her qualification. The relevance of this photo to role modelling is that Kushina is the oldest of her siblings, and she feels that as the oldest she had to set a positive example for her sisters of a potential pathway for life after high school. She remembers that she tried to emphasise to her sisters the importance of them following their own path in life, rather than simply following Kushina's because they felt they had to. Each sister has ended up pursuing education, although in different areas than Kushina herself, and this has made Kushina proud.

Another way in which some participants have acted as role models is in terms of the support roles they are or have been involved with on campus. Several participants explicitly mentioned 'giving back' when they referred to why they were involved in the first place. The act of giving back was directed to the university and people within it because of what had been done for my participants throughout their university journeys. This notion can be linked to the concept of gratitude, which here is defined as "the appreciation of what is valuable and meaningful to oneself" (Sansone & Sansone, 2010, p. 18). What this means is that if someone has been given something that they deem valuable, they are likely to be thankful for this act. Specifically in relation to my

participants wanting to 'give back' by taking on a role within the university, the concept of 'upstream reciprocity' can be of relevance, whereby my participants are showing their gratitude to the university by 1; taking on a role within the university (whether paid or unpaid) and 2; using this role to help others in similar ways that they had been helped in the past (Nowak & Roch, 2007). For the involvement in Māori specific support roles, such as Rangiora in Te Aka Matua, and Hana and Monique in Te Waiora, their motivation behind this particular involvement is related to wanting to specifically help promote Māori student general engagement at university. 'General' engagement refers back to the more holistic aim of Te Waiora (balance of social, cultural and academic engagement). The social concern goal which considers how students want to achieve so that they can help other people in regards to academics or personal development (King et al., 2012) can be of relevance to participants involvement because these participants are using their academic experience and achievements to help other Māori students on campus achieve and flourish in the university environment. There were other possible motivators as well, alongside wanting to help promote Māori student general engagement, such as the desire for social connection with other Māori. Social connection can be linked to the reasoning behind activities such as volunteering (Seppala, Rossomando, & Doty, 2013); but it is also relevant that connecting with other Māori would reduce the chances of isolation and alienation resulting from being in a minority group at university (Curtis et al., 2014; Gorinski & Abernethy, 2007).

Coming back to flourishing, there are several reasons why the above information is important with regard to these young Māori students' abilities to flourish. Firstly, as was found in the communities of practice section, being involved in these support roles offers them support themselves and they are able to form new relationships (Seppala et al., 2013). Secondly, this involvement makes them feel they are giving back in return for what was given to them (Nowak & Roch, 2007), and thirdly, they know they are helping others' ability to flourish, which is important since Māori culture values the collective (King et al., 2012). This last

point is highlighted in a quote from Rangiora where he explains what helping others means to him and why it is important:

> As long as you know you've helped that person, at the end of the day that's all that should matter, that someone has been helped, someone has been supported, someone knows that you realise who they are and that you realise that they are valid in this world.

This quote reflects Rangiora's motivation to help others flourish by supporting them and acknowledging their importance as a person. According to Kaumoana (2013), feeling acknowledged and valued for who you are as a person is linked to educational success in Māori students. This also links to a quote by an educator, Rita Pierson, in which she explains something she taught her students to say to themselves and others and to believe in their heart:

> I am somebody. I was somebody when I came. I'll be a better somebody when I leave. I am powerful, and I am strong. I deserve the education that I get here. I have things to do, people to impress, and places to go. (Pierson, 2013, p. 1)

This quote is about Rita reminding her students that they are each meaningful entities in this world, no matter who they are. It is also about encouraging her students to realise they have a right to their education and that they can be successful and can flourish in education as well as general life. Both Rangiora's quote and Rita Pierson's statement highlight the importance of having role models and people who believe you can succeed and flourish in this world, but also stress the importance of being this person to others if you can; hence the notion of role modelling. The next section considers passion as a form of motivation, where this passion revolves around education and/or the actual university environment.

Being passionate about education.

Passion is a well-used concept within society, and is part of day-to-day language by people who will speak of being 'passionate about' a particular hobby, or job, but more relevant here is the presence of passion with regard to education

(Bernabé et al., 2014; Schellenberg & Bailis, 2015; Stoeber, Childs, Hayward, & Feast, 2011; Vallerand et al., 2003). Here, passion is defined as "a strong inclination toward an activity that people like, that they find important, and in which they invest time and energy." (Vallerand et al., 2003, p. 757). This means that people can be drawn to a particular activity and inspired to engage in that activity on a deeper level because they find it meaningful or of value to their life. University life in general, but also education at large, can be considered a passion, and this appears to be relevant for some of my participants.

Although university was not initially Gemma's goal when she left high school, once she was at university it became one of the biggest parts of her life, which she invested a lot of her time in. She mentions that it is hard to view her general life as being different from her university life, as they have been one and the same for the time it has taken her to complete her undergraduate study and get to where she is now, in postgraduate study, doing her master's. She mentions "I love it here, honestly. I love it here. I probably love it too much [laughs]." This quote shows the place in her heart that university has; this feeling relates not only to the education she has obtained, but also to the university campus and atmosphere as well. She loves all the events on campus; for example, on one of the campus areas called the 'Village Green' where there is sometimes music and food. She feels that Hamilton does not have much going on, but the UoW is what 'makes' Hamilton. Here, Gemma appears to be passionate about university, specifically based around the university environment. While she may be pursuing post-graduate studies because she enjoys and values higher education, the university environment and lifestyle probably also plays a significant role in her 'love' of it.

Rangiora also displayed passion with regard to university:

> Once you're in the system and you love it so much you tend to forget
> about normal things like having a family or having like a relationship

> [laughs]. . . I wanna study man, like I love study. . . I think study is my
> relationship [laughs]

What this quote highlights is that Rangiora values the time that he invests in his education, and that at the moment his education is higher on his priority list than things that he feels other people his age may be prioritising; for example, romantic relationships. This is shown in the fact that he jokes about study being his 'relationship.'

Monique is another of the students who mentions her particular interest in education:

> I just like education. . . I don't want to leave really [laughs]. Sounds sad,
> but I don't want to.

For Monique, it is clear that she sees value in education, given the fact that she mentions not wanting to leave. For her, education is worth the challenge, as she mentions that sometimes times it is really hard, but it's important to stick with it because of what you get when you finish; for example, knowledge and qualifications. A quote from Schellenberg and Bailis (2015) highlights why some students may choose to attend university, or why they may continue past undergraduate level: "because they find pursuing academics as enjoyable, meaningful, and valuable part of their lives. . . For these students, academics is a passion in their lives." (p. 149). Seeing the value in tertiary education alongside finding it enjoyable removes one barrier to the pursuit of something that can be potentially expensive and can take several years to complete. This potential barrier is replaced with a form of motivation, which in this case is passion. In the case of activities, the more people are passionate about them, the more the activity is integrated into that person's identity: this will act in a cyclical manner by growing the motivation to pursue their passion while growing the passion itself, as seems to be the case for each of these participants who already hold degrees and have continued studying (Bernabé et al., 2014; Vallerand, 2010). Each of the participants quotes above show that they both enjoy and value their

time at university, even though at times it can be challenging and they have to juggle other priorities such as part time work, volunteering, and childcare.

A study that examined what passion looked like to a group of 'gifted' and 'talented' young people from both high school and college considered the following recommendations for staff in educational settings for enhancing the likelihood of passion developing in students:

> Students are more likely to experience passion in environments where they feel supported by peers who are of similar ability and motivation levels, where teachers model enthusiasm and press for understanding, where there is adequate challenge, and where [there] are opportunities to work on varied, meaningful, and cognitively complex tasks. (Fredricks, Alfeld, & Eccles, 2010, p. 18)

This detailed recommendation highlights multiple factors related to both developing and maintaining passion. This quote highlights several important points, including support, challenge and engagement, and interestingly, these keywords are very relevant when considering previous findings in this thesis. Support is crucial both in studying and in general life, and challenges including high expectations, are useful so long as they are backed up with relevant support, for example by whānau and educational staff. Engagement is an important factor that has been linked to student achievement (Gorinski & Abernethy, 2007; King et al., 2012). For my participants, this suggests that the maintenance of their passion for education is due in part to a range of external factors that help their passion flourish, meaning that passion is influenced as much by the environment as it is by the individual (Durie, 2006b). A similar but not interchangeable concept to passion is 'drive,' which I will turn to now.

Driven to achieve.

According to Siegling and Petrides (2016), drive comes under the overarching frame of motivation, and focuses more on the *level* of investment in an activity. What this means is that while things like passion are important, something like

drive allows one to act on that passion (Siegling & Petrides, 2016). Not everyone has the same drive, as people can be driven by different things. However, according to Kaumoana (2013), "One of the key elements to Māori achievement is the personal drive and motivation for learning." (p. 30). With regard to my findings, Monique had a high drive for learning, and the main reason this stood out is because of the instances in which she would pursue education even when challenges kept appearing. In fact, she appeared to thrive in the face of challenges. One specific example is when Monique transferred from her wharekura (total immersion high school) to her first mainstream high school, and found it very difficult, mentioning that "This was probably the hardest year in my education life to this day." This difficulty came from mainstream schooling being completely different to the total immersion Māori schooling she had been in previously; for example Te Reo was no longer the dominant language; having to learn to write properly in English; and the differences in relationships between people. Where Monique's drive comes in is that in her fifth form year at high school (her first year of mainstream schooling) she mentions:

> All my mock exams, I failed them, and that sucked, so I worked my arse off to do well in my externals, and I did, like at the end of the year I passed, and that for me was a lightbulb moment I suppose, that even though something is hard, you put hard work into it you'll be all good. . . It's not always going to be easy, like life's not easy, but it was those kinds of things that made me want to keep going, and definitely made me wanna come to uni. . . Also, coz I'm the first in my family, my mum's got fourteen siblings, I'm an only child, I'm the first in all of that lot of family to ever go to uni. . . I just wanted to keep going, and I didn't wanna like stay stuck working in a, I don't know, somewhere I wasn't enjoying.

This quote highlights two very important things. Firstly, Monique has a drive that is helping to push her forward in her pursuit of education even in the face of challenges, because she deems education to be meaningful and empowering. Secondly, these challenges mentioned, meaning the difficulty in mainstream secondary schooling based around European values (Bishop & Glynn, 2003;

Kaumoana, 2013; Macfarlane et al., 2014; Wikaire & Ratima, 2011); being the first in their family to attend higher education (Macfarlane et al., 2014; McKenzie, 2005); and wanting to have a purposeful and secure job (as assumed from the high levels of unemployment and low income) (Ministry of Health, 2015b) are the very things many other Māori struggle with.

In regard to flourishing within the university setting, Monique specifically mentions how drive has been important for her:

> Me wanting to make a change for myself, I knew no one else was going to do it for me. That drive, that want to better myself and gain these qualifications and learn what I could from them to be able to do something pretty great with it, hopefully. . . The drive and the want to better myself to create a good future for me, a stable future, yeah.

Here, Monique mentions wanting to 'better myself' which is in part about wanting to push herself and reach her potential, but in this, she is also countering negative stereotypes which surround Māori ability (Gorinski & Abernethy, 2007). She wants a future in which she has security based around a good job, with a good income, which can provide her with the necessities of life such as food and housing. This comes back to the important social determinants of health and wanting to create a secure future financially, as Māori are much more likely to be unemployed than non-Māori, and also more likely to earn less yearly income (annual income of less than $10,000) (Ministry of Health, 2015b). She also wants to have a job or career that is reflective of the knowledge gained at university, and one in which she can make a difference in this world – whatever that may be.

For pursuing education, consideration of passion and drive singularly is interesting, but maybe more interesting is the consideration of them alongside each other, in which students may be driven by their passion, which could be of relevance to their flourishing. This section has considered how these young Māori students have been motivated in their university pursuits. This motivation

relates heavily on contributing to the collective, as a result of being a part of a collectivist culture, but also involves factors such as passion and drive, which are important in terms of their initial pursuit of education and their journey through education.

Section Four: Chapter Summary

This chapter has considered contributing factors to my participants' ability to flourish in a tertiary institution. There has been extensive consideration of whānau as a crucial part of the lives and flourishing of these young Māori, where whānau has been found to be important in more or less all parts of their lives. This reflects the relevance and importance of the holism surrounding the Māori health models (Durie, 1998; Pere, 1991). Identity and support in its most encompassing form have also been woven throughout this chapter, showing the interconnectedness and thus inseparability of all aspects of life, particularly Māori life. In terms of theory, I have pointed out the relevance of communities of practice in university campus groups and off-campus groups, which have provided these young Māori with a supportive whānau environment in which there is development and growth of knowledge and skills as well as relationships. The everyday and mundane has been discussed in terms of the importance of underlying purpose and meaning from relationships, and in regards to place on the marae. Landscapes of care have also been discussed in regard to particular aspects of healing or health maintenance, including cultural engagement via the marae, and a sense of 'grounding' within nature. The notion of motivation has also been discussed. Motivation through collective purpose has been very relevant in relation to the choice of coming to university. Role modelling has also been present, whether intentional or unintentional, in the lives of young Māori. The notion of passion and drive has also been touched on in terms of the motivational factors behind the pursuit of higher education. Together, all of these contributors has helped my participants to engage with tertiary sector and flourish within such institutions.

Chapter Four is the second and final analysis chapter, which focuses on some of the difficulties that these young Māori found affected their ability to flourish, followed by some of their recommendations for strengthening their ability to flourish. I will end Chapter Four by considering what flourishing means for these young Māori.

Chapter 4: For Flourishing - Difficulties, Improvements, and What It All Means

This chapter is the second of my analysis chapters. It explores the reality for Māori within the education sector; offering potential recommendations from participants; and defining and summarizing what flourishing means for the young Māori within this research. The first section will focus on being in a European-dominant educational environment and the negative stereotypes that can go along with this. The second section will cover some of the areas of improvement that participants mentioned with regard to how their ability to flourish could be improved at university. These improvements are things that participants have said they would like to see put in place for the future, because they feel a stronger focus in these areas would go a long way toward helping Māori students. The third and final section of this chapter considers what the concept of flourishing means to these young Māori.

Section One: Being Māori in a European Dominant System

Being Māori in a European-dominant education system is not without struggle. There are a number of claims regarding the hindrances caused by the European-dominant view for Māori specifically, often surrounding the argument that the European dominant view contradicts what Māori believe in their own culture (Gorinski & Abernethy, 2007; Honey, 2014; Levy, 2002; Masters et al., 2004; Morunga, 2009). Māori students wonder about the relevance and applicability of curriculum content (Gorinski & Abernethy, 2007; Honey, 2014; Levy, 2002; Masters et al., 2004), and there is also some argument that with a European-laden education, some Māori students risk being seen by other Māori as working 'inappropriately', or like a 'Pākehā' (Non-Māori, particularly New Zealand Europeans) (Levy, 2002; Nikora, 1998). These issues seem to be relevant for Rangiora, who feels that his education is leading him toward a more European (or Western) focused path of knowledge. His experience is explained below:

> When you're here in this environment [university] it's hard to realise that you do have potential to become a leader for your family, especially a Māori family, because you are just swallowed by all this Western knowledge and 'this is how it should be done.'

Although Rangiora places emphasis on 'being Māori', he feels that having an education based predominantly around European values clouds his ability to see himself fitting appropriately into a Māori role for the family, which obviously requires a focus on Te Ao Māori and all this entails. The issue here is in the relevance of a European-based education in the Māori world (Levy, 2002; Nikora, 1998). Focusing on university, at the wider structural level there need to be changes in the power dynamic in regard to control over curriculum, what education looks like in Aotearoa, and how it is implemented (Bishop & Glynn, 2003; Smith, 2012). Existing mainstream education was created in such a way as to benefit those from a European worldview, while disadvantaging others (Bishop & Glynn, 2003; Smith, 2012). Only when there is a structural shift in Aotearoa will Māori students have more equitable opportunities to flourish in the education system (Bishop & Glynn, 2003; Smith, 2012). This structural shift will be based on the acknowledgement and acceptance of the obligation to share knowledge and resources about what a valuable education system looks like in Aotearoa for both Māori and Europeans; or in other words, to act in partnership as stated under the Treaty of Waitangi (Bishop & Glynn, 2003; Smith, 2000).

Countering negative stereotypes.

Another issue that was mentioned by my participants was the impact of negative stereotypes on Māori students in all levels of education. A negative picture is portrayed through statistics regarding Māori health, education, and crime, which have led to many negative stereotypes such as being lazy, criminal, poor, and generally unproductive members of society (Pack et al., 2016). The development of these stereotypes is the result of multiple forms of racism in our society, including personal, institutional, and cultural or ethnocentrically-based racism, which are a product of colonialism (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010; Pack et al., 2016).

Negative statistics and stereotypes can be internalised by Māori, resulting in Māori feeling that they cannot strive for something more than what these statistics and stereotypes depict (Durie, 2006b). If Māori *do* strive for more, they may constantly feel pressure while doing so, as is shown in the case of Rangiora:

> Seeing that like, oh, Māori are these stats, which are the bad end of the stats, they are always like in prison or in crime. Seeing a lot of that in university . . . I know like it's good to know them, but why not look at Pākehā stats as well? But if you look at the Pākehā stats most of the time it's about achievement and success and all of that, so you know, that does hinder your ability to realise your potential.

While Rangiora is at university and is striving toward his goal of gaining a higher qualification, he is not oblivious to the depiction of Māori in society. The issue with this portrayal is that Rangiora's sense of belonging in the tertiary environment is constantly tested by repeated exposure to the negative statistics and stereotypes surrounding Māori. The pressure that requires Rangiora to consistently try to prove himself worthy can be considered a health issue because of the potential stress and internalisation it can cause, for example we can consider the danger of a self-fulfilling prophecy developing and influencing academic failure (Durie, 2006b; Rosenthal, 2012). This is because if we can consider that having high expectations or belief in someone can contribute to their ability to believe in themselves, then seeing statistics and hearing within the media that Māori generally have low education and do not continue with higher education could influence disbelief in one's abilities and potentially downward spiralling in one's studies (Rosenthal, 2012).

This issue of stereotypes has also been a difficulty for Monique, who in the following quote, refers to her experience when shifting from wharekura to mainstream high school:

> Just because I'd started at a Pākehā school I didn't wanna be.. oh and coz
> at that time Māori failing and whatever, I didn't wanna be that, so I
> worked my arse off. . .to get somewhere, I suppose.

When Monique says "Māori failing and whatever" and "I didn't wanna be that",
she is responding to the negative statistics and stereotypes surrounding Māori.
As mentioned in the previous analysis chapter, Monique recalls finding the shift
to mainstream high school difficult because of the differences in values, such as
the limited focus on whanaungatanga and collectivism; however, she did not
want to be another failing Māori student. She worked hard in order "to get
somewhere" and what she means by this is that she wanted to get herself a good
job in which she could be well supported. This meant she did not want negative
stereotypes such as uneducated and unemployed to become her reality as it is
for many Māori.

Although the core goal of reducing stereotypes and disparities for Māori would
be through a structural shift within society, efforts to combat the institutional
challenges faced by Māori students in educational environments can also happen
from within the environment itself. Here, we can consider those people in Māori
students' immediate surroundings, including lecturers, tutors, and other
university staff. Hollis et al. (2011) believed that "With groups of young people
who are vulnerable to negative stereotypes, it may be particularly advantageous
to be in an environment that has high expectations of them and that offers
support in meeting these challenges." (p. 59). This quote can highlight the
importance of educational staff having high expectations of their students *while*
providing necessary support which can promote their ability to be successful and
flourish. This suggests the need for accountability of staff members as support
people within the lives of tertiary students, but also the potential to be role
models to these students. According to Hattie (2009), some of the
responsibilities that teachers need to accept are:

> . . . stop seeking evidence to confirm prior expectations but seek evidence
> to surprise themselves, find ways to raise the achievement of all, stop

creating schools that attempt to lock in prior achievement and experiences, and be evidence-informed about the talents and growth of *all* students by welcoming diversity and being accountable for all regardless of the teachers' and schools' expectations. (p. 124)

This quote highlights the need for staff to acknowledge and respond to diversity and all it entails. In this way, teachers can respond to the differences in 'progress' being made by students by engaging them in a relevant way. While a restructure of the education system itself involves a limited number of influential parties, this does not mean other people have no influence over the lives of Māori students in terms of strengthening their ability to flourish.

The importance of the earlier quotes from participants is that these students are very aware of the statistics and stereotypes around them, but having strong support that encourages high expectations is one way in which the impact of negative stereotypes can be alleviated (Hollis et al., 2011). The importance of support is also shown in a quote Rangiora wanted to include, by educator Rita Pierson: "Every child deserves a champion: an adult who will never give up on them, who understands the power of connection and insists they become the best they can possibly be." (Pierson, 2013, p. 1). This quote reflects the reality that people need to have a strong role model or models in their lives (which in this case could include staff members, whanau, friends) (Pierson, 2013; Spearman & Harrison, 2010), and Rangiora believes that "through support a person can really realise who they are, and flourish in this world." Rangiora is again highlighting the influence other people can have on your growth if they believe in you and your ability to display growth in the first place. This belief can shine a light on the person, while reducing the stereotypes that can plague their potential. This can relate in part to the ecology of resilience (Ungar, 2012), which could explain why Rangiora and Monique have pushed passed these stereotypes to get where they are with their studies today. An ecology of resilience focuses on the contributing factors to resilience *around* an individual; for example people and the wider environment (Ungar, 2012). This ecology challenges individualistic

notions of resilience by acknowledging the importance of the environment to people's functioning in life and their ability to press on if they are 'knocked down' (Ungar, 2012; Waiti & Kingi, 2014). Considering the previous chapter of this thesis and the many contributors to my participants' flourishing (for example the importance of whānau and landscapes of care), the focus on the environment surrounding the individual and the role it plays seems obvious.

The next section considers a socio-cultural value/practice which my participants felt deserves more emphasis within the university; this is whanaungatanga (in its most encompassing form).

Section Two: Improvements Toward Flourishing: Whanaungatanga

As has been discussed, Māori face the challenge of being disadvantaged in a European-dominant tertiary environment; however, a couple of participants mentioned a possible improvement via more engagement in whanaungatanga. The use of this concept in practice in their wider lives was important in these young Māori students' journeys through university; however, some participants noted that they would like to see more emphasis on it within the university environment. Engagement in whanaungatanga was of course found in groups set up predominantly for Māori such as support groups and tutoring; however, what participants hoped for was a stronger emphasis still, by Māori staff, and extension of this practice across university staff in general. Hana in particular mentioned that *knowing* the staff you are going to for help goes a long way to breaking down the barrier between 'staff' and 'student'. In the following quote she mentions why she feels whanaungatanga is important in the university setting for students seeking help:

> . . . you're not going to get anywhere really if you don't know who they [the students] are. Especially I think with Māori anyway, they really thrive on that like whakawhanaungatanga, and those relationships, and knowing who you're dealing with and knowing their family as well as them knowing your family, or who they are and where they come from and things like that. I think that would help.

Knowing this level of detail forms a relationship between the staff and the students, which can contribute to building that whānau environment, which we already know is important for Māori in tertiary education (Curtis et al., 2014; Diamond, 2013; Masters et al., 2004; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2011; Wikaire & Ratima, 2011). Hana feels that more emphasis on building relationships as well as maintaining them would help Māori students' journeys through university, although she acknowledges how hard this is with the student to staff ratio. This emphasises the struggle for staff to engage in more relationship building within the university. With a large number of students and a limited number of staff, there is simply not enough time to engage fully with all students. However, every extra bit of effort by staff counts towards building more depth in the relationships between students and staff.

While most of the participants mentioned feeling that the support available at the university was sufficient, such as mentoring groups and Māori support staff, they all mentioned that actually asking for help was a significant issue. This was highlighted by Monique:

> I think there definitely is, you know, a lot of Māori mentors and that in each faculty and student learning and all of that. It's just the students going to those places and actually asking for the help is probably the biggest problem.

This quote suggests that there should be more focus on what may be holding students back from asking for help. Two other participants mentioned very similar things in regards to there being good support at university, but the students were not seeking this support:

> I believe there's a lot of good support here. I think one of the hardest things coming into uni is actually asking for help. – Kushina

> It's there, they are there to help you, you just sort of gotta go there, and I think that's what I did struggle with. – Hana

In the above quote from Hana, she is referring to there being support in place at the university, through university staff and other support people being available to help you, but the student has to go to the places that offer the support if they want/need it. Several participants mentioned that in their earlier years of study there came a point where they realised that if they wanted to pass their papers and stay ahead in their workload then they had to just ask for help, even if it was hard to do. Monique's experience in regards to this is summed up below:

> For me it was at the end of the day if you're struggling and you need help you need to go and find it, else it's going to affect your grades. – Monique

Some participants mentioned that while they are more inclined to ask for help now, they still see other Māori students and students in general failing to ask for help when they need it, and some of my participants feel this can be due to whakama (shame) (Diamond, 2013). Creating a tertiary environment where whanaungatanga is evident can lessen or remove feelings of isolation because students feel more comfortable asking for help (Diamond, 2013; Masters et al., 2004; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2011). While this can be one way of helping some students come forward when they need help, Monique adds that it is hard to know what the issue is for all students because every student is different. While this is true, given the many claims in the literature surrounding the importance of whanaungatanga within the tertiary environment, and my participants' mentions of it, a stronger focus on fostering whanaungatanga is no doubt one option worth considering further for the future. Emphasis on education of staff is one potential way to highlight the importance of whanaungatanga itself, and to highlight the negative impact of not having such relationships in place between staff and students (Bishop, Ladwig, & Berryman, 2014). The institution needs to understand the position of accountability they are in for making appropriate changes and additions to the environment so that students can flourish in their identity within the institution, which will in turn contribute to their academic flourishing (Kaumoana, 2013).

The final part of this chapter will include describing what flourishing looks like to these young Māori. This will involve linking together the contributors to flourishing mentioned in the previous chapter, some 'definitions' of flourishing by participants, and definitions from the literature.

Section Three: What Does Flourishing Look Like For These Young Māori?

The concept of human flourishing has seen much growth over the years (Fredrickson & Losada, 2005; Human Potential Centre, 2013; Marks & Shah, 2004; Nga Pae O Te Maramatanga, 2016; Sirgy, 2012; Swearer & McGarry, 2011). In this section, I will consider the notion of flourishing from my participants' point of view in relation to the literature.

Flourishing, for these young Māori, highlights breadth, encompassment and interconnection. Individual flourishing is connected with the flourishing of the wider whanau. The majority of the matters discussed in Chapter Three of my thesis considered theories and concepts as they relate to other people; for example, communities of practice, whanaungatanga, and collective motivation. The importance of others being interwoven in an individual's flourishing is highlighted by Hana in the following explanation:

> When you're flourishing you're also helping others flourish or you're flourishing not only for yourself but for your wider community I suppose.

This points to the fact that flourishing is a collective effort or at least can be towards a collective effort, as humans are fundamentally sociable and interconnected (Hodgetts et al., 2010). In considering our lives as being fundamentally connected with others, or what Hodgetts et al (2010) call 'the interconnected self', we can think of an ecology of human flourishing, which Swearer and McGarry (2011) believe "highlights 'communality'" (p. 6). This considers the individual as part of a community to which they contribute and which in turn contributes to them (Swearer & McGarry, 2011). The importance here is that the concept of flourishing can occur at a collective level, considering

how an individual relates to those around them and the environment they are a part of, rather than being focused on what can be gained in life at an individual level (Swearer & McGarry, 2011). Here, the government initiative of Whānau Ora is important to remember, to focus on the health and wellbeing of the whānau as a whole (Kara et al., 2011). In other definitions of flourishing, relating to others and contributing to others' lives is a common aspect, as expressed by Marks and Shah (2004), who see one aspect of flourishing to be "making a contribution to the community" (p. 9), and by the Human Potential Centre (2013), which considers flourishing to involve "supportive and rewarding relationships, [in which individuals] actively contribute to the happiness of others." (p. 13). This furthers the notion that flourishing cannot occur without a social environment.

Flourishing also connects back to the Māori health models (Durie, 1998; Pere, 1991). We can consider each interconnected part of Durie's Te Whare Tapa Wha model (Durie, 1998) in the light of examples from the study participants. Taha Tinana considers physical health, which is important for physical growth (Durie, 1998); an example is Kushina's involvement in karate which is a form of physical exercise. Taha Wairua considers spiritual health, which is important for having faith and the ability for wider communication (Durie, 1998); an example here is when participants are on the marae in the presence of their ancestors and the connection this offers. Taha Whānau considers family health, which is important in terms of belonging to a whānau and that whānau contributing to your health as an individual , just as you contribute to the health of the whānau as a collective (Durie, 1998); an example here is all participants links to their whānau and how the importance of this collective grouping is woven throughout their identities and their lives. Finally, Taha Hinengaro considers mental health, and the interconnection of the mind, body, and soul (Durie, 1998); an example of this is Kushina's natural landscapes of care. When she was stressed at university she could go to the park or the lake and seek perspective and grounding in order to continue with her studies. These examples and their connections with Durie's Whare Tapa Wha model of health (Durie, 1998) show the relevance of and need for focusing on holistic health and wellbeing to enable flourishing.

Kushina views flourishing in the following way: "I think it's about finding ways that can keep you well." In this sense, flourishing can be very broad and also very personal, as different people will see value and connections in different things. When considering themes from the previous chapter on contributors to flourishing, in addition to whanau, finding landscapes of care and following one's passions may be other examples of things that can keep you 'well'. Understanding the things that do matter and are of value in life, alongside finding time for these things can also be of particular importance. This links to a point made by Hana:

> For me, when I can go home and I feel like I don't have to do anything coz I've done everything that I needed to do that day, or I've got no stress and I feel like I can just watch tv, I feel like that's flourishing. . . You're just on top of it I suppose. . . You feel like you've got time up your sleeve and you're not rushing. . . I think to me that would be when I'm at my happiest, when I felt like I've accomplished or flourished.

What this highlights is that when Hana is organised she is able to not only complete what needs to be done in a reasonable time without stress, but also has time to relax and do other things she enjoys without feeling guilty about it. This is an obvious link to health; she is not negatively impacted by stress, and instead she is settled and able to enjoy the time she has ahead, which she can spend on the things she enjoys and things that matter to her.

Another point of particular importance is growth and development. Monique mentions that flourishing for her is "Growing, developing, and bettering yourself." Monique feels that flourishing for her means moving forward and 'up', for example continuing education and accepting new volunteer or paid job opportunities that develop her skills and experience. The concepts of growth and development are commonly mentioned in definitions of flourishing (Fredrickson & Losada, 2005; Marks & Shah, 2004) and can link to ideas such as 'reaching potential.' Or, metaphorically, considering a plant blooming - which Kushina

often thinks of when considering 'flourishing'- if the plant is displaying growth in which it is blooming, then that plant is flourishing. As an example, growth and development can be reflected in these young Māori students' journeys through university. As they work through their qualifications, these students are displaying growth in knowledge and development in their level of study and their levels of qualification, which can help in building a stronger career path for the future. Alongside individual growth and development, there are implications in regards to these young students' whānau and their growth as well. This was shown in the previous chapter whereby participants such as Kushina and Rangiora were acting as role models for their future generations of whānau by promoting education as a potential pathway, which can help with their future career prospects and economic security (King et al., 2012). These examples are just some of the ways in which individual pursuits can be tied in with collective pursuits or in this case, the individual contributing to the flourishing of the collective as a part of their individual flourishing.

A final point I would like to cover in regards to participants flourishing is an important quote from Rangiora, alongside a whakataukī, which highlights the importance of identity and being Māori. Although Rangiora did not mention this line in direct relation to flourishing, his quote in and of itself simply, yet strongly asserts the ability to flourish as a Māori person in this world. Rangiora mentions "I don't realise that I'm Māori, or being Māori – it's just who I am." This quote highlights the importance of knowing oneself and being grounded in one's identity, which relates to the following whakataukī:

"E kore e ngaro
He kakano I ruia mai I rangiatea
I will never be lost
For I am a seed sown from Rangiatea" (New Zealand Law Commission, 2001, p. 1).

The importance of this whakataukī is in the grounding of one's Māori self as developed from Rangiatea, which is where Māori originally came from (New Zealand Law Commission, 2001). Here, Rangiora's firm acceptance and grounding in being Māori is seen in his words "it's just who I am", and by knowing who he is he will never be lost.

As has been discussed, several of the study participants have faced challenges as a result of being Māori in Aotearoa's mainstream education system, which fails to recognise the importance of Māori culture and language. Being part of an ethnic minority group has meant feeling the pressure of negative stereotypes about Māori in the education sector in particular. A structural shift, which would allow power-sharing between European and Māori, is at the core of removing the issues Māori face not only in education but in society in general. However, while this large task is at the core, there are more easily adjustable goals in the meantime, such as strengthening the supports in place at university and encouraging staff to pay more attention to particular values and processes such as Whanaungatanga, based on its usefulness to Māori students. As a concept, flourishing has several interrelated contributing factors; it contributes to the broader notions of health and wellbeing. Flourishing is also a personal journey of growth and identity through knowing who one is and what one values in life. Flourishing is also linked to contributing positively to the lives and flourishing of others, including whānau and the wider community. In this sense, the Māori health models and the whānau ora initiative are particularly important with regard to Māori flourishing as Māori (Durie, 1998, 2013; Durie, 2016; Kingi et al., 2014; Pere, 1991).

Chapter 5: Concluding Comments

This thesis has explored the contributors to young Māori tertiary students' ability to flourish within the tertiary environment and outside of it. In this concluding chapter I will outline the context for Māori in Aotearoa, which highlights the need for studies such as this thesis and thus supports my chosen focus for this research. Secondly, I will consider the notion of interconnectedness as an underlying factor of importance in flourishing, and disconnection as an inhibitor to flourishing. I will also restate the important themes of this research and lastly offer some points to ponder relating to this research and the concept of flourishing as a whole.

As has been noted through my thesis, Māori tend to be more disadvantaged than non-Māori in terms of health and wellbeing (Boulton & Gifford, 2014), particularly when compared specifically to New Zealand Europeans (Bishop, 2012; Edwards, McCreanor, & Moewaka Barnes, 2007), and education is no exception (Bishop, 2012; Curtis et al., 2014; Kaumoana, 2013). Therefore, a lot of the research focussing on Māori tends to be deficit-orientated, while my research adopts a strengths-based approach to Māori university students' abilities to flourish.

Interconnectedness emerged as the main underlying factor of importance in this research. Each contributing factor to flourishing mentioned by participants emphasised connections or the importance of interconnectedness. For example, connection to whānau and others was discussed in detail in Chapter Three. This covered the many support roles provided by whānau members, and considered both whakapapa whānau (blood relatives) and kaupapa whānau (other non-genetic yet family-like relationships) (Durie, 2001; Waiti & Kingi, 2014). This connection through whānau support was found to be particularly important in relation to communities of practice, which Wenger (2009) described as groups that come together under a shared practice that involves connection and development of its members. For participants, these communities of practice

included Māori support on campus, kapa haka groups and a karate club. These communities of practice, alongside the general notion of whānau (Bishop, 1998), emphasise the importance of maintaining strong relationships and connectedness.

Following on from whānau connection, the value and process of whanaungatanga and manaakitanga were found to be extremely important and were woven throughout the lives of these young Māori. These concepts were relevant in regard to everyday life and mundane activities, such as the regular use of mattresses in one's home to care for friends, and the presence on the marae. These practices are connections to, and formations of, identity based on culture (Hodgetts et al., 2015).

Connection to oneself through self-care was also found to be important, and this was relevant in relation to landscapes of care. Landscapes of care provide some form of care that contributes to a person's health and wellbeing (Williams, 1998). For the young Māori in this study, these landscapes were places that particularly supported their mental health and cultural wellbeing. Looking at the marae as a landscape of care, this connection was in the form of a sense of belonging, which was felt by Hana when on her marae, as well as a connection to her culture by being able to follow the tikanga, speak te reo and be her Māori self (Macfarlane et al., 2014; Mead, 2003; Tauroa & Tauroa, 2009). In the case of natural environments such as the lake as a landscape of care, Kushina gained clarity by being in a calm and beautiful environment, which grounded her and allowed her to return to her university work in a clearer thinking space.

Passion and drive were also arguably sources of connection based on mental health and wellbeing, but also connection to one's education and future as based around education. Passion and drive were motivating factors to pursue and persevere at university, and they promoted growth and resilience which contributed to health and wellbeing and thus, to flourishing. Passion and drive are considered important here because they were intentional by participants (for

example continuing past degree level), allowing them to draw meaning from their actions and thus a connection.

The themes I found related to findings of a study by Williams (2010), in which she examined academic success in adult Māori students. Williams found that there were four main themes involved in Māori adult students' success: having a strong determination to succeed; whanaungatanga; connection to Te Ao Māori; and whānau (Williams, 2010). Each of these were significant in my own findings; for example, the strong determination to succeed was highlighted in Monique's drive, which she used even in times of challenge. Whanaungatanga, connection to Te Ao Māori, and whānau were mentioned above as to how they have been relevant within this thesis.

What all of the above points tell us is that disconnection can be a hindrance to one's ability to flourish, and the following quote sums up nicely what form 'disconnection' can take and the effects it can have: "The threat of becoming disconnected and dislocated from the people, places and objects that ground one's sense of identity can have negative implications for the overall health of people" (King et al., 2015, p. 22). This can be seen in disengagement between individuals and their whanau, or communities, or where feelings of emptiness due to lack of purpose or meaning are evident (Fredrickson & Losada, 2005; Human Potential Centre, 2013; Marks & Shah, 2004; Nikora, 2015). Concern about disconnection is also visible in participants' recommendations for a university environment that is better suited to Māori flourishing, which involves more acknowledgement of and focus on Māori values and customs; specifically more engagement in whanaungatanga (Curtis et al., 2014; Hall et al., 2013; Masters et al., 2004; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2011; Wikaire & Ratima, 2011). The desire to remain connected to other people (for example whānau – including those who have passed) and places (for example turangawaewae) points to the importance of relationships, and how such relationships contribute to their ability to flourish (Durie, 2004; Macfarlane et al., 2014; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2011; Mikaere, 2010). The need to understand the interrelated nature of all that

encompasses Māori life - holistic health and wellbeing – (Pohatu & Pohatu, 2011) highlights an even broader level of connection and its importance to this research. This speaks to the importance of the Māori models of health (Durie, 1998; Pere, 1991), because these models highlight the holism of an individual and the way the many factors of health and wellbeing are inseparable from each other (Durie, 1998; Pere, 1991) compared to a bio-medical notion of health, which focuses on bodily malfunction and disease (Engel, 2012; Wade & Halligan, 2004). This means that in order to understand flourishing as a whole, one must understand the relationship *between* personal, spiritual, environmental and familial factors. Flourishing cannot be understood by isolating individual factors. My participants made it clear that life as a Māori person at University is interwoven with various aspects of their lives such as their studies, staying connected within a support network, and drawing on the health-enhancing qualities of various physical and social environments. This is why whānau in its broadest sense is so important to this current research, and why whānau is woven throughout all parts of these Māori students' lives.

When considering Māori students flourishing at University, we are reminded of the social factors that contribute to my participants sense of health i.e. the social determinants of health (Marmot & Wilkinson, 2005). The opportunities that people have in life are strongly influenced by their position in society and the resources they have access to (Carson et al., 2007; World Health Organization, 2016c). This means that the ability for these young Māori to flourish will not depend only on themselves, but on the decisions and thus allowances or restrictions of those in structural positions of power. While some choices lie in the hands of the individual, choices about education and employment are largely based on accessibility, which is determined at a higher level than the individuals themselves. When looking to the future to see how we can strengthen flourishing for Māori, we must look at the wider societal issues at the core (Carson et al., 2007), and highlight the need for a shift in structural power if we hope to see an increase in Māori flourishing within the education system (Bishop & Glynn, 2003; Smith, 2012). In this research there has been consideration of

some personal factors that were found to be relevant for some participants'
flourishing; for example, motivation and passion. While some of my participants
may be motivated and passionate about something, their ability to act on such
individual traits will depend in part on access to resources. This is not to suggest
that it is impossible to act outside of one's own resources, however, the social
determinants of health has presented an argument that outlines the challenges
facing individuals from disadvantaged groups (Hodgetts et al., 2016). A fitting
quote to bring together this reality is from Hodgetts et al. (2016): "Central here is
a relational understanding of people in terms of their ongoing connections with
other people, history and the social, material and economic environments in
which they live." (p. 6). This means that further research surrounding Māori must
always consider these wider influencing factors and how they impact on other
parts of Māori lives. Therefore, when considering appropriate action for
promoting the ability of Māori to flourish, we need to challenge societal systems
in Aotearoa that privileges one group over another (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010;
Pack et al., 2016; Smith, 2000; Smith, 2012). By critiquing mainstream society, we
can consider a process of 'decolonizing' the structures that restrict equitable
Māori participation in society, and thus Māori flourishing (Watkins & Shulman,
2008).

Flourishing, then, is a multifaceted concept, which for Māori needs to occur at a
collective level as suggested by the Māori health models, Whānau Ora, and
Durie's four pathways to Mauri Ora (Durie, 2013; Durie, 2016; Te Puni Kokiri,
2016). Here, individuals flourish if whānau or collective groups are flourishing
(Watkins & Shulman, 2008), and according to Nelson and Prilleltensky (2010) for
flourishing to truly take place in Aotearoa, there needs to be an honouring of the
Treaty of Waitangi claims that "promised that Māori would have equal
citizenship rights to settlers, implying equal opportunity and access as well as
spiritual and cultural freedom" (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010, p. 357). Thus, more
needs to be done to consider Te Ao Māori, particularly in the educational sphere,
as this research emphasises.

For the future, an interesting consideration is an approach developed by Zepke and Leach (2007) which accepts the diversity of a tertiary institution by both *integrating* the students into the environment and also *adapting* the environment to the students' needs. Letting go of the dominance of the European values within the tertiary setting would be an acknowledgement of the growing multi-cultural nature of Aotearoa, and would allow a shift to a focus on promoting a flourishing educational setting for all those who pass through it – irrespective of worldview.

I would like to end this thesis with a whakataukī taken from Taurerewa (2014) which I believe clearly highlights the important reality for Māori flourishing:

"Kaua e rangiruatia te hapai o te hoe; e kore to tatou waka e u ki uta
Don't paddle out of unison; our canoe will never reach the shore." (Taurerewa, 2014, p. 43).

Only by those in power (mainly European) working *together* with Māori can Māori truly have equitable chances to lead flourishing lives.

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