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Ka Awatea: An iwi case study of Māori students' success

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Project researchers:
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Ka Awatea: An iwi case study of Māori students' success

Authors:
Angus H. Macfarlane, Melinda Webber, Candy Cookson-Cox, Hiria McRae

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He mihi kau ana ki a koutou katoa i tautoko mai i tēnei mahi rangahau.

PREFACE

The Ka Awatea research project recognises the altruistic history of Te Arawa educational provision, and acknowledges the foundation that was set down by tribal ancestors for the benefit of those who followed them. The references to the past have great importance to the study. This is made more real by identifying the qualities modelled by former Te Arawa icons which inform the education community today.

Like all tribes in Aotearoa, Te Arawa valued learning, and the desire for educational success in the younger generations was paramount to the growth and development of the land and the people – those of today and those not yet born. Notwithstanding the national statistics there are growing numbers of successful Māori students, and also calls for changes to school environments, communities and curricula that support Māori success and assure its continuance. This study is about making culture count. It draws from the 'success' attributes of eight tribal ancestors as the key indicators for determining the domains of success, and the relevance of these attributes in contemporary educational and societal systems.

The intention, it seems, has been to contribute to the challenges of today's educational terrain by raising an awareness that is located in culture, discourse and history. It is a brave but simultaneously worthwhile intention. This is because while it might be a risky business for a group of tribally-linked authors to undertake research on 'success' in the face of inequities, remaining silent about these kaupapa may be an even greater risk.

Did the research team believe that they had a responsibility to address these issues and not remain inert? It would seem so, and as such, the community of educators, health professionals, scientists, social scientists, whānau and policy-makers can be grateful that they did.

The layout of the manuscript is neatly structured and the vernacular reader-friendly. The chapters interlink with each other, and the recommendations in the final chapter are sensible and certainly appetising to education consumers.

The Principal Investigator, who in 2013 was awarded the University of Canterbury Research Medal, has made an outstanding contribution to the Māori research community over an extensive period of time. His loyalty to the academy and his love for his iwi are exemplary. He and his Te Arawa research colleagues are to be commended.

This manuscript has been two years in the making and many more years in gestation. There are no 'one-size-fits-all' solutions for success but there are some underlying principles and practices. ***Ka Awatea – An Iwi Case Study of Māori Students' Success*** gives expression to these.

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FOREWORD

A fundamental aspiration of educators in Aotearoa New Zealand is to provide quality and sustainable support for Māori learners to reach their potential. Two Ministry of Education Strategies have been introduced – in 2008 and 2013 – for *Managing Success* and *Accelerating Success,* respectively. This manuscript, prepared by a committed group of Te Arawa researchers and their colleagues, is timely. It is about Māori success through a quintessentially tribal lens, but with serious and exciting messages for education nationally and beyond.

The Ka Awatea research project recognises the foresightedness of Te Arawa educational provision in terms of the foundation that was set down by tribal ancestors, for the benefit of those who followed them. The meaning of 'taonga tuku iho' was manifested in a simple yet profound way.

Schools and health facilities were two taonga (prized possessions) that Te Arawa sought to obtain from the earliest period of contact with Pākehā. They were eager for missionaries to live amongst them in the 1830s and 1840s, partly because the missionaries provided opportunities to learn English and gain literacy which was particularly valued. A more comprehensive state-sponsored education system was introduced in 1867 with the passage of the Native Schools Act. This allowed for the establishment of primary schools for Māori students under the auspices of the Native Department, although Māori communities that requested schools were expected to provide a site, sufficient land for an endowment, and make contributions to teacher salaries and books.

Over some ensuing years parents and school committees strove to maintain education provision to the best of their ability - often under trying circumstances. A Te Arawa historian and colleague, Paora Tapsell, contends that this is illustrated by the fact that in those former years Te Arawa almost always unstintingly gifted the land necessary for school sites and endowments. The iwi sought educational success for rangatahi then as they do today.

The majority of the young achievers in this study were in their final year of secondary school. They were chosen by their schools for the positive qualities and attitudes they possess that contributed to their success. Data were sought from the students, their whānau, teachers, principals and others involved in the core of the nested system of schooling.

The collection of information was cast wider to include the thoughts and realities of pākeke (those whose perceptions aligned with that invaluable and immeasurable quality – wisdom), and tuākana (those in mid-career who were themselves climbing toward a tihi or zenith in their respective

pathways). The triangulation of the data in this way, using different sources of information, increased the validity of the study. During the analysis stage, feedback from the stakeholder groups was compared to determine areas of agreement as well as areas of divergence.

Many of the students in this study stood out because of their desire to learn, their generally positive attitude towards school and their motivation to pursue opportunities post-school that would improve the wellbeing of their whānau. More specifically, the majority of the students had positive self-concepts, positive academic self-efficacy, and were intrinsically motivated by school and most of what it offered. They tended to be goal-oriented and future-focussed. To this end they saw a strong relationship between school and work and in many instances possible career options were in their sights.

These students appreciated extra academic support, both in the classroom and outside it and valued contact with their parents and teachers who took a personal interest in them as individuals. They saw choosing "like-minded" friends as crucial to their ability to stay focussed at school. Other participants in the research project described these high-achieving students as being resolute and tenacious, and said they were confident or were able to encourage or push themselves towards success. Interestingly, the study revealed 'a lever' that affected all these contributing factors - the whānau.

The idea of embarking on this study had its genesis in 2008 with the bringing together of four whanaunga (relatives through tribal affiliation) - three academics working in the field of education and one in the field of health. At that time the group had self-organised as a community of educators whose shared ideology was predicated on serving the iwi by way of research-related activities.

Discussions about a localised study were initiated and a proposal was prepared to explore the factors that would contribute to Māori students experiencing success whilst going to school. Subsequently the group adopted the title, *Te Ara ā Ihenga*, after a famous ancestor who appeared to possess the traits that good researchers are noted for. Following the completion of a pilot study on high-achieving rangatahi in 2010, *Te Ara ā Ihenga* continued to dialogue so as to keep abreast with global, national and local research initiatives.

In early 2012 two delegates from *Te Ara ā Ihenga* entered into discussions with Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga with regards to a proposal for a major research project. A little later, notification was received that the proposal was successful, and a research contract was commissioned on

1 April 2012 for completion in March 2014. This presented the opportunity to design the present study that has culminated in this manuscript.

E ngā taitamariki o te ao, e ngā pou o te ako, e ngā pūtake o te mārama, e ngā mana o te iwi, tēnei ngā mihi atu ki a koutou. Anei te kāhui rangahau e whāriki atu nei i mua i te aroaro o te hunga mātauranga. Hopukina mai, wānangatia, kōrerotia, me whakamahingia. Nā reira, huri noa i te motu, tēna koutou katoa.

Te Ara ā Ihenga

Angus H. Macfarlane, Melinda Webber, Candy Cookson-Cox, Hiria McRae

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Chapter One: Introduction: Setting the Scene

Introduction

This chapter sets the scene for *Ka Awatea: An iwi case study of Māori student success*. The significance of the Te Arawa waka (ancestral canoe) and some distinguishable qualities of eight of its leaders who guided the iwi in earlier years are discussed. Snapshots are presented of the history of Te Arawa education and of Māori success at school in recent times.

The narratives of a 2013 analysis of recent Rotorua (Māori) Young Achievers Awards are summarised and include four notable traits among these young people. Reference is also made to the Ka Awatea project seeking to establish whether a strong and positive Māori identity is a resilience factor in the lives of Māori students.

Chapter One concludes with a platform outline for the research project including its long-term and short-term goals. The organisations and the research team involved with the projects are introduced and the chapter wraps up with an outline of the structure of this manuscript.

Te Arawa waka

Te Arawa people are the confederation of tribes that occupy the Rotorua Lakes district and part of the central Bay of Plenty coastline. It is said in poetic terms that the bow of the Te Arawa waka rests at Maketū and the stern at Tongariro, meaning that the descendants of that waka may be found all over that area. Tamatekapua, the commander of the Te Arawa waka, originally settled near Maketū in the Bay of Plenty. He and his descendant, Rangitihi, are iconic ancestors of the iwi (tribes, indigenous nations) and hapū (sub-tribes) that inhabit the Rotorua district today.

Tamatekapua's grandsons, and notably Ihenga, extended their influence over the district for a further five generations, down to the time of Rangitihi. It is Rangitihi who is regarded as the great progenitor of the tribe, and it is he who is the source of the famous

axiom: ‘Ngā pūmanawa e waru o Te Arawa’ - a metaphorical reference to eight beating hearts; the number of children he had. The hapū legacies include Pikiao, Rangiteaorere, Rangitihi, Rangiwewehi, Tahu, Tarawhai, Whakaue, Tapuika, Tūhourangi and Uenukukōpako. Since Ohomairangi - the original iwi in the mythical homeland of Hawaiki - the journeys, stories, trials and tribulations of the Te Arawa people have been as exciting as they are numerous.

In recent history contact by Pākehā (white, predominantly British settlers) presented another wave of challenges for the Te Arawa people. The tribe was able to occupy its home lands despite settlement by Pākehā. The distinct geothermal features of the rohe (tribal area) created tourist opportunities with Pākehā early in the colonial era of Te Arawa history. Over the last 150 years tourism and subsequent partnerships around farming and fishing have resulted in economic structures of benefit to the Te Arawa people.

Te Arawa icons - Footprints of the past to inform the present

Today we are in a time of great change among the cultures of the world. Consequently the degree and frequency of inter-cultural contact continues to grow and accelerate. Our daily interactions are more likely than ever to involve people situated at distant world locations. As a consequence inter-cultural interactions have become part of everyday life in our increasingly globalised world.

How might Māori students be better equipped to thrive personally, culturally and educationally in today’s diverse world? If we were to link back to the past and recount some of the deeds of Te Arawa icons and/or tūpuna (ancestors), we would see that they were exemplars for those of us who are engaged in the pursuit of success in today’s world. Recounting the past would show that personal, cultural and educational success can be derived from a combination of qualities including: identity, diligence, relationships, innovation, wellbeing, scholarship, humility and values.

Let us take the eight beating hearts metaphor and transpose these into the qualities demonstrated by the same number of former leaders. Reflection on outstanding Te Arawa leaders and what has underpinned their greatness leads to recognition of key values that

have shaped their leadership.

Eight central qualities emerge (and are listed below) with Te Arawa leaders selected from across varied eras of tribal history (there are other leaders too numerous to be included here). Application of these key qualities through their leadership has enabled them to make outstanding contributions to the society of their era, and their feats can, it is argued, continue to guide the pathways to success of rangatahi (modern youth) in contemporary times.

Identity: The achievement of educational success requires one to be bold and to have a strong will; a belief in and knowledge of one's self. The renowned commander of the Te Arawa waka, Tamatekapua, had strength of character, strength of personality and a tendency to take risks – all of which won him the admiration of his people. Tamatekapua was born in Hawaiki some years prior to the great emigration to New Zealand. He was the son of Houmaitawhiti and the grandson of Tuamatua and Karika. The Te Arawa canoe landed at Maketū, where Tamatekapua settled. His descendants peopled this part and the Rotorua region. Today reference is often made of the Te Arawa waka; that the bow is Maketū and the stern is Tongariro. The wharenui (meeting house) at Te Papaiouru marae is named after Tamatekapua, and so his identity is abiding.

Diligence: The Reverend Frederick Bennett was born in 1878 at Ohinemutu, near Lake Rotorua. His mother, Raiha Ratete, was Ngati Whakaue of Te Arawa and his father was Thomas Jackson Bennett, who had immigrated to New Zealand from Ireland. In 1928 Frederick was consecrated as an Anglican bishop of Aotearoa, the first Māori bishop in New Zealand's history. In the New Year's Honours in 1948 he was made a Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George. His work, which had a strong focus on establishing educational opportunities, was complex and beset with difficulties, calling for talent, infinite patience and an ungrudging sacrifice of time. His diligence for justice in 1907 was instrumental in the beginnings of the Te Arawa Educational Endowment Trust. The Reverend Bennett's loyalty to his church never flagged and he maintained a constant faith, a catholicity of outlook and a quiet, unruffled calm to his death in 1950.

Relationships: Te Ao Kapurangi, a woman of mana, was probably born in the late eighteenth century. She descended from Tamatekapua of the Te Arawa waka and from Hoturoa of the Tainui waka, and belonged to the Ngāti Rangiwewehi and Tapuika

tribes. In 1818 Te Ao Kapurangi was captured by Hauraki, the Ngāpuhi leader, and taken back by Hauraki to the Bay of Islands where she became one of his wives. Te Ao Kapurangi became involved further in Ngāpuhi warfare and the many accounts of her heroic deeds are testament to her mana, fortitude and courage. One of the most famous of these deeds recites her authoritative actions in saving her kinsfolk from Ngāpuhi attack on Mokoia Island in 1822. The illustrious Ngāpuhi leader, Hongi Hika, decreed that his warriors would spare only those who passed between Te Ao Kapurangi's thighs. Next day the attack was launched at Mokoia. As soon as she had landed on the island she hurried to the house and stood on the roof astride the ridgepole, calling for her people to save themselves. They crammed into the house and Ngāpuhi allowed them to enter it and respected it as a place of refuge. This is the origin of the saying, well known to Te Arawa and used when many crowd together in a house: "Anō ko te whare whawhao a Te Ao Kapurangi" (It is like the crowded house of Te Ao Kapurangi).

Innovation: Because of his extensive travels and explorations, the great Ihenga, grandson of Tamatekapua, is said to have had an outstanding, enquiring mind as well as an impressive physical stature. Like an adroit scholar he probed and exploited, he drew conclusions and made associations. Ihenga had an exploratory orientation and he discovered and named Lake Rotorua and the island of Mokoia. He also explored further across this region, naming many places including mountains, rivers and lakes – names which are still used today. An ever curious and determined explorer, Ihenga encountered the unknown and made beautiful discoveries regardless of his own fears and angst. He finally settled in Ngongotahā but journeyed north to Maketū several times across his lifetime. Ihenga is honoured in the naming of the Waiariki whare tūpuna (ancestral house) and is represented in a carving outside the marae.

Wellbeing: Dorothy 'Bubbles' Huhana Mihinui was renowned for her tenacity in promoting better options for Māori in life-course matters, especially concerning the health and wellbeing of the young. She was involved for many years with the Māori Women's Health League and did not hesitate to take strong messages to local and central government that reducing health and education inequalities for Māori was a priority. In 2002 she was made a Distinguished Companion of the NZ Order of Merit, the equivalent of a damehood. Although she had a national profile, in her later years in particular she

carried out advisory roles for local educational entities because of her interest in growing Te Arawa rangatahi into well-rounded pākeke (adults).

Scholarship: The aristocratic Maggie Papakura (Makereti) finished writing her book shortly before her death in 1930. It was presented for a degree at Oxford University and was eventually published posthumously in 1938 as the first comprehensive ethnographic account of Māori life by a Māori scholar. A contemporary of internationally renowned theorists, Jean Piaget and Lev Vygostski, Makereti recorded the knowledge passed on to her in her youth. It was a massive task as everything had to be checked with her old people in New Zealand - a sign also of a true researcher. There is no doubt that Makereti possessed innate scholarship traits.

Humility: This quality was the hallmark of Dr Hiko Hohepa. A former kaumātua (wise senior person) at the Waiariki Institute of Technology and a recipient of an honorary doctorate from the University of Waikato in 1997, Hiko-o-te-Rangi Hohepa embodied the meaning of humility in every sense. The wharekura (school house) building at Te Kura Kaupapa o Ruamatā is named in his honour. Hiko Hohepa was affiliated to Te Arawa hapū Ngāti Uenukukopako, Ngāti Rangiteaorere, Te Roro-o-te-Rangi, Tūhourangi and Ngāti Whakaue. Born and bred in Rotorua he went on to train as a draftsman but was then called upon by his people to train as a school teacher in Auckland. In 1990 he was appointed as kaumātua at the Waiariki Polytechnic by former chief executive officer, Arapeta Tahana. Dr Hiko Hohepa had a gentle nature, was committed to the affairs of the tribe and was extremely knowledgeable, especially on matters to do with whakapapa (genealogy).

Values: This is a synthesising of the core values that are considered central to te ao Māori including the principles of whanaungatanga (relationships, kinships), manaakitanga (generosity, hospitality), kotahitanga (unity), rangatiratanga (autonomy, sovereignty), and wairuatanga (spirituality). Wihapi Winiata, or ‘Koro Hapi’ as he was affectionately known, was connected by whakapapa to several hapū and was regarded by many as a paramount chief of Te Arawa. This recognition rendered him status as a poutokomanawa (centre pillar) and as the Te Ahi o Ngā Uri Rangatira (guiding light) within and beyond the tribe. Perhaps he was best described as a humble person who gave his heart to everyone. An ex-pupil of Te Aute Boys’ College, Hapi grew up as a ‘pā boy’

in Ohinemutu and like his father before him he was steeped in whakapapa and was a dynamic orator. He was a lay member of St Faith's Church at Ohinemutu and entered the Anglican ministry in 1978 serving pastorates in the Rotorua and Taupō areas for 30 years. He worked for the Māori Land Court for 33 years until his retirement in 1989 and always declared an interest in the education of young Māori in Rotorua. He died in 2005, aged 69, and is remembered for his manifestation of the values that Māori hold dear – manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, rangatiratanga, kotahitanga and wairuatanga.

Te Arawa education history: a snapshot

The Ka Awatea research project recognises the underpinning history of Te Arawa educational provision and acknowledges the robust foundation that has been built by ancestors. Schools and health facilities were two taonga (prized possessions) that Te Arawa sought to obtain from the earliest period of contact with Pākehā. They were eager for missionaries to live amongst them in the 1830s and 1840s, partly because the missionaries provided opportunities to learn English and to gain literacy which was particularly valued.

A more comprehensive state-sponsored education system was introduced in 1867 with the passage of the Native Schools Act. O'Malley and Armstrong (2008) report that this allowed for the establishment of primary schools for Māori pupils under the auspices of the Native Department, although Māori communities who requested schools were expected to provide a site, sufficient land for an endowment and make contributions to teacher salaries and books. Over some ensuing years parents and school committees strove to maintain education provision to the best of their ability - often under trying circumstances. This is illustrated by the fact that historically Te Arawa almost always unstintingly gifted the land necessary for school sites and endowments.

The Ngāti Whakaue Education Endowment was first established in 1880 by the people of Ngāti Whakaue for the purposes of secondary education in Rotorua. The provision of this endowment led to the founding of the Rotorua High and Grammar School in 1927. By 1956 the school had a roll in excess of 1200 students.

Lyall (2003) reports that the Intermediate Department was closed when a separate Rotorua Intermediate School was established in 1957. The Rotorua High School was further split to make room for the district's growing population and its educational needs in 1959, when Rotorua Girls' High School was opened. At that point Rotorua High School became established as Rotorua Boys' High School and commenced to function as a state secondary school for boys with a roll of 640 pupils in February 1959.

As the post-war babies graduated from primary school more secondary schools were opened in the region to cater for this growth. The assets of the original Ngāti Whakaue endowment, which for a time had been held by the former Rotorua High Schools Board, were formally vested in the Ngāti Whakaue Education Endowment Trust Board in October 1995 under the Reserves and other Lands and Disposal Act 1995.

The composition of the Board and purpose of the Endowment were amended to give Ngāti Whakaue control and to include the 'general purposes of education'. The Ngāti Whakaue Education Endowment Trust Board is a statutory board with charitable trust status and provides scholarships and grants for educational projects and purposes (Ngāti Whakaue Endowment Trust Board, 2013). Board members are appointed by the trustees of Pukeroa Oruawhata Trust and by the five Rotorua High School Boards of Trustees. Income is generated from 94 perpetual ground leases contained in the land bounded by Amohau Street, Ranolf Street, Eruera Street and the lake edge in Rotorua (Lyall, 2003).

Māori success at school: a snapshot

Despite this far-sighted and generous commitment to providing education that embraced the learning of the Pākehā world by Te Arawa, achievement data suggests that the development of the wider education system has not served Māori students well. The literature reviewed in Chapter Two of this manuscript will endorse and expand on the statistics showing that Māori, as a group, do not flourish within the overall New Zealand education environment (Alton-Lee, 2003; Education Review Office, 2010). This has been attributed to a failure to treat Māori as culturally-located individuals, an undervaluing of te reo Māori (Māori language), and a failure to incorporate a Māori worldview into the structure and delivery of education (Penetito, 2010; G. H. Smith, 1992). Macfarlane (2004) cites additional causes including culturally inappropriate definitions of success,

poor identification of successful Māori students as well as culturally insensitive and unsupportive programmes.

According to the Waitangi Tribunal (1986) report into the Te Reo Claim:

> *The education system in New Zealand is operating unsuccessfully because too many Māori children are not reaching an acceptable standard of education. ... Their language is not adequately protected and their scholastic achievements fall far short of what they should be. The promises in the Treaty of Waitangi of equality in education as in all other human rights are undeniable. Judged by the system's own standards Māori children are not being successfully taught, and for this reason alone, quite apart from a duty to protect the Māori language, the education system is being operated in breach of the Treaty (E. T. Durie, Latimer, & Temm, 1986, p. 38).*

The lack of success by the education system in catering for Māori is characterised by an over-representation of Māori attaining comparatively low achievement, a high truancy rate and leaving school early. The following statements, derived from Government data sets, offer a local insight into the current educational context:

> In recent years there has been a steady increase in the academic attainment (success) of Māori School Leavers within the Bay of Plenty region. The percentage of Māori students leaving school with NCEA level 2 or above has increased from 47.7% in 2009 to 58.4% in 2012. Of even more significance is the increase in Māori students attaining a University Entrance qualification, from 19.7% in 2009 to 30.5% in 2012.
>
> However, while more Bay of Plenty Māori 18-year-old students than ever are leaving school with either NCEA level 2 or University Entrance qualifications it is acknowledged that improvements for Māori and Pasifika students need to be accelerated. The target for all learners leaving school with NCEA level 2 or above is 85%. It is hoped that this research could contribute to this acceleration of Māori success and our schools that are effectively staffed by teachers who are prepared to 'make the difference' to enable this (Ministry of Education, 2013a).

> There were 841 Māori teachers within the wider Waiariki Māori electorate in 2012. This is a steady increase from 792 Māori teachers in 2005. This confirms that within the Te Arawa rohe more Māori adults are choosing teaching as a profession. Within the Rotorua electorate, there are currently 357 Māori teachers and 672 Pākehā teachers across the sector, which is a significant ratio of almost 1:2. Pākehā teachers can and must learn how to meet the needs of Māori learners from their Māori colleagues' modelling, their successful Māori learners and their whānau (Ministry of Education, 2013a).

Not surprisingly, the poor educational experiences of Māori can lead to an over-representation within many negative social indicators such as unemployment, poor health and social wellbeing as well as imprisonment (Clark, Smith, & Pōmare, 1996). This does not suggest that all Māori who fare badly at school also fare badly in later life because many factors, such as personal characteristics, health and family dynamics can combine to help determine people's outcomes.

What it does suggest is that having a positive schooling experience throughout important developmental years, culminating in successful academic and personal outcomes, may help equip students for a more positive entry into and continuing development throughout adulthood. This in turn provides greater opportunities for individuals in terms of the choices that are available to them, their ability to achieve social mobility and so on.

The Education Review Office (ERO) has asserted that "the success of Māori students at school is a matter of national interest and priority" (2010, p.1), due to the glaring discrepancy between Māori and non-Māori academic outcomes. For more than a decade ERO has been monitoring individual schools and making recommendations for improving Māori student achievement. ERO requires that all schools review their performance in relation to Māori student outcomes and make effective use of data to improve teaching strategies and school-wide systems in order to promote success for Māori students. They recommend that schools involve Māori whānau (families) as partners in the education of their tamariki (children), and that they acknowledge and incorporate te reo and tikanga Māori (Māori language, conventions and customs) into their teaching practice.

ERO will not assess any school as high performing unless the majority of Māori within the school are "progressing well and succeeding as Māori" (2010, p. 31). Many schools 'miss the mark' in terms of fulfilling the expectations of ERO – not to mention the expectations and aspirations of Māori students themselves, their whānau and their communities.

In spite of the national statistics there are numbers of Māori students who are high achievers. Locally many of these successful young Māori are recognised through the Rotorua Young Achievers Awards which are published in the Rotorua Daily Post. This identification in a public forum profiles the achievement of these Māori students and gives shape to what success as Māori means.

An analysis of newspaper clippings for 2012's Rotorua (Māori) Young Achievers Awards (Rotorua Daily Post) was completed in early 2013 as part of the preparation for this study. Eleven male and eight female Māori Young Achievers were identified and their achievements analysed via a frequency chart. The majority of the Young Achievers were in their final year of high school (Year 13) and were chosen by their schools for the positive qualities and attitudes they possess that contributed to their success.

A very strong leadership trait was noted. Within the male cohort credited with leadership roles, six were Head or Deputy Head boys, two were Prefects and four were House Captains/Deputy-Captains. Similarly four Head or Deputy Head girls were identified along with two Prefects and two House Captains/Deputy-Captains. One male and one female were Peer Support Leaders; one male and one female were represented on the student council and one male was a Board of Trustees student representative.

Involvement in sport was the next significant trait noted, with ten males competing in sporting competitions either locally, regionally or overseas. Similarly the female cohort revealed that comparably high numbers competed in sporting competitions either locally, regionally or overseas. Not surprisingly several were team captains in national or regional representative teams and most were in senior 'A' teams.

The third notable trait exhibited by the Rotorua (Māori) Young Achievers 2012 cohort was their participation in Māori cultural practices and events. Three males and four females were identified as kapa haka enthusiasts, three males were identified as bi or tri-lingual and four males and one female participated in the Manu Kōrero competitions. One male participant, who achieved first place (national level) in Manu Kōrero, revealed his commitment to Māori culture and "plans to implement his skills and knowledge for the betterment and development of his people and culture as a whole". Another young male was reported as saying "te reo and culture are both very important" with another saying "my culture is everything to me. I was brought up with my parents only speaking Māori to me".

A fourth trait stood out - academic achievement. This trait was evidenced by analysing the intended future plans of the Rotorua (Māori) Young Achievers group 2012. A selection of the stated plans included: studying Health at Otago University; studying for a Bachelor of Health Sciences majoring in physiotherapy at Auckland University of Technology (AUT); Auckland University Architecture or Engineering; Business Management degree (with a vision "to return home and help create employment opportunities for others"); considering music or chemistry and history at university; Waikato University to study Physical Education; Adventure Tourism at Waiariki Institute Sports Academy; Engineering at AUT in Auckland; Bachelor of Medicine University of Auckland ("when a medical practitioner he plans to give back to his whānau, iwi and Māori community"); Performing Arts degree at Auckland University; interested in science and health (biochemisty) or health science (doctor); playing professional sport and studying law and politics; becoming a surgeon "to give back to his Māori people and make his whānau and iwi proud" (note: this Young Achiever was awarded the University of Auckland Chancellor's Award).

In summary the Rotorua (Māori) Young Achievers 2012 demonstrated strong leadership qualities, sporting prowess, a clear commitment to Te Ao Māori (along with a desire to return home when qualified to give back to their whānau and community) as well as impressive academic ability as evidenced by the ways they described their future plans.

This Ka Awatea project sought to establish, among other things, the extent to which a strong and positive Māori identity is a resilience factor in the lives of Māori students. Webber's (2011a; 2012) research has shown that an adolescent's cultural identity can have a significant influence on how they deal with adverse circumstances. Moreover, people's worldviews - largely influenced by their cultural background - can have a powerful influence on their ability to successfully adapt to the wider environment. In addition international literature suggests that positive ethnic identity can play a protective role in minority students' lives (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Miller & Kaiser, 2001a, 2001b; Oyserman, Brickman & Rhodes, 2007).

According to the aforementioned research, students who identify strongly with their ethnic group are better able to negotiate potentially negative environments, deal with discrimination and prejudice, and enjoy high self-esteem. Other evidence has shown that positive ethnic socialisation is associated with more school efficacy, higher educational aspirations, greater ethnic knowledge and a greater understanding of ethnic prejudice (Quintana & Vera, 1999). An analysis of the existing research leads us to the additional questions: In what ways do successful Māori students identify 'as Māori'? Is self-identification as Māori a protective or motivating factor in their school success? In what ways are the successful Māori students socialised to value being Māori and experience success at school?

Long-term and short-term goals of the Ka Awatea project

The project's over-arching aim was to conceptualise a 'model for success' - one that is based on Te Arawa distinctiveness. It was envisaged that the model would identify forms of support for educators and whānau appropriate to the particular challenges that arise in today's educational communities.

Ka Awatea means "the emergence of light". The project stems from a pilot study carried out in Rotorua in 2009-10 which gave the research team some indication as to what factors might be contributing to the success of young Māori scholars.

In the long term the project sought to:

- create a sustainable network of academics, policy-makers and practitioners across the motu (nation) dedicated to the sharing of knowledge about how to develop Māori students' motivation, whānau involvement and teachers' professionalism; and
- create a sustainable network for teachers and school leaders that would provide them with a forum for building their own professional knowledge – knowledge about culturally responsive teaching and learning, and knowledge about how to transform and improve educational provision in their own schools and system.

In the short term the project sought to:

- meet the requirements that were agreed on by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga (New Zealand's Māori Centre of Excellence) and the University of Canterbury;
- respond to the research questions that had been set as outlined in the methodology; and
- follow a research agenda that could be seen to be in, by, for and *with* Te Arawa.

Developing a research agenda

In 2008 a group of Te Arawa educationalists formed a research entity that was premised on serving the iwi and adopted the title, *Te Ara ā Ihenga* (TAI). This group discussed the need to derive sustenance from ancestors and had identified one in particular, Ihenga, to be the guiding icon for the research activities to be undertaken.

In 2009 TAI received a grant from the Ngāti Whakaue Education Endowment Trust Board to carry out a pilot study to determine the factors that indicated rangatahi success at school. Following the completion of the pilot study, TAI presented a report to the Ngāti Whakaue Education Endowment Trust Board (McRae, Macfarlane, Cookson-Cox & Webber, 2010). TAI continued the dialogue in order to keep abreast of global, national and local research initiatives. In 2011 delegates from TAI entered into discussions with Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga and consequently became contenders for a major research project. The proposal was successful and the present contract was commissioned on 1 April 2012.

The Ka Awatea project aimed to test a model of student success based on the tūpuna Ihenga who was the mokopuna (grandchild) of the famous commander of the Te Arawa canoe, Tamatekapua. Accounts of exploratory activities conducted by Ihenga bear testament to a person of great mana, courage and resilience. He was adventurous and immensely curious. Ihenga is said to have had proximity to patupaiarehe ('fairy-like' people) and to have had interesting encounters with tohunga (experts; readers of signs) of the time, providing him with a deep knowledge of tribal lore and mātauranga Māori (traditional Māori knowledge).

His incantations were powerful and his keen tendency to reflect on his deeds was a noted trait. He always attended to the detail and while he was not averse to taking risks he was aware that accountability to the iwi was a paramount factor in moving the iwi towards healthier sustainability.

TAI research activities have endeavoured to attain a firm understanding of how the personal qualities and characteristics of Ihenga manifest in contemporary times. The research team was intent on identifying the home, school and social conditions that support Te Arawa students and students being educated in Te Arawa schools to unleash their mana motuhake (self-determined independence).

A research core, three universities and an ūkaipō

Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga (NPM) is a Centre of Research Excellence (CoRE) which undertakes and invests in research concerning the needs and opportunities arising in Māori communities. They are particularly interested in the creative potential of:

- resources, assets, organisations and institutions of Māori peoples
- mātauranga Māori
- Māori people.

The NPM research programme has specific themes and priorities, and states that it is critically aware of the importance of sharing research outcomes with appropriate audiences, user groups and stakeholders – Māori communities especially – so that positive change can be achieved. NPM is keen to support emerging researchers in the field of indigenous development and to build capacity and capability through our research

projects and programmes. Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga has five overlapping research themes:

- New Frontiers of Knowledge
- Economic Development
- Environmental Sustainability
- Health and Social Wellbeing
- Educational Achievement.

The Ka Awatea project orients strongly towards the theme of Educational Achievement but the nature of the Ka Awatea kaupapa also ripples outward to the four other themes, within reason. Success at school, it could be argued, is in itself a frontier of knowledge that affects economics, the environment and healthy living. However, in terms of Educational Achievement NPM is clear about the importance of their research providers responding to the following questions:

- What barriers inhibit Māori success in education? How can these be tackled?
- How can we realise the potential of Māori education institutions?

Figure 1 below provides an outline of the structure that guided the project. The research team comprised five experienced researchers (three with a responsible role in their respective universities in the North and South Islands of the country), a research consultant noted for her work in health sciences and a project manager who is a Research Fellow of the New Zealand Psychological Society. The latter two were domiciled in Rotorua effectively holding ahi kā status (those who keep the home fires burning). Research assistants also played an important role in the project.

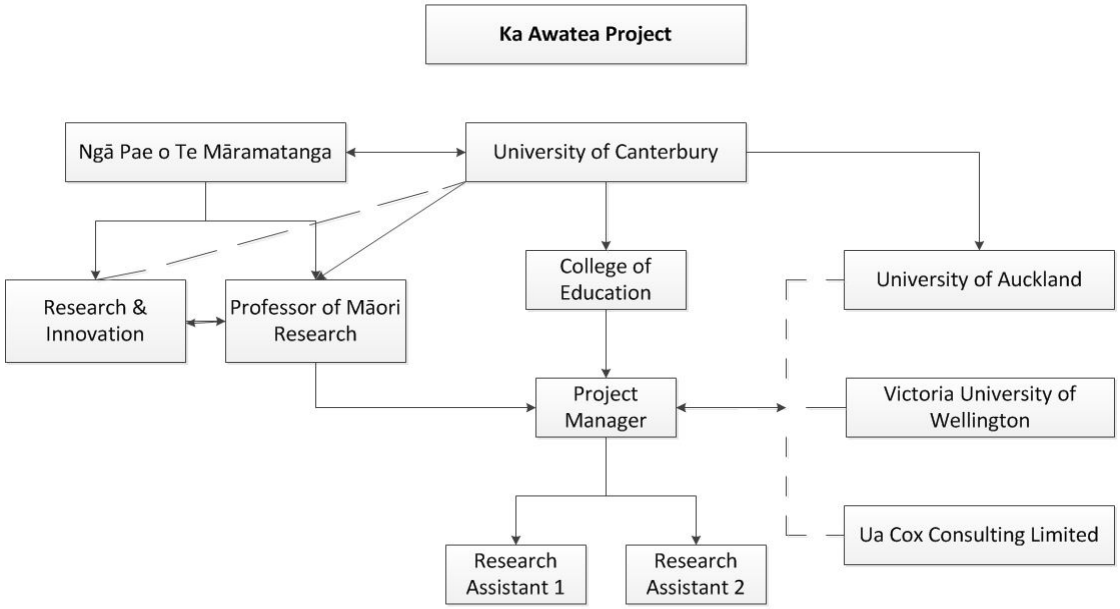
The team:

- Professor Angus Macfarlane: University of Canterbury (principal investigator, expertise in educational psychology and culturally responsive pedagogies)
- Hiria McRae: Victoria University of Wellington (leadership in Māori immersion, results and discussion, and other areas as reasoned)
- Dr Melinda Webber: University of Auckland (leadership in methodology, results and discussion, and other areas as reasoned)

- Dr Candy Cookson-Cox: Ua Cox Consulting Ltd (leadership in data-collection, literature review, results and other areas as reasoned)
- Dr Averil Herbert (project management, clinical psychologist)
- Masina Blennerhassett (research assistant)
- Anne-Marie Hunt: University of Canterbury (research analyst).

The team was guided by the whakataukī, 'Ehara tāku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takatini' which literally translates to 'My success should not be bestowed on me alone, as it was not individual success but the success of a collective'. This proverb reflects the inclusivity of the project and its intention to maintain a collaborative and respectful approach in all phases and in all interactions.

Figure 1. *The Ka Awatea Project Structure*



Structure of the manuscript

This chapter sets the scene by providing the opening statements acknowledging the Te Arawa waka and some of its leaders who guided the iwi through the ages. Snapshots of schooling in the rohe are outlined and the platform for the research agenda is described.

The fields of literature that needed to be reviewed are covered in Chapter Two of this manuscript. These include literature on the historical background of Māori education in New Zealand. Positioning this early in the manuscript helps to set the scene and to outline the key factors impacting Māori achievement within the New Zealand education system.

Cultural deprivation theory precedes cultural affirmation theory simply because that is the way the literature and research has evolved in this country. However the latter explanation offers a significant antidote to the cultural deficit paradigm, and the copious literature presented in Chapter Two reveals that the talents of rangatahi (youth) together with the resilience and goodwill of whānau, communities, school leaders and teachers can have a positive and lasting impact on Māori achievement at school.

The team's research methodology is outlined in Chapter Three of this manuscript and includes the dimensions and meanings of the research approaches. Methodology is described as a plan of action that includes a view of the world and the nature of knowledge. These phenomena help answer the research question and have a bearing on the methodology adopted. Consequently, kaupapa Māori research principles were used in tandem with a mixed method research approach. Neither is immune from criticism; each has their strengths and weaknesses – but combined they form a capacity to support the way the instruments are devised and to influence the considerations for collecting the data by way of the most appropriate means. In the case of this project the methodologies helped with the formulation, dispensation and collection of survey questions and narratives.

Chapter Four, the results section, outlines the 'data stories' that emanated from the interviews, focus group discussions and questionnaires. Quantitative analysis is presented in numerical fashion and shows the distribution of and relationship between the variables under investigation. It shows how they were distributed as well as to what extent and in what ways they were related. The primary aim was to identify patterns and regularities in the data. Analysing qualitative data is different and more time-consuming, but culturally more compatible in terms of elaborating on the stories and espousing the reasonings. In this section Nvivo and grounded theory analyses had prominence.

Chapter Five, the discussion, links back to the literature that was reviewed and interweaves the findings with the inquiry processes. There is opportunity to clarify the meanings and to synchronise the socio-scientific frames of reference that help to answer the over-arching research question, along with the trends, added knowledge and new knowledge that emerged from the research conundrum.

Chapter Six wraps up the manuscript by setting out what are regarded as the implications of the research for the iwi and whānau, for Māori as well as for the national good and indeed for future research projects. At this juncture it will be signalled that a 'Tribal Model of Success' will be developed by the research team. It will be stated that the Model will be significantly aligned to the thinking, theorising and pragmatisms that have evolved with the research activities and that are recorded in this manuscript.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

The authority of those who teach is often an obstacle to those who want to learn.

(Marcus Tullius Cicero 43 BC)

Introduction

This chapter identifies and reviews research, related publications and unpublished research studies, such as academic theses, that report on successful Māori students. Factors are identified which support successful outcomes.

The review investigates strategies that could promote a more inclusive educational framework for Māori students. It aims to promote an education agenda which is mindful of the unique position a culturally-centred Māori student occupies in an educational environment.

Lack of focus on successful Māori students

Few New Zealand scholars or educationalists have focussed their attention on the attributes of successful Māori students in mainstream education. Instead many examinations of Māori student achievement have positioned Māori students as simply 'another' cohort among a homogenous school population. This positioning seeks to assimilate Māori students within the dominant culture in an invisible fashion, rather than seeing Māori students as cultural bearers, distinctively unique and highly dynamic as any indigenous group of people can be (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh & Teddy, 2007).

A major problem is that for many years the education system focussed on all students acquiring the culture and customs, language and knowledge base of the Pākehā. The resultant undervaluing of mātauranga Māori, including language and customs, has serious consequences for generations of Māori students. Research illustrates that as a consequence many Māori students experience early disengagement from education, high levels of unemployment, early patterns of delinquency and criminal involvement, increased risk of mental illness and predictable loss of potential for future success

(Sherrif, 2010; Education Review Office, 2006; Macfarlane, Glynn, Cavanagh & Bateman, 2007).

The broad aim of this literature review is to identify and review existing research, related publications and unpublished research studies, such as academic theses, that report on successful Māori students. It also looks at some of the issues facing Māori students in mainstream education today and reviews some of the factors which impede their progress. However, more importantly this literature review seeks to identify those factors which support successful outcomes and investigates strategies that could promote a more inclusive educational framework for Māori students (Macfarlane, 2010).

A further aim of this review is to promote an education agenda which is mindful of the unique position a culturally-centred Māori student should occupy in an educational environment. Māori students should be seen as capable, productive and competent members of their whānau, hapū, iwi, school and broader communities (Ministry of Education, 1998; 2002; 2006).

A look back in time

Kia mau ki te kupu a tōu mātua

Hold fast to the words of your parents. Do not neglect the ancestral teachings of the elders.

According to Calman (2013) Māori society had well established approaches to education and learning that ensured their own and future generations' survival by effectively conveying to their members considerable sets of knowledge and skills. Information was passed on through extensive use of waiata (songs), whakataukī (proverbs, aphorisms), pūrākau (stories) and whakapapa. This meant that the past was honoured and the prevailing morals and expectations of each iwi transmitted to respective cohorts along with both practical and specialised knowledge bases.

These practices were also espoused by Makereti, whose writings were published posthumously in 1938, and other authors such as Metge (1980; 1995) and Jahnke and Taiapa (2003). Adherence to protocols and rituals and cooperative approaches to teaching and learning were customary. Societal order was maintained through the teachings of

spiritual boundaries and limitations known as ‘tapu’ (that which is sacred), and it was essential that iwi members were educated to have a profound respect and understanding of this foundation in order to safeguard a stable future for the tribe (Calman, 2013; Makereti, 1938).

As a hierarchical society Māori developed exclusive learning institutions that only those with the appropriate chiefly lineage could attend. Established away from the kāinga (home) the learning process itself was considered tapu. However other members of the hapū and iwi were also educated in topics both specialised and practical in nature.

Students chosen to participate in intensive learning curricula were shrewdly assessed and their strengths identified. Matched to an area of expertise, these often gifted and talented members of the tribe enhanced the mana of both the hapū and iwi and their abilities were openly recognised and valued (Calman, 2013; Makereti, 1938).

While such traditional approaches to education meant that an elite few were immersed in the knowledge necessary to preserve and protect tapu it is evident that Māori understood the power and efficacy of the collective (Penniman, 1986). Māori communities valued the strength inherent in the acquisition and sharing of knowledge. Children who were not of an ariki (noble, chiefly) line were also able to access other areas of teaching and learning. This strength-based approach recognised the multiple gains that accrued from a knowledgeable whānau, hapū and iwi.

The advent of colonisation created a new diversion and along with it a new set of obstacles to be navigated. There are common assertions such as those promoted by Jenkins and Matthews (1995) who contend that while this period of colonisation was fraught with misgivings many Māori were quick to recognise the advantages of becoming bicultural, bilingual and bi-educated and thus set about realising these ambitions.

Anglican Missionary Thomas Kendall is credited with the establishment of the first European-style school for Māori in the Bay of Islands in 1816. Over the ensuing years the increasing wish by Māori for literacy meant a proliferation of schools across the land.

One constant hurdle and proven challenge was the lack of varied reading material and curriculum content in the Māori language other than the scriptures. This situation was deliberately engineered by early Pākehā to promote assimilation and the civilisation of Māori, which inevitably led to the spread and eventual domination of Christian values (Jenkins & Matthews, 1995). Learning in missionary schools predominantly focussed on religious instruction, industrial training and instruction in the English language. This limited the options of Māori who were not encouraged to aspire beyond the vocational and trade training domains. Such assimilationist thinking was aimed at preserving the academic and professional fields for Pākehā while Māori girls, for instance, were "prepared along the domestic service line as part of the civilising process" (Jenkins & Matthews, 1995, p.16).

The Native Schools Act of 1858 sustained this position and the government of the day assisted with the development of new Christian-based boarding schools. Many Māori from rural and remote regions were subsequently compelled to leave their homes in order to receive any chance of a high school education.

The mid-1860s marked the advent of the New Zealand Land Wars, which effectively put an end to the majority of learning institutions established for Māori. It was not until after the resistance that the Native Schools Act of 1867 established a national primary school system for the education of Māori students. It came at a price, however, as Māori were obligated under the Crown to donate the land upon which the schools would be built and to subsidise both the building costs and teachers' wages (Lyall, 2003). Fortunately the latter two requirements were dropped in 1871 as manifestly unfair.

Overseers in the form of government inspectors continued to regularly scrutinise every school's progress (Barrington, 2008; Walker, 2004; Simon & Smith, 2001). Remarkably, despite Māori generously agreeing to donate land for schools, many of which still exist and are in use today, this supposedly reciprocal arrangement did not include the stipulation that the curriculum comprise mātauranga Māori, nor was te reo Māori (Māori language) utilised as a vehicle of legitimate learning.

As a result of assimilationist education policies, many Māori lost te reo Māori to the increasingly dominant language of the colonisers. This consequence was not accidental

and nor was it a by-product of a benevolent strategy. Rather it was a deliberate, focussed and well executed plan supported by both the State and the Church.

Fundamental skills were taught along with a decidedly discriminatory focus on non-academic pursuits or trades. This calculatingly restrictive educational curriculum was designed along the same lines as a middle-class English school, heavily patronised and socially engineered to keep the native population deliberately under-educated. Such practices ensured that Māori remained less-educated and largely politically unaware and uninvolved.

Much of the emphasis was on "saving the natives from their older Māori world ways" thereby ensuring, for example, that Māori girls were "saved from their loose and promiscuous morality" (Jenkins & Matthews, 1995, p. 15), and thus were prepared for a range of 'hand-maiden' or menial jobs. Māori boys were equally prepared for a range of manual and agricultural labouring jobs and both sexes were prepared to serve the needs of the dominant monoculture.

Māori girls were seen as the critical agents of change rather than Māori boys, and were charged with the responsibility of transforming their homes and people into 'successful' Māori by teaching and leading by example. The strategy was based upon the premise that educated Māori women would influence uneducated Māori with whom they were in regular contact, and who would in turn become 'domesticated' and assimilated into the colonisers' ways. This approach essentially left the dominant group to pursue higher education and professional callings, thus sustaining a race and class distinction that maintained its own status, power and security (Jenkins & Matthews, 1995 p.19).

Seeking success

Surpassing the low expectations of others has proved challenging for many Māori students. However growing numbers are attaining high levels of academic success and displaying strong leadership potential. Unfortunately not all schools are as effective at supporting and promoting Māori success through the utilisation of acknowledged approaches that have proven effective in recent years.

According to an ERO report released in 2010, numerous schools were still not doing enough to help transform Māori student success, despite the fact that ERO has been asking questions and reporting on the achievement of Māori students for over a decade. The chief review officer voiced the concern that not all educators were doing as well for these students as they could. The report, *Promoting Success for Māori Students: Schools' Progress 2010,* found that a large number of schools, despite support being available, continued to ignore the opportunity to review and evaluate their own performance in relation to Māori students' achievement (Education Review Office, 2010).

It was further noted by ERO that many schools did not make good use of data to improve classroom programmes or use appropriate evidence-based research in their curriculum and teaching development. This may well account for the lack of research and published New Zealand literature around the concept of promoting success for Māori students.

Of concern to ERO (2010) was the sizeable number of schools that did not seek specifically to collaborate or to consult with Māori parents and whānau about their children's education. Another point of concern was the perceived lack of value around the contribution those parents could make to the school community at large.

The success of Māori students at school is a matter of national interest and priority and the failure by many schools to acknowledge this fact is concerning (Education Review Office, 2006; 2010).

A pilot study completed by Te Ara ā Ihenga in 2009 and published one year later (see McRae et al; 2010) entitled, *'A Te Arawa Case Study: Māori students experiencing success',* was an independent study which also reflected in part a similar desire to that of the Education Review Offoce - to examine in detail Māori students' success. The Māori students who were involved in the study were highly motivated to learn and engage at all levels with their school and greater communities; were culturally congruent, confident and secure; were prepared to take on extra responsibilities and mentor others and were able to acknowledge at least one family member as having been a positive influence on their attitude to learning.Furthermore many of the participating students had a keen vision for the future, considered themselves a member of the global village, were

technologically cognisant, embraced the challenges of the new world order and were prepared with a strong work ethic to achieve their aspirations (McRae et al., 2010).

These same students, however, did not represent the majority of Māori students in mainstream education because they had been selected for the pilot study based on their exceptional achievements. It was deduced from this that Māori students can and do experience success especially when the school community reflects in part the values, beliefs and cultural traditions of Māori which predispose them for success. The pilot study concluded that effective schools clearly make a concerted effort to replicate these same qualities in their teaching practises and learning environments (McRae et al; 2010); (Penetito, 2004; 2011).

Not since Mitchell and Mitchell (1988) profiled Māori students with high marks in School Certificate English and Mathematics has the subject of Māori success and its intrinsic link to culture been examined again in any depth. There is growing evidence and acceptance of the importance of making culture count in mainstream education in such a way that illuminates a path forward, thereby increasing the potential for Māori success.

By embracing both Kohanga Reo (early childhood language nests) and Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori immersion primary school settings) theoretical and practical models of education, Bishop and Glynn (1999) reasoned that mainstream institutions can re-negotiate decision-making and power sharing paradigms, thereby abandoning historical patterns of dominance and subordination. Such a shift would pave the way for better outcomes both in schools and within communities not only for Māori but for other diverse cultures (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai & Richardson, 2003; Bishop, Berryman, Powell & Teddy 2007; Macfarlane et al., 2008).

The lack of contemporary literature related to testing the assumption that ‘culture counts (Bishop & Glynn, 1999), or at best advancing this premise, suggests that the education system has been slow to respond. The task remains for teachers and school communities to revisit this topic with a view to increasing the numbers of Māori students leaving mainstream secondary school with qualifications that reflect their capability, support their diversity and which allow them to consider numerous options towards an independent, satisfying and successful future.

While it could be argued that this manifesto has always been the intent of the Treaty of Waitangi partnership, putting this into operation has proven challenging. According to Berryman and Bateman (2008) Māori educators are still the ones who "strive to ensure that the students and their whānau with whom they work are able to access all of the resources and benefits available from within the New Zealand education system" (p.28). This raises a number of questions about the commitment of the wider teaching fraternity and school communities to make certain that Māori students are advantaged differently within mainstream education. Evidence of this nature remains elusive (Berryman & Bateman, 2008; Macfarlane, 2009).

The desire by Māori for educational recognition and equality for mātauranga Māori in the mainstream curriculum has never waned. However, the plea by Māori to be viewed as uniquely different to others across a host of social and cultural mores has always been considered conflictive and anti-nationhood (Penetito, 2011).

While this claim singularity has merit and continues to challenge the current multicultural ideology underpinning education, the greatest hurdle, according to Mahuika and Bishop (2008), is that educationalists must also combat persisting misconceptions that catering for one specific culture is manifestly unjust. Arguments are put that promoting the particular cultural needs of Māori students in mainstream education is unfair based on the premise that Māori represent a 'minority'. Consequently Māori under-achievement in mainstream education has provided a rich source of data for the continued expansion of deficit theorising. Despite the many discouraging conclusions, transforming the existing schooling system has proved to be resource-sensitive, and remains highly dependent upon the will of the teaching and wider education network to change (Mahuika & Bishop, 2008; Turner, 2013).

Who is really failing whom?

According to the Ministry of Education publication, *Education Counts* (2013b), a disproportionate number of Māori students continue to leave school early with fewer school qualifications than others. National statistics captured in 2011 and made available

in 2013 reported that between 2002 and 2011 Māori performed below the national average for achievement at NCEA Level One, Two and Three.

However the rise in Māori achievement from 38 per cent gaining NCEA Level One in 2002 to 68.6 per cent in 2011, a statistically significant improvement, was negatively compared to Pākehā (88.1 per cent) and Asian (91.8 per cent). Something noteworthy may have occurred but no research was located in the ensuing statistical analysis that explained the significant percentage improvement between 2002 and 2011 for Māori students.

Scant, if any attention was drawn to this phenomenon as the over-riding comparison to Pākehā (who incidentally have not undergone any significant statistical improvement) was still where academicians continued to benchmark success (Ministry of Education, 2008a, 2013b).

The continued failure of the system to recognise Māori success in its broadest sense and a preoccupation with identifying Māori student deficits, has contributed to an overall lack of positive outcomes for Māori. Likewise, the reluctance to incorporate a Māori worldview into the national curriculum framework, and across all knowledge disciplines, and the undervaluing of te reo Māori have been on-going (Penetito, 2010; G.H. Smith, 1992; Turner, 2013).

In attempting to highlight the issues and to reverse the negative trends faced by many Māori students, particularly in mainstream education, Macfarlane (2004) had sought to identify other causal factors. He found that culturally insensitive and unsupportive programmes were largely responsible for reduced educational achievement amongst Māori students. He also observed that this pervasive negative situation frequently led to underachievement in other areas of a young Māori student's life post-schooling.

Macfarlane's (2004) contention is further supported by Mahuika & Bishop (2008) who reason that culturally inappropriate assessments, as an example, are often based on flawed assumptions by the mainstream Western culture. The problem here, they suggest, is the tunnel vision of the mainstream culture which consistently supports and promotes individual achievement as more worthy and therefore of greater value than collaborative efforts, which has always been an indigenous approach.

Early insights into Māori traditional life demonstrated that amongst other things the idea of success and/or the acquisition of success-related kudos and commodities, was viewed as a communal attainment to be shared amongst the people rather than for the advancement of any one individual (Makereti, 1938). Some of the findings of the Te Ara ā Ihenga pilot study indicated that successful Māori students echoed this traditional sentiment with their continued motivation and efforts to support a more collaborative approach between students and teachers. Moreover the learning and sharing of critical information in a way that produced common understandings was seen as highly advantageous. In particular, the desire to see their less successful peers mentored and guided towards achieving successful outcomes, through adopting a more mutual, less individualistic approach, was strong (McRae et al., 2010).

When one reviews both historic and contemporary approaches to learning it becomes apparent that generations of Māori students within the mainstream New Zealand education setting were undeniably deprived of the right to express themselves through a collective medium. Furthermore, they were far too often denied access to culturally mindful teaching practices, and as a consequence, developing their full potential as unique culture-bearing agents was inhibited. Eurocentric theories and associated ideas of what constituted 'valid' sources of knowledge took precedence (Penetito, 2010; Sherrif, 2010).

Māori students within a setting of mono-cultural education were still largely maligned by the school community (which included other students of diverse ethnicities, teachers and the general public). They were negatively stereotyped and came to the notice of a range of school administrators for all the wrong reasons. Many often found their life experiences, existing expertise and skills, attributes, talents and their spiritual authority undervalued to the detriment of their learning.

Reversing this trend was seen as a way forward. However once again the will to achieve significant changes targeting Māori students was dependent on a series of factors including educational leadership, appropriate levels of funding and resources, and the unfettered desire to seriously make a difference for Māori (Royal, 2009; Durie, 2006a, 2006b; A. Rata, 2012).

Examining habitual truancy on behalf of the Rotorua District Council, Cookson-Cox (2006) concluded that most were Māori. Their early disengagement from education and subsequent lack of success was in the main due to widespread institutional deficits although personal responsibility, whānau support and positive role models were also often missing. Truant students explained their absenteeism as due to: uninspired and culturally foreign school curricula or content that comprised few practical or relevant ready-for-work subjects; entrenched bullying by peers and inadequate responses by the school community to deal effectively with anti-social behaviours; and students cited teachers with culturally incongruent teaching styles, poor communication skills, low expectations, particularly with brown-skinned students, and the failure by teachers to inspire and engage the students in their own learning as further reasons for truanting (Cookson-Cox, 2006).

If you are perceived as belonging to an already marginalised group with a low socio-economic background, are Māori or Pasifika (where English may not be your first language and where gaining an education may have in previous generations taken a backseat to getting a job), you automatically qualify as an 'at-risk' student (Webber, 2008; Walker, 2004; Quintana & Vera, 1999). Furthermore you are more likely to become a victim of racial-class assumptions held by the teacher and supported by the wider school community. Truancy often becomes a routine way of dealing with situations in which a student feels adversely categorised and characterised (Gray, 2012).

As a means of engaging and in many cases re-engaging Māori students in their education, one thing is clear: the need to approach Māori students from a strong, culturally inclusive position is very real. This approach seeks to promote Māori distinctiveness: their collective strengths, their lived and shared experiences, and their preference for two pedagogical concepts which represent their cultural world. Identified by Glynn et al., (2010) and previously by Otrel-Cass et al., (2009), these are:

> Ako which encompasses the collaborative and reciprocal nature of the learning process, where the roles of teacher and learner are fluid and interchangeable and where both parties benefit and learn from the culturally validated relationship to support and care for each other. And whanaungatanga, which encompasses Māori

> people's collective identity and responsibilities, which are very strongly defined by relationships with others....geographic locations and features (p.37).

By refocusing attention on the quality of relationships between Māori students and teachers, as demonstrated by ako and whanaungatanga, such an approach would encourage a culturally responsive learning environment - one which fosters success rather than continuing to emphasise students' failings or deficits (Macfarlane et al., 2008).

Towards a strategy for change

Teachers and teaching methodologies, the school curriculum, communities and schools, families and physical topographies, technology and personal expectations, culture and language are just a few of the many elements that are included in an effective education and teaching strategy. The ability to embrace such diversity as experienced in culture, lifestyles, languages and ways of learning is something which the teaching profession is required to do.

Several education commentators proclaim that the political will to accept the need for innovation and change in terms of what is best for Māori students rests largely with mainstream teachers, given that over 90% of Māori children are enrolled in mainstream education (Education Review Office, 2006; 2010; Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh & Teddy, 2007; Gilgen, 2010). Complex and diverse perspectives can be problematic for mainstream New Zealand schools. The predominantly Western model on which they operate is bound to a one-dimensional, homogenous and 'one-size-fits-all' attitude to education. Evidence indicates that the New Zealand education system neglects Māori aspirations, because schools operate under this framework and in an environment unable to address social inequities no matter what the root cause is.

Arguably schools have tacit permission to forsake Māori students ostensibly for the benefit of the majority and this perception clearly needs to change. Strategies which demonstrate a more organic approach are warranted to improve the mainstream education experience for Māori students. Such approaches do not attempt to separate Māori students from their culture or sub-cultural contexts. Rather, support and develop students' resilience and ability to better self-manage changing environments and social spaces in a

way that raises expectations (Education Review Office, 2010; Gilgen, 2010; Glynn, Cowie, Otrel-Cass & Macfarlane, 2010).

Despite the impact of colonisation Māori still value and respond to their unique Māori worldview and want to see greater elements of this incorporated across mainstream education. There is little doubt that Māori possessed a strong heritage of empirical and abstract knowledge acquired from years of exploring the natural world. It is well documented, for example, that Māori actively observed and examined the physical world around them, studying and analysing the planets as well as oceanographic phenomena and relying upon an oral tradition of imparting knowledge (Barton & Fairhall, 1995).

The problem with indigenous frameworks of knowledge and those of the Pākehā world is that indigenous knowledge constructs have been consistently undervalued by a Western education model. As a result very little effort has been made to embrace mātauranga Māori and include substantial elements thereof in the New Zealand classroom. Subsequently many Māori students have been lost within the interconnecting dead space of two worlds as one fights for educational domination, and the other fights for educational recognition (Gilgen, 2010). Māori students navigating the two worlds often struggle with cultural identity issues and cultural insensitivity within the education and teaching community (A. Rata, 2012; Gray, 2012). Furthermore the lack of culturally competent, congruent and fluent teachers in mainstream education remains an issue.

According to an earlier critique- by Hunt and Macfarlane (2011), the observation made by Bishop and Glynn (2000) remains relevant: that Māori learners should solely be viewed as competent cultural bearers in their own right. They should also be viewed as capable of initiating "learning interactions, exercising self-determination in respect of the learning process, and becoming co-inquirers in engagements with their teachers and their classmates"(p.4). Acknowledgment of these critical elements and support for the way in which these may be played out will go a long way to increasing success for Māori students (Hunt & Macfarlane, 2011).

The Education Review Office (2010) advanced more strategies, including:

- embracing the wider whānau as a means of bringing about more positive education outcomes for their tamariki

- monitoring and responding to trends in Māori student attendance and achievement, and
- building better relationships with Māori students.

It was envisaged that by adopting these strategies, all affected parties would become instrumental in the development of closer relationships, resulting in greatly improved outcomes and a renewed commitment by both school and whānau to work collaboratively. Cultural influences and the importance of te ao Māori - central to the whānau - would be embraced, acknowledged and incorporated into the day-to-day teaching practices, school philosophy and educational framework, and contribute to more successful outcomes for Māori students (Education Review Office, 2010; Bishop et al., 2007; Bishop & Glynn, 1999).

While tensions continue between te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā, there were and are growing numbers of Māori students who, despite colonisation, have successfully integrated their Māori identity and culture with the dominant Western culture and thrive in both environs. How these successful Māori students manage this process speaks favourably of their motivation, resilience and intellectual skills as they integrate two worldviews and demonstrate the ability to manipulate, formulate, evaluate and integrate both divergent kete (receptacles) of knowledge (Barton & Fairhall, 1995; Bennett, 2001; Webber, 2008).

Key competencies

As part of an over-all improvement strategy based on the recommendations of the *Curriculum Stocktake Report* (Ministry of Education, 2002) and *The Curriculum/Mātauranga Project* launched in 2003, Rutherford (2004) put forward five key competencies which she argued should be central to the New Zealand national education curriculum. She proposed a crucial change to the curriculum by replacing essential skills with these key competencies:

- thinking
- making meaning
- relating to others
- managing self
- participating and contributing.

Designed to enhance the national curriculum through a common framework and to facilitate linkages between learning outcomes, the five key competencies were ideally placed to foster a holistic approach to learning via an integrated concept. This is closely aligned to the philosophy underpinning Place Based Learning (Ministry of Education, 2002; Rutherford, 2004).

Claiming the competencies places ako at the centre of the learning experience with identity, wellbeing and belonging at the core. Brewerton (2004, p.37) also recognised the importance of the environment in "establishing the conditions in which the learner belongs and learns".

Macfarlane et al., (2008) reasoned that the five key competencies were enhanced and given greater meaning when a Māori worldview was integrated with the identified competencies. They reflected that to ignore the values, beliefs and preferred practices of Māori, in the mistaken belief that cultural differences conflict with desired delivery and outcomes for New Zealand students, was a flawed ideology. They expressed a clear conviction that the five key competencies in fact must complement a Māori worldview and vice-versa.

Another success strategy developed by the Ministry of Education aimed at transforming the education system, and ensuring that all learners have the opportunity to gain the skills and knowledge they need to realise their potential and succeed, was developed in the form of the Ministry of Education's ' *Ka Hikitia – Managing for Success: The Māori Education Strategy 2008 – 2012*.' This strategy set out specific outcomes and prioritised particular actions to be taken and targets to be met over the five-year period of 2008 to 2012, so as to realise Māori potential (Ministry of Education, 2008b). Primarily Ka Hikitia, which literally means to lift or to carry in one's arms, aimed to influence the policies and practices of the Ministry of Education as well as other government agencies responsible for education by incorporating up-to-date research evidence as well as the experiences, hopes and aspirations of Māori. It was a nationwide education sector strategy that was expected to impact on everyone within the education sector.

Ka Hikitia had identified four main focus areas where, based on evidence, it was believed coordinated activities would have the most impact. The focus areas were:

- Foundational years
- Young people engaged in learning (years 9 and 10 in particular)
- Māori language education
- Organisational success (leadership, accountability and using evidence)

The basic premise of the Ka Hikitia strategy was 'Māori enjoying education success as Māori' and it was envisaged that it would be realised through four broad education outcomes. These were identified as:

1. collaborative relationships between Māori learners and the broader school community
2. allowing for cultural distinctiveness
3. the validation of te ao Māori (the Māori world) and
4. the continuing engagement of Māori with learning through the provision of high quality education (Ministry of Education, 2006a; 2008b).

Underpinning the four desired outcomes was the need for teaching practitioners to ensure that they were applying recognised successful teaching techniques and strategies in the classroom, Māori students would be advantaged and that they would have the opportunity to reach their potential. Ka Hikitia was reviewed in 2012 with a view to refreshing it. Entitled *'Me Kōrero – Let's talk success: Ka Hikitia – Accelerating success 2013 -2017 '* the emphasis remains on ensuring that Māori learners' identity, language and culture are viewed as key ingredients woven through the educational experience (Ministry of Education, 2013c).

Valuing indigenous perspectives: A clash of approaches

The need to reinterpret, reframe and restructure an educational framework that promotes success rather than focuses on failure is what many educationalists now believe Māori will respond to best (Webber, 2011b; McRae et al., 2010). According to ERO some of the blame for past system weaknesses can rest with teaching strategies as well as school-wide systems failing to promote success for Māori student, due to an over-reliance upon a Western educational model only. Such an approach defines 'authentic knowledge' as scientific in nature, and interprets quantitative methodologies or hard science as vastly superior to qualitative approaches or soft science (Education Review Office, 2010).

While this position may well seek to validate a ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach, advocating for a more inclusive model of learning or holistic approach is on the increase, as evidenced in the Te Ara ā Ihenga study (McRae et al., 2010). This study incorporates qualitative experiences and recognises that learning is not a merely a science, but an art also in that it is an emotional journey of engagement by which knowledge is transferred from one generation to the next.

The study shows that while Māori students are managing to succeed at examinations and internal assessments as accepted under the Western education model they are equally successful, grounded and versed in te ao Māori (McRae et al., 2010).

While a Western educational model asserts that any one person can achieve should that individual exercise his or her free will and authority, such reasoning holds that science is predominantly transcultural and rests on specific results that are dissociated from the personality and social position. The inference here is that the playing field is level. Concerned at this narrow interpretation of what constitutes success, Lather (1991) articulated the need for an increased understanding of a complex situation. Lather was critical of the positivist Western educational model as failing to appreciate that the acquisition of knowledge is part of the human condition, and incorporates all facets of one’s cultural overlay. To suggest that a Western educational model is essential to learning success at the expense of more organic approaches remains highly contentious. Such a stance is viewed as one which essentially works against and undervalues a much more collective methodology of learning and knowledge dissemination as valued by Māori.

Challenging the narrow, linear approach, Macfarlane et al., (2008) argue that for Māori students there is also a cultural element often neglected in the teaching and learning attitude. This is the need for balance between individuals’ successful outcomes and a responsibility to maintain the wellbeing, and therefore overall accomplishment, of the group or collective. This view maintains that educating Māori students does not necessarily involve the suspension of individualism but may well involve a combination of both individual assessment and collaborative effort.

Such a perspective accentuates the difference between Western viewpoints over holistic indigenous viewpoints which understand success as a collective aspiration. It is argued that schools that are responsive to Māori students, and recognise ways in which a holistic approach can be implemented, are more likely to realise the collective aspirations of Māori than schools that are reluctant to embrace such a challenge. Ironically, as a direct response to the growing diversity and complexity of modern educational requirements and a neoliberal delivery model, Western countries have constricted the policy discourse rather than growing the discussion (Lees, 2007). Many schools in New Zealand too, appear to orient towards this more individualistic approach. To this end it seems likely Māori would be further disadvantaged.

Cultural identity and success

Several studies over the years surmised that easuring success, as defined by the dominant New Zealand pedagogy, had failed to acknowledge achievement from a Māori worldview which included the acquisition of another language, history and knowledge synthesis (Macfarlane et al., 2008; Walker, 2004; Webber, 2008).

As stated earlier there have always been well-integrated Māori students who have attended mainstream schools and achieved outstanding levels of success and for whom, ostensibly, a Māori cultural identity has not proven a disadvantage. However teaching innovations aimed at greatly improving the numbers of Māori students experiencing success in mainstream schools should not come at any further sacrifice to cultural identity as has been the case for many (Barton & Fairhall, 1995; Bennett, 2001). Māori aspirations and expectations should not be set aside by the dominant culture but instead integrated and made part of the learning experience (Durie, 2001; Bevan-Brown, 2003).

Furthermore a positive Māori identity and the fostering of cultural practices within the education environment promotes and strengthens students' resolve and resilience, enabling them to utilise their cultural values and belief systems to enhance their acquisition of mātauranga Māori as well as Western knowledge. By ensuring a positive synergy between te ao Māori and that of the generic education system, Māori students when enabled to participate as Māori in their own right, were more likely to experience success (McRae et al., 2010).

Scholars such as Bennett and Flett (2001), and Webber (2011a) suggest that the stronger the Māori student's cultural cognisance the more prepared the student is to cope with and manage environmental stressors, including the rigours of attaining the standards required for educational success. Webber also argues that it is important for schools to develop environments that are supportive of Māori students, and demonstrate a willingness to foster a sense of belonging, participation and perseverance in an effort to improve educational outcomes for them. Furthermore there is a need for Māori students to have early exposure to positive and culturally adept role models within diverse settings including the school environment, the community at large and among peer groups.

In the McRae et al., (2010) study Māori students claimed that educational success for them was inter-dependent upon the strength and quality of their inter-relationships with each other, their whānau, their hapū and iwi and importantly with the school community at large. If these mutual relationships did not exist, and if there was not implied respect and valuing (for the most part) between all parties, then the opportunity for success could be compromised.

Earlier, Bishop et al., (2003) made it clear that what would increase success for Māori students was the quality of the relationships and interactions between the student and the teachers and that this also included favourable dealings with whānau. It was also concluded that teachers with low expectations of Māori students were simply teaching from a mono-cultural pedagogy, heavily over-laid with colonial oppression, through which cultural identity was made irrelevant rather than relevant by the teacher. Students educated by teachers with this attitude often experienced a sense of unimportance and lack of recognition (Turner, 2013).

In support of New Zealand educators, Elizabeth Rata in her 2011 treatise, *'The Unintended Outcomes of Institutional Ethnicity: The Case of Māori Education in New Zealand',* supported an assertion by Nash (2006) that Māori students in fact have, in the main part, favourable perceptions of their teachers and that student/teacher relationships were both considerate and mindful of cultural differences. Nash had also claimed that information presented by the Ministry of Education that opposed this view was suspect and unreliable. Nevertheless further inquiry that goes beyond the 'considerate and mindful of cultural differences' discussion, and seeks to elucidate how a Māori cultural identity can be embraced and integrated into the learning experience by teachers, deserves greater attention

in order to improve the numbers of Māori students experiencing success *as Māori* (McRae et al., 2010).

Some of the international literature promotes the view that members of minority groups can be protected from adverse experiences by a strong cultural commitment and identification with their minority group. Furthermore this position enables them to negotiate potentially negative environments, to deal with discrimination and prejudice in a way that maintains their self-worth and upholds their self-esteem. When school environments promote positive ethnic socialisation and recognise the unique and authentic contribution which minority groups can make to the education experience, then the achievement of higher education outcomes and a greater understanding of cultural mores leads to the emergence of a stronger and more cohesive society (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Miller & Kaiser, 2001a, 2001b; Oyserman et al., 2007; Quintana & Vera, 1999).

There is a correlation between being positively engaged with one's cultural identity and the ability to translate that positivity into the attainment of knowledge and skills. This is evidenced by Māori students who are fully integrated displaying a level of confidence and ease when negotiating and participating in both te ao Māori and the dominant Western culture. However less integrated Māori students (whose cultural identity is neither recognised nor nurtured) can feel disaffected within the school environment and their potential for educational success is compromised (Cliffe, 2013; Kidman, Abrams & McRae, 2011; A. Rata 2012).

School communities play an important role in supporting Māori students' ethnic identity thereby increasing their ability to integrate successfully. Historically schools in New Zealand have failed to recognise that the promotion of Māori language, values and beliefs through increased cultural awareness and practices would improve educational outcomes and psychological resilience for Māori (A. Rata, 2012; Webber, 2011a). Penetito (2010, p.61) argues that the conflict and tension experienced by Māori students and their whānau arose "from the relationship between the lived culture of Māori children and a school culture that typically contains basic contradictions of Māori culture". He concludes that if Māori students were to experience a sense of control over their destiny then the promotion of cultural continuity between home and the school should be viewed as an

essential component of an integration equation rather than as some additional after-thought.

Māori students displaying well-integrated cultural traits are better equipped to achieve success in many aspects of their lives, and the quality of their educational engagement will determine the willingness of the student to remain and persist with formal education. Remaining engaged is very much reliant on a number of factors including a strong sense of self or identity, a state of belonging and how much one is supported to continue with the learning process. "This sense of belonging and invitation to an educational space is significant in shaping students' engagement with and willingness to persist in a particular educational setting. In that sense, an important question revolves around how academic or school identities necessary for educational engagement intersect with racial-ethnic identity to support or constrain educational engagement, persistence and achievement" (Webber, 2011a, p.16).

The level of cultural promotion within a school directly impacts upon the psychological wellbeing and self-esteem of its Māori students. Arama Rata (2012) argues that "schools are institutions that are influential to ethnic identity development" (p.143) so that the greater affirmation of Māori culture, the higher the probability of educational achievement. However, when schools fail to promote Māori identity and culture there is a corresponding decline in educational achievement amongst Māori students (Marie et al., 2008).

Accordingly, the use of piecemeal 'cultural bites' to satisfy government policy around 'responsiveness to Māori' does not demonstrate a commitment to a deeper appreciation and support of te ao Māori. On the contrary it may well imply a passive or even paternalistic view to maintain the status quo. John Rangihau (1975) referred to this as 'cultural racism' and learning institutions need to be encouraged to undertake cultural audits in an effort to recognise and guard against the superficial use of cultural activities, and encourage a genuine integration and respect for the culture.

Place-Based Learning

The emergence of a methodology which appears to resonate for Māori, and which is designed to capture the imagination of students raised in an environment not divorced

entirely from their traditional roots, is that of Place-Based Learning or PBL. According to Penetito (2009) and Kidman, Abrams & McRae (2011), this educational model endeavours to provide students with the answers to two essential questions: What is this place and what is our relationship to it?

While relying on the integration of cultural practices, technological break-throughs and scientific enquiry along with the physical environment, PBL is local and unique. It encompasses ecological studies, biodiversity, community education and community relations, local history and sustainable development (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005).

PBL's objective is to develop in learners a love of their environment and of the place where they live, its social history, biodiversity and the way people have responded and continue to respond to the changing natural and social landscapes. Students from homes that maintain cultural practices are valuable resources for PBL teachers and other students.

PBL is designed to provide students with skills to become lifelong learners and Lewicki (2007) refers to PBL strategies that:

- support students to become passionately interested in a topic of their choice
- assist in the development of precision observation and analytical skills, and
- allow students to demonstrate tenacity.

The aim of all educators in New Zealand should be to strengthen the resolve of Māori students to succeed by allowing their cultural identity to drive their learning experience. The current system will do well to explore the value of PBL given that benefits accrued to all from integrating PBL pedagogies into mainstream education, as a means of supporting further Māori success, will be manifest (Lewicki, 2007; Penetito, 2004; Webber, 2011b).

Conclusion

This literature review has highlighted the shortage of writings published within New Zealand which concentrate exclusively on successful Māori students. In an attempt to redirect attention from deficit theorising towards the characteristics of success, this chapter has highlighted some noteworthy views of well-known educationalists, and

promoted the emerging works of young authors who epitomise Māori succeeding in education.

A number of observations have been made including: a need for strategic change at every level; the continued tension between holistic indigenous knowledge and the Western educational model; the importance of cultural identity and the significance of PBL. What is evident is that Māori students who are succeeding at school possess a skill suite which is underpinned by a strong cultural identity, an intrinsic motivation to learn and a willingness to engage in learning within a range of contexts.

The challenge remains for schools to adapt teaching and learning models to include both individual and collective aspirations of success for Māori. It is clear from the literature that many schools struggle with this perspective. However schools that have embraced this duality are responding to Māori students by creating innovative ways in which a holistic approach can be implemented alongside Western education methodologies. Schools that are reluctant to embrace such a challenge continue to produce underachieving Māori students.

There is a clear correlation between the recognition of and support for a student's cultural identity and a student's subsequent ability to translate that into the attainment of knowledge and skills. Many studies are suggestion that fully integrated Māori students, who are confident in both the Māori and Western worlds, are more likely to be successful. The studies also suggest that ambitious schools with high numbers of successful Māori students have recognised this fact. Such schools have engineered positive education spaces and shared understandings that augment indigenous knowledge alongside mainstream knowledge - thus enhancing the education experiences for all students.

The number of successful Māori students is increasing along with calls for changes to school environments, communities and curricula that support Māori success and assure its continuance. Cultural identity plays an integral part in the growing of success. More and more, schools need to embrace and celebrate difference, and to manage these imperatives in such a way that promotes a way forward for Māori.

The literature reviewed in this chapter sends out clear messages about the need to highlight an optimism that Māori hold for their future generations by ensuring that what is recorded for posterity chronicles triumph over struggle. The challenge, it appears, will be keeping up with the growing number of success stories.

"Often, it's not about becoming a new person, but becoming the person you were meant to be, and already are, but don't know how to be."

Heath Buckmaster (Date unknown)

Chapter Three: Research design

Introduction

Chapter Three outlines the approach and methods used for this research project. The Ka Awatea team based their research activities on Te Arawa tikanga (local tribal protocol) and ensured that tribal expertise was included in their decision-making. The project adopted a mixed method approach incorporating quantitative and qualitative methods underscored by kaupapa Māori principles.

The significance of this research and its findings are derived both culturally and statistically - it therefore has a complementarity-design status. The mixed method research approach used was heavily influenced by Kaupapa Māori Research Methodology. This approach is concerned with utilising Māori principles and practices, and a Māori philosophy or worldview in constructing the research process, as well as with understanding the research outcomes. The research team supports the need for kaupapa Māori research to be collaborative, where the locus of power within the research paradigm is devolved and shared among the community being researched.

The views of senior (pākeke) and senior-emerging (tuākana) Te Arawa people were considered important and a set of questions was prepared for them. Conversational interactions (whakawhiti kōrero) were also carried out with these two groups. Tuākana were selected from a list of successful Te Arawa individuals encompassing such diverse areas as the entertainment industry, business domain, legal fraternity, the education field and the health sector.

Three data analysis techniques were used in this study: Nvivo, Thematic Analysis and Grounded Theory. Ethics approval was sought and granted by both the Victoria University of Wellington (VUW) and the University of Canterbury (UC).

Methodologies and methods

This section outlines the methodologies and methods that were used in the research project. Knowledge and information from the community of Māori students,

educationalists, academics and whānau were sought through questionnaires, individual interviews, focus group interviews, and community and educational leaders' forums between October 2012 and July 2013. Data from Māori students, teachers, principals, teachers and whānau were gathered in interviews set up in a range of varying sites.

Grounding the approach in *Te Arawatanga*

The research team agreed that Ka Awatea research activities had to be premised on Te Arawa tikanga (local tribal protocol) and ensure that tribal expertise was included at the centre of decision-making. This included ensuring that whānau, hapū and the iwi were actively enabled to participate in the development of their own educational project, and that local cultural concepts (Te Arawatanga) were valued as a vehicle for encouraging sound information from the participants.

Te Arawa has established a research strategy which aims to increase the generation of robust information propositions in pursuit of best social, cultural, environmental and economic outcomes for Te Arawa people.

Four principles inform this aim:

- to maintain and strengthen Te Arawa mātauranga and cultural traditions;
- to foster Te Arawa connections and engage Te Arawa people to be active participants;
- to promote a culture of whanaungatanga and kotahitanga in order to better leverage our collective expertise;
- to maintain and strengthen Te Arawa research traditions as they pertain to Te Arawa reo, tikanga and kawa.

The strategy focuses on:

- building research capability,
- setting a Te Arawa research agenda, and
- increasing strategic relationships and Te Arawa wealth creation

(Emery, Worrall & Tahana, 2011).

Additionally the Ngāti Whakaue Education Taumata has identified a priority to enhance the legacy of Ngāti Whakaue Tūpuna through effective management of the Endowment, and to support beneficiaries of the Trust in educational purposes that add value and benefit to our community.

Design, methodology and method

The project adopted a mixed method approach that incorporated both quantitative and qualitative methods and was underscored by kaupapa Māori principles. This is often referred to as triangulation – aimed at achieving more valid and reliable findings. A quantitative approach strives to control for bias so that facts, instances, trends and phenomena can be understood in an objective way.

A qualitative approach strives to understand the perspective of participants or a situation by looking at first-hand experience to provide meaningful data. Kaupapa Māori principles support the notion that a satisfactory explanation is what counts, not the power of the method for deriving it (Bowen, 1996). In addition kaupapa Māori research determines that significance is derived culturally, not statistically. While in congruence with these considerations, this project declared that meaning-making is derived culturally, *as well as* statistically rendering it a complementarity-design status (Jaeger, 1997).

Cram and Pipi (2001) argue that there is a clear distinction between the terms, *methodology* and *method.* They state that *methodology* is a process of inquiry that determines the method(s) used, and *method* is the tools or approaches that are used to produce and then analyse the data. Royal (2006) contends that methodology influences everything in the research process: the questions one poses as the focus of the research, the way in which the information is gathered, how data is analysed and interpreted, and the recommendations or considerations that are forthcoming. This assertion highlights the importance of adopting methodologies that do not compromise nor dishonour the purpose, the process or the product.

Mixed Methods Research

A mixed methods research approach - sometimes referred to as mixed methodology, multiple methodology or multi-methodology research - was adopted for this study. The ultimate goal of mixed methods research is to consider a given research question from a variety of relevant angles, making use where appropriate of previous research and/or more than one type of investigative perspective (Creswell, 2003). Mixed methods research offers the best of both worlds: the in-depth, contextualised and natural (but often more time-consuming) insights of qualitative research, coupled with the economical (but often less rich or compelling) predictive power of quantitative research. Given the questions and participant numbers, it was felt that an amalgam of both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies would be far more comprehensive than approaching this study from only one point of view.

Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is described by Johnson and Christensen (2000) as research relying primarily on the collection of non-statistical data where an emphasis is placed on exploration and experiential discovery. They declare that qualitative researchers strive to study the world as it naturally occurs - without deliberate manipulation or experimentation. One of the strengths of qualitative research is the flexibility of the process. According to Kirk and Miller (1986) and Strachan (1997) this allows for the researcher to respond to new or unanticipated knowledge as it emerges.

Johnson and Christensen (2000) propose that qualitative researchers view human behaviour as dynamic and changing, and they advocate studying phenomena in depth and over a reasoned period of time. They add that the product of qualitative research is usually a narrative report or summary with detailed descriptions, moving through a series of steps toward completion. In taking these steps qualitative researchers focus on people's experiences, behaviours, thoughts and feelings. Strauss and Corbin (1990; 1998) contend that qualitative research methodologies assist in uncovering people's beliefs and understandings of what lies behind yet unknown and already known phenomena. This view is expanded on by Burns (2000) who contends that:

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

The information supplied by the participants is of the utmost importance to the qualitative researcher because in the final analysis this data informs, validates and enhances current knowledge and thinking. For qualitative research to be empirically credible the voice of the participants must be heard, and the key themes and collective messages that are espoused need to be reflected with clarity and integrity.

Bogdan and Biklen (1992) declare that having access to an 'insider's' point of view allows a researcher to see things that may remain invisible to an 'outsider', and that a qualitative research approach is also a powerful means of uncovering new knowledge and increasing understanding specific to an area under investigation. According to Williams (2010) the success of qualitative research is largely dependent on a respectful and trusting relationship being established between the researcher and the participant(s). As Bogdan and Biklen (2007) reiterate, if "...you want to understand the way people think about their world and how these definitions are formed, you need to get close to them, to hear them talk and observe them in their day to day lives" (p. 35).

A qualitative research approach was considered appropriate primarily because it was deemed to be more compatible with the nature of this investigation, as it would allow participant voices to come through and create space for Māori to share their lived realities. L. Smith (2005) affirms that qualitative research is a valuable tool in this regard especially in terms of indigenous communities and matters of representation. She asserts that:

> *……it is the tool that seems most able to wage the battle of representation; to weave and unravel competing storylines; to situate, place, and contextualize; to create spaces for*

> *decolonizing; to provide frameworks for hearing silence and listening to the voices of the silenced; to create spaces for dialogue across difference; to analyze and make sense of complex and shifting experiences, identities and realities; and to understand little and big changes that affect our lives* (p. 103).

Quantitative Research

Quantitative research generates numerical data or data that can be converted into numbers for statistical appraisal. A typical example would be a questionnaire that asks participants to rate a particular experience or opinion on a progressive numerical scale that measures either their agreement or level of satisfaction (Dillman, Smyth & Christian, 2009; Fowler, 1995).

Ideally quantitative research seeks to obtain a statistically reliable sampling of respondents. The research process typically involves the development of a set of questions as well an astute rating scale that is used to numerically measure feelings, satisfaction and other factors that are deemed important. The data are analysed more by way of descriptive analysis - a term given to the analysis of data that helps describe, show or summarise data in a meaningful way such that, for example, patterns might emerge from the data (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2003).

Purely descriptive statistics do not, however, permit us to make conclusions beyond the data we have analysed or reach conclusions regarding any hypotheses we might have made. They are simply a way to describe our data. Descriptive statistics are very important because if we simply presented our raw data it would be hard to visualise what the data was showing.

Descriptive statistics therefore enable us to present the data in a more meaningful way which supports a simpler interpretation of the data. For example, if we had the results of 100 students' responses we may be interested in the overall considerations of those students. We would also be interested in the distribution, emphases or tenor of the considerations. Descriptive analyses allow us to do this. From the perspective of this research study the mixed method research approach was heavily influenced by kaupapa

Māori Research Methodology, which underpinned and shaped the overall research paradigm.

Kaupapa Māori research methodology

The underpinning conventions for this study were derived from kaupapa Māori. Kaupapa Māori, according to Smith (1992), is a discourse that emerges and is legitimised from within the Māori community. This approach is concerned with utilising Māori principles and practices, a Māori philosophy or worldview in constructing the research process, and with understanding research outcomes. What constitutes research comes out of this worldview, which is embedded in a social history of a people. Kaupapa Māori as a research methodology has evolved in response to ongoing concerns about western-centric research processes and practices that have proven to be culturally inappropriate for and even harmful to Māori in the past (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; G. Smith, 1992; Smith, 1999; 2005).

Kaupapa Māori research methodology stems from a growing consensus that research involving Māori knowledge and Māori people needs to be conducted in culturally appropriate and culturally responsive ways; ways that are in tandem with kaupapa Māori theory as well as Māori cultural practices, preferences and aspirations (Irwin, 1994). Kaupapa Māori research is therefore the enactment of kaupapa Māori theory within a research context, and is driven by a social history and worldview that is distinctly Māori (Williams, 2010). Linda Smith (1999) discusses the strong anti-positivistic stance that imbues kaupapa Māori research and declares that:

> *It weaves in and out of Māori cultural beliefs and values, western ways of knowing, Māori histories and experiences under colonisation, western forms of education, Māori aspirations and socio-economic needs, and western economics and global politics....there are sound reasons why we are interested in education, employment, health and history....* (p. 191).

According to Kana and Tamatea (2006) the enactment of kaupapa Māori research methodology needs to reflect one's connections and tribal identity. These researchers

have outlined six Māori cultural constructs that they deem are collectively central to facilitating kaupapa Māori research:

- *mana whenua*: power-sharing through guardianship links to the land
- *whakapapa*: gaining access through genealogical ties
- *whanaungatanga*: established relationships within the research context
- *ahi kā*: recognition of the knowledge and contributions of those who maintain the 'home fires'
- *kanohi ki te kanohi*: closeness and presence of the researcher to the participants
- *kanohi kitea*: being visible and involved outside of the research activities.

In essence these researchers reiterate the need for kaupapa Māori research to be collaborative, where the locus of power within the research paradigm is devolved and shared among the community being researched.

When exploring indigenous and ethnic minority research from international sources it is affirming to see the global linkages that are emerging across indigenous cultures. These linkages speak of the need for research - which is undertaken with, amongst and for indigenous cultures - to be culturally relevant and respectful. Tillman (2002) specifically discusses research which is embarked upon in African-American communities, and makes a plea for it to be purposeful, to be cognisant of whose knowledge is being privileged, and to also ensure that the research approaches place the culture of the ethnic group at the centre of the inquiry.

Tillman declares that it is important to also consider whether the researcher has the cultural knowledge to accurately interpret and validate the experiences of those being researched within the context of the phenomenon being studied.

Ultimately the mixed methods research approach employed in the Ka Awatea study was informed by a social history and worldview that is Te Arawa and is grounded in the

people's lived experiences. In essence it is a paradigm in that it guides the way we do things or more formally establishes a set of practices (tikanga). According to Guba (1990) paradigms can be characterised through their: ontology *(What is your reality?)*; epistemology *(How do you know something?)*; and methodology, *(How do you go about finding out?)*. These characteristics create an holistic view of how we view knowledge: how we see ourselves in relation to this knowledge and the methodological strategies we use to interact with it.

Data Analysis

Three data analysis techniques were used in this study: Nvivo, Thematic Analysis and Grounded Theory.

Nvivo. Nvivo is a qualitative data analysis (QDA) computer software package that has been designed for qualitative researchers working with very rich text-based and/or multimedia information, where deep levels of analysis on small or large volumes of data are required. Nvivo accommodates a wide range of research methods, including network and organisational analysis, action or evidence-based research, discourse analysis, grounded theory, conversation analysis, ethnography, literature reviews, phenomenology and kaupapa Māori approaches (www.qsrinternational.com/products_nvivo.aspx).

Nvivo was used in this study to organise and descriptively analyse non-numerical and unstructured data. The software was used to classify, sort and arrange information; examine relationships in the data; and combine analysis with linking, shaping, searching and modelling. This process enabled the researcher to identify trends and cross-examine information in a multitude of ways using its search engine and query functions. Nvivo was used to analyse both the study questionnaire and interview/focus group data. Through this process a body of evidence was built up to inform the research findings.

Thematic analysis. Thematic analysis was also used in this project. Thematic analysis is a widely-used qualitative data analysis method. It is one of a cluster of methods that focus on identifying patterned meaning across a dataset. The method has been widely used across the social, behavioural and more applied (clinical, health, education, etc.) sciences (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The main purpose of thematic

analysis is to identify trends and patterns across a dataset that inform the research question being addressed.

Patterns are identified through a rigorous process of data familiarisation, data coding, and theme development and revision. Thematic analysis was undertaken after the data had been organised and categorised using Nvivo. The thematic analysis undertaken in this study involved a process of six phases:

1. *Familiarisation with the data*: This phase involved reading and re-reading the data in order to become immersed and intimately familiar with its content.
2. *Coding*: This phase involved generating succinct labels (codes) that identified important features of the data that might be relevant to answering the research question. It involved coding the entire dataset and then collating all of the codes and all relevant data extracts together for later stages of analysis.
3. *Searching for themes*: This phase involved examining the codes and collated data to identify significant broader patterns of meaning (potential themes). It then involved collating data relevant to each candidate theme, so that we could work with the data and review the viability of each candidate theme.
4. *Reviewing themes*: This phase involved checking the candidate themes against the dataset to determine whether or not they tell a convincing story of the data, and one that answers the research question. In this phase some of the themes were refined, split, combined or discarded.
5. *Defining and naming themes*: This phase involved developing a detailed analysis of each theme, working out the scope and focus of each theme and determining the 'story' of each. It also involved the choice of an informative name for each theme.
6. *Writing up*: This final phase involved weaving together the analytic narrative and data extracts, and contextualising the analysis in relation to existing literature.

Although these phases are sequential, and each builds on the previous one, analysis was an iterative process with movement back and forth between the different phases (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Grounded Theory Inquiry. The research design of this study also utilised a grounded theory inquiry approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990,

1998) to ensure reliability. The general goal of grounded theory inquiry is to construct theories from the research data in order to understand human experiences. It therefore refers to theory that is developed inductively from a body of data that has been gathered. Its purpose is to construct a theoretical explanation of the meanings, actions and interactions of participants from the ground up (Millikin & Schreiber, 2001).

This approach was chosen as it is a problem-solving undertaking which focuses on understanding action from the perspective of the human agent (Haig, 1995). According to Dick (2000, 2003) grounded theory inquiry is an approach to qualitative research whereby a focus of study begins with a research situation. Within that situation the task of the researcher is to understand what is happening and how the participants manage their roles - done mostly through conversation, interview and observation. This process requires the researcher to represent information in a logical and consistent way so that it is meaningful to the people working in the core area of interest (Gage, Kirk & Hornblow, 2009).

The three aforementioned data analysis approaches have been used on two sets of data: a study questionnaire and individual/focus group interviews.

Research questions

The study focussed on three research questions:

- How is educational success perceived from a Te Arawa perspective?
- In what ways are the traits of the successful students aligned to Te Arawa distinctiveness?
- In what ways do whānau, teachers and the wider Te Arawa community foster conditions that enable the characteristics of success to manifest?

Data gathering methods

The study employed four methods of data gathering:

1. A questionnaire
2. One-to-one (face-to-face) interviews
3. Focus group discussions
4. Conversational interactions

Selection of participants

To answer our research questions the main methods of data collection were:

- student, teacher, principal and parent questionnaires
- student, teacher and whānau semi-structured interviews and
- focus group discussions.

It was thought that the need to get the views of senior Te Arawa people (pākeke and tuākana) was important so a set of questions was prepared and conversational interactions (whakawhiti kōrero) were carried out with these two groups of participants.

An outline of the study participants can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. *Study Participants*

	Questionnaire	Individual Interviews	Focus Groups	
Participants	*n*	*n*	*n*	Total
Students	66	5	61	132
Teachers	38	10	32	80
Principal/DP	5	7	1	13
Parents/Whānau	29	2	17	48
Pākeke	-	5	-	5
Tuākana	-	5	-	5
Total	138	35	110	283

Students were nominated by school leaders by way of a relatively basic criterion: they were identified as high-achieving senior students preferably, but not necessarily, of Te Arawa tribal affiliation. The school leaders also provided the names of parents and other whānau members who were considered to be keen participants.

Principals responded to the questionnaire, the one-to-one interview or both. Teachers likewise contributed with either completing the questionnaire or participating in a focus group. Inevitably some teachers also identified as parents, and this was noted in the data collection. Teachers from the schools were recruited on the bases of their proximity to the students and/or their enthusiasm for Māori pedagogies.

Another (later) phase to the study was introduced – a validation phase that sought the views of senior people (pākeke) – pillars of the iwi, as well as a selection of Te Arawa affiliated emerging champions (tuākana) who were making their respective marks in contemporary social and economic communities. Pākeke and tuākana were selected on account of their relative status in the local community as well as their reputations for having a sound level of understanding and respect for the education sector.

Interviews with tuākana explored how influential their primary, secondary and tertiary learning experiences had been and how these might have contributed to their on-going success as adults.

These added dimensions to the research activities culminated in the complementarity-design thrust. Complementarity-design is important insofar as it provides confidence in the study - that as accurate a picture as possible is being portrayed in the research activities. Such validation from senior tribal people also has the capacity to offer insights that are useful and practical, because as a rule their thoughts are founded on wisdom that is not on offer by others. Likewise the champions of the more hurly-burly workforce world offer insights of a commercial slant and these too are important to include in the mix. By combining multiple participants, theories, methods and empirical materials the intention was to overcome the weakness or intrinsic biases and the problems that arise from single method, single observer and single theory studies (Jaeger, 1997).

Ethics approval

The Ethics approval was sought and granted by both the Victoria University of Wellington (VUW) and the University of Canterbury (UC). The role of a University Human Ethics Committee (HEC) is to ensure that those involved in the research process are aware of the ethical issues involved in teaching and research. Research activities such

as this one require prior HEC approval in order to protect both the interests of potential subjects and those of the researcher or teacher.

Conclusion

The Ka Awatea approach is one where researchers endeavourer to explain educational phenomena by looking for the forces that impact on people and their contexts, policies, ramifications, learning, teaching and so on, as well as the effect these forces have on educational aspirations. The complementarity-design approach drew on the conventional research traditions while maintaining constant proximity to kaupapa Māori and tribal principles and values. None of the approaches is immune from criticism; all have strengths and weaknesses.

Chapter Four: Study Findings

Introduction

This chapter illustrates the nature of Māori student success by presenting the findings from the three sets of data in the study – 1a) the questionnaire data, 1b) the individual interview and focus group data, and 1c) the tuākana interview data.

Each section will begin by briefly describing the data collection strategy and making clear links to the aims and purposes of the study. The research questions underpinning the study are:

- How is educational success perceived from a Te Arawa perspective?
- In what ways are the traits of the successful students aligned to Te Arawa distinctiveness?
- In what ways do whānau, teachers and the wider Te Arawa community foster conditions that enable the characteristics of success to manifest?

Consequently the results in this chapter will illustrate, through various lenses, the ways in which success is perceived and achieved by Māori students, their whānau, teachers, principals and community. The data also illuminates the central role that Māori identity plays in their lives.

Study 1a:

The Questionnaire

The study questionnaire was designed to investigate the influential factors that contribute to Māori students succeeding at school. A Likert questionnaire was adopted which uses multiple items to measure abstract constructs. The questionnaire asked students, teachers and whānau members to respond to Likert items and/or open-ended questions that examined their attitudes, interests, experiences and values regarding educational success. The questionnaire included questions about Māori identity, the importance of relationships and core Māori values. There were also questions about diligence and commitment, innovation and creativity and the value of education. Finally the

questionnaire respondents were asked about the influence of wellbeing and humility to Māori students' educational success.

The Participants

High-achieving Māori students. All of the high-achieving Māori students who completed the questionnaire were Year 11-13 students (aged 15-18 years) who were given consent from their parents/caregivers to participate and who themselves agreed to participate. Students were informed that their participation was voluntary and because the questionnaire was anonymous any information they provided would be confidential. The entire questionnaire took about 25 minutes to complete. Most of the data were collected within an eight-month period between mid 2012 to early 2013. The researchers were on hand to answer questions during the implementation of the questionnaire and collected all questionnaires from the students involved.

A total sample of 66 students completed the study questionnaire. The sample comprised more female participants (n = 38) than male participants (n = 28). Just under half of the total number of students indicated that they had Te Arawa whakapapa (n = 31). Based on the self-identifications of the questionnaire respondents the Year Level composition of the total sample is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. *Profile of Māori Student Questionnaire Respondents*

Year Level	*n*	Gender	
		Female	Male
Year 11	14	9	5
Year 12	23	12	11
Year 13	29	17	12
Total	66	38	28

Whānau members. A total sample of 29 whānau members completed the study questionnaire. The sample comprised more female participants (n = 20) than male participants (n = 9). A summary of the total sample is presented in Table 3. All but one of

the total sample of whānau were Māori (*n* = 28), and over half of these Māori whānau members were from Te Arawa (*n* = 16).

Table 3. *Profile of Whānau Questionnaire Respondents*

Ethnicity	*n*	Gender	
		Female	Male
Māori	27	20	7
Non-Māori	2	0	2
Total	29	20	9

Teachers. A total sample of 44 teachers completed the study questionnaire. The sample comprised more female participants (*n* = 28) than male participants (*n* = 16). Over half of the total sample of teachers were Māori (*n* = 26) and just under half of these Māori teachers were from Te Arawa (*n* = 12). Based on the responses of the questionnaire participants the number of years spent teaching of the total sample is presented in Table 4.

Table 4. *Profile of Teacher Questionnaire Respondents*

Years (yrs) spent teaching	*n*	Gender	
		Female	Male
Less than 5 yrs	6	3	3
Between 5-10 yrs	7	7	0
Between 10-15 yrs	8	5	3
More than 15 yrs	23	13	10
Total	44	28	16

Section One: Māori Identity

Section one of the student questionnaire elicited students' perspectives about the ways their school experiences contributed to their sense of positive Māori identity. All but one of the 66 students who completed the questionnaire stated their iwi affiliations and 47% of the students self-identified as having Te Arawa whakapapa.

Only half of the students who responded (50%) felt that their experiences at school influenced their understandings of the Māori world 'heaps' or 'quite a lot'. More concerning was the fact that 61% of the students felt that their experiences at school only 'sometimes' or 'never' helped their growth in te reo me ōna tikanga (language and customs).

Similarly 23% of students felt that their school experiences 'never' influenced their connectedness to the whenua (land) and 42% report that it only does so 'sometimes'. The total sample of student responses to the three related questions is presented in Table 5.

Table 5. *Māori Identity*

	Heaps		Quite a lot		Sometimes		Never		
Key Questions	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	Total
1	14	22%	19	28%	32	48%	1	2%	66
2	11	17%	15	23%	35	53%	5	7%	66
3	10	15%	13	20%	28	42%	15	23%	66

Table key

1. Have your experiences at school influenced your knowledge of Te Ao Māori / the Māori world?
2. Have your experiences at school helped your growth in te reo me ōna tikanga / language and customs?
3. Have your experiences at school influenced your connectedness to the whenua / land?

Open-ended responses. At the end of *Section One: Māori Identity* the student, whānau and teacher participants were asked to respond to an open-ended questionnaire item asking: 'What aspects of your Māori identity are most important to you / your child / your Māori students? Why?'

Open-ended student responses. Overwhelmingly, the majority of student responses to the question, 'What aspects of your Māori identity are most important to you? Why?' were associated with the concept of belonging. Knowing who you are and where you come from is one of the elements of being Māori that gives Māori students security. As indigenous people the students expressed a unique relationship and connection to their tribal whenua, iwi, hapū, marae and whānau.

Many of the students felt that their connection to their families and tribes, their whakapapa, was the thread of the very fabric that held them together. Many students spoke of their "whenua, where I belong, home" and "being connected to the land – my whānau, my whenua, my iwi – it shapes who I am". Another student commented that being Māori was about "whānau and iwi and feeling a part of something bigger than myself. I have a marae to go back to, that tracks way back into my whānau. These are my roots and what has made me who I am now".

Māori identity, from the students' perspective, has little to do with striving for individual success and more to do with establishing connections with others, exploring cultural practices that bind the students to others and understanding the roles the students play in the Māori community. This perspective of the world appears to be the basis for a strong sense of self.

According to most of the students who completed the questionnaire there are a number of different ways to establish and maintain connections with Māori culture, even if they have not been brought up with it, including participation in kapa haka, tangi, Manu Kōrero competitions and learning about their whakapapa and iwi history. One student in particular wrote about the importance of knowing his/her iwi stories and who his/her tūpuna were. The student stated "Ko tō mōhio ki ngā momo pakiwaitara tawhito, i te mea he momo kōrero e whakaatu ana – nō hea, ko wai, i aha hoki āu tūpuna" (When you know

the legends they show certain things like where we come from, who and what our ancestors did).

According to statements made by many of the students te reo Māori and 'being Māori' are intertwined. As a result knowing or being able to learn te reo Māori gave students access to te ao Māori (the Māori world) and to Māori worldviews. The insights and experiences the students shared reinforced the uniqueness and complexity of their Māori identity.

A number of students referred to the integral nature of te reo in cultural participation and belonging, with one student stating that Māori identity was inextricably bound to "te reo – nā te mea he taonga tuku iho. He mea e whakaatu i te mana motuhake" (The language/voice is a treasure passed down. It shows autonomy). Another student simply stated "Ko te mea nui tōku reo. Ki te kore tōku reo ka kore he Māoritanga" (My language is an important thing. Without my language Māoritanga is nothing/empty). However not all of the students who completed the questionnaire were competent te reo Māori speakers. Nor did they necessarily have a strong working knowledge of their whakapapa and tribal links.

A number of the students talked about the fact that their parents did not know any or had very little te reo Māori, so they felt "like all the pressure is on me to be the 'Māori one,' like I am going to save us". Other students mentioned that despite "feeling Māori" there are other events when they were reminded that they were 'not Māori enough, including "other little things…like leaving school and applying for scholarships and stuff. You need to know what land and stuff you have and if don't know any of it, you're like, oh I can't apply for that".

Another aspect of the students' responses about Māori identity revolved around the pride they felt about 'being Māori'. Pride meant different things to different students and/or they expressed it in a number of different ways. However cultural pride clearly echoed through many of their responses. According to the students cultural pride means being proud of your culture and traditions, expressing significant aspects of one's traditions and having opportunities to spread one's cultural knowledge.

A number of students stated explicitly that they were "proud to be Māori" and "proud of my ancestors". One student also stated that he enjoyed sharing his pepeha (tribal connections) because "it tells other people where I am from and also reminds me, as a Māori, who I am". Another student showed similar sentiments but expressed it clearly in te reo. He stated "Ko te whenua hoki me ngā rārangi whakapapa. He pai, ki a āu nei te mōhio ki tāku whakapapa i te mea nō tērā he momo whakamāramatanga ko wai au" (It is the land and genealogical lines. To me it is a good thing to know my whakapapa as then I can understand who I am). It is clear that their connection to Māori culture is critical to the Māori students' self-concept.

According to many of the responses in the questionnaire cultural pride was integral to the students' sense of self, and they referred to feeling proud of and having the means to participate in Māori culture and traditions. However a number of the students felt that being proud of one's culture meant little if they were unable to express their knowledge of "whakapapa, tikanga Māori, whenua, te reo rangatira and iwi". Having pride in one's Māori identity meant spreading cultural awareness to one's immediate community through "leadership, determination, dedication and passion".

Open-ended whānau responses. Analysis of the whānau responses to the question: "What aspects of your child's Māori identity are the most important? Why?" resulted in the emergence of one key theme: the parents hopes and aspirations that their children participate in te ao Māori with confidence. One parent summed this up by recording three clear aspirations he had in terms of his son's identity as Māori:

- *Sound knowledge and understanding of whakapapa foundations and tribal connections – in order to fully understand 'nō hea ia', where he is from and what that means.*
- *Ability to actively develop and sustain meaningful inter-relationships with whanaunga – in order to foster 'nā wai ia', who he is a part of and the mutual relationships /responsibilities therein.*
- *To be able to fully express himself in te reo Māori me ōna tikanga – that he may be able to fully convey the depth and breadth of 'ko wai ia' – who he is and wishes to become.*

The aspirations of whānau for their children to be able to participate in te ao Māori as well as be successful at school were also apparent in the data. One parent explicitly stated that they wanted their child to "participate and be successful in Māori cultural activities, as well as tauiwi activities". The whānau respondents clearly articulated that they wanted their children to be successful 'as Māori' as well as in academic pursuits.

A student's ability to "fully participate in te ao Māori" and have "enough cultural knowledge to always represent your whānau properly no matter where you are" were considered to be key elements of a strong Māori identity according to the whānau responses. Māori values such as manaakitanga and whanaungatanga were also mentioned by some whānau who stated their children should "belong to, and have a sense of responsibility towards their whānau and tūpuna and not just themselves". Other parents reiterated this view stating that their children should "always respect their elders", "give respect to earn it", "nurture and protect whānau and the environment" and "know their Te Arawatanga".

Another parent stated that "things of the heart are the most important. We want our son to be empathetic, considerate and respectful. If this makes him a better Māori person then good!" The whānau clearly articulated their wish that students believe in their ability to be successful 'as Māori'. A number of the respondents stated that they encouraged their children to "know their uniqueness," strive to "maintain a strong sense of self" and/or "Be proud of who they are and where they have come from. Stand up and be counted".

Open-ended teacher responses. Analysis of the teacher responses resulted in the emergence of two key themes: Mana/Pride and Whakapapa and Connectedness. Mana is a human attribute that emphasises concepts like prestige, presence, influence, capability and power. Mana may also be described as charisma, an indefinable 'X-factor' that some people possess which influences and inspires others (Winitana, 2008). Mana can be achieved through whakapapa and/or recognition of qualities like leadership, manaakitanga or māhaki (humility).

Many of the teachers who completed this questionnaire felt that it was important that "our tamariki are proud to be Māori and embrace Māori culture and values". One teacher

commented that, “When Māori students are encouraged to embrace their culture, they feel proud and gain strength and confidence in themselves”. Another teacher stated that, “If they are ‘culturally strong’ they tend to hold their heads up high and act with pride in their own interests and the interests of others”. Developing a sense of mana enables students “to feel positive about the future, their cultural identity and their connectedness to others”. Another teacher also commented that teachers must “recognise when students are Māori because if you affect their mana negatively then you will be hard pressed to regain the student’s respect”.

A knowledge of one’s whakapapa and its associated cultural connectedness are essential ingredients in the educational success of Māori students. Positive ethnic identity can shape Māori students’ dispositions, attitudes, engagement and connectedness to others. It can also influence their connectedness to school and teach (Webber, 2012). The majority of the teachers who completed the questionnaire commented on how important it was to affirm Māori students’ identities by acknowledging “their whakapapa and connectedness to the whenua”. One teacher stated

> *The following elements provide Māori people with a strong foundation for cultural identity and are crucial in defining how confidently and competently they operate in the world: Knowledge of whakapapa and whenua connections; Knowledge and te reo me ōna tikanga Māori, and; the practices of whanaungatanga and manaakitanga.*

Another teacher stated that she made explicit efforts to “learn about their ancestry, whānau, iwi, culture, reo and tikanga” because “that is what my students identify and connect with. It shapes who they are in the community, where they come from and is linked to their self-esteem”.

The student, teacher and whānau responses to this section of the questionnaire express the central roles that language, culture, pride and belonging play in shaping Māori identity. The responses suggest that Māori culture and identity shape the ways successful Māori students think and behave. These understandings led the students to think about the elements that inform their cultural identity and their personal place in te ao Māori. For these students the enhanced sense of connection to a rich cultural heritage was deeply

empowering. Indeed Durie (2003) argues that education should enable Māori to live as Māori and that this means preparing Māori children to interact within te ao Māori. For whānau and teachers the key goal seemed to be helping students understand the centrality and importance of their Māori identity in the school context.

Section Two: Diligence and Commitment

Section two of the student questionnaire elicited students' perspectives about the ways their school experiences have encouraged them to be diligent and committed learners. The data shows that the majority of students felt that their schools created environments where the students self-manage their own learning, are achievement-focussed and motivated to learn. The quantitative questionnaire data shows that 78% of students were encouraged to self-manage their own learning, 82% had experiences at school that made them want to be at school and 74% felt that school helped them to keep focussed on set tasks. The total sample of student responses to the three related questions is presented in Table 6.

Table 6. *Diligence and Commitment*

	Heaps		Quite a lot		Sometimes		Never		
Key Questions	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	Total
4	30	45%	22	33%	13	20%	1	2%	66
5	25	38%	29	44%	11	16%	1	2%	66
6	24	36%	25	38%	15	23%	2	3%	66

Table key

4. Have your experiences at school encouraged you to manage your own learning?
5. Have your experiences at school made you want to be at school?
6. Have your experiences at school helped you to keep focussed on set tasks?

Open-ended responses. At the end of *Section Two: Diligence and Commitment*, the student, whānau and teacher participants were asked to respond to an open-ended questionnaire item asking: 'What advice would you give to other Māori students / your Māori students / your child about staying focussed and motivated at school?'

Open-ended student responses. The aspirations of students to "be determined to be somebody...not just another drop out" were clear in many of the responses to the question 'What advice would you give other Māori students about staying focussed and motivated at school?' Three clear themes emerged from the data: Service; Focus and the importance of Subject Choices. Service to whānau, iwi and Māori via academic success were key motivators for the Māori students in this study. Students commented how important it was to be successful at school because "As Māori we must remember that we can achieve just as much, if not more, than anyone else. Think about how you can give back to your Māori community from your success".

Other students stated that students needed to "Remember that you represent your Māori culture – do so with pride." The responses demonstrate that many of these students had a clear motivation for doing well at school – the collective benefits to others as well as themselves. One student explained the notion of collective benefit clearly: "A major motivation for me were my parents and whānau. I want to make them proud of the strengths I have. I must get a good education – whai ngā tapuwae o ngā tūpuna (follow the footsteps of the ancestors)". Another student also advised that other Māori students should "Make your family proud. Don't cut yourself short".

Motivation is a person's inner drive/focus to behave or act in a certain manner. The Māori students had clear ideas about how to be focussed, motivated and driven at school. The key areas of advice related to "setting goals to stay on track", "trying to find friends that like school because the *right* group of friends really helps" and "believing in yourself and what you want to be". One student offered three pieces of advice to her peers, "Be dedicated – put your all into everything you do. Be determined – strive to achieve your goals. Be disciplined – discipline yourself to stay focussed on tasks".

Other students also offered lots of advice about staying focussed at school, including: "Staying true to who you are and proving nothing to anyone" and "respecting your

teachers so your school life becomes much easier". Other advice included "taking into account your surroundings – your friends, groups and where you sit in class" and remembering that "sometimes you need to be apart from your friends to progress further". Another student stated that they reminded themselves to stay on-task by asking themselves two things, "kei te pirangi koe kia pērā kē ngā tāngata koretake?" (Do you want to be like useless people?) "Me whakaaro mo ngā tau e heke mai nei – Te Whare Wānanga. Kua rite koe?" (Consider the future, are you ready for higher learning/university?).

In the NCEA qualification students have more subject choice than ever before. It is clear that many of the students who completed the questionnaire were aware that other students needed access to appropriate information and guidance about the subject choices they made. They gave clear advice to other students about having "a balance between the subjects you enjoy and the important subjects you need", but also maximising their opportunities for academic success by choosing "the right subjects for the career you want to pursue".

One student, referring to the harder subjects, stated "Put in the hard yards now at school and it will pay off later. Don't just choose subjects because your friends are doing it. Choosing a subject you enjoy, and are good at, will give you that little bit more motivation to want to come to school". Students also referred to the importance of attaining subject endorsements and "good credits" as opposed to "just passing".

Open-ended whānau responses. The parents responded to the question 'What advice do you give your child about staying focussed and motivated at school?" with lots of advice about how to support and guide children through high school, including, "rewarding them for achieving their goals/good grades", "being patient, having high expectations", "being a good role model with things like perseverence and work ethic" and "tracking their progress – keeping an eye on their credits". However what was most evident in the reponses was the strength of whānau relationships, and the time and energy the whānau members put into supporting and conversing with their children about their academic progress and overall wellbeing in the home context.

It has long been recognised that children who do well in school come from families who provide a supportive and enriched environment for learning in the home. Conversely children who do less well in school often come from families where support for school learning is limited or where there are serious differences and discontinuities between what is taught at home, how it is taught and what is expected at school.

A number of parents expressed how crucial it was to set up supportive home environments to promote academic achievement. One parent stated that it was imperative to "maintain regular communication on all things and ensure they feel comfortable discussing things with me. Having this relationship is important if I expect them to share with me what is happening at school." Another parent talked about the five key pieces of advice he gives his child:

1. *Kia āta tau – be calm and settled*
2. *Kia āta whakarongo – be attentive and take heed*
3. *Kia āta tirohia – be observant*
4. *Kia āta whakaarohia – think it out / think it through*
5. *Mahia kā tika – work through things in a considered way*

One whānau member who completed the questionnaire advised other parents to:

> *Have a kōrero about consequences, i.e. cause and effect. I tell my child that what you put in to something is what you get out of it. So working hard now at school means you will get good grades, get to uni, get qualified and then get a good job so you can afford the things you want in life. We also kōrero about staying focussed on the things that really matter like homework and schoolwork and that things such as going to the movies and living on facebook are things we would like to do, but are not things we need to do.*

Many parents reminded their children that "their success is the whānau's success"; that they should strive for success at school for the benefit of others in their family. Many of the children in this study were advised to "do their best and be a positive role model for their siblings and cousins" and/or to "remember that your grandmother would want you to do well".

Other whānau set up routines and habits in the home regarding study timetables and homework schedules. One whānau member stated "We have morning homework two hour sessions together every morning between 5.45 - 7.45am. Self discipline and commitment are highly valued in our home". Another commented that "At the beginning of every year we set his goals, track his progress and make the necessary changes as we go. I tell them to treat school like how we train – It is hard at the start but it ends up getting easier".

Open-ended teacher responses. In identifying what student behaviours facilitate success at school the teachers stressed the importance of "buddying up with other students who want to succeed", "accepting help and seeking a mentor" and "getting your whānau to come to school evenings with you – this will put you and them on the radar of the teacher". Many of the teachers also advised students to foster strong learning-focussed relationships by "knowing who can support you and making sure you let those people help you" and "building a constructive relationship with your teachers".

Most evident in the teacher responses was valuable advice about careful planning in subject choice selection and diligent tracking and monitoring of academic progress. Many students (and whānau) struggled to understand how NCEA worked and the complexity of NCEA meant there could be many points in the journey where poor subject choice decisions were made that could have negative consequences on students' aspirations.

Teachers perceived that many students forgot to "keep their options open", aimed too low or chose the easier subjects, which might later on prevent access to desired courses. The teachers in this study instead advised students to "have a plan to give direction which is attainable step-by-step and year-by-year" and "have dreams and goals that are measurable and achievable".

One teacher further advised students that although they "may not see the importance of something today, they should always prepare for tomorrow. Be resilient, have faith in yourself, choose the right pathway and surround yourself with good friends". Another teacher offered clear suggestions about how to help students "stay on track":

> *Firstly, identify what one's goals are (education, a career, cultural, sport life etc). Discuss the steps to achieving your goals and overcoming any challenges (reality*

checks). Reward the little steps and celebrate the achievements. Learn from the lessons presented. Remember that there are always options. Value education!

Section Three: Relationships

Section three of the student questionnaire elicited students' perspectives about the ways their whānau, teachers and peers influenced their success at school. The data shows that the majority of students felt the support of their whānau and teachers was vital to their school success.

The quantitative questionnaire data shows that 91% of students felt that their experiences at school had been influenced by whānau encouragement either 'heaps' or 'quite a lot'. Similarly 80% of the student respondents felt that their experiences at school had been influenced by teacher support 'heaps' or 'quite a lot'. Interestingly only 67% of respondents felt that their experiences at school were influenced by their peers. The total sample of student responses to the three related questions is presented in Table 7.

Table 7. *Relationships*

Key Questions	Heaps		Quite a lot		Sometimes		Never		
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	Total
7	31	47%	29	44%	6	9%	0	0%	66
8	29	44%	24	36%	13	20%	0	0%	66
9	27	41%	17	26%	18	27%	2	6%	66

Table key

7. Have your experiences at school been influenced by whānau encouragement?
8. Have your experiences at school been influenced by teacher support?
9. Have your experiences at school been influenced by other students?

Open-ended responses. At the end of *Section Three: Relationships* the student, whānau and teacher participants were asked to respond to an open-ended questionnaire item. The students were asked to respond to the questions, 'Who has supported you in being successful? What did they do that was helpful or encouraging?' The parents were asked "How do you support your child to be successful? What do you do?' The teachers were asked "How have you built strong relationships with Māori students and their families? What did you do?'

Open-ended student responses. It is evident from the student data that most of the students who completed the questionnaire had close, positive and supportive relationships with their whānau and teachers. Whānau were perceived to be actively engaged in their children's learning, recognising that education is not only the school's responsibility but continues into the home. The whānau of the high achieving students who completed the questionnaire were clearly facilitating opportunities to help their children make significant achievement gains in their education. The student data illustrates that whānau were taking responsibility for creating an emotionally supportive and positive home environment, where whānau spent quality time with each other and encouraged students to strive to do their best at school.

One student commented, "My parents and family are always encouraging me to do my best and this is mainly through guidance and pointing me in the right direction. They have instilled in me the work ethic to be successful in life." Other students stated "My mother and father have worked hard for me my whole life. The best way to repay them is to be successful at school and life" and "My Nan used to tell me that because I am the oldest moko [grandchild] I had to set the standard high".

Māori students who are nurtured in this type of atmosphere seem to be more likely to step competently into other contexts such as school. They are affirmed in the knowledge that they are valued as whānau members and through their education and learning can contribute positively to their whānau, communities and society.

The student data also shows that many of the Māori students in the study felt a personal connection to some of their teachers with students saying "My teachers motivate me to achieve my goals and guide me in the right direction" and "My Māori teacher always

believes in me and my art teacher never lets me give up". The Māori student responses illustrate that they experienced frequent communication with some of these teachers, and receive more guidance and praise than criticism.

Under these conditions the students were more likely to become more trusting of these teachers because they "never let me give up". The students reported that many of their teachers offered them help by "motivating me to go hard and have a strong work ethic", "telling me I can do it" and "doing a lot of digging on my NCEA credits and letting me know what I need".

Open-ended whānau responses. Many of the whānau who completed the questionnaire had very specific strategies for supporting their children and rewarding their successes including "paying them to read books and buying whatever books they are interested in", "assisting them with their homework so they know I am committed to their education" and "watching, following and supporting him in everything he does i.e. sports and Manu Kōrero". Another whānau member stated that they regularly "Go through school reports and discuss strategies for improving on existing success. For example, if they are having difficulty with social-dynamics in the classroom or with a particular teacher or with a type of learning/teaching style…we work out how to overcome it together".

Another set of parents have made their children's success at school a family priority stating:

> *He feels our commitment to his success. We study every morning with him. We complete projects together. We prioritise his learning, his sport and cultural interests. We prioritise his passion but we have rules about commitment and sticking to things. He has a job with his dad to earn money as well.*

Another whānau member reported that he talked regularly to his son about the work he had coming up. The focus of their learning conversations centred around the following questions and responses:

- *E mārama pai ana koe ki ōu whainga* – do you fully understand what is needed for this undertaking?

- *Ka pai. Tēnā, whakamārama mai kia kite mehemea ka taea ahau te awhina*. – Good. Outline what you need to do so that I can see where I can help.
- *Ka taea e koe, mahia te mahi* – you can do it, just do it.
- *Ka taea e koe, kaua e mate wheke* - you can do it, don't give in.
- *Ia rā, ia ata hoki ka kīa atu e au ki a ia - "kia pai tō ra , kia tika ō mahi"* - Every day and each morning I say to him - "have a good day and do your best".

Positivity, setting aside time to "help with homework", "track progress" and ensuring that their children "have the right equipment/materials" helped students to stay focussed at school. A number of whānau members commented on the positive nature of their home environments, stating that they "feed his/her body and soul with lots of love, caring and communication" and provided "good practical and strong mothering". One whānau member also mentioned the importance of seeking support regarding parenting themselves when they stated "I have learnt that I need to change my response and to adapt to my daughter's changing world. Some old habits of mine no longer work with modern kids, so I have learnt to seek support myself so that I can better support her". It is evident that "being involved", "present" and "available for advice" is vital to strong parent-child relationships. One parent stated:

> *We have a loving, nurturing environment with good food, good people and lots of laughter. We all celebrate each other's little successes and encourage excellence. We believe that everyone is good at something and we try to make it happen for each of the children.*

Open-ended teacher responses. The teacher respondents illustrated many ways that they built strong relationships with their Māori students and their families. The data shows that successful student-teacher and whānau/teacher partnerships are collaborative, mutually respectful and responsive to community needs. A number of the respondents discussed how critical it is to "make contact with the families face-to-face – kanohi kitea". One teacher stated: "Ko te whakamahi i ngā uara tō whanaungatanga manaakitanga me te aroha kia kite ai rātou e tūmanakohia ana rātou tamariki e mātou ngā kaiako. Tautoko i ngā mahi ā ngā tauira i waho i te kura" (As teachers our hopes for the children are that they are family-oriented and show love and respect. Part of it is supporting students outside the school).

Many teachers used a range of strategies to engage with the students and their whānau including "walking my talk", "making whakapapa links with them" and using "respect", "honesty and humour". Other teachers talked about the approaches they used to establish relationships with Māori students including "treating them with respect first without them having to earn it. That included simple things, like pronouncing names correctly", "expecting a lot of them academically, socially and behaviourally" and when working with students one-on-one "giving the facts, possible solutions and steps for getting there". One teacher in particular stated:

> *I get to know my students and their whānau. I have an open door policy, I am approachable and I value the integrity of my relationships. I establish mutual respect and rapport and I am interested in who they are. I care and am passionate about pastoral care. I create connections with home and caregivers. I continually provide feedback and feed forward, positive praise and have difficult conversations to establish how to move forward. I appreciate their time; acknowledge their concerns, possible anger and frustrations.*

More importantly many of the teachers saw their involvement in "hui whānau [family meetings], haerenga [trips], kapa haka" and "sports" as imperative because "getting involved with them outside of the classroom and school…gives us regular contact points with whānau" and "we can make use of these connections to assist learning".

Many teachers also reinforced the importance of personal and/or cultural connections and acknowledging the student by "talking about their whānau and their affiliations to the rohe, iwi and people that I know". A number of teachers also emphasised the importance of "acknowledging their whakapapa and whenua connections" and "relating to students through something they care about – their family or mahi". These teachers worked hard to acknowledge and affirm the child's Māori identity, their whānau connections and their hapū and iwi ties.

Many of these teachers went further by using te reo Māori where possible. They created an environment where students could connect culturally with people, places and the past so that their culture was visible and validated in the classroom and school context. The

data clearly illustrates that relationships with students, their whānau and the wider community were more than an "add-on" for the majority of the teachers who completed this questionnaire - they were fundamental to their pedagogy.

Section Four: Innovation and Creativity

Section four of the student questionnaire elicited students' perspectives about the importance of innovation and creativity. The student data shows that schools are doing an excellent job of encouraging students to be innovative and creative in their learning.

The quantitative questionnaire data shows that 88% of students felt that their experiences at school encouraged them to 'have a go' at things either 'heaps' or 'quite a lot'. Similarly 85% of the student respondents felt that their experiences at school had encouraged them to push themselves to the limit 'heaps' or 'quite a lot'. Moreover 85% of respondents also felt that their experiences at school encouraged them to explore and question things. The total sample of student responses to the three related questions is presented in Table 8.

Table 8. *Innovation and Creativity*

Key Questions	Heaps		Quite a lot		Sometimes		Never		Total
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	
10	37	56%	21	32%	7	11%	1	1%	66
11	33	50%	23	35%	9	14%	1	1%	66
12	32	48%	24	36%	10	15%	0	0%	66

Table key

10. Have your experiences at school encouraged you to 'have a go' at things?
11. Have your experiences at school encouraged you to push yourself to the limit?
12. Have your experiences at school encouraged you to explore and question things?

Open-ended responses. At the end of *Section Four: Innovation and Creativity* the student, whānau and teacher participants were asked to respond to an open-ended questionnaire item. The students were asked to respond to the statement: "Please provide an example of your innovation and creativity." The parents were asked, "How do you support your child to be innovative and creative?" The teachers were asked, "How have you supported Māori students to be innovative and creative?"

Open-ended student responses. Learning, creativity and innovation are increasingly being recognised as the skills that separate students who are prepared for increasingly complex life and work environments in the 21st century, from those who are not. A focus on creativity, critical thinking, communication and collaboration is essential to prepare students for the future.

The qualitative data provided by the students who completed the questionnaire corroborates the quantitative data; the students felt that their schools encouraged them "to participate in a range of different activities" and provided opportunities for them "to be in bands, kapa haka, kayaking, tramping, surfing and stage challenges" and to "take outdoor trips such as *Navy College* and *Spirit of Adventure*".

A number of the students commented that they might not have participated in these school-organised activities under normal circumstances because they were usually "not very confident", "shy" and/or "normally never had the courage to try new things". However the students concluded that these new experiences "boosted their confidence", "motivated creativeness" and encouraged them to take risks in their learning and "push new boundaries". One student in particular stated "I did Manu Kōrero this year – this is not something I would normally do because I am shy but with the encouragement of my teachers, other students and whānau I was able to put myself out there."

Two other students said that they had enjoyed the opportunity to be innovative at school and had consequently "created a suicide prevention tool for youth" and "rebuilt a car". In addition the Māori students enjoyed creative learning activities that involved learning about Māori cultural activities and the innovative skills of their ancestors. These students also enjoyed being "given the chance to lead and be a role model" by expressing their creativity through kapa haka.

Open-ended whānau responses. It is evident that there are two key ways that parents helped their high achieving students to be innovative and creative: by helping them with their homework whilst encouraging them "to bounce ideas off people to gather input and ideas...think outside the square...[and] be confident, try ideas and offer alternatives"; and by ensuring that they took up all opportunities to step outside their usual context to get involved in new activities. Whānau members recognised that students needed support, reassurance and guidance to foster innovation and creativity.

One whānau member said "I let him know that imagination and the courage to have a go is the key to success", whilst another said "I encourage participation in a range of activities that will harness his creativity". Other vital components mentioned by the whānau respondents involved students "taking advantage of all opportunities", that is "getting them to try multiple activities to be able to have multiple experiences to draw on in the future", "looking at, and talking to, other family members who are successful to gain insight" and "doing things with them and giving them experiences to open their mind".

Another whānau respondent shared the specific questions they asked their tamariki when helping their child with their homework tasks:

1. *He aha wētahi atu mea he orite ana, e rerekē ana ki taua mea? Outline things that share similarities and differences with this?*
2. *He aha wētahi atu hua ka puta i te mea orite? Given the same imputs what are some potentially different outcomes?*
3. *Ma ēhea ara-a-mahi rerekē ka tae atu koe ki te hua orite? What are different ways and means to reach the same goal/outcome?*

Another whānau member explained that they supported their child to be innovative and creative "by enjoying and celebrating her creative achievements so far. We discuss different ways to research topics and analyse concepts. We play games together that are fun but get their creativity going. We have painted/drawn/coloured in/redecorated since they were babies".

It seems that many of these whānau members know the value of getting involved with their tamariki; "giving them the space to try new things and make their own decisions"

and when things do not go as expected “turning it into a positive lerning experience. We say “you can’t win if you don’t have a go”.

Open-ended teacher responses. Success lies not in how much a person knows but how they use the information to constantly innovate and come up with new ideas. Teachers played an important role in encouraging students to use their creativity and take a keener interest in innovation. The data from the teachers illustrate that they believed the students needed two key ingredients – opportunities to grow their knowledge and creativity.

The teachers believed that students needed opportunities to observe and analyse, to correctly identify a real problem, like how to “align commercial enterprise with a Māori theme”, and how to arrive at a feasible solution where they “are able to change, alter and incorporate their own ideas”. Therefore the teachers identified the opportunities they provided which drew on “ICT, business studies, projects and/or ventures in the community” and “allowed students to bring themselves into the projects”.

Many teachers also taught “higher order thinking skills like PMI and SWOT analyses” to “challenge the students to think outside the square”. One teacher believed such pedagogical creativity enabled students to see beyond the usual and conventional, and “challenge themselves to create authentic problems”.

The teacher respondents believed that they encouraged students’ creativity by compelling students to work outside the tried and tested. The teachers therefore indicated that their role was to guide their students in the knowledge-seeking process and create the right environment and culture for creativity to thrive.

A key way that they did this was to connect classroom learning to “Māori role models to illustrate creativity, uniqueness and the value of Māori identity”. They also told them “real stories of innovation and creativity from Māori pūrākau and pakiwaitara” and related innovation, creativity and learning to “how our tūpuna were, i.e., adapting to new environments, discovering new foods, medicines, resource use etc”. The teachers in this study clearly felt that there was a vital link between students’ learning to be creative and innovative and the students’ Māori culture, ancestry and real life experiences.

Section Five: Wellbeing

Section five of the student questionnaire elicited students' perspectives about the importance of wellbeing. The student data shows that schools are doing a very good job of supporting students' physical wellbeing but a less effective job of supporting students' emotional wellbeing.

The quantitative questionnaire data shows that 74% of students felt that their experiences at school helped them to appreciate healthy living either 'heaps' or 'quite a lot'. Similarly 82% of the student respondents felt that their experiences at school had helped them to get involved in sports or physical activities 'heaps' or 'quite a lot'. However, only 42% of respondents also felt that their experiences at school had helped them to deal with their feelings. The total sample of student responses to the three related questions is presented in Table 9.

Table 9. *Wellbeing*

	Heaps		Quite a lot		Sometimes		Never		
Key Questions	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	Total
13	19	29%	30	45%	17	26%	0	0%	66
14	39	59%	15	23%	11	17%	1	1%	66
15	13	20%	15	23%	29	44%	9	13%	66

Table key

13. Have your experiences at school helped you to appreciate healthy living?
14. Have your experiences at school helped you to get involved in sport and physical activities?
15. Have your experiences at school helped you to deal with your feelings?

Open-ended responses. At the end of *Section Five: Wellbeing*, the student, whānau and teacher participants were asked to respond to an open-ended questionnaire item. The students were asked to respond to the question: 'In what ways do you look after yourself to maintain your physical, emotional and spiritual wellbeing?' The parents were asked 'In what ways do you support your child to maintain their physical, emotional and spiritual wellbeing?' The teachers were asked 'In what ways do you support Māori students to maintain their physical, emotional and spiritual wellbeing?'

Open-ended student responses. The student responses illustrate three key ways that they maintain their overall wellbeing: Cultural Identity Maintenance; Physical Activity; and Supportive Friendships. Cultural identity is important for students' sense of self and how they relate to others. The students' responses show that maintaining a strong cultural identity contributed to their overall wellbeing. A number of students discussed the importance of "keeping in touch with my Māori past and culture by being around whānau, marae, village and mātua [parents]", "Māori church" and "going back to my marae".

Identifying with their culture helped these students feel like they belonged and gave them a sense of security and "hauora" (health). According to Durie (1985) a Māori philosophy of wellbeing includes the taha wairua (spiritual dimension), taha hinengaro (mental dimension), taha tinana (physical dimension) and taha whānau (familial dimension); each one influencing and supporting the others. One student stated "to maintain a healthy life your aspects of hauora have to be stable".

Involvement in physical activity and organised sports played an important role for students feeling good about themselves. The student responses show that through involvement in sports and physical activity they learned to understand, appreciate and move their bodies.

One student stated: "I am involved in a lot of teams and train a lot to keep myself healthy and have a sense of belonging…I also eat healthy and eat proper meals too". Other students made reference to "training in the gym", "ka mahi hākinakina" (doing sports), "staying active" and "keeping fit" as key aspects of looking after themselves and their wellbeing. It is evident that the students used physical activity to relate positively to

others, stay focussed at school and to maintain good health. As one student stated: “Sports are a big part of my health in terms of mentally keeping me focussed, being sociable with friends and physically keeping me healthy”.

The third aspect of the students’ wellbeing stemmed from the emotional support they felt that they received from their friends at school. Emotional wellbeing has many aspects but most important is positive self-concept. According to the responses from the students in this study a positive sense of self-concept stemmed from strong friendships and whānau relationships, “finding like-minded friends” and being “open to talking about my feelings with my mates”.

One student asserted that “just being around people with positive attitudes really seems to help” and another student stated that they “had good relationships with friends that I trust…and I can talk to them about anything to do with my emotional wellbeing”. It is clearly important that “friends and family are supportive” and students have “someone to talk to about issues/problems so that they don’t all bottle up inside”. Students also advised that they “don’t sweat the small stuff”, “have ‘off’ days in order to relax”, “stick to your values and beliefs”, make sure they “don’t have too much on their plate” and “maintain a healthy social/work balance”.

Open-ended whānau responses. The whānau respondents were resolute about supporting their children’s overall wellbeing. One of the key ways they did this was “leading by example” and creating and maintaining healthy and positive home environments. Whānau members used a range of strategies to ensure home environments were emotionally safe and responsive to students’ changing needs. One whānau respondent recorded three ways that he supported his children:

1. *Hei akiaki ki te whakaatu mai, kōrero mai hoki āna whakaaro hiahia hoki – I encourage them to express their thoughts and desires and discuss any issues they may have.*
2. *Ka haere i tana taha ki ngā parakatihi, ki ngā kēmu hoki. Pērā i te whutupaoro, poitkohu, ringa pā hoki. Ka whakangungu anō hoki ki te kāinga – I assist and support their sporting endeavours; such as Rugby, Basketball and Touch. I follow up on their practices and games with additional work at home.*

3. *Kia tupu te nohotahi me te piritahi ki te taha o ōna tūpuna – I foster and encourage their relationship with their grandparents and therefore their connections to hāpu and iwi.*

Another whānau member also suggested three ways in which they helped their children to maintain their wellbeing:

1. *I advise my children to play at least one sport, eat healthy, focus on their inner beauty, have respect for themselves and for others and the environment.*
2. *I spend quality time with them, hanging out, listening to them and being there for them.*
3. *We spend time with the wider whānau, including Nan and Koro, Aunties, Uncles and Cousins.*

It is evident that these whānau "prioritise time together" and modelled the values they want to see in their children. These whānau "encourage good healthy debate where everyone's opinion counts" and "mix with people who lead good lives". They also let their children know when they were proud of them and "do things with and for them" regularly.

Other important family values include humility and service to others, with one parent stating that she had "taught her [daughter] to think about other people and not put herself first always" and another whānau member stated that they "tried their best to teach [their] son about being there for others".

Another core value evident in the data is spirituality. A number of the whānau respondents also talked about the importance of teaching the students to "use karakia when needed" and "karakia before meals to bring a spiritual component into everyday life". One parent asserted that their family mantra is to "play hard, pray hard and reap what you sow!"

Open-ended teacher responses. The teachers' responses showed two distinct ways that they supported students to maintain their wellbeing: by acknowledging their Māori identity and demonstrating to them that "being Māori matters"; and by being a strong listener and trusted confidante. A number of teachers stressed the belief that they

must “create a safe cultural environment” so that the students “get involved and feel good about themselves”. Therefore, the teachers used a number of different strategies to “value them as a person and recognise where they are from”.

Strategies included “using whakataukī, pūrākau, kapa haka and karakia [prayers, incantations]...to tautoko [support] and manaaki ...those people who need it”, “maintaining and building whānau connections”, “relating learning to their whenua wherever possible”, “using te reo, awhi [care], laughter, kōrero” and “going with them when they are unsure”. Many of the teacher respondents felt that it was important for teachers to “talk with students, not at them” and to “value their contributions and recognise their uniqueness” to “support their spiritual and cultural capability” as Māori.

The teachers also identified ways that they built trusting pastoral relationships with the students. One teacher stated that they “let them know that I am here to help and if I don’t have a solution I will find someone who does”. This teacher also “discusses how they feel, respects their issues and frustrations and treats them respectfully” and importantly “gives them space and acceptance on bad days”. Other advice included “looking beyond their faces to see if they are ok”, “listening to them, being present and challenging them to take responsibility” and “walking the talk”. Another teacher referred to the importance of being a “touchstone teacher”; one who is non-judgemental and a good listener. This teacher stated:

> *You know...I keep very real about things in general. Our kids smoke, drink and plenty of other vices. They speak freely about things like that to me and they know it is in confidence. Without preaching, I try to take them down another path*

Section Six: Valuing Education

Section six of the student questionnaire elicited students’ perspectives about the value of education. The student data shows that the students all valued education and perceived that their whānau did too.

The quantitative questionnaire data shows that 100% of students felt that being successful at school was important. Likewise 94% of the student respondents felt that being successful at school was important to their whānau. Finally 85% of respondents also felt

that their experiences at school had helped them to make decisions about what they wanted to do after they had left school. The total sample of student responses to the three related questions is presented in Table 10.

Table 10. *Valuing Education*

Key Questions	Heaps		Quite a lot		Sometimes		Never		Total
	n	%	*n*	%	*N*	%	*n*	%	
16	54	82%	12	18%	0	0%	0	0%	66
17	53	80%	9	14%	4	6%	0	0%	66
18	36	55%	20	30%	8	12%	2	3%	66

Table key

16. How important is being successful at school?
17. How important is being successful at school to your whānau?
18. Have your experiences at school helped you make decisions about what you want to do after you leave school?

Open-ended responses. At the end of *Section Six: Valuing Education* the student, whānau and teacher participants were asked to respond to an open-ended questionnaire item. The students were asked to respond to the statement: 'Please explain why being successful at school is so important to you.' The parents were asked 'Please describe why you value your child getting a good education.' The teachers were asked 'Please describe how you contribute to Māori students' achieving success at school.'

Open-ended student responses. The students' responses show that they valued gaining a good education for four main reasons:

1. it would enable them to get a good job and make money
2. it would enable them to "look after their family"

3. it would enable them to come back to their home communities in the future to live, work and raise their families and
4. it would prevent them from "letting their family down".

Many of the students viewed school as an avenue to provide them with choices and opportunities for the future so that they could "get a good job…be valuable in the work force…and make good money in the future". Another student stated that "if you are not successful at school then you may not be able to pursue the career pathway you want" whereas having a good "education can set you up for further study and if you have a good education you can have a good career". One student simply stated "school provides you with the ticket…to make it to university".

Most of the students acknowledged the constant and consistent support they had received from their whānau who pushed them to stay focussed at school and supported their success. In return most of the students wanted to return home after university and travel to make their whānau proud and "give them a good life". The notion of reciprocating the support of their families was very strong in the student data. Students made comments about being "able to give my family what they need", "being successful for myself and my family" and being "a good role model to your younger whānau and others".

One student in particular stated "I come from a whānau that has worked hard and have become successful by having a determined attitude. We like to do well as a whānau and they are my motivation to do well." Other students said "My family value education and I feel I should make them proud. My parents have provided for me my whole life. I want to be able to do the same for my family one day" and "Ka harikoa au mōku ake, me tōku whānau hoki" (I am happy for myself and for my family too).

It is evident that the students want their whānau to share in their pride and this can be an anchor that sustains them in moments of discouragement. Many of the students mention how important it is to them that their parents are proud of them. Making their "whānau proud", a university education, "seeing the world" and then eventually returning to Rotorua "to give back to my whānau, hapū and iwi" are motivating and sustaining forces for Māori students persisting at school.

Finally fear of academic under-achievement, and its associated ramifications, was a stimulus for some students to persist at school. A number of the students mentioned that they did not want "to live on the dole", "get stuck in this town", "be a bum", "fail in life" or "be another negative Māori statistic". Another student openly stated "The majority of my family are unsuccessful and after seeing them I decided I wanted to do better".

It is evident that many of these students wanted to avoid the shame of academic under-achievement and instead saw educational success as a source of pride and an "investment in the future". Many of the respondents stated that they valued education because if you succeeded "you can go anywhere you want to go", "be proud of who you are and what you do" and "feel good about yourself".

Open-ended whānau responses. The whānau responses reveal two main reasons regarding why they valued their children getting a good education: success at school "leads to more choice and opportunities in the future and "personal pride". The whānau members perceive that getting a good education is one of the best things their children could do to ensure they led fulfilling and prosperous lives.

Whānau comments included: "I tell all my boys that a good education is intrinsically linked to better options, more money and greater satisfaction" and "It's all about having good options and being in a position to choose. If you are educated then the world is your oyster, you can go anywhere and be anything you desire. Education is the key to a life of options, money and happiness".

A number of the whānau members also acknowledged that their children's success had multiple benefits for the wider whānau, hapū and iwi. One parent in particular cited two key reasons why education was important to his whānau:

1. *Hai ara-mo-tinana, hai tikitiki-mo-mahunga, hai wairua-no-atua – To paraphrase Āpirana Ngata's whakataukī "a full and broad education provides further opportunities for them to support themselves physically, culturally and spiritually.*
2. *As stated by Kepa Ehau "whāia te mātauranga hai whītiki te iwi kia toa ai – 'Seek ye from the fountain of knowledge so the people may thrive and prosper'. Good educational outcomes are not purely an individual pursuit;*

they reflect positively upon the people, are a means to advance tribal wellbeing and therefore bring the broader cultural and social goals to fruition.

Many of the whānau members also talked about the "personal pride" and "easier life" the students will have if they "used education to get ahead in the world". These same parents suggested that they didn't want their children to "end up like me" or "have to struggle". One parent asserted that they wanted their child "to have a better paid job than me".
Many whānau respondents expressed the sentiment that they wanted their children "to realise their potential and have no limits to achieving what they want in life" and that helping their children to value education "is the most important job we have as parents after teaching them to be kind, loving and respectful".

Open-ended teacher responses. Two key themes emerge from the teachers' data: the importance of an effective pedagogy that includes high expectations and academic mentoring, and the need for students to find their place in the world 'as Māori' whilst retaining their Māori values and beliefs.

Many of the teachers emphasise how crucial it is to form high expectations about their students' chances for academic success and then interact with students on the basis of those expectations. Teachers stated that they "promote success," "have high expectations and believe in students" and "expect Māori students to achieve greatness". One teacher told students that they were "the architects of their own destiny, regardless of their whānau or school expectations. They hold the personal power and should use it positively".

One teacher also wrote about a high-achieving Māori student who had come to live with the teacher (as a result of a whānau breakdown). The teacher referred to this student as "a phoenix rising from the flames" and stated that despite her/his difficult life circumstances the student would be successful because the teachers at the school "believed in the student's potential" and "went above and beyond to help them realise their potential".

It is clear that the teachers believed that "success can be achieved in many ways" and they subsequently "identified student's strengths" and "set [appropriate] targets to meet their

goals". A number of other approaches for contributing to Māori students' success were also mentioned by the teachers including "sharing achievement data with parents directly at whānau meetings", "tracking students' academic and pastoral progress", "holding careers interviews" and "helping students choose the right subjects" to match their career aspirations.

The teachers also considered it important that students were successful in multiple ways and across multiple contexts. Many of their comments reflected the Māori values of whanaungatanga and manaakitanga. Teachers stated that they considered it important for Māori students to "be leaders in their whānau, their community and Aotearoa". Such leadership involved "leading by example and being role models to other Māori students," "being humble", "thanking those who have helped them" and "celebrating their successes with their peers, whānau and communities".

Other teachers stated that the successful students should "return to, and represent their people and culture" and "contribute to the growth of others in their home communities in some positive way". Finally a teacher stated: "Ko ōku tūmanako mō ngā tauira Māori, kia eke e rātou ngā taumata o te ao Māori me te ao Pākehā nei tīpare mo ō rātou māhunga" (My hopes for the Māori students are that they reach the highest levels of the Māori world and the Pākehā world and wear their successes like a woven headband around their heads).

Section Seven: Humility

Section seven of the student questionnaire elicited students' perspectives about the value of humility. The student data shows that many of the students saw humility as a key value to their success at school.

The quantitative questionnaire data shows that 77% of students felt that their experiences at school had helped them to consider putting the needs of others before their own either 'heaps' or 'quite a lot'. Approximately 79% of the student respondents also felt that their experiences at school had helped them to deal with criticism well either 'heaps' or 'quite a lot'. Finally 74% of respondents also felt that their experiences at school had encouraged them to serve and contribute to the life of the school and/or the community.

The total sample of student responses to the three related questions is presented in Table 11.

Table 11. *Humility*

Key Questions	Heaps		Quite a lot		Sometimes		Never		Total
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	
19	22	33%	29	44%	15	23%	0	0%	66
20	23	35%	29	44%	11	17%	3	4%	66
21	25	38%	24	36%	16	24%	1	2%	66

Table key

19. Have your experiences at school helped you to consider putting the needs of others before your own?
20. Have your experiences at school helped you to deal with criticism?
21. Have your experiences at school encouraged you to serve and contribute to the life of the school and /or the community?

Open-ended responses. At the end of *Section Seven: Humility* the student, whānau and teacher participants were asked to respond to an open-ended questionnaire item. The students were asked to respond to the question ‘What does humility mean to you?’ The parents were asked ‘How do you encourage your child to find the right balance between humility and self promotion?’ The teachers were asked ‘ How do you encourage your Māori students to find the right balance between humility and self-promotion?’

Open-ended student responses. The students defined humility as a positive personal quality that primarily involves “not being cocky about how good you are and sharing the credit when due”. Humility was also explained as “not regarding ourselves as

more important than other people" and including those who had achieved less than we had "remembering that their needs are as important as ours".

A number of key themes emerge from the student data with regard to defining and/or explaining the concept of humility. In general it is both interesting and encouraging to see the concept of humility defined so positively. The following quotations illustrate the varied student answers to the question 'What does humility mean to you?'

- *Don't take all the glory – let others shine. Stay humble and grounded.*
- *Contribute to community and school life*
- *Be aware that you are not the only one that matters*
- *Be confident about who you are, whilst caring about others around you*
- *Show others kindness*
- *Ko te hūmārietanga he mea pai. Me whāia kia tau pai ai koe me tau ao me kī (Amiability is a good thing, as is holding fast to the good things in the world.)*
- *Display the qualities of a good leader*
- *When you are successful let others notice and praise you, don't praise yourself.*

Integral to the students understandings of humility are the notions of caring about the feelings of others around them; "being proud but not arrogant or ignorant" and "helping people who need it and never giving up on them". Quotes that illustrate the positivity and *aroha-ki-tangata* these students held for others include: "Doing well means not bragging, and encouraging and helping other students you know are struggling" and humility "means recognising that you are not the sole contributor to your success...many people have helped you along the way". According to the student respondents humility is comprised of: giving due credit to others for our successes; receiving correction, compliments and feedback graciously; and thinking and speaking about the good qualities and skills of other people.

Open-ended whānau responses. The whānau members also perceived humility to be a positive concept, identifying two ways that they encouraged their children to find the right balance between humility and self-promotion: by encouraging their children to have self-pride, whilst modelling and emphasising the values of respect and compassion for others. Many whānau members established home contexts where the families could

celebrate the students' achievements while encouraging their children to "always congratulate everyone else on their effort too". One whānau member stated that the following tenets are "central to teachings about humility":

1. *He iti anō tāku iti. Ko koe hai mua ko au hai muri – Place others' needs before your own.*
2. *Noho whakaiti, tū whakanui – Your humility will be noted and promoted by others.*
3. *Ka pai whakahīhī, ka kino whakahāwea – Pride in oneself is good but not to the detriment of others.*

The whānau data illustrate that the whānau/child interactions about humility encourage the qualities of "integrity, responsibility, kindness, compassion, respect, honesty and courage". The balance of "celebrating their successes" whilst "acknowledging the feats of others" was seen to nurture the students' personal and social identities, self-worth, confidence and pride. It was also seen as very important that the students were "appreciative of all the people who helped them to succeed".

Many of the whānau members discussed humility as "something they role modelled themselves" by always "acknowledging the humble behaviour of others" and using "story-telling to illustrate people who are successful and humble, and people who are successful and full of themselves". Other advice offered to children included: "do not get a big head as one can fall from grace due to arrogance or overconfidence", "let others blow your trumpet" and "always do good to others and goodness will always be returned in a million ways". Many parents also "set boundaries and rules, insisting on good manners, respect for others and respect for self".

The notion of humility is therefore echoed throughout the whānau data as something that "is a very important characteristic to have" because it encourages children to "have consideration for others". The concept of humility, as explained by the whānau in this study, is primarily concerned with encouraging intrinsic self-worth, modesty and respect in their children. Overwhelmingly the quality of humility is perceived as a positive personal characteristic integral to success.

Open-ended teacher responses. The teacher data emphasised the whakataukī 'Kāore te kumara e kōrero mō tōna reka' – this is an old Māori proverb that states the kumara never speaks of its own sweetness. This phrase encourages students to demonstrate humility and "accept praise with dignity and pride". The teachers emphasised that "being humble is a fine and honourable attribute" because "success is only achieved by the support and encouragement of parents, teachers, whānau and other people". The teachers also mentioned that humility promoted the Māori values of "arohatanga, manaakitanga, whanaungatanga me ako... Otirā ki te tiro atu ki te ao mā te whakaaro Māori".

The teachers believed in the "importance of explicitly teaching students about "whakahīhī and whakamā and when it is appropriate to be either". They also mentioned the vital function of making links to role models from the students' whānau, iwi and communities that illustrated humility. A number of the teachers discussed the need for teachers to speak to the humble qualities "of Māori tūpuna" and for students "to stay grounded and never forget their roots and the sacrifices that their ancestors made". One of the teachers commented that "humility is innate within our tamariki".

The teachers used a number of strategies to encourage the right balance between humility and self-promotion, including teaching students to "be bold but not over-bearing", "focus on performance rather than winning", "talking about events and what they have learnt as opposed to them now being mōhio (knowing)" and encouraging them to "talk less, observe more and act for the benefit of others".

Another teacher states that they play two separate roles in promoting humility: when students are "seriously whakahīhī I let them know, this is only fair" and "if they are whakamā I quietly recognise their achievements". Humility, as discussed by the teachers in this study, is an important attribute of successful students because people who are humble recognise that "they do not achieve accomplishments by themselves". People who are humble recognise, acknowledge and thank those who help them to achieve their goals. The quality of humility is perceived by whānau as an important success factor in students' lives.

Section Eight: Core Māori Values

Section eight of the student questionnaire elicited students' perspectives about core Māori values. The student data shows that the students felt that schools did a very good job of affirming the core Māori values of manaakitanga and kotahitanga but a poor job of enabling the students to learn more about Te Arawatanga.

The quantitative questionnaire data shows that 82% of students feel that their experiences at school have enabled them to experience manaakitanga/caring for others either 'heaps' or 'quite a lot'. Similarly, 86% of the student respondents also felt that their experiences at school had enabled them to experience kotahitanga/working together either 'heaps' or 'quite a lot'. However only 44% of respondents also felt that their experiences at school had enabled them to experience Te Arawatanga/Te Arawa protocols. Over 20% of the total cohort stated that their schools had never offered this opportunity. The total sample of student responses to the three related questions is presented in Table 12.

Table 12. *Core Māori Values*

	Heaps		Quite a lot		Sometimes		Never		
Key Questions	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	Total
22	25	38%	29	44%	10	15%	2	3%	66
23	37	56%	20	30%	9	14%	0	0%	66
24	13	20%	15	23%	23	36%	13	21%	66

Table key

22. Have your experiences at school enabled you to experience manaakitanga / caring for others?
23. Have your experiences at school enabled you to experience kotahitanga / working together?
24. Have your experiences at school enabled you to experience Te Arawatanga / Te Arawa protocol?

Open-ended responses. At the end of *Section Eight: Core Māori Values,* the student, whānau and teacher participants were asked to respond to an open-ended questionnaire item. The students were asked to respond to the question 'What does 'being Māori' mean to you?' The parents were asked 'How have you contributed to your child learning about Te Arawa?' The teachers were asked 'What does student success 'as Māori' mean to you within the Te Arawa/Waiariki setting?'

Open-ended student responses. The students responses to the question 'What does 'being Māori' mean to you?' showed that being Māori was a fundamental and positive aspect of their identity. One quote that was indicative of the comments by many students was the one that stated "Being Māori means everything to me. My Māoritanga makes me who I am".

Other students commented that they "feel a major sense of pride saying that I am Māori", "being Māori is one of my greatest values" and "being Māori is ME...it is the values that make me who I am". Evident in the data is an overwhelming sense of pride from the students that Māori are a "proud" and "unique" people who "stand tall" and "embrace their culture". It is evident that the students' sense of their Māori identity was one of pride and belonging.

It is also clear from the data that the students associated many positive characteristics and values with 'being Māori'. According to the questionnaire data Māori value whanaungatanga (relationships) by "having a wide extended family and supporting each other", "sticking together through thick and thin" and "always being there for each other when we need it".

Being Māori was also characterised by "knowing about your culture", "speaking Māori", "upholding Māori values", "staying true to who you are", "knowing your heritage" and "caring for the land". The Māori students felt that their Māori identity was important for three main reasons: because it represented their family, because it helped them to understand who they were, and because it was considered 'choice'. Even the two students who did "not feel as Māori" as the other students commented on how they would like to learn more "about my own iwi" and "Māori values and history" because they "hadn't yet experienced this for myself. I hope I can someday".

Open-ended whānau responses. The whānau members were asked a specific question about how they contributed to their children's learning about Te Arawa. The data show that most parents used a wide range of approaches to help their children "explore Te Arawatanga". Some parents had even travelled back from Australia and other places so that their children could "attend kohanga reo and go to Te Kura O Te Koutu".

They also involved their children in "iwi wānanga" (intensive tribal higher learning), "kapa haka" and other "marae events" so that the children were "well attached to their marae, whānau and hapū". Other parents committed to helping their children "connect with their Te Arawa whānau and learn all about their whakapapa" by sending their children to Māori immersion schooling and enrolling in te reo Māori classes themselves.

Some of the whānau members discussed the importance of children contributing to and being involved in a wide variety of Māori hui including "tangi" (funeral rituals) and "wānanga-a-iwi". Another respondent stated that they took their child "to the marae kitchen so that they can learn how to look after manuhiri (vistors)". Some of the parents identified the ways that they helped their children to be prepared for this hui, including one parent who outlined a number of things he does to tautoko his children's Māori identity and cultural development:

1. *Whakaako i tōna pepeha me wētahi waiata, kōrero tuku iho hoki nō Te Arawa - Teaching and disseminating to them their pepeha, waiata and Te Arawa-based knowledge appropriate to their age and receptiveness.*
2. *Ka haere tahi te kāinga nei ki wētahi hui i ōna marae - Attending and participating in relevant gatherings at marae.*
3. *Ka haere ia ki tētahi Kura Kaupapa Māori ki roto i Te Arawa. Mā te kāinga nei hei tāpiri wētahi āhua "Arawatanga" ki wētahi mea tūmatawhanui – Attendance at a local Kura Kaupapa and supplementing broader curriculum and content with Te Arawa knowledge-based examples – e.g. Tama-te-kapua, Whakatūria me a rāua pou-toti, wae-rākau ranei.*

Wider whānau were seen to play an important role in the development of Te Arawa knowledge and identity. Many of the whānau respondents referred to "taking them to the pā all the time", maintaining "close and constant contact with whānau, marae and hapū"

and “surrounding them with wise, kind elders, aunts, uncles who share their knowledge with him”. Many of the whānau respondents emphasised that “identity is important” and a number of the parents echoed the sentiment that “Te Arawatanga is promoted over anything else”.

A number of parents had “upskilled” their own te reo Māori and enrolled in courses to “learn more about Māori whakapapa, tikanga and reo”. The motivation for this personal development was to “pass on all their knowledge” to their children. There was a small number of parents who felt that they “don’t do much – sorry” and “still have an awful lot to learn” themselves. These parents had placed a lot of faith in Rotorua schools to “contribute more because we have not”. One whānau in particular stated “This is an area that needs strengthening and any support (from schools) is appreciated”.

Open-ended teacher responses. Many of the teacher respondents emphasised the importance of Māori students succeeding ‘as Māori’ so that they can achieve “academically while still having strong cultural ties and values”. One teacher asserted that academic success should come “without losing your culture or having to forfeit who you really are” because “students want to be counted as Māori”.

In fact a number of the teachers also referred to their hopes that their students would eventually “move easily and comfortably between the world of Te Arawa and the Pākeha world” so that they might “recognise, be able to use the community expertise, and be Te Arawa” in all of their future endeavours. It was clear that the teachers hoped that the students might “achieve academically, leave kura with qualifications and then be able to give back to the hapū later on”. The teachers envisaged the students “contributing to society in general whilst bringing with them a Te Arawa flavour”.

Some of the teachers believed that it was important to teach more specific hapū and iwi knowledge in schools so that the students could “participate actively in Te Arawa events” and “kōrero about our rohe and what things are important to our people from here”. It was seen as important that “students retain and practise their Te Arawatanga with confidence, competence and humility” and that they “reflect the best of Te Arawa practices (manaakitanga, kapa haka etc.)”.

One teacher believed that there was potential in "tailoring a Te Arawa curriculum to be specific to our iwi", concluding that "there are numerous possibilities if we have the courage to do it". However it is evident from the quantitative questionnaire data that these aspirations to "integrate Te Arawatanga as much as possible" are not yet realised.

Study 1b: The Interview / Focus Group Results

This section provides a presentation of the individual interview and focus group data. The research team spent over eight months interviewing students, whānau members and teachers affiliated with the eight secondary schools involved in this study. The research team also interviewed five local pākeke (senior status) to illicit their answers to the research questions. The interview and focus group data was collected from 132 individuals. The total cohort of participants is shown in Table 13.

Table 13. *Profile of Interview/Focus Group Respondents*

Participants	*n*
Students	66
Whānau members	19
Teachers/Principals	50
Pākeke	5
Total	140

The interview and focus group data has been analysed to establish themes and sub-themes that tell us more about what specific personal, familial and school factors enable high achieving Māori students to be successful at school. The interviews and focus group discussions all focussed on finding diverse answers to the following research questions:

- How does Te Arawa define success?
- What is distinctive about being Te Arawa?
- How are the characteristics of success enacted by successful Te Arawa students?

- In what ways do whānau, teachers and the wider Te Arawa community foster conditions that enable the characteristics of success to manifest?
- What is distinctive about Te Arawatanga?

A Te Arawa definition of success

The diverse participants in this study had varying definitions of success. However what was clear was the notion that the acquisition of an academic identity, via academic success, should not come at the expense of one's cultural and social identities.

Three key ideas emerged from the data in terms of what comprises 'success as Māori'. Firstly Māori students were expected to be academically successful or be exceptional and demonstrate leadership in a community-valued domain. Secondly Māori students were expected to have a secure and positive sense of Māori identity, for example as one teacher asserted, that "if a graduate left this school who was of Māori descent I would like to see them being able to speak Māori, to know their people and to be known by their people…I would just like the kids to know that being Māori is good…and valuable". Thirdly Māori success was viewed as the result of a collective effort by the student, their whānau and, in some cases, their community. As such the Māori student's success belonged to and reflected on all those positively involved in the student's education.

Academic success and community leadership. Definitions of success are strongly context-dependent, so a body of knowledge, skill-set or area of exceptionality valued in one whānau or community may not be in another. Many of the whānau and teacher participants suggested that "success is not necessarily gained at kura" but was also attained via "taking care of other people", "assuming leadership roles", "physical prowess" and/or "being a good food gatherer…it might not be academic but to some families that's worth more". According to one teacher "we express our excellence in all sorts of ways" and the most successful Māori students "do something that is greater than themselves. The truest, purest form of leadership is when you are altruistic".

Evident in the data from all participants was the notion that successful Māori students demonstrated leadership across a range of different domains "not just academic but sporting and cultural" as well. The notion of leadership is an important one because it was

defined by many of the participants as an attitude or way of being that communicates "watch what I do rather than what I say" as opposed to "Look at me because I can do all of this".

One whānau member stated that "there is a place for everyone. No one's success is better than another's…they have all got some sort of success or talent, it is about trying to find it, or allowing it to come out". Another parent added that although "academic success is wonderful, for some of our kids it is more about their potential…they need their potential tapped in a different way. Yeah, it is within the person, within one's self".

A number of Te Arawa examples of academic exceptionality or leadership were offered by some of the participants including reference to Te Ao Kapurangi, Maggie Papakura, Angus Macfarlane, Taki Te Koi, Cliff Curtis and Potaua Biasiny-Tule. It is clear that the participants in this study valued exceptionality and achievement across a wide range of domains/areas and saw the ability to lead others as a key component of that success.

Success in te ao Māori. Most of the whānau, teacher and pākeke participants emphasised the importance of students "knowing who they are and being strong about who they are" as a measure of success. Connection to the "iwi, hapū and marae" enabled students "to have a strong Te Arawa identity" and "possess a security around who they are, who they come from and what their ties are to the whenua".

Another teacher added that Māori students "will never truly be successful until they have acknowledged their place in the world as Māori" because otherwise "there will always be a little piece missing". One whānau member stated that: "success and achievement for my daughter is not entirely in the academic sense. Success for my daughter is the fact that she feels for others, that she is humble, that she supports other kids when they need that support – that is achievement to me". One teacher also commented:

> *A student who is successful in a school setting is one who feels completely comfortable about having a foot in both worlds. I think that if the student has reached the valued understanding of their own beginnings, of their own whakapapa and if they know who they are and where they're heading, bit by bit they get the confidence to be able to say, "If I'm good enough to be a success in the Māori world, I can be a success in the bigger world."*

The pākeke also observed that their aspirations for their mokopuna focussed on students finding balance and "reaching their potential" whilst also being "happy, healthy, confident and knowledgeable in terms of their wairua, tinana, hinengaro and whānau, hapū, iwi". A number of whānau members hoped that their children would acquire a strong and secure Te Arawa identity and "participate in the world as proud uri of Te Arawa" and "take their 'Te Arawa flavour' with them into their careers and the future".

Another whānau member commented that their children would be successful when they could "stand 'knowingly' on the whenua or in their rohe". Pākeke, whānau members and teachers also placed emphasis on being successful in "both te ao Māori and Pākehā worlds" with one pākeke advising students to learn te reo as a means of building confidence in te ao Māori. Another parent also stated that her daughter is already successful because "her foundations have been set – whakapapa, tikanga, reo – she is comfortable at any marae, be it within our own rohe or outside of our rohe, she's comfortable".

The data expresses very clearly that a key component of Māori student success is the student's ability to stand proudly and knowingly in the Māori world whilst achieving in the non-Māori world. A number of successful Te Arawa who have mana tangata in te ao Māori as well as te ao Pākehā were discussed by the participants including Wetini Mitai-Ngatai, Te Ururoa Flavell, Cathy Dewes, Angus Macfarlane and Haane Manahi.

Collective success. Finally, according to a number of the study's participants an individual student's success can also be seen as success for the whole whānau and community because "usually when Māori achieve success it is not just for or about them, but it is for their whānau, their hapū, their iwi. Their success is a reflection of all the people that are behind them or have supported them, or helped them in any way". Additionally one participant commented that because it is "the whānau and community that has invested in them…that [investment] is then repaid by the child being successful".

Another participant commented that although students "need to take on the individual responsibility for being successful at school, the outcomes of that will be a shared benefit that goes far beyond them". Success therefore, as defined by the participants in this study, represents a complex, socially constructed concept that is grounded in the values and

aspirations of one's community and shaped by collective identity. The data suggests that a component of Māori student success is the acknowledgement of responsibility to others - the whānau, the hapū and the iwi.

Te Arawa Distinctiveness

Te Arawa refers to a tribal group of people who define themselves by whakapapa links to the Te Arawa waka. This tribe originally settled in the broader Rotorua/Waiariki area. Many people of Te Arawa descent still live, work and go to school in this area. While modern times have increased choice for individuals in terms of personal identity, it is evident in the data that the tribal identity of Te Arawa provides many of the participants with a sense of security and wellbeing. Those who were not of Te Arawa descent could still describe the distinctive characteristics that comprise Te Arawa's unique tribal identity.

According to the data Te Arawa can be defined by three key attributes:

1. their unique whakapapa and tikanga
2. their reputation for cultural tourism, their geographical peculiarities and Māori performance and
3. their commitment to the support and development of youth through education scholarships and grants.

Unique whakapapa and tikanga. Distinctive whakapapa and tikanga were identified as key distinguishing features of Te Arawa identity. In addition clear tribal parameters, such as "mai Maketū ki Tongariro", and the unique geographical landmarks, such as "our lakes, geothermal regions and Tarawera", also distinguish Te Arawa from other iwi according to the participants. One whānau participant stated "You get a strong sense of identity within Te Arawa. There is this constant reminder of 'they belong to me and I belong to them'. I am not Te Arawa but I am married to one, but it is such a definite identity…they claim the children…the tribe claims them…that is my sense anyway".

Another whānau member commented that their children "see their whakapapa and their genetics reflected all around them every single day. In our house we have the great grandparents climbing up the wall, on the stairs, all the way out of the house. We say to

them whenever they leave, or if they are in trouble for something, 'Every time you walk out that door, you are taking all those people with you, so take a good look on the way out' ".

Other examples of participant statements referred to even more specific hapū teachings including, "we teach our daughter about being a Pikiao girl and about the kawa and tikanga related to Ngāti Pikiao. Those are the foundation teachings we teach at home". Another whānau member stated: "we teach our children about Te Arawatanga but even more specifically Whakauetanga". Similarly another whānau member referred to the importance of nurturing an iwi identity:

> *In the first instance the foundation for our children is actually set in our house, at our home, at our pa, and within Ngāti Pikiao. And when we send them off to kura, for us it's an extension that helps them to cope in a Pākehā world, but first and foremost recognising that their Māori values are the ones that matter, their language, culture and identity are the things that keep them strong and anchored in the first instance. Everything else from the Pākehā world is an absolute add-on and something that they need because that's just the world that we live in, but we recognise where their inner stuff comes from.*

The participants also made reference to a number of key ancestors whom they believed epitomised Te Arawatanga including: Te Ao Kapurangi, Ihenga, Tamatekapua, Rangitihi, Pikiao and Makereti Papakura. One teacher stated: "Te Arawa people know who their hero is – their ancestor Ihenga. I keep hearing what an important ancestor he was to Te Arawa. I think we have forty-two marae in Rotorua…I mean it is the hub of Māoridom really".

Many of the teachers and pākeke participants also talked about how "protective Te Arawa are about their kawa and tikanga". According to these participants Te Arawa "are well known for upholding their tikanga and their mana" and for being "clear about what is and what isn't Te Arawatanga". Another participant stated that "Although not as many as we'd like, we also have knowledgeable, humble and loyal koeke and marae pākeke who uphold our tikanga and keep the home fires burning".

According to another participant there are a number of specific tikanga who distinguish Te Arawa from other iwi including "men wearing their shoes inside", "our women not doing the karanga once they are inside the whare" and "women sitting on the floor in the whare tūpuna". This participant also stated:

> *There are lots of things that Te Arawa do that others don't. Just look at our kawa, you know women are not allowed to speak on the marae, women have to sit down on the floor. When you go to a tangi and all the women have to sit on the floor, no matter what. So when visitors come in and can't sit on the floor some of our hapū have made concessions and have brought a chair along you know people got sore hips and whatever else, and so the women can sit there but otherwise it doesn't matter who you are. I know at a funeral we had a member of the judiciary was there and she sat on the floor with the rest of us. So that's just distinctly Te Arawa - women sit on the floor.*

Another pākeke also discussed what they believed to be a misconception about Te Arawa tikanga:

> *Some people tell us that we are rude and cruel to our ladies… but in the life and times of Te Arawa everything that Te Arawa did was in the protection of our womenfolk. Why, because they were the carriers of our future, they were what they called the whare of the tipuna. They were the ones to give birth to our future and so that was the most important aspects regarding ensuring that our women were protected at all times. And so this is the essence of the kōrero that has been put out about Te Arawa being cruel to the women when that is not so, it was about protecting our women at all costs.*

However many participants mentioned the difficulty of pinning down tikanga given that each hapū has its own distinct history and whakapapa. One pākeke participant commented that "even in Te Arawa, from hapū to hapū, marae to marae, their tikanga is different". This pākeke went on to discuss the hapū differences among Te Arawa stating "I can be Ngāti Whakaue anywhere in the world – all I know is Ngāti Whakauetanga – how we do it, how we behave, what we say".

A number of participants also believed that if Māori students were more knowledgeable about Te Arawa kawa and tikanga it would help them to be more successful because it

could act as a source of resilience. One pākeke stated "if tikanga and kawa is well integrated then they tend to much more likely to become successful. Knowing who they are makes them confident to go out into the world".

Another whānau participant stated "When you are steeped in a particular knowledge you have a certain level of confidence. Because that's your standing place, your tūrangawaewae so why wouldn't you be comfortable carrying on with your learning if you can identify who you are and you're with a group of mostly your own descendants, your own iwi".

A reputation of cultural tourism, peculiar geography and Māori cultural performance. Many of the students perceived that Te Arawa is "a pretty well-known tribe" who are "really good at sport" with a proud reputation for "being really good at kapa haka". The students went on to say that Te Arawa also has a "strong stance in their performing arts and do it a certain way", "feed off the people that come in and watch our culture" and are "unique, different and disciplined". Additionally students felt that "Te Arawa people are proud. We know who we are, where we are from".

A number of students also referred to the distinct geographical features including "our geysers, hot pools and lakes" and our strong tribal pride arguing that we "are perceived as confident people" who have "kept our culture alive" and stand true to what our ancestors have given us". Another student added "We're like the Māori capital of New Zealand around here aren't we? When I go back down to my marae, which is Tamatekapua, I am proud to be Te Arawa. Not many people can stand in front of a marae of that calibre and say 'this is mine'". One teacher (of Te Arawa descent) also pointed out that they were:

> *…really clear that to be in this school and to be successful means that you take cognisance of the Te Arawa domain that you are in. Quite frankly, I will make no apologies for the Te Arawatanga that I espouse; it is my responsibility to who I am in this rohe. Our basic values are aroha, manaaki and whanaungatanga …this is our tikanga, and this is who we are as Te Arawa.*

Iwi commitment to youth development. A significant number of participants identified the commitment of the various hapū and/or iwi organisations to Māori student

success as a key feature of Te Arawatanga. This theme was reflected in student responses such as “Te Arawa puts a big emphasis on growing our culture in the younger years, like within the community”, “there is a lot of leadership in Te Arawa” and “what I have noticed is the support that Te Arawa has for its youth”. Participants made specific reference in the interviews to organisations including “Te Papa Tākaro”, the “Ngāti Whakaue Education Endowment Trust” and “Te Arawa Lakes Trust”.

One student participant reflected:

> *There are a lot of initiatives to motivate youth to get a good education, to get involved with their community. They really want us to achieve in Te Arawa. Like they have the Te Arawa Rangatahi Awards that encourage youth to do something that could change their community…there are also numerous grants that you can get just to support you to get a good education.*

The pākeke participants also referred to the important role the iwi play in supporting Māori student success with one pākeke stating “big policy should come from the community and the community should provide a nurturing environment – one that celebrates ambition”. Another pākeke also commented “Our trusts have been supporting our local schools with koha - money contributions towards literacy and numeracy. It breaks my heart to read that some of our children are coming out of certain schools without those skills. That’s painful for me”.

A number of the pākeke also discussed the role that iwi organisations had to play in Māori student success, arguing that the community needed to “link up across community instead of placing too much responsibility on schools – it takes a village/community to nurture children”. They also suggested that the iwi could support Māori student success further by:

- providing tuition from the community
- having marae open for use (e.g. by kapa haka groups)
- supporting our local schools with koha
- more commitment to learning or promoting te reo Māori in their own areas
- more support with kura initiatives, e.g. in sport, science, technology and business

The characteristics of successful students

All of the research participants were asked to describe the characteristics of successful Māori students. The high-achieving students were also asked to offer advice to younger "up and coming" Māori students. The student participants offered many small pieces of advice to their peers.

However the majority of student comments were related to self-motivation. They advised other students to "stay away from people who will distract you", "be self-disciplined, focussed and motivated", "set goals", "keep options option" and realise that "sometimes you have to go outside your comfort zone to achieve your goals". One student in particular offered the following advice:

> *I think it's keeping your eye on the prize, keeping an eye on the future. 'Cause one of my life goals is to have a good enough job so I can support my own family, to be able to support them would be like everything to me. If I was to have my own kids I want to be able to support them. That's why my education right now is my drive for the future. And I'm not thinking of like straight after uni. I'm thinking about the long road of life. And even after I've done that I have to think about my mokopuna. And I want to be able to give back to the communities that have helped me. And I wouldn't mind going around to all my marae and like just giving back, 'cause that's your roots and they've given you what you've got now. Sometime in my life I would like to give back. I think it's just having the right attitude because at the end of the day you've only got yourself to rely on and if you really want it, then you'll really push yourself in order to do it. No one else can. People can say things like maybe you should work harder at school, but unless you really want it, it won't work. So I think just keeping the right attitude and just pushing yourself.*

It is evident from the student data that from their perspective the key student success characteristics are self-motivation and personal drive. That is the students in this study believed that for other Māori students to be successful they needed to "be self-disciplined" believing that "they can be as good as anyone else if they really put their mind to it".

The whānau participants perceived successful Māori students as those students who had an inner strength or "mana" that enabled them to be "confident in themselves", "take their academic success seriously", "be willing to participate" and "be well rounded". The whānau participants stressed the importance of personal qualities like being "respectful and dignified in the way they operate", "trustworthy", "having the heart to mentor other (younger) students" and "showing leadership".

The teacher participants offered alternative advice to students, focussed on personal characteristics related to focus, perseverance and determination. The teachers perceived that successful Māori students had "an attitude", "maturity" and stick-ability", and were clearly "passionate about what they wanted". The teachers also discussed qualities like "leadership", "natural curiosity", "resilience" and "self-belief" as being vital to student success.

One teacher explicitly stated that successful Māori students develop "relationships with positive people" and "know that the world is their oyster". Additionally "they push themselves further and go beyond what is expected", "don't do the bare minimum" and "have high expectations of themselves". One teacher stated that a successful Māori student "has a desire for education and appreciates that only hard work leads to success". Another teacher stated clearly that whilst "a lot of students are quite able they don't value the opportunities, don't understand the work ethic required and don't get the idea that effort is how you succeed. They need to know that in this system you won't get by just on ability. You actually have to put effort in". According to the teachers, students who demonstrated these qualities are "resilient and self-regulated" which are important qualities because:

> *Not only do many of these kids have to be a teenager, they have to cope with a small community, with small community problems. They have to cope with people around them who don't want to work. They have to cope with systems that are foreign and continue to be foreign. They've got to cope with boring subjects that don't necessarily connect to their real lives. They've got to cope with forever having gangs in their face. They've got to be resilient…motivated…self-regulating.*

When asked 'what is it about successful Māori students that differentiate them from less successful ones?' one teacher stated: "What is it about them? I guess it's all about their

mana and feeling good about who they are and knowing who they are, and knowing they've got support around them I think is a big one".

Five more characteristics of success

Across all four groups of participants five other success characteristics were identified:

1. Cultural Flexibility
2. Resilience and Leadership
3. Core Māori Values
4. Academic Self-Efficacy and Motivation
5. Being Goal Driven and Self-Managing.

The five success characteristics will be discussed in the following section.

Cultural Flexibility: "A foot in both worlds". The need for Māori students to live in and navigate their way through two worlds was a dominant theme expressed in participant responses. Like the responses in the questionnaire the interview participants emphasised that successful Māori students should have the social and cultural capital to enable them to participate in and contribute to both te ao Māori AND te ao Pākehā.

Examples of related comments were "they live in both worlds and that's really what we're trying to do with our students. We want them to be good in both worlds - not just in the Pākehā world but in the Māori world as well", "we need to strengthen their Pākehā world as well. You know we don't just concentrate on the Māori world because you can't have concentration on the Māori world and then hello your Pākehā world is falling down. So it's a bit of both" and "my dreams are that my kids are able to stand in two worlds comfortably".

A number of the participants reflected that Māori students have had to learn from an early age to navigate between the two worlds, further commenting that the two worlds have different value systems that are not always compatible. A key example offered was that despite many schools' efforts to instill an individualistic academic drive in students many Māori students were alternatively motivated by helping their community, friends and families.

Resilience and Leadership. Obstacles to educational success for Māori students can come in many forms including economic, health and social disparities, and racism. Additionally many Māori students are the first family-member to successfully finish secondary school and to many families this is a major step. One of the most significant educational obstacles identified by all groups of participants was the devastating effect of low teacher expectations towards Māori students.

One pākeke stated boldly "Get rid of streaming. We want everyone to aim for success including all our Māori students who don't tend to aim for success because they've already been branded. So that's the first thing I'd do is educate teachers on raising expectations for Māori students". This pākeke also argued for teachers to "Raise the bar and teach to their potential…convince the students that that's where they can be. That they have the ability, that they do have the skills. If you have high expectations of your students they will perform to the bar and beyond".

Evident in the data was a call for Māori students to be resilient in terms of "stepping up" and "being pioneers for their whānau". One student asserted that other Māori students needed to "remain positive even through the tough times, because things will get rough, there is no doubt about it. But it is all about how you respond to that. How you act is always going to define you as a person".

A pākeke additionally argued that Māori students should have further opportunities to learn more about their connections to te ao Māori because "if tikanga and kawa is well integrated, then they tend to much more likely become successful, confident and resilient".

Many participants reflected on the importance of leadership to Māori student success. One whānau member asserted that Māori students demonstrated leadership when "they are respectful and dignified in the way they operate. When they have the heart to mentor other students, to show that leadership and be a part of other young kids coming up". One teacher also summarised his contribution to the discussion about Māori student success by saying "if they possess leadership qualities…they're on the right track".

Core Māori values. Core Māori values, including esteeming te reo Māori, respect, generosity, service to others and humour were perceived to be very important to Māori student educational success. A number of participants spoke about the essence of "being Māori" with one participant stating: "It's a state of being, you can't just be Māori, you are Māori. And everything that comes with it, you are just encased in it and it just consumes you".

Whakapapa, or genealogy, is a fundamental principle that permeates the whole of Māori culture. It is also a worldview that provides the basis for all interactions in te ao Māori – for establishing, enhancing and even challenging relationships between individuals, whānau, hapū and iwi. Many participants referred to a working knowledge of whakapapa as a key characteristic of success in Māori students because, as one student stated "…in order to know where I'm going I must first know where I came from. So I like to go back and know that these people have done this so that I can achieve something for not only myself but my whānau, my iwi".

A teacher also commented on the importance of students knowing their whakapapa: "For them to understand who they are first and foremost, they know everything about their whakapapa, pepeha and that. I believe that once they know who they are as a Māori and then they are able to touch the Pākehā world. They can then start moving in te ao Pākehā so that they can stand in both worlds".

Knowledge of te reo Māori was also discussed as a core value related to Māori student success because it is perceived to give Māori students a sense of pride and connection to others. One teacher reinforced their belief about the importance of te reo in school contexts when they stated "Tētahi ō ngā tino wariu o tēnei kura, me kōrero Māori, mai te timatanga, te putanga mai o te keeti tae noa ki te hokitanga atu ki te kāinga. Ahakoa haere, haere hoki te kura ki hea, te reo Māori" (One of the fundamental values of this school, let's speak the reo, from the start, the entrance of the gate until you return to the home. Therefore go, go to school or wherever, and speak the reo).

Other responses that relate to this assertion include: "Our language is the key to who we are. Having our language gives us that sovereignty, that mana that we need to actually govern what's around us", and "your language is part of who you are". Many participants

espoused the importance of speaking te reo Māori "in the home context, te kāinga" as well as school contexts.

The importance of learning about a range of core Māori values was often contextualised in relation to being on the marae. Participant responses emphasised behaviours like "showing respect to everybody…particularly the elders", "helping each other out to get through the hard times", "being caring and humble" and "helping out in the marae kitchen at tangi". The marae was seen as an important context for nurturing Māori language, values and cultural practices.

Academic Self-efficacy and Motivation. Self-efficacy concerns an individual's belief that they can successfully complete tasks and reach their goals. Self-efficacy also determines how an individual regards his or her power to affect situations, to respond to challenges and to make effective choices. Academic self-efficacy is extremely important to student success at school, but can be expressed in a number of different ways. Confidence is one way that a sense of self-efficacy can be expressed.

As stated by one student, "We can be as good as anyone else if we really put our mind to it. I guess for me it just means I'm not restricted by those stereotypes that people put out there". A whānau member also discussed the way their child expressed their efficacy as confidence stating "One of my children is very confident and will go up and speak to people that she's never met before and is happy to go and try new things, doesn't matter whether she knows people in there or she's off there on her own". Teachers also reported the importance of students having a sense of self-confidence and/or efficacy so that "they're confident with themselves and can converse with adults and their own peer group. They are willing to do the work, so they've got to have some form of work where usually they have success in. Yeah, so if they're achieving in some area then they will keep on going".

A number of the participants suggested that academic self-efficacy is expressed as a positive and resilient attitude towards school success and academic perseverance. One whānau member stated "I think it's just having the right attitude, because at the end of the day you've only got yourself to rely on and if you really want it, and then you'll really push yourself in order to do it. No one else can, people can say things like maybe you

should work harder at school, but unless you really want it, it won't work. So I think just keeping the right attitude and just pushing yourself".

Additionally one student explained: "I think if you want something bad enough you can achieve your goals. And maybe sometimes you may have to go out of your comfort zone, but after it you'll feel better that, knowing that you've done it, and you're that much closer to achieving your goals".

Academic self-efficacy was seen as an important characteristic of success for the participants in this study, because it was seen as one of the 'drivers' that caused students to respond effectively to adversity and persist in order to reach their academic goals at school.

Being Goal-Driven and Self-Managing. If learners are to truly be efficacious in their learning then it should go without saying that they must be as clear as they can be about what they are intending to learn and why. To this end learners must have clear long-term goals and associated short-term goals that provide a logical pathway towards achieving their aspirations.

Many students mentioned the importance of setting goals stating: "I think setting goals is very helpful for me, so long as they're not too far-fetched", "you want to set yourself up for later life. You want to get a good platform…that motivates me" and "you need to keep your goals in front of you, so you can see them every day, to remind yourself about what you're aiming for to keep you motivated towards achieving them". In terms of keeping the goals in the forefront of your mind many of the students advised other students to "self-track", "write it on paper…so you keep to it", "Have a checklist, saying, 'Oh, I want this amount of credits by some sort of time' and then make sure you have achieved it" and "have someone to look up to that will keep you going" like "family…make sure they are always pushing you".

Another student advised other students to:

> *Set goals, so you have a target to aim for and to keep yourself motivated. Once you reach that goal you've got that feeling of accomplishment. Could be big or*

small. Yeah, I reckon the feeling of accomplishment is probably the best feeling you can ever have. Put in the hard work to get there.

The role of whānau: In what ways do whānau foster conditions that enable the characteristics of success to manifest?

The commitment of whānau to their children's success was very evident when discussing their aspirations for their children. It was clear that there were many ways that whānau members could support their children to be successful at school including: being actively involved in their child's learning, providing successful role models, having high expectations, and by ensuring they had a healthy and supportive home environment for their children to learn and thrive. It is also evident in the data from this study that the learning that occurs in a healthy and learning-focussed home environment is just as important to Māori student success as the learning that occurs at school.

There were a number of things that whānau members perceived they could do to support their child to be successful at school including: having consistent home routines, "encouragement and a little bit of gentle pushing and persuasion", articulating "high expectations", putting "some firm boundaries" around their children regarding a "balance between their school, social and cultural interests" and generally "getting involved".

Many whānau members discussed the importance of "not sitting on the sidelines" while their children struggled at school. They instead advised other whānau to "get stuck in" by "setting up study times when you sit down and help your child" with their homework, "following up" on school requests and appointments, and modelling to their children the benefits of "just getting on with it" and/or "knuckling down and doing it".

Fostering wellbeing. Many of the participants in this study asserted that to nurture Māori students' holistic wellbeing "the first body for teaching our children should be the parents". It was also emphasised by a pākeke that "parents provide emotional and spiritual support as well as physical support" to their children to nourish their overall wellbeing because "a secure loving base at home will assist a positive future, even if school isn't that helpful". Schools must "ensure that whānau are part of the learning environment" because "when whānau are involved then the kids thrive".

One pākeke also stated that "a lot of mainstream schools have very little whānau support" and "when the whānau support is limited then children don't progress". Lastly one whānau member argued that "a parent has two roles: to maintain the health of the child; and to maintain the wellbeing and knowledge of the child".

Active Involvement and High Expectations. Although many whānau members conscientiously send their children off to school every day and expect them to do well, they can add an important extra ingredient that will boost their children's success. It is evident in the data that whānau participation is an ingredient that makes a significant difference. Parents' and other whānau members' active involvement with their children's education at home and in school brings great rewards and can have a significant impact on the children's lives.

One whānau member stated "I think it draws back to the family and their support of education in general, and the importance of success. I think that's a particularly important driving force in a child's achievement". Another whānau member stated that education has "to be supported by family…the support that they get at home, whether it is just simply the parents taking an interest in their education, making sure that they stay on task, responding if teachers or other people get in touch with them and those sorts of things".

One teacher also stated that she could identify who the successful Māori students would be because "they've got that support of the whānau. The family is actually really involved with the students' learning." The same teacher also went on to say that successful Māori students had "a backstop" in their parents, that is, "the whānau are there to support them and to keep them motivated".

By actively participating in their children's education at home and in school whānau are sending some critical messages to their child. They are demonstrating their interest in his/her educational activities and reinforcing the idea that school is important.

A number of the teachers recommended that whānau members did simple things to signal their interest in their children's success at school including: "when they go home, parents should be at least asking them, 'What did you learn at school today. How was school?' You know, some exchange of kōrero with their kids makes a lot of difference. I think

some of our Māori kids, a very small percentage do lack this support and genuine interest from home".

Another teacher advised whānau members to "attend parent interviews. We see the same parents all the time; you get that same core group. Well those students that are succeeding are those ones that have that support all around". Conversely many teachers commented that schools and teachers needed to work hard to:

> *…have that connection with the community, not just with the good kids but with the ones who need the help. That's where we need to put our emphasis…on getting to know the parents, bringing them in, nurturing them and letting them know that it's actually okay at school. It's not that place that was what it was like when they were at school. They are quite scared about coming in.*

Another teacher also stated that "many families don't have that confidence to tackle the school when things aren't going well…or to approach school or give us a ring and say that there's something that we could do better". This same teacher added:

> *It can be a little bit scary walking into a school and meeting with an assistant principal, especially if your own experience with school wasn't all that great. There really needs to be a partnership between home and school too. It takes a whole community rather than just a school or just parents to get our young people on a successful pathway.*

Whānau can influence their children's academic progress by encouragement, reinforcement and participation. In fact whānau involvement is critical. The data suggests that whānau should work out ways to participate in events at school, monitor homework and help children with organisational strategies because it motivates their children to try harder. A student's motivation to learn also directly affects their achievement; without one you cannot have the other. This is evident in the comments of one student who stated "My parents, they never passed School C, so like when they found out that I was a bit of an academic they just told me to keep striving, keep striving, and I don't know, it's always been something for me to make my parents proud".

Effective and consistent communication of high expectations can also help students to develop a healthy self-concept, which is critical to student engagement and academic

success. It also motivates students by fostering an environment where students are *expected* to attain high standards in their schoolwork and/or sporting and cultural endeavors.

Whānau interest in and support for their child's success can result in increased motivation as evidenced by one student who stated "I've been training harder and I can see like the results starting to come out and my family's starting to get more impressed and everything and I've just got to keep them happy". One teacher noticed the difference between students who come from high expectation homes when they stated that if Māori students "have high expectations that they have to live up to, they begin school with a wide range of skills to start with, and that confidence just keeps building".

Healthy role models. Whānau need to role model or provide role models of the success qualities they want to see in their children. Effective role models can actually drive student achievement if they appeal strongly to students' self-identities. Effective role models can also promote persistence and academic success when they are involved meaningfully and regularly in students' lives.

Most of the positive role models cited by the participants in this study who 'led by example'derived directly from the students' families themselves.

All whānau members have "got to have a goal and they've got to have a big picture for the future" including "parents and whānau, koros and kuis who help them with that" so that "there's a support network behind the student and an expectation for education and for learning… it needs to come from the wider whānau". Another teacher commented that "a lot of boys that have gone to that next level and looked at doing scholarships, and that sort of stuff, have had parents that pushed them. Some are quite competitive with their brothers and that as well. They kind of look up to their brothers and think, 'Man, he did that and I want to be like him.' Boys competition is a huge thing and they enjoy that and that kind of makes them strive to that best level".

Another student discussed the important role his parents and grandparents played in motivating him to persist at school: "My parents and grandparents have pushed me to

succeed academically, because they've been through it all and wanted me to take the opportunities that have been presented to me now and make the most of it really".

Māori students who come from whānau that role model 'success qualities' are also seen to display positive social and cultural behaviours. One teacher noted that "the successful Māori students have really good morals around respect. They respect themselves, they respect their family, that's why they're here and they're doing well. But they also respect you as a teacher and what you're trying to do". Additionally one parent spoke about how important it was for their children to have older role models in the school - prefects, kapa haka and sport leaders and the like, that their children can "look up to" because it is important "for our children to see older students who are committed both to their Māori identity but also to their academic success and achievement in other areas".

One teacher who had been teaching for over forty years also asserted that "the high flying students, the motivated self-regulated ones are the ones who come from families that have expectations. They monitor their children, they encourage them, support them, push them and do whatever they need to do". The whānau of successful students also:

> *Model a lot of the values, both the Māori values and the general society or Pākehā values. So they are modelling values of service and commitment to the marae and the iwi. They're modelling respect for the land and the environment. And they motivate their students, their children to succeed, to earn credits, to be ready for a career. So they have self-regulated learners, but a lot of it is based on the commitment of at least one whānau member to them.*

Healthy learning environments at home. Students' home environments can have a significant effect on their learning and school performance. The data from this study illustrates that student success is dependent on whānau providing a 'healthy' and supportive learning environment in the home.

One student clearly articulated that in order to learn students "definitely need a safe and healthy environment. Without a stable home, most kids can't focus because it's just erratic… it just makes their life a little bit harder and then they just don't do as well as they're meant to".

A teacher also commented that high achieving students "are probably well resourced in terms of having equipment, good clothes, warm, good food, so they're not impoverished … that's what the successful ones seem to have". Another whānau member also stated that a healthy home environment "encourages communication" and supports students "physically, emotionally, spiritually… but also academically".

According to many of the participants, whānau should "have a vision in their mind for their child" because "a high achieving Māori student is someone that has been nurtured from the time they were born through to the later stages of learning". Such whānau "nurture their students along and are willing to enter into a partnership with the teacher" to address their children's learning needs and help them "to unleash their potential on the world".

One teacher asserted that "parents do not send their kids to school to fail, they never have, and they don't". However many Māori students still languish without adequate whānau support. One student commented on the negative impact an unstable home context could have on student achievement. This student stated "if you've got problems at home…well, it comes to school and it just grows". A teacher supported this statement commenting that "what's happening in the home is very much represented in what is happening with the children".

A whānau member also stated "just look at the family unit and if you've got systemic problems in the family unit then it flows through to the child too. It doesn't matter what academic supports are out there, it's influencing the child's performance, their behaviours, what they're able to do and what they're not able to do".

The role of teachers and schools: In what ways do teachers foster conditions that enable the characteristics of success to manifest?

Education for Māori students within classrooms and schools must be responsive to the learning needs and cultural values of those students, their whānau and their community. For schools in the Rotorua area creating such a responsive and inclusive culture would require them to encourage and support their teachers to learn more about Te Arawatanga, to explore Te Arawa concepts and perspectives, and to ultimately infuse this knowledge

into their interactions with students and whānau. The data shows that in order for Māori students to learn, thrive and feel positive in school contexts there must be a number of relational conditions present.

Acknowledging the Māori child. Many whānau members stated that they chose schools in the hope that they would support their child's Māori identity alongside helping them to attain academic qualifications. Comments to this effect include: "I like the way that they operate with the kids. I think [name] feels very supported in his Māori identity at school", "I want the school to acknowledge the fact that she is Māori" and "In choosing the right school for my child I wanted to know does the school help the child identify their ethnic background and the positive aspects of it."

One teacher argued that most students "want to connect with an inspirational teacher" and "the key is connectedness to their identity or culture". This is deemed as important because "the reality is Māori students learn differently. They respond differently, they learn differently and if you don't realise this you're almost trying to fit a round peg in a square hole". A whānau member added that the school their child attended made "a conscious effort to build up strength with Māori" by ensuring their children can have "marae visits where they can learn whakapapa, tikanga and kawa" and "fishing trips where they learn about kai mahi".

In some schools teachers were expected to up-skill so they can better teach Māori students, take part in "live-in experiences for people who've never been on a marae" and attend "reo wānanga (intensive language) courses". Schools were providing these professional opportunities as a means of helping "individual teachers to be up-skilled" and encourage them to "come on board more" in terms of "meeting Māori students learning needs".

This was considered important because Māori children are experiencing a "Māori renaissance" in that there is a "rebirth of kids seeking their Māori identity". In addition, Māori teachers - that is teachers who are Māori themselves - also play an important role in this process. Many of the students mentioned specific Māori teachers who played an important role in their school lives. These teachers were described as "being associated

with the area" and providing "lots of Ngāti Whakaue based Te Arawa input…including waiata, haka and whaikōrero".

Effective teachers of Māori students. According to a number of the whānau interviewed for this study effective teachers "bridge worlds" for students, or "at least try to". Whānau talked about teachers:

> *…letting them [students] know that there's a bigger world out there than there is here. And once they get to know that and to see what opportunities there are out there…then the schools need to get the kids out on a lot of trips. Maybe once a month or anything like that, but get them out there just so that they know that there's more to life than being a bum.*

Teachers also talked about the importance of opening students' eyes to the world outside of Rotorua. One teacher stated:

> *The most difficult thing for our students is leaving here. They want success, but they fear what's going to happen in the outside world when they have to stand on their own two feet. And what I say is "Look, this is your home, it will always be your home, you will always be able to return to it. Is it better to stay here and be negative and moan about how life has given you a bad turn? Or is it better to be able to say, 'I've got a great job, I earn good money, I'm happy in my work, I can come home and share my success with the whānau as often as I like'?*

School trips and/or invited motivational speakers were perceived by all participants to offer students opportunities "to further themselves, push themselves…showing them the wider world out there".

"Relationships are critical" for learning because "students like to know about adults and their lives, and teachers who don't build those bridges or don't share themselves as people tend not to have good connections and success with Māori students". One Pākehā teacher commented that "once Māori students trust that I'm not going to humiliate them or anything like that, that I actually value what they're telling me, then that trust just builds and builds, and they start moving on to be resilient and self-regulated".

This teacher also emphasised that "teachers need to build self-belief in their students because some of our students don't have any self-belief…so you've got to have it for them". Another teacher also commented that "It's about helping them to keep that big picture in their mind and to think 'How am I going to get to that goal?' And go one step at a time".

One student also commented on the importance of strong learner-teacher relationships asserting that effective teachers of Māori students "actually care about you" and "will go that extra mile and help you to achieve your goals and achieve at your highest potential". Keeping students focussed and on-task was also seen as crucial by teachers because "somebody's got to keep them on track, whether it's the home, the school, both of us, everyone has to do it, because they often can't keep that focus". Another student added that the best teachers "actually teach because they want to" and help students to "get back on your feet and keep moving forward" when students "stuff up".

Another teacher also commented on the importance of relationships to Māori student success:

> *Probably the other reason that Māori students succeed, or don't succeed, is because someone establishes good relationships with them. Or they don't and the student is therefore treated as just a name that needs behaviour management, and there isn't a relationship that is formed between teacher and student.*

Most teachers asserted that Māori students learn best from teachers who genuinely care about them and extend their innate desire to learn. One teacher stated:

> *They don't need somebody from outside to come and tell him or her, they're already motivated, they want to know. So it's up to us to extend them, direct them, get them going and support them. It's more about just giving them your experience and your knowledge and perhaps encouraging them, talking about time keeping, all those little intrinsic things.*

Many of the student and whānau participants were very clear about the qualities of effective teachers. They emphasised that effective teachers of Māori students:

- "Focus on the positive aspects of the child" and "show a genuine interest" in their learning, interests and post-secondary aspirations.

- "Get involved with students outside the classroom and then use that involvement" to work meaningfully with them in the classroom.
- "Make their lessons relevant".
- "Give instructions properly and work alongside you". They don't "just give you your work and walk away". Those teachers "really want to help you and are willing to help".
- "Find something that students are good at and encourage them to carry it on and help them through. They believe in them. Everyone has their own ability, there [are] things that they're good at and things they're not so good at".
- Try "different strategies" and "teach them in lots of different ways".
- "Set boundaries and keep to them. Are consistent every single day".
- "Give them that little taste of success" and let them know "that they can do things. Let them figure it out themselves".

One teacher implored other teachers to find out what motivates individual students stating:

> *Find out what will light their fire and help them to get started. It will give them that confidence to really go after what they believe in. If they have to work for that little bit of success to start off with and think about it, then when it becomes harder they will still be motivated, engaged, and wanting to learn. Success builds upon success.*

Another teacher emphasised the importance of persistence and patience:

> *I have a rule that you can ask me a hundred times to explain something and I won't get angry, and it's having that space that's comfortable where they know that I won't tell them off if they say, "I don't understand it." Even if it's two periods down, I say "Well, if you don't know how to do something you ask, if you didn't know how to cross the road are you just going to stand there looking like a goober or are you going to ask someone to help you?" They know that you have that environment where it's okay to not understand something and so it's comfortable. And as soon as you can get them comfortable it'll show, they'll ask questions, they won't be shy. And their learning behaviour comes out. Kids that will misbehave in other classes will be angels in yours.*

Teachers and schools must have higher expectations of Māori students and acknowledge all kinds of success. Many of the whānau members and pākeke interviewed for this study believed that teachers needed to "improve their expectations of Māori students" because "teacher expectation is vital in terms of giving students the confidence to aim high". One pākeke implored teachers to "treat each student as an individual and work with what is best for each one, instead of treating the students as a class".

Effective school strategies. For the past twenty years there has been a constant call for schools to be sensitive and responsive towards the cultural backgrounds and experiences of Māori students. This call has centered on how schools can be "culturally safe" - places that allow and enable Māori students to be whom and what they are. According to a principal interviewed for this study this largely depends on "…the leadership, who is in charge of Māori students within the school" and whether or not "that person is equipped to recognise 'Māori as Māori' or Māori achievement".

A number of teachers and principals requested that schools "get more Māori teachers" and/or find non-Māori teachers that "have that understanding and awareness of where they are teaching – Rotorua". A teaching context like Rotorua required teachers to "build relationships with the Māori students, with the whare, the whānau and the community". A number of teachers referred to the "critical relationship of the whānau and the home" to Māori student success. There was also evidence that whānau wanted "schools to refocus on Te Arawa specific needs and aspirations" recognising "Te Arawa values 'visibly' because we need to make sure the students know that this is their place, not some other culture's place".

A number of teachers also discussed the importance of "encouraging Māori students by keeping that culture of Māori pride through kapa haka" which was seen as "one form of expression" of Māori identity. A few teachers also spoke of "actively trying to include more Māori content in our curriculum in the different areas of the school" and actively "incorporating things Māori". According to one teacher "there are individual teachers who do that and try to do it to the best of their ability, and there are a lot of teachers with a lot of goodwill who want to incorporate more Māori values where possible".

Students and whānau noticed and appreciated school leaders who were visible at community events and who advocate for their school communities. School leadership was also seen as crucial to the success of the Māori students by some whānau members because principals "should be the biggest advocate for the school and its students" and "the principal should be involved, visible and modelling good school/community relationships".

A number of students called for schools to increase the support networks they had available to Māori students. Mention was made specifically of Homework Clubs because "schools should realise that we aren't always motivated to do our homework at home", "one-on-one tutoring, which is very helpful" and "young role models" that "the school brings in to give talks in assemblies". The students talked specifically of young role models who were inspirational including "past head boys and prefects", "brothers", "cousins", "past students like Sam Cane and Taki te Koi" and "local Māori who have been successful like Potaua Biasiny-Tule". The data suggests that the role models that have the most significant impact on students' motivation to persist at school and be successful are from their local context.

Many participants felt that schools could do more to help Māori students reach their potential. A number of teachers mentioned the need to refine the curriculum to better "match the students' actual lives and experiences". Other teachers mentioned the need to "integrate Te Arawatanga – our whakapapa, history and sciences" into what is taught. A number of teachers of Māori descent also spoke of the pressure to fulfill this role in the school and argued "teaching Māori students effectively is the job of all teachers – not just the Māori teacher".

Interestingly, a number of non-Māori teachers asserted that they "don't treat Māori students any differently, although we recognise their importance in our culture, as New Zealanders". They also argued that they "expect the same standards" from Māori students "as we would from any other student" because they believed that "families send their children to the school for academic reasons" and "their Māori background is kind of something that's served outside the school". One principal also stated that although the school "extracts figures for Māori achievement. I don't know that we necessarily celebrate Māori as Māori".

Teach a curriculum that is linked to Te Arawa/Waiariki knowledge, history, and worldview. Māori students' local communities should be seen as primary resources for learning. Schools should make efforts to promote learning that is rooted in what is local – Rotorua's unique history, environment, culture, economy and whakapapa because "ignoring Māori culture and therefore ignoring aspects of life that are important to Māori, shows disrespect and certainly shows a lack of relationships". Moreover it is evident in the data that "knowing and acknowledging the Māori child" and "having a more Māori perspective on things" means "knowing where they've come from and what their beliefs are."

One whānau member stated that their child received "lots of Ngāti Whakaue-based Te Arawa input from the teachers and the kaupapa of their school" and "that was a good building block" for their child to be proud of his Māori identity. A pākeke also argued that in some ways Rotorua was lucky because "Te Arawa has a range of kura kaupapa Māori" and "most mainstream kura also have strong bilingual teachers".

One pākeke argued that "Māori curriculum should be taught by Māori" because Māori students needed "a curriculum that they're going to feel that they fit into - not marginalised by". It was stated that "having a good kaupapa Māori base inspires Māori students because it is their identity and if tikanga is brought into it then that's going to encourage them even further".

A number of the participants stated that it was important to have "an education framework for Te Arawa descendants" that "follows the tikanga and kawa of Te Arawa". It was acknowledged that such a framework "would probably take some time to put together to make it initially successful" but that "Tūhoe have already started theirs and Ngāti Pikiao are close to finishing".

Most whānau valued a school context that gave their child "options" regarding Māori content. One parent stated clearly that "If [child's name] wished to participate in things that were specifically Māori, i.e. kapa haka, Māori, a Māori learning environment, tikanga me te reo or te ao Māori, I would expect that those options be available to her within [name of school] and they have the teaching resources available to support that".

According to a whānau member, "classroom environments needed to provide that cultural interface by bringing people in from the community itself". Whānau also believed that schools should "take them on more field trips, like to Te Puia or Tamaki tours" and enable students to "see how our customs and traditions" influence business. Such opportunities 'stretch kids' imaginations" and showed them the possibilities regarding bridging Māori and non-Māori worlds.

The role of the wider Te Arawa community: In what ways do the wider Te Arawa community foster conditions that enable the characteristics of success to manifest?

It is clear in the data that whānau and pākeke "value education" and believe that schools and communities should work together to "provide a nurturing environment, support success, celebrate ambition and cultivate a more positive attitude".

One pākeke suggested that Māori should work out ways to "link up across the community instead of placing too much responsibility on schools". This pākeke also argued that the wider Te Arawa community - marae, hapū and iwi organisations should work together to "provide tuition from the community" about Te Arawatanga and ensure that "marae are open for use (e.g. by kapa haka groups)" so that Māori students felt a sense of belonging and place on their local marae.

Such organisations were encouraged to show "more commitment to learning or promoting te reo Māori in their own areas" especially amongst youth. One pākeke argued that "big policy" that affects Māori students and their whānau "should come from the community rather than from central government" because communities know their own people best.

Study 1c: Tuākana Interview Results

This section provides a presentation of the tuākana individual interview and/or written questionnaire data. The research team compiled a list of successful Te Arawa individuals encompassing such diverse areas as the entertainment industry, business domain, legal fraternity, the education field and the health sector. The list was not exhaustive. However the research team felt it satisfied a wide range of perspectives. Contact details were

sought via public information sources such as telephone lists, internet searches and local knowledge resources.

Participants were contacted and then invited to respond to a set of questions intended to explore how influential their primary, secondary and tertiary learning experiences had been and how these might have contributed to their on-going success as adults. The three main foci of interest were broadly categorised as 'place' 'people' and 'experiences'.

All five people who consented to take part in the 'tuākana' research project had whakapapa that linked them to Te Arawa. All were educated at Rotorua schools although for one participant it was only to complete her final year of high school. Prior to that final year at secondary school the respondent had attended Auckland primary schools and a prominent Māori Girls' boarding school.

Another participant was educated in Rotorua prior to leaving for a Māori boys' boarding school in Auckland as a teenager. This participant was forced by circumstances to return to Rotorua to complete his senior high school years by which time he had acquired a renewed appreciation for schooling.

The remaining three participants were educated from new entrant level through to the completion of high school at schools within the Rotorua district. All participants attended universities in New Zealand and three of the participants attained post-graduate degrees.

Place – The tuākana participants were asked the following questions:

- *Where were you educated?*
- *How did that affect your attitude and your confidence?*
- *Did the place where you were educated influence your cultural identity?*
- *Did the place where you were educated influence your goals and aspirations?*

Both adults and children develop self-beliefs with regard to their academic, physical, artistic and social competence. Moreover an individual's perception of their capacity to control successful or less successful outcomes is often influenced by the attitude of significant people in their lives. Teachers are particularly influential when it comes to academic performance because the judgements they make about their students' future

achievement has the potential to influence their students' own self-belief leading to either positive or negative outcomes.

One participant reported having had a good attitude and academic confidence up until intermediate school. At this point in his schooling he became disillusioned with the poor attitude of one of his teachers and the tacit condoning by adults of bullying. Others recalled negative statements by teachers including telling students that they "would not pass" examinations.

The effect of such negativity spurred one participant on to an A pass and the other learned very little mathematics for two years, before finding himself with a teacher not only willing to teach but with "an attitude that success was an expectation". This teacher asserted that the participant would "fly through" and he did.

For another participant his self-described "poor attitude" to education changed dramatically when he was sent to boarding school. He stated: "I didn't really like school [however] boarding school was great – when I got there, it was awesome." Another participant stated that "…. school had a significant impact on my attitude and confidence…"

Four of the five participants felt that their "participation in extension classes" coupled with "exceptional teachers" made all the difference. One respondent educated at non-secular schools reported that his attitude and confidence were affected "positively" and that he felt "lucky to be in smaller and quite successful schools where there was less focus on sport and more on academics". All of the respondents were intelligent young people from homes where academic success had been demonstrated either by grandparents, parents or elder siblings.

Those participants who were educated at Catholic schools reflected that their cultural identity was positively influenced by their schools in that "there were few Māori … but [we were] well regarded and well respected". The non-secular schools were also perceived to have encouraged "a strong whānau and tikanga dynamic that was part and parcel with school as well as a sense of pride…"

Most of the participants felt that their cultural identity was strengthened through their participation in kapa haka and reo Māori classes and through the schools' attempt to "uphold Māori values such as manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga [guardianship] and wairuatanga." Boarding schools and Catholic schools, in particular, were perceived to have provided a strong platform for cultural expression where an appreciation of "faith", exemplified as a spiritual worldview, was closely aligned to a Māori perspective.

Secular schools provided kapa haka and reo Māori classes. However for one participant simply being allowed to learn the Māori language was prefaced by a "battle" with the school because as an accelerate student he only had access to French, German or Japanese lessons at the time. Another negative experience was the realisation for one participant "that Māori kids filled the average-to-below-average classes".

Other participants cited the physical presence of wharenui and marae at school along with other manifestations of Māori culture as a positive influence upon their cultural identity. For most, however, cultural identity was less influenced by the schools they attended and more by life outside the school gates. One participant's comment, in particular, exemplifies this perception:

> *"My cultural identity came from my parents who were equal to anyone in society (in my eyes); and from close relatives who were all hard working high achieving Māori."*

Schools have a direct effect on children's educational achievement because this is a context where they are explicitly taught literacy, numeracy and scientific knowledge. However social skills and future career goals and/or aspirations are also influenced by school and these may have a powerful influence on achievement. Indirect effects such as these impacts on students' motivation to learn or avoid learning, their conception of themselves as learners and the attributions they create for explaining their success or failure.

Two participants felt that their school influenced their goals and aspirations but for two distinctly different reasons. The first espoused the view that his schooling had "certainly set my aspiration to be successful [along with] my desire to be qualified…the bar lifted at

university". The second took strength from a negative incident at school and determined she would succeed - the "I'll show you" effect.

Conversely one participant observed "I know of no Māori students from the top stream class [in my year] who went from school to university – we were more interested in getting work, leaving home and having fun". Another opined that the boarding school she attended "did little to promote tertiary education". This person recognised that many of her school colleagues were more than capable of going on to higher education but their lack of ambition in this regard was indicative of a systemic failure by the school to promote tertiary learning as a legitimate and attainable option for the young Māori women in their care.

Another simply had no idea what he wanted to do at the completion of secondary school and had left with no goals and little ambition. This contributor commented:

> *"Well, I didn't know what I wanted to do until I was twenty-two or three. I ended up coming back to my passion which is te reo Māori – school may not have had much influence on that. It took me another three or four years before I realised that I was quite good at teaching."*

The capacity for teachers and schools to influence students toward the pursuit of higher education, including suitable vocations, is significant. As evidenced by the undecided student quoted above in the tuākana cohort, a passion for reo Māori had gone unrecognised as a potential academic career and the student himself left secondary school with little insight into his strengths and passions.

Similarly both the boarding school and local high school each failed to encourage higher education among senior academic Māori students and were remiss in their efforts. Both institutions might have benefitted from "a hard critical look at the attitudes and motivation of teachers, both individually and as a profession" with a view to determining "what obstacles lie in the way of creating the kinds of learning environments which would be most helpful to our students". (Sauvignon, 1976, p. 296).

People – The tuākana were asked the following questions:

- *Can you think of particular people who had an enduring influence on your education?*
- *How did those people affect your attitude and your confidence?*
- *What impact did these people have on your cultural identity?*

How did these people influence your goals and aspirations?

A role model is a person who demonstrates a particular behaviour, skill or social role for another person to emulate. Role models might emerge because of character and conduct or because of particular skills and talents.

Every participant in the research could name at least one person who had an enduring influence on their education. Several named teachers for both positive and negative reasons – "the teacher who told me I'd fail" or conversely "the teacher who cried and told me she was losing her top English student when I left half-way through sixth form to join the army".

The impact of the positive comments endured for this participant who stated "I knew I didn't want an academic career, but I also knew that one day I would draw on that moment and the confidence it gave me to go out and do what I wanted". The negative comments also endured albeit as a means of strengthening their resolve and resilience. One participant asserted that in the face of negative teacher feedback they became "determined to pass".

Whānau members were highly influential as positive role models for the majority of respondents. One student was mentored by his grandfather who had been a successful student and head boy at boarding school. Another participant cited her father who had completed his Masters' degree. This respondent stated "when we were young and we saw him studying" that "this had a positive influence on their aspirations to seek a similar level of education".

Other participants credited their parents as having influenced their education, either directly or indirectly, as in the case of one respondent's grandfather who "didn't really

teach me, it was all observation [but] I wanted to follow in his footsteps". The same contributor also credited the direct influence of his "Tūhoe lecturers (born and bred in the bush) who taught me at university".

Acknowledgement of achievement by whānau was influential as indicated by the statement from one participant who said "Mum had thirteen brothers and sisters and I saw their School Certificates on the wall [at my grandparents]". This was very motivational for this participant. Another comment about the influence of positive role models was "My dad, he was educated, one of the first [of his people] to go to university. [Both] mum and dad … inspired all their children to get a qualification".

Other participants were reminded of the need to observe humility in their success. One participant stated:

> *My mother and father had a way of diminishing personal success...They didn't allow me to celebrate success. A kumara does not speak of its own sweetness.… My parents told me I could have done better.*

The participant quoted above reported he was often perplexed by his parents' advice, elucidating "there was a lot of love at home but the advice was just very confusing..."

Complex messages where academic, social, monetary or sporting success are celebrated, yet held in check by means of self-effacement, need to be conveyed effectively - with well-expressed aroha and clear communication. Conflicting motivational styles can inadvertently undermine achievement and erode confidence, whereas clearly expressed expectations, coupled with judicious praise, will typically promote the healthy pursuit of further accomplishment.

For the majority of contributors, confidence was nurtured by parents who showed support and believed in their child's abilities. As one participant stated "I was never coerced or forced into education but they [my parents] were strongly supportive of whatever I did. [This] gave me confidence to aspire to do good things".

Others gained in confidence as their achievements were recognised by lecturers and through the attainment of personal goals. One participant's attitude and confidence were

boosted when he was invited to attend a prestigious Māori language programme, "Te Panekiretanga". The participant stated "I wasn't sure that I was up to it but I am really glad I went. I learned a hell of a lot there".

"Being politicised from an early age" strongly influenced another participant's attitude and confidence through exposure to debate and considered discussion. This participant was encouraged to participate in political deliberations which fostered her confidence and a burgeoning awareness of many of the social issues facing Māori. These experiences shaped her attitude to "strive for excellence". However, like another participant, this participant was encouraged to stay humble in success. She stated: "…our father very rarely made a big deal of our achievements and he encouraged humility".

Complex messages had an effect on the attitude and confidence of one participant when his father's cultural beliefs conflicted with modern, western concepts about leadership. This participant commented, "My father didn't want his children to lead from the front – he believed that the group chooses the leader when the time is right….Leadership and achievement were different at home compared to the Pākehā concepts".

Jill Bevan-Brown (2003) has asserted that there are three styles of Māori leadership – up-front leadership, leadership by example and behind the scenes leadership. Bevan-Brown has recommended that teachers take all three types of leadership into consideration, not just the two styles that are similar to 'western' concepts of leadership when identifying those Māori students with leadership potential. Notwithstanding the influence of culture and whānau one participant could distinctly remember how her attitude and confidence were positively impacted by a teacher at high school "who showed empathy to all students and came to all my sporting events".

Whether confidence is an innate characteristic of an individual and/or is nurtured through successive accomplishments or through the encouragement of whānau and teachers, it remains a core characteristic of success. Every tuākana participant would be regarded as a 'confident' individual today. However for several of them confidence was an acquired attribute.

Role models can have a positive influence on behaviour by demonstrating personal attributes, knowledge and skill-sets that resonate with another and encourage a person to strive to emulate their role model in a similar manner.

Every tuākana participant could name an individual or group of individuals who they considered had a positive influence on their goals and aspirations. Those participants who "were encouraged to set goals and adhere to them" benefited from that wisdom and reaped the rewards of planning and effort.

Other participants were "instilled with a sense of obligation……we were raised knowing that we had a role serving others particularly those less fortunate than ourselves…….[it was] even more important that we work hard to gain the skills, education and experience that would help us on that journey ". Once again role modelling by parents ("Dad walked the talk…") and significant others influenced the participants' goals and aspirations.

All of the participants had a passion for their chosen fields and acknowledged the influence of various teachers and lecturers. Those who pursued business success recognised the efficacy of tertiary qualifications. However one participant in particular gave credit to:

> *…the qualification that doesn't sit on paper…the support from whānau, hapū and iwi…..[A] combination of educational achievements, cultural identity and Māori success shaped me and allows me to acknowledge the support I got. What I do is much more than a job – it is much bigger than that.*

The influence of whānau was also acknowledged by another participant:

> *I grew up surrounded by very strong personalities, from my parents and aunts, uncles, grandmother, brothers and sisters to old and wise grand aunts and grand uncles etc. No teacher I ever met could really compete with the characters and personalities within my whānau or influence me in any comparative sense.*

Many of the participants mentioned the strong sense of cultural identity that they had learnt from their parents. One participant stated "Dad was very very strong – he gave me a lot of support. I also got a lot of support from Māori Trusts and Incorporations [that] gave me the sense I was being supported because of my whakapapa – so my success was

not just for me alone but for my people". According to this participant such support fostered "a burning desire to study Māori language and history … not just western education ".

Another participant's higher education had a lasting impact on him. He stated "Te Panekiretanga opened my mind up. I now see Māoritanga more clearly and I strive for excellence in both te reo Māori and English".

One participant's immediate family and the environment he grew up in had a significant impact on his cultural identity to the point where he declared:

> *I am safe with my whānau and extended whānau. [I] find other Māori people different. [I have an] aversion to the concept of a homogenous 'Māori' people and am more comfortable identifying with my hapū …. the truth is my family culture is really the only true culture I feel one hundred per cent comfortable with, and…… that is neither Māori nor Pākehā but a merging of the two.*

Conversely cultural identity for the participant who was politicised at an early age was further developed through her father's involvement in Māori political and social movements, which she characterised as both "informative and educational" and which was expanded upon by the boarding school she attended.

Cultural identity begins at home and can be intensely personal and subjective. Ultimately whakapapa is the foundation component of cultural identity, but how that is expressed depends on a myriad of variables and how these combine to develop a culturally defined identity construct. Communicating a cultural identity through whānau, hapū and iwi paradigms can differ depending on the level of exposure to cultural mores and the role models encountered by young people as they grow and learn. Learning institutions need to embrace ways of supporting positive mentoring relationships which add value to students' cultural identities in an authentic and meaningful way.

Experiences – The tuākana were asked the following questions:

- *Can you recall particular experiences that contributed to your educational success?*

- *Can you recall particular experiences that contributed to your resilience and ability to overcome adversity?*
- *Can you recall particular experiences that contributed to your cultural identity?*
- *Is there anything else you would like to acknowledge as having contributed to your success?*

Most participants could point to at least one key experience that influenced them on the path to success. After gaining a Business degree one participant pursued a Māori Studies programme. Learning about Māori history and reo Māori proved not only motivational but a key experience resulting in the participant "….giving up an accounting position [which caused some consternation]. However Dad understood my need to pursue the cultural side".

Another acknowledged that being placed in an accelerate class had been an influential experience for him. He recognised that "there [had been] valid reasons why I had been put into classes with some very clever peers at school". He went on to do his first degree and was his university valedictorian the same year his cousin was named national valedictorian in her degree. Nevertheless this participant accepted that alongside his academic success his "family and extended family generally tend to appreciate other things like being raised on papakāinga ('original' home), our family ties and how lucky we were compared to others because we grew up next to our marae".

Another participant recollected the feeling of personal accomplishment as a key experience that directly contributed to his success. He stated that he can "…recall delivering my valedictorian speech in both languages and I still can recall how that felt. I have learned to do my best with everything that comes my way".

Overcoming challenges and developing resilience are characteristics of successful people. One participant described himself as "very resilient" and directly attributed his resilience to the loss of four whānau members in a car crash in his first year at university - a crash in which he was also involved. He stated "[That experience] motivated me to continue with my passion and made me determined to do well for them …. I wanted to do them proud".

Two key experiences impacted the resilience of another participant - the low expectations of one of his teachers and the challenge of moving schools. This participant emphatically stated “I learned to cope with change”. Furthermore experiencing a sense of failure “when a whaikōrero [formal address] …… didn’t go so good” motivated him to overcome an adverse experience and to put greater effort into everything he did.

Another participant commented on the resilience she learnt during her primary school years “by a teacher who encouraged me to take a stand and not accept bullying rather than moving classes to avoid them”. Another mentioned her resolve to do well when she was asked “if she was the new cleaner” when she was reporting for a new academic position at a university.

Overseas travel experiences taught one participant that his cultural identity was of interest to other people. This respondent had previously believed that he might have to “leave [my cultural identity] behind” but soon changed his mind when he found “people were very receptive to my ‘Māoriness’ and it left a lasting impression both spiritually and physically”. Another’s participation in kapa haka groups throughout the years provided significant experiences that fortified his cultural identity and directly contributed to his success.

All tuākana respondents pointed to the influence of whānau in the first instance as significant contributors to their success. Role modelling by individual whānau members and the whānau as a collective had a huge influence on each respondent’s cultural identity, attitude to achievement and eventual success as adults. All learned the value of humility and all had key experiences that built resilience.

The Catholic and boarding schools attended by the participants were seen to be particularly supportive of Māori students’ cultural identity due to strong whānau/school relationships, and an analogous responsiveness to a spiritual worldview. Whether that continues today is uncertain.

Low teacher expectation was a recurrent theme with several participants citing instances when teachers clearly expected them to fail regardless of the fact that academic success was already well established within their whānau. Every tuākana respondent’s success has

been achieved through hard work, commitment, resilience and growing confidence, and each demonstrates a strong sense of humility.

Conclusion

The study findings, as presented in Chapter Four, reveal that the Māori students, whānau members, teachers, iwi and others interviewed all have clear ideas of what contributes to the students' educational success. Their views often overlap and each group adds further insights as to how this success is achieved.

Key pillars of Māori educational success emerge from the comprehensive findings. These include consistent support and high expectations of students from the whānau, school and wider community, a strong Māori identity including participation in Māori cultural activities, approaching learning and enjoying achievement with humility, and building study and knowledge on the distinct Te Arawa cultural and physical setting including the unique geography of the Rotorua area.

Student wellbeing emerges as another crucial pillar particularly emotional and physical wellbeing as well as good health. These in turn support another vital ingredient – student resilience. There was a strong motivation among the students interviewed to succeed not just for their benefit but also for the benefit of their whānau.

Some of the pillars are linked to the individual qualities of successful Māori students such as their diligence and commitment including their goal-driven and self-management skills, leadership qualities and the development of innovative and creative approaches to learning.

The students highlighted the significance to their learning and achievement of friendships with other students and 'touchstone' teachers were also considered very important to fostering achievement and success among Māori students.

Chapter Five: Discussion

Introduction

Māori student success is explored in depth in this chapter, with particular reference to student success in eight Rotorua/Waiariki secondary schools. It is clear that student success is built upon a range of key 'ingredients'.

Five broad themes that emerged from the research data are discussed: actualising mana tangata; success in two worlds; role-modelling and resilience; student-centred whānau dynamics; and place-based learning.

Positive Māori identity and cultural efficacy are shown to be closely linked to student resilience, and knowledge of one's whakapapa and mana tangata, a sense of belonging, are key influences. Cultural knowledge and engagement also tend to support connections in the wider community and student access to social support and positive role models.

Similarly, parents and iwi help students to develop a sense of their collective belonging, cultural connectedness and responsibilities to others. The study suggests that there is scope for the schools to play a more significant role in enabling students' positive Māori identity to fully develop. According to all of the students in the study their Māori identity lay at the heart of all things important and their educational attainment was considered complementary to this.

Chapter Five discusses how Māori students can be well equipped to achieve success in both the Māori and non Māori worlds. Role models were considered by all participants to be an extremely influential feature of students' school, home and community lives.

The study found that the presence and expression of humility was an integral part of the successful Māori students' emerging personalities and characters. Success was also perceived as the result of the many who assisted, supported and helped students to achieve their goals.

The participants identified physical, emotional and spiritual health as vital to sustaining the high levels of wellbeing important to success at school. Aspects of wellbeing and the qualities of successful students are explored, along with their desire and ability to work hard.

Successful Māori students tend to occupy a central important position within their whānau. In turn the study clearly demonstrates that whānau and teachers contribute to the wellbeing of students in several significant ways. There is a brief discussion about the fear of failure among students – the flip-side of expectations of success.

Place-based learning is regarded as another key ingredient of student success. All participants involved in the study were keen to see Te Arawatanga underpin relevant educational and recreational activities. The term, 'educultural', is used to describe a foundation for learning that includes building upon students' "cultural and experiential strengths to help them acquire new skills and knowledge".

Finding the factors of Māori student success

Although the retention and achievement rates of Māori students have improved over the past ten years it is still significantly less than that for all other students. Education is critical to alleviating significant disadvantage among Māori. However the capacity of Māori to realise their full potential and experience educational success depends greatly on the level to which schooling provides them with the necessary knowledge, understanding and skills to lead productive and fulfilled lives.

Despite the fact that some Māori students do stay and succeed little work has been done to identify what factors have helped these Māori students. In addition there is relatively little knowledge about how the various school, home, community and personal factors are interrelated. The purpose of this study was to explore relationships between Māori identity and student success in eight Rotorua/Waiariki Secondary Schools, and to assess the impact of school and home environments on Māori student success.

Five broad themes emerged from the data and will be discussed in this chapter. The themes are:

- Actualising Mana Tangata
- Success in Two Worlds
- Role-modelling and Resilience
- Student-centred Whānau Dynamics and
- Place-based Learning

Actualising Mana Tangata

During the last two decades educational research has signalled the need to better understand the relationship between Māori identity and the educational outcomes of Māori students (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Macfarlane, 2004; Durie, 2001; Webber, 2011a). Given the largely bi-ethnic nature of the Rotorua/Waiariki region a positive sense of Māori identity has significant implications for Māori students attending secondary schools in the area, to the extent that Māori identity is salient in their everyday social, academic and personal lives. As a consequence many principals, teachers and communities in Rotorua are faced with complex challenges, including how to acknowledge, affirm and be inclusive of Māori identity in the school, the classroom and in their interactions with the wider community. Positive Māori identity and cultural efficacy have been promoted as critical resilience factors for improving the educational outcomes of Māori.

In this study a positive sense of Māori identity was experienced by students and their whānau as cultural competence, cultural efficacy and Māori pride. It was also informed by the individual's and/or whānau's knowledge of their iwi and hapū connections and a sense of belonging to those cultural institutions.

Positive Māori identity was also related to having a high level of self-identification as Māori, a developing understanding of Māori language, values and culture, involvement in hapū/iwi social and cultural activities, and a developing knowledge of one's links to whānau, hapū and iwi.

All participants also agreed that knowledge of one's whakapapa was a key influence. Kāretu (1990) has described whakapapa as the glue that connects individuals to a certain

place or marae, locating them within the broader network of kin relations. According to the participants in this study whakapapa is not simply about having 'Māori blood' but knowing about that descent and having a meaningful relationship to it. Knowledge of whakapapa had a major part to play in the resilience of the Māori students and their ability to stay focused, as well as committed to achieving their aspirations at school for the collective benefit of their whānau, hapū and iwi.

It is therefore important that schools in Rotorua create contexts where Māori students can seek answers to the questions 'who am I?', 'how do I belong?' and 'what role will being Māori have in my life at school and after I finish school?' Such questions enable students to get a sense of what 'being Māori' is, can be and should be. This knowledge can help them to develop a positive sense of self – that is a secure sense of mana tangata. Mana tangata is a sense of belonging, efficacy and connectedness to others in one's whānau, school and community.

Mana tangata focuses on the development of human aptitude and is concerned with the values that a community considers important in order to ensure positive relationships and to encourage individuals, whānau and groups to reach their full potential. As a concept mana tangata implies that the strength of a person or collective is drawn from the depth and breadth of their social relationships. According to Tomlins-Jahnke (2011, p.1) the "philosophies that underpin the concept of mana tangata are long-standing and reinforced in customary traditions, socially founded values, ideals and norms." However, as stipulated by Roskruge (2011), the concept of mana tangata is not rooted solely in the past but also reflects our relationship to the current world and to new generations with quite different expectations. Roskruge also asserts that:

> *These new generations live in various parts of the world, among many cultures and ideologies, and as such they seek ways of providing for those around them from a myriad of resources…To this new generation of young Māori, mana tangata will be an expression of personal identity and uniqueness* (p. 256).

Within a Māori worldview mana tangata is based on core values and underpinned by common concepts such as whakapapa, whenua, hauora and mātauranga (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2011). However as a consequence of contextual differences in this study mana tangata

meant many things to many people. Mana tangata was expressed by the successful Māori students in this study as their ability to engage meaningfully and successfully in the school context, as well as to make profound connections with Māori culture, peoples and contexts. Mana tangata was also exhibited via the student's sense of human authority, dignity and overall wellbeing.

A student's unique expertise, skills and knowledge were perceived by all of the study participants to be essential requisites for success and leading one's community. As such the skills and contributions made by the individual student, in the pursuit of collective aspirations, provided human authority or mana tangata. Māori students exhibited mana tangata as a developing sense of cultural connectedness, academic and social self-efficacy, and leadership. By and large mana tangata was related to the contribution of an individual to the community and the wellbeing of the collective.

Students with a sense of mana tangata know that they are valued for their unique strengths, skills and talents by their peers, whānau, teachers and/or communities. Accordingly the students, whānau, teachers and community members saw young successful Māori as critical players in the continuation of Māori culture, language and traditions. All adult participants expressed the desire to see Māori students realise their mana tangata, and to become equipped to play a meaningful and successful role in Māori/Rotorua society and, more specifically, within their various iwi.

Like the work of Houkamau and Sibley (2010) this study suggests that increased cultural knowledge and engagement can lead to increased community connectedness as well as more access to social support and positive role models. This study shows that such connectedness can promote positive school behaviours and a commitment to school completion and success.

Whānau play the most important role in terms of socialising their children into the Māori world and helping them to develop cultural efficacy. Cultural efficacy is the extent to which an individual feels they have the personal resources to engage appropriately as Māori across a range of contexts (Houkamau & Sibley, 2011). The findings of this study show that the most important developmental asset a parent can imbue in their children is

to ensure that they are aware of their collective belonging, cultural connectedness and responsibilities to others.

Many of the successful students in this study asserted that any decisions about themselves were made while recognising their responsibilities to others – their whānau, hapū and iwi. Therefore healthy and supportive whānau are fundamental to positive Māori identity development and for promoting educational advancement.

A primary concern for whānau should be the healthy transmission of culture, knowledge, values and skills. The inter-generational transfer of cultural values, languages and whakapapa should include associations with hapū, iwi and marae. These cultural institutions are important sources of identity which contribute to learning, development and the realisation of potential.

The shaping of student attitudes towards Māori and more specifically iwi identity, and the associated languages, values and cultural worldviews need to be a fundamental function of whānau. Constructive and supportive relationships between members of whānau including (importantly) extended whānau are important determinants of Māori student success, and lay the foundations for positive relationships in later life. Modelling whanaungatanga - that is the establishment and maintenance of supportive relationships, is also a critical whānau function that contributes to student success at school.

Moreover iwi can also play a role in the positive Māori identity development of students. Te Arawa is in a position to provide advice, contribute to planning and monitor the progress of schools in the Rotorua/Waiariki area. Te Arawa are also in a position to promote the inclusion of culturally-rich learning opportunities that will contribute to the wider goals of whānau, the schools and the iwi.

Many iwi within Te Arawa have also established wānanga where parents and other whānau members can participate in learning programmes that will improve chances of participation on marae and in other cultural arenas. For some whānau, these wānanga have strengthened their existing knowledge of language, marae kawa, whakapapa and tikanga. For other whānau these wānanga importantly offer a point of entry into te ao

Māori and their connectedness to their iwi. Initiatives such as these wānanga contribute to whānau wellbeing and consequently they positively impact on Māori student success.

This study suggests that schools do not currently play a significant role in enabling positive Māori identity to be fully developed, apart from student interactions with a few key Māori teachers who purposefully engage with Māori students around kapa haka, Māori studies and/or Māori language. Commenting on the social conditions necessary for positive Māori identity development, Durie (2003, p.68) has noted: 'Cultural identity depends not only on access to culture and heritage but also on the opportunity for cultural expression and cultural endorsement within society's institutions.'

This means schools need to do a better job of ensuring that Māori students' cultural engagement and ethnic identities are enriched by their experiences at school. Māori student engagement and success needs to be an integrated, school-wide responsibility rather than the responsibility of one or two teachers who 'go the extra mile'. Durie (2001) has emphasised the role of schools in affirming Māori students' identities by asserting that if formal education for Māori learners does little to help prepare them to interact within te ao Māori, then no matter what has been learned their education would have been incomplete.

The more a school promotes Māori culture the more secure the ethnic identity of the school's Māori students is likely to be. Like Arama Rata's (2012) research the findings of this study suggest that Māori cultural engagement assists in the development of positive Māori identity and that positive Māori identity predicts psychological wellbeing.

Schools can significantly impact on Māori identity development by increasing the level of access students have to Māori language, knowledge and cultural institutions like marae. The results of this study challenge schools to promote Māori culture better in order to affirm Māori student identities. Schools in the Rotorua/Waiariki region must prioritise staff professional development in Māori cultural competence and more specifically Te Arawa history, tikanga and culture.

Like Penetito (2010) this study purports that there are two main ways that school can help Māori students to thrive: "firstly if it holds up a mirror to them and they can see

themselves growing and developing in a way that is personally meaningful for them; and secondly, if it helps them to project themselves into the immediate world around them as well as into the world at large" (p. 35).

Success in Two Worlds

While academic achievement is considered a crucial measure for potential future success it is only one feature of a Māori student's emerging distinctiveness and evolving suite of skills. According to all of the students in this study their Māori identity lay at the heart of all things important and their educational attainment was considered complimentary to this. Together these two constructs were viewed as fundamental to their personal growth, transformation and journey from one developmental stage to the next - and from one world to the other.

Academic success and cultural fluency were viewed by all participants as requiring a nurturing whānau, a responsive school community and a learning environment which includes the provision of educational and cultural experiences beyond the classroom. As seemingly different as two worlds can be the ability to successfully traverse te ao Māori and te ao whānui was dependent on the acquisition of navigational skills such as: the demonstration of determination and motivation, diligence and forbearance; a healthy self-esteem; resilience; and a strong moral compass.

While the development of a strong Māori identity is largely dependent on each unique whānau, hapū and iwi it is crucial for schools, teachers and significant others to recognise, acknowledge and support the process. The acquisition of positive Māori identity is fundamental to the student's potential for success (Webber, 2008, 2011b). This process must involve strategies that strengthen the student's cultural connections, competence and continuity. The student's academic growth and achievement is an integral part of this process and all members of the school community, whānau and wider community play an important role in supporting, shaping and preparing a student to this end.

The successful Māori students in this study recognised the need to work in partnership with significant others and were willing to accept personal responsibility for their emerging adulthood, educational achievement and cultural fluency.

Māori students must learn to accommodate and manage the tensions and conflict that arise from different worldviews (cultural and academic). They must also learn how to navigate successful pathways that enable them to remain firmly anchored to their cultural pou (support poles) or belief system, while at the same time experiencing the freedom to navigate the broader context of their expanding worlds. Many of the students in this study identified the need for strong role models, humility and emotional, physical and spiritual wellbeing as key 'pou' to their educational success. Students, whānau and teachers saw these pou as necessary in order to ensure that no matter what challenges lay ahead most students were well equipped (emotionally, physically, spiritually, academically and culturally) to overcome adversity and ensure their continuing success.

Many of the students in this study reported that success was something that was valued in their own homes and amongst other whānau members so that the inspiration to successfully complete school was generally high. Consequently success was considered a collective responsibility, rather than a singular pursuit, and students were encouraged to observe and draw upon the inspiration of others to support their own developing aspirations.

Role models were considered by all participants in this study to be an extremely influential feature of students' school, home and community lives. Exposure to local mentors and role models, who were known for and/or demonstrated particular characteristics of success, were considered by all of the participants as immensely helpful to student motivation for learning. The students themselves were highly influenced by people they interacted with in their daily lives – their immediate and extended whānau members, their teachers and members of the wider Rotorua community.

Effective role models were perceived to offer helpful advice including early career guidance and information about travel and cultural experiences outside of their local context. Seeing and/or hearing about the world and/or travel experiences were considered by the participants to be part of the necessary grounding or foundation upon which success is built. Access to these experiences was seen to prepare the Māori students for the development of global citizenship and future employment.

According to Wyn (2007, 2009) students need these kinds of experiences in order to develop skills to navigate a way forward in an increasingly diverse world. It is also critical to their ability to manage the values and expectations of the competing cultures they find themselves in. To overcome adversity and to maintain a degree of control over related outcomes Māori students need to actively engage with shaping, and broadening their own identities. The need to widen the horizons and possibilities for Māori students is important but it is the acquisition of any associated navigational skills and tools which is the clincher.

The variety of role models (living and dead) identified by individual students ranged from foot soldiers to politicians and from teachers to warrior princesses. When seeking further discussion around the selection of such individuals many of the students were able to articulate a personal characteristic of each of these chosen models, and the deep desire to emulate this feature by striving to model their own behaviour upon this person. The characteristic articulated by the students as common to all the role models identified, and which they had greatest respect for, was humility.

Humility is considered an important personal characteristic in Māori worldview (Mead, 2003) and students who demonstrate this trait are considered more likely to appreciate the needs and efforts of others. Additionally they are perceived as driven to work towards the common good in the event that success will advantage everyone. This study found that the presence and expression of humility was an integral part of the successful Māori students' emerging personality and character. As such the development of humility was viewed as having a positive effect upon the students' social identity, intrinsic self-worth, confidence and pride. Shaping, nurturing and developing this valuable attribute was seen to be the collective responsibility of everyone.

Although humility was defined differently by the diverse participants it was generally accepted that it exists as a virtue valued by past and current generations. Due to the enduring legacy and value of whakapapa and humility, many of the Māori students were encouraged to remain grounded in the knowledge that their ancestors made great sacrifices in order that they benefit from an inheritance of aspiration, tenacity and success.

Māori teachers and whānau members promoted the broader Māori values of tikanga and kawa; including whanaungatanga, arohatanga, and manaakitanga. While it might be argued that these cultural values already underpin the broader framework of whānau, hapū and iwi the teachers and whānau members, in general, were also concerned with assisting individual students to understand that success is never accomplished alone. Rather success was perceived as the result of the many who assisted, supported and helped them achieve their goals.

Many of the teachers in this study reported that they used a number of strategies to promote the right balance regarding the demonstration of both whakahīhī (self-promotion) and whakamā (self-abasement) in Māori students. These teachers believed that both attributes existed as part of the human condition and therefore served a legitimate purpose in promoting the broader characteristics of humility. Teachers reported that they tried to support their Māori students to develop a degree of self confidence in letting others discover their attributes and talents through the actions they exhibit, rather than the self-praise they could use to draw attention to themselves. Furthermore the teachers in this study were keen to see other teachers acknowledge the value of humility; as a positive personal characteristic worthy of being promoted across the entire school community.

For many Māori students and their whānau humility was viewed as a constant - a way of acting and being where the efforts of others were to be exalted and self-praise limited. Further it involved sharing the attention and ensuring that every other person was recognised for their contribution no matter how small. Humility was regarded by whānau as an important personal characteristic to be role modelled by them; an act connecting one person to another without concern for rank, prestige or category. It was further seen as encouraging the important qualities of integrity, responsibility, kindness, compassion, respect, honesty and courage.

What the study did not illuminate was how teachers could possibly inspire other teachers, and possibly resistant school communities, to embrace the elements of humility in the way they interacted and engaged with Māori students. While whānau saw that part of their responsibility was to role model humility for their children in the event that their children would in turn copy this behaviour, teachers made no connection between the

need for them to role model humility even though they saw the need for this trait to be evident in others.

Another aspect evident in the study was the way in which humility might well be used to inspire less successful students to achieve positive outcomes, although teachers did not necessarily see humility as playing such an integral part in lifting the performance outcomes of students struggling to achieve. Whānau who have raised children with the principles of humility understand that there are many aspects to success, and that when one reaches a place of success and/or influence in the world the ability to demonstrate humility should take precedence in one's demonstration of achievement. The Māori students and whānau members in this study believed that a truly humble person continued to learn, listen and serve others while reaching for the stars.

According to scholars such as Rangihau (1975) and Ritchie (1992) humility also allows an individual the freedom to select others for praise and acclaim and to elevate those who may be timid, or trapped in a cycle of self-abasement or self-denigration - traits which are often mistaken for humility.

Students in this study who demonstrated the virtue of humility were also possessed of those other qualities such as self-efficacy and a strong sense of empathy. They articulated the view that humility allowed them to care about the feelings of others and to receive correction, compliments and feedback graciously. Humility helps Māori students to recognise their own personal limitations and encourages them to seek out the assistance, support and expertise of others.

While humility was considered to be an important feature of successful Māori students, three related key states were also identified as integral to the notion of success. The participants in this study identified physical, emotional and spiritual health as vital to sustaining the high levels of wellbeing important to success at school.

This study found that in general schools are supportive, instrumental and responsive to the needs of students' physical wellbeing. A range of sporting activities and opportunities such as access to expert coaching, mentoring and national and international travel are presented as part of the school curricula and have a positive impact on students' sense of

physical wellbeing. Students and whānau members argued that student involvement in physical activity and healthy eating increased their specialised sporting skills, improved their mental agility and toughness, and promoted healthy living. As much as 82% of the student respondents reported that their schools promoted sport activities and events to promote this aspect of health and wellbeing. According to some students the feeling of being fit and capable also supported a greater sense of self-esteem leading to confidence to achieve success in other areas of endeavour.

Students identified a synergy between their physical and cognitive abilities arguing that physical wellbeing increased their ability to understand, appreciate and move their bodies without limitation, resulting in a state of satisfaction and purpose. Whānau also played a critical role in enhancing the physical wellbeing of their children by promoting provision, protection and prevention. Many whānau members articulated the importance of providing daily sustenance through the cooking of healthy meals.

However they also felt that it was important to nourish and strengthen the students' minds by supporting the development of a healthy and resilient emotional framework. To achieve this whānau must ensure that home environments are positive, safe, caring and nurturing and that positive preventative measures to combat adversity such as open communication are always encouraged.

To foster a sense of commitment to educational success many whānau must ensure that quality time is prioritised and set aside for learning conversations and study. Many whānau of successful Māori students have established house rules emphasising values such as: instilling the view that everyone's opinion counts; all children need to hear praise when it is due; hard work results in success, not luck; and focussing on 'being beautiful' on the inside is important in supporting a healthy developing self-esteem. Further, educational success requires a high degree of self-respect and 'service to others'.

Other elements which support the state of Māori students' wellbeing include the protection and promotion of Māori values including tikanga and kawa. Many whānau use cultural elements such as karakia, waiata and te reo in their daily lives as a way of advancing their cultural aspirations and making it count in ways that strengthen the position of all individuals in the whānau.

Many of the teachers support a similar position and believe that having a strong cultural identity is a critical foundation for student self-worth. Consequently the teachers believe that they have a responsibility to demonstrate their commitment to Māori students by: being strong listeners and trusted confidantes; creating culturally safe spaces at school; and by acknowledging cultural diversity through the message that 'being Māori matters'. While this may appear to signal that teachers are involved in nurturing emotional resilience and wellbeing there is a tension around this viewpoint. The majority of student participants in fact felt that schools and teachers failed to provide adequate pastoral and/or emotional care, and were either unable or unwilling to recognise the emotional sensitivities and nuances associated with being an emerging young adult.

While little explanation about schools' and teachers' lack of support for students' emotional wellbeing was forthcoming from the study, interestingly teachers rated themselves quite the opposite. Many teachers identified values including: compassion, an ability to be present in the 'here and now' when dealing with students; being non-judgemental; a good listener; offering a safe and accepting space to talk; building a trusting pastoral relationship and challenging them (students) to take responsibility for their own actions, as fundamental to their teaching practice.

Māori teachers expanded further upon this by suggesting they also supported the emotional development of students by being able to nurture Māori students' spiritual and cultural uniqueness and capabilities. The reason for such a gap between what students perceive as emotional support and what teachers believe this to be clearly signals an opportunity for future research.

Critical friends and friendships were viewed by the students as extremely important to emotional wellbeing and second only to a loving and supportive whānau. The students were unflinching in their support for and need of strong friendships where they could be open about their feelings and confident that whatever they entrusted to their friends would be protected. Likewise students identified the need to surround themselves with like-minded individuals who shared similar viewpoints on all manner of things; who could encourage one to talk about any issues or problems rather than keep things bottled up inside and who could also help one to relax by 'not sweating the small stuff'.

Friends such as these also helped to maintain a sense of wellbeing and heightened esteem around the students' cultural values and beliefs. Further they were instrumental in ensuring that there was a healthy balance between the students' social and school life.

According to Dodge, Daly, Huyton and Sanders (2012) it is difficult to singularly define wellbeing without taking into account the many influences that bring to bear upon any one individual. Dodge et al. argue that the human condition is both resilient and susceptible and that wellbeing exists on multiple points along a continuum. Agreeing on any one definition is therefore almost impossible as was borne out by the study, although there is a level of acceptance for a series of generic characteristics which resonate for most people.

For some individuals wellbeing represented a state of grace where all elements of the human condition, including the physical, emotional and spiritual self, were in perfect alignment or balance leading to an inner feeling of contentment, satisfaction and serenity. For others wellbeing was a phenomenon expressed as the ability to engage without fear in the world around; to be free to be who one chooses to be; to seek and to find guidance; to be valued, loved and cherished; to live a life well without crippling physical or mental limitations; to be emotionally robust and resilient so that one can dream of all manner of possibilities unencumbered by feelings of inadequacy or failure, and to be spiritually nurtured so that the soul feels complete and grateful for a life worth living (Kruger, 2011). The participants in this study mentioned all of the above characteristics as critical to their sense of wellbeing.

The celebration of wellbeing, or toiora, by Māori is expressed through a multidimensional lens. Durie (1999) has discussed wellbeing as a delicate balance between the spiritual, physical and psychological states; known to Māori as taha wairua, taha hinengaro, taha tinana and taha whānau. Wellbeing from a Māori worldview draws from both the physical and the spiritual realms and is viewed as a constantly changing landscape where the life force (mauri) moves along a continuum between toiora and kahupo (spiritual blindness) (Durie, 1999).

According to Kruger (2011) wellbeing is expressed through the presence of three inner qualities identified as: ihi (power), wehi (awe) and wana (energy, authority).

A successful Māori student, as identified by the participants in this study, is self–possessed; that is they display an inner calm or authority; a strength which is inspiring and upon which others can rely; and they have a heart which nurtures and cares for others. Kruger asserts that such a person possesses the power of ihi.

According to the participants in this study successful Māori students also possess the grace to receive and reciprocate respect; they demonstrate both fear and courage in learning; and are possessed of the wisdom to know the difference. Kruger asserts that such a person possesses wehi.

Lastly a successful Māori student was perceived to possess the ability to be curious and innovative; to be excited, eager, happy, enthusiastic, animated and motivated in their learning; and to anticipate the extraordinary from what others might see as simply ordinary. These students demonstrate the force, the influence and the authority of wana (Kruger, 2011). Together these combined qualities represent overall wellbeing which contributes significantly to Māori student success.

Role-modelling and Resilience

Many Māori students today are being exposed to increasingly difficult home, neighbourhood and/or school environments that can significantly obstruct their path to academic success. However some Māori students are successful at school despite having to overcome adverse personal and contextual factors. Such students are often labelled as resilient.

Resilience largely consists of two components: the presence of significant adversity and the achievement of a positive outcome despite the threat or risk (Masten & Coatsworth, 1998). Resilience can also be thought of as a continuous interaction between the individual and characteristics of his or her environment. In this sense resilience is context dependent. Māori students who experience themselves as resilient, and are seen by their communities as resilient, are those who successfully navigate their way through adversity,

each in his or her own way, and according to the strengths and resources available to the student as well as his or her whānau, community and/or culture.

Resilient Māori students often experience some type of risk or adversity and are still doing relatively well despite the risk(s). Māori students who were seen as successful in this study revealed a combination of personal and environmental characteristics that enabled them to stay focussed and resilient in the face of educational adversity. Familial support, enhanced academic and cultural self-efficacy, and an internal locus of control helped the Māori students in this study to thrive in the school context.

The concept of resilience, as illustrated by the successful Māori students in this study, was also closely linked to personal attributes such as determination, persistence, confidence and focus. All of the Māori students who were interviewed demonstrated characteristics of resilience in order to overcome adversity, and also employed a range of self-regulated learning behaviours in order to direct their own learning and achieve their goals.

Many of the students in this study stood out because of their desire to learn, their generally positive attitude towards school and their motivation to pursue a career that would improve the wellbeing of their whānau. More specifically the majority of the students:

- had positive self-concepts, positive academic self-efficacy, were intrinsically motivated and did homework regularly;
- were described as being resolute and tenacious and said they were confident or were able to encourage or push themselves towards success;
- were goal-oriented and future-focussed;
- saw a strong relationship between school and work and had chosen a possible career;
- had received consistent support and guidance from their whānau;
- appreciated extra academic support, both in the classroom and outside it, and valued teacher contact with their parents and teachers who took a personal interest in them as individuals;

- saw choosing “like-minded” friends as crucial to their ability to stay focussed at school.

The resilient Māori students in this study also had individual characteristics associated with academic success such as cognitive abilities, motivation and self-efficacy. Although many students may possess these individual characteristics successful Māori students seem to rely on these capabilities to help them overcome adverse circumstances in their environment.

Various protective factors seemed to contribute towards the development of resilience in the Māori students in this study. The development of a strong belief in self was evident in most of the Māori students, and was manifested in an understanding about who they were, what they wanted to achieve in life and the direction they needed to take to realise their goals.

Common personal characteristics demonstrated by the Māori students, in addition to resilience, included tenacity, motivation and inner will, independence, realistic aspirations and an appreciation of their cultural uniqueness. Protective factors also included support networks that existed within and outside of the school to develop their achievement, including peers, whānau, supportive teachers and other encouraging adults. This support network is essential to the academic success of Māori students.

Māori students who expressed a strong connection with their Māori identity also tended to utilise their ‘Māoriness’ as a support structure, calling on whānau and their cultural beliefs/traditions when facing adverse circumstances in the environment. Māori identity and the associated sense of connection and belonging served as a buffer to protect them from negative school and/or home difficulties.

There are a number of external protective factors that occur within the whānau, school and/or community which can also increase the odds of students overcoming adversity. Within the whānau these factors included a strong parental bond or affectionate tie to an alternate caregiver, grandparent or siblings. From the school, teachers and other (mostly Māori) mentors were repeatedly found to exert a positive influence on Māori students. In the community, positive relationships with friends and caring adults also provided a

protective effect. This study shows that resilience emanates from three main sources: the individual, the whānau and wider community, and the environment or social context.

Māori students who are most likely to have high levels of resilience are also hard workers, are involved in extracurricular activities and are able to rely on at least one supportive adult for guidance and mentoring. This study also found that the most important protective factors that contributed to academic engagement included whānau support, school responsiveness and engagement in te ao Māori. In this study the link between the school and the Māori culture of the student, as well as strong whānau support, has been shown to be two of the key components that contribute to educational resilience. Development of students' self-esteem and educational resilience is significantly linked to positive familial, cultural and social supports.

Whānau socialisation plays a vital role in empowering Māori students to function successfully in the milieu of the school culture while remaining grounded in their Māori identity and culture. This study shows that whānau need to ensure their child develops resilience by providing a healthy home environment that supports the student's emotional, cultural, physical and spiritual wellbeing. Many of the student and adult respondents in this study believed that a sense of accomplishment and interconnectedness led to a state of overall wellbeing.

Healthy and supportive home environments teach discipline, a work ethic, perseverance, commitment and responsibility to others. Additionally whānau members need to model resilience strategies that have worked for them because Māori students look to whānau as their first teachers and motivation for success. Whānau and teachers must have high expectations for their students and an up-to-date knowledge of their post-secondary career goals and aspirations. Such teacher and whānau knowledge acts as a source of motivation for students and encourages them to stay focussed and goal-oriented.

Additionally many of the Māori students reported appreciating the advice and guidance of 'touchstone teachers'. These were the teachers, often Māori, who acted as mentors, advocates and confidantes in the school context. These teachers tended to look for and focus on the good in the Māori students, and made efforts to regularly articulate the Māori student's potential and exceptionality. The 'touchstone teachers' made efforts to learn

about who the students were inside and outside of the school environment, and emphasised the student's uniqueness, their whakapapa links and other positive attributes. These teachers also viewed Māori cultural attributes as strengths to be respected and recognised.

In order to successfully navigate their worlds Māori students need to acquire a range of skills and qualities; most importantly a resilient character. However it is clear from this study that a Māori student's capacity to exhibit resilience depends on more than individual and/or innate ability. Māori students learn the skills and strategies of resilience from their whānau and/or other supportive adults in their immediate worlds.

Student-centred Whānau Dynamics

Successful Māori students occupy a central position of importance within their whānau. The majority of students in this study were held in high regard by their whānau, their peers, teachers and members of the wider school community. The relationship between all players was one of respect and trust, with the addition of some key features which were considered a vital and important part of the student's journey toward accomplishing success. For the main part most of these students were placed at the heart of the whānau and were nurtured, protected and guided towards success from an early age. Whānau saw their role as integral to the formation of healthy life-long attitudes and learning behaviours, and viewed this as a serious undertaking if their children were to realise their potential as successful Māori students and emerging adults.

This 'tamariki-centric' positioning of children and rangatahi in the whānau was evident from the comments made by both the students and their parents. Successful students were quick to praise their parents for providing them with a safe and loving environment where encouragement and support for all their endeavours never wavered. This consistent and constant presence of care and concern in their lives made them want to try hard at school and achieve educational success.

Students saw this as a means of paying back their parents and making them proud for all their unwavering support and sacrifices they had made even when there wasn't always the money or the means to do all things they wanted to do. Parents on the other hand were

forthcoming about placing their children's needs first and their own second. They recognised the vulnerability of transitioning from childhood to young adulthood and were committed to ensuring that their children would be advantaged by having their physical, emotional, spiritual and cultural needs met. Parents saw this task as their primary responsibility and developed strategies to ensure that they were equipped to support their children and that they were not disadvantaged by their own limitations.

Strategies identified as features of a broader whānau success model included: meaningful relationships or whakawhanaungatanga (forging relationships); effective communication, reciprocated appreciation; commitment; good coping skills and a strong values system.

Whakawhanaungatanga and the fostering and maintenance of meaningful relationships within the whānau, and across multiple other contexts such as the school, sporting and Māori cultural communities, were considered to be of central importance to the advancement of whānau aspirations. Navigating a myriad of relationships by expressing healthy attitudes and behaviours acquired through observing and role modelling parents, teachers and significant others, was essential to a whānau-shared success agenda.

Students who were raised in tamariki-centric home contexts learnt to respond in kind and reciprocate behaviours that were highly valued by others such as respect, humility, thoughtfulness and compassion. These skills were viewed as crucial in order to become a socially capable and identity secure individual across a range of circumstances and are essential in building towards a successful future (Tahau-Hodges, 2010).

Effective communication in the whānau was an important key to all round success. This involved the view that every person's ideas and issues are valid, and where problem solving is looked upon as a shared whānau responsibility. Being able to articulate in English and te reo Māori was considered a highly valued skill amongst all of the participants in this study.

Likewise becoming a good listener was also seen as essential in the communication process and a sign of respect. Mindful listening shows others that you care about what concerns them. Being possessed of good communication and listening skills is a valuable sign of a confident, emotionally healthy maturing young adult.

This study was able to clearly demonstrate that whānau and teachers contributed to the wellbeing of students in ways that were worthy of appreciation. Many of the students stated that they were aware of their parents' and teachers' efforts and sacrifices to support their success. They believed it was important to express gratitude by achieving levels of scholastic success as reciprocity for the time and resources invested in them. According to Stinnett and DeFrain (1985) all of these actions help to increase the recipient's self-esteem and personal worth, and they also deepen a caring bond between whānau and other members representing an additional incentive for success.

Being committed to putting whānau first means that everyone takes time to consider how their decisions will affect the other members of the whānau. Whānau who lived by this philosophy were concerned about one another's welfare and happiness, and sought to structure their lifestyle in ways that promoted unity and harmony. Students who were products of this environment were generally more content, emotionally secure and resilient. Students from whānau-centric home environments understood what it meant to commit to others and to follow through with actions. Successful students allowed themselves to be guided and were prepared to prioritise certain activities so that a range of interests could be engaged - adding variety and keeping commitments appropriately manageable.

Good coping skills are associated with resilience and are a necessary skill that Māori students need if they are to navigate successfully between home, school and other contexts. Some students commented on the diverse groups of people and activities they had daily contact with and how often these competing interests required the use of different navigation skills.

Kruger (2011) reflected upon the fact that members of strong whānau will generally demonstrate resilience and the ability to stand firmly together during a period of crisis. By utilising good leadership strategies, effective communication skills and maintaining a positive and hopeful outlook whānau can deal with difficult times and find strength that will sustain them through any crisis. Students who observe this are more likely to manage stress and adversity as they encounter challenges along the way.

Successful whānau raising successful children identify and practice a set of deeply held cultural values and moral standards. Whānau who are tamariki-centric are also prepared to communicate by discussing things without too much filtering and they role model the most effective methods for dealing with moral dilemmas impacting on their children's wellbeing. By allowing children to explore issues with cultural and spiritual guidance, and in observing whānau and teachers practicing ethical convictions, Māori students can learn a range of strategies for coping with difficult life challenges.

Almost all of the students in this study were exposed to success within their own whānau in one form or another, and were deeply impressed by the personal drive and vision other successful people demonstrated in their lives. They saw this as something to emulate and repeat in their own lives.

A small handful of students who engaged in this research had not been so fortunate in their whānau but were spectacular in the realisation that success has to start somewhere and had taken this to heart. These Māori students expressed a determination to push through the barriers that had impeded their whānau from experiencing success, and were clear in their goal to succeed and to share this success with their whānau in the hope of reversing their fortunes.

Educational success is more likely to occur for Māori students if they are exposed to strong, clear-visioned and supportive leadership. Greenwood and Te Aika (2008) posit that teaching staff play a major role in creating an environment conducive to Māori success. The teacher must act as a leader to help shape student success and work alongside the whānau to encourage, facilitate and connect the student to advance their aspirations.

Whānau, the broader school community, teachers and peers influenced different aspects of a student's life, and were viewed as having complimentary roles when it came to unleashing the potential of a student and supporting them toward their goal's end. Whānau who had not been as successful with their own educational outcomes a generation before were not necessarily phased by their own lack of scholastic endeavour, as many had gone on to achieve and accomplish success in other ways such as in the trades, business, teaching, farming and sport.

What many of the participants were clear about was that success did not come to an individual by divine right but through hard work, perseverance and the necessary tools or skills to navigate a range of tricky situations. Teachers and whānau saw the multiple challenges ahead and while they were keen to support and nurture students safely through them it was also important for students to experience degrees of difficulty on their journey to success. As part of character building, resilience development and a move towards independence, whānau, teachers and the greater school community were clear about effort and reward. They echoed the catch phrase 'success comes to all who are prepared to work hard'.

Many Māori students expressed a fear of failure. While they did not necessarily admit to anxiety and stress it was evident that from time to time the expectations they placed upon themselves did result in some thoughts about under-achieving, not living up to other people's expectations and/or failing to meet the grade. In order to ensure they had a good chance of success students took their studies and exams seriously and sought help and assistance earlier rather than later. Whānau and teachers were also instrumental in helping students to overcome any issues by offering additional tutorials and opportunities to redress areas of weakness.

Failure was also something that many of the students had not necessarily experienced in large amounts, although they were constantly reminded of the need to ensure that they put the work in, paid attention to the things that mattered and sought help for emerging issues. Additionally whānau members were forthcoming with a range of enticements in order to encourage a student onwards and they encouraged a 'reward for effort' approach. This included rewarding them with travel, encouraging them to save and allowing them to attend special events. Teachers and the wider school community were also instrumental in encouraging and rewarding excellence, and the successful students in this study were happy to work for reward knowing that every effort was observed and appreciated and counted towards their future success.

What the study did not reveal was what the students would do if they did fail to meet the grade or achieve academic success. While they did admit to a fear of failing there was no discussion around additional strategies to manage this possibility, should it happen, and

the subject was in the main avoided by all participants. Whether this was a deliberate ploy to prevent students from dwelling on this prospect, or whether this idea was not part of the vernacular of successful students, is hard to tell. What was made clear was that success was all that mattered and failure was not an option.

Place-based Learning.

All participants involved in the study were keen to see Te Arawatanga underpin relevant educational and recreational activities. Te Arawa icons and special features of the area such as the many lakes, Mokoia Island, geothermal landmarks such as Whakarewarewa and Ohinemutu, and forests and mountains were considered by the majority of students and whānau members as crucial to anchoring a person to their papakāinga, whenua and whakapapa.

Such an approach as described by Penetito (2009) is Place Base Learning (PBL). This educational model endeavours to provide students with the answers to two essential questions as posed by Penetito: what is this place and what is our relationship to it? It essentially draws on the strongest features, characteristics, history and personalities of the land or place where students are born, raised and educated, thereby creating a synergy between school-based learning and the unique context of the surrounding ecology. It teaches 'through' rather than 'about' culture and encompasses ecological studies, biodiversity, community education and community relations, local history and sustainable development (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005).

Whānau were especially keen to ensure that their children were steeped in their Te Arawatanga, and were knowledgeable about their environment as well as the people who have and continue to influence the changing natural and social landscape of the area. Being familiar with their tūpuna and understanding the history over time helps anchor a person to the land, the water and the sky and develops in them a sensitive awareness of those who they descend from and the potential they hold for the future. The development of a strong cultural identity and affiliation to a place where their tūpuna stood then becomes a security against adversity.

Whānau strongly believed that being possessed of the knowledge of the land, the people and te reo was a strong foundation upon which to acquire other knowledge, other language and other ideologies.

Advocates of PBL, such as Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005), Penetito (2009) and Kidman, Abrams and McRae (2011), believe such a framework can help alleviate the tension that currently exists between Western education pedagogies and holistic indigenous education models. These authors also assert that PBL can further invigorate a tired national curriculum. PBL can move the curriculum towards a new and exciting place where ownership by students over characteristics and features of classroom-based learning can be given heightened relevance. It can provide new meanings to enquiry and knowledge that draws upon local examples.

However the problem with this is the importation of teachers from other countries or regions that may show little regard for the local people, their history and their language other than what can be gleaned from the tourist information guides or what they observe and interpret as Te Arawatanga.

Students who were born and raised in the Rotorua area and who identified strongly with their Te Arawatanga were in a position to articulate their special hapū and iwi features, thereby asserting their identity and cultural cognisance. For Māori students who were returning for the first time to Rotorua (the place of birth of one or both parents) having been born off-shore, the desire to learn about their culture and to ensure they belonged was high. In this instance whānau were very active in supporting their children towards a state of cultural enlightenment, and ensured that they embraced opportunities to engage with the wider whānau including their marae, and to take up the language.

All participants agreed that PBL was the key to strengthening the relationship between students and their local area. It was also seen as a fundamental tool by which the relationship between Māori and non-Māori people could be enhanced creating greater synergy between all who live in the Rotorua area and beyond.

Whānau who were particularly passionate about the need for their child to identify first as Te Arawa, and then secondly as a citizen of New Zealand, saw PBL as simply an

approach that enriched and supported their efforts and endeavours to raise a child who was confident, secure and resilient no matter where they went or settled in the world. All the whānau participants were open to the possibility that their children would want to spread their wings and fly in different skies. They also felt that continued efforts by them, and through such approaches as PBL, to increase their children's cultural competence would lay the foundations and make it easier for the children to return to their cultural roots or home whenever they chose to. They could slot back into the rhythm of the people as though they had never gone. Such was the desire for their children to be competent in both worlds.

Māori teachers across a broad range of subjects reported using elements of mātauranga Māori and/or Te Arawatanga in almost all of their classroom activities and school-based curriculum. Students and whānau were supportive of this practice as it helped elevate Māori to a central position of consideration. PBL is thought to provide clarity around such issues as: what do students know about where they are from and where they live, and what effect does this have on how they perceive themselves and others?

Students from homes that maintain cultural practices are valuable resources for teachers and other students. They challenge the school community to demonstrate a comprehensive knowledge of the people and surrounding areas in which they teach. Macfarlane (2006) concurs with this and has coined the phrase 'educultural' - a term which refers to a foundation for learning that includes building upon students' "cultural and experiential strengths to help them acquire new skills and knowledge" (p.41). The challenge here is for all teachers of Māori students to become educultural, a skill that for many mainstream teachers does not come as naturally as PBL pedagogies might prefer, given the tension between these and mono-cultural pedagogy.

All participants in this study supported the view that Te Arawa role models of success, either living or dead, should be used prominently in local schools as a strategy to promote aspiration and achievement. Students with a strong identity and historical link to iconic features and people of the land are best placed to draw on this relationship and to emulate the successes of those icons. By isolating the characteristics as representative of success students were more likely to value PBL, and to use this as emotional leverage toward

developing resilience, strengthening their cultural distinctiveness, building upon shared learning and ultimately achieving a collaborative story of success.

Conclusion

Māori student success represents a complex, socially-constructed concept that is grounded in cultural identity and personal and familial fortitude. As such Māori student success 'as Māori' is a holistic and multi-dimensional process involving the individual, their friends, their whānau, their teachers and their communities.

In order for Māori students to thrive at school, the school needs first to recognise the unique talents, gifts and knowledge that each student brings with them. Māori student success requires teachers and schools to address the health and wellbeing of students on multiple levels – cognitively, spiritually, emotionally and physically – and also involves a teacher commitment to learning about Māori culture, history and language.

Māori student success also requires whānau and schools to find ways to help students build their capacity to contribute to their community. Most importantly strong connections to family, community, friends, the land and Māori culture provides a firm foundation on which Māori students can learn.

Chapter Six: Conceptualising a Model of Educational Success

Introduction

Chapter Six begins by recapitulating how four Te Arawa educationalists formed a group with a shared ideology based on serving the iwi in their research-related activities. After consulting with kaumātua (elders) they identified one iwi ancestor, Ihenga, as a guiding icon for their research and they adopted the title of *Te Ara ā Ihenga* (TAI) for their group.

TAI entered into discussions with Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga who commissioned the group on 1 April 2012 to carry out this research project for completion on 31 March 2014. TAI designed a tribally-based study that drew on a pilot project and tested an hypothesis for Māori student success that was rooted in the past but operated in the present. 'By Te Arawa as well as in, with and for Te Arawa' was the stake set in the ground that guided the research process.

A kaupapa Māori approach to this research project was adopted which emerges and is legitimised from within the community - in this case a tribal community. Kaupapa Māori principles and methodologies, as well as a tribal philosophy or worldview, were used to construct the research process and to articulate the research outcomes.

Four mātauranga (educational) replenishing themes emerged from the study along with an over-arching lever. They are key reference points in the development of a 'Ka Awatea Mana Model' which, in the first instance draws from Māori cosmology, then from contemporary circumstances, for educational success.

Eight recommendations from this Ka Awatea study are then assigned respectively to students, whānau, teachers and schools, iwi, and policy-makers.

A changing world – faster than ever

During the last two decades massive numbers of articles and reports have been written in countries around the world about the need for more powerful learning focussed on the demands of life, work and citizenship in the 21st century. Future thinkers such as Durie

(2006a, 2006b) and Darling-Hammond (2010) contend that the process of managing decisions and responding to social and scientific problems in contemporary democracies is growing ever more complex. Today's jobs require specialised knowledge and skills compared with employment tasks at the turn of the previous century when our current system of schooling was established. Wagner (2008) offers a list of new skills that include the capacity to:

- Design, evaluate and manage one's own work so that it continually improves
- Frame, investigate and respond to situations in resourceful ways
- Collaborate strategically with others
- Communicate effectively in a variety of forms
- Locate, analyse and use information for many purposes
- Develop new products and ideas.

These requirements underscore a vital point: while our world has always experienced change *the rate of change is speeding up.* Many scientists, historians, sociologists and psychologists have expressed concern in recent years about the rapid change in our society. They tell us that today's world is changing at an accelerated rate - unlike anything past generations witnessed (Durie, 2006a; Toffler, 1970).

With the ever increasing diversity of society and the persistent need to develop ways of helping students to reach their potential in today's secondary schools - so as to be prepared for post-secondary school life - a Ka Awatea Mana Model based on cultural assets has been developed by the group of Te Arawa researchers.

The research was domiciled in their tribal area and carried out alongside other tribal members with an ultimate focus on accruing benefits for the tribe by linking back to the past to inform the future. The content of the Ka Awatea Mana Model was derived from cosmological imperatives, historical meaning-making, an appraisal of contemporary literature, and participants' responses at the school, whānau, community, tribal and political levels. Consequently a number of themes emerged revealing the interface of global and tribal knowledge which have the potential to contribute to Māori students enjoying success as Māori.

Te Arawa icons

In our increasingly globalised world today, inter-cultural interactions have become part of everyday life as discussed in Chapter One. In such a diverse world arises the key question: 'How might Māori students be better equipped to thrive personally, culturally and educationally?'

By linking back to the past and recounting some of the deeds of Te Arawa icons and/or tūpuna (ancestors), we can see that by way of their respective and collective qualities, they offer guiding examples to those engaged in the pursuit of success in the modern world. The icons' qualities, described more fully in Chapter One, are:

- identity
- diligence
- relationships
- innovation
- wellbeing
- scholarship
- humility
- values

This cluster of qualities are metaphorically the eight beating hearts of those Te Arawa leaders of former times - ngā waru pūmanawa - selected for this study from different eras of tribal history. They point not only to how these leading figures made outstanding contributions to the social fabric of their time, but also how they continue to guide rangatahi (modern youth) who seek educational success today.

Reflection

The development of the model has its origins in 2008. At that time four Te Arawa educationalists had self-organised as a group whose shared ideology was predicated on serving the iwi by way of research-related activities. Discussions about a localised study were initiated and a proposal was prepared to explore the factors that would contribute to Māori students experiencing success whilst going to school.

The research group discussed the need to derive sustenance from their ancestors and, after several conversations with kaumātua, identified one ancestor in particular, Ihenga, as a guiding icon for potential research activities. Consequently the group adopted the title *Te Ara ā Ihenga* (TAI).

Following the completion of a pilot study TAI continued to dialogue so as to keep abreast of global, national and local research initiatives. In 2011 two delegates from TAI entered into discussions with Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga as contenders for a major research project. A subsequent proposal was successful and a research contract was commissioned on 1 April 2012 for completion on 31 March 2014. This presented the opportunity to design a tribally-based study that would draw from the pilot project and test an hypothesis (for student success) that was rooted in the past but operated in the present.

The Ka Awatea research activities have endeavoured to acquire a firm understanding of how the personal qualities and characteristics of tūpuna are still manifest in contemporary times. The project was intent on identifying the home, school and social conditions that supported Māori students who were educated in Te Arawa schools to unleash their potential.

Reaffirmation

'By Te Arawa as well as in, with and for Te Arawa' was the stake that was set in the ground at the outset and it was this axiom that guided the research process through its paces. While conventional research (mixed method) approaches were adopted it was Te Arawa tikanga that reigned. The ultimate goal was to respond to the research questions from a variety of relevant angles, making use where appropriate of previous research and/or more than one type of investigative perspective (Creswell, 2003).

The research team sought the best of three worlds:

i. the philosophical and compelling realities of kaupapa Māori research
ii. the in-depth, contextualised and natural (but often more time-consuming) insights of qualitative research and

iii. the economical (but often less rich) predictive power of quantitative research.

Given the research questions and participant numbers it was felt that an amalgam of these research methodologies would be far more comprehensive and data-rich than approaching this study from only one point of view.

In this study, Kaupapa Māori was perceived more through a paradigmatic lens; a paradigm that emerges and is legitimised from within the Māori community - in this case a tribal community. This approach is concerned with utilising kaupapa Māori principles and practices as well as a tribal philosophy or worldview to construct the research process, and to understanding the resultant research outcomes. What constitutes 'research' comes out of this worldview which is embedded in the socio-psychological history of a people.

Kaupapa Māori as a research paradigm can be said to have evolved in response to ongoing concerns about Western-centric research processes and practices that have proven in the past to be not altogether appropriate. From this has stemmed a growing consensus that research involving Māori knowledge and Māori people needs to be conducted in culturally appropriate and culturally responsive ways that are in tandem with kaupapa Māori theory, Māori cultural practices, preferences and aspirations (Irwin, 1994).

In the Ka Awatea project, kaupapa Māori paradigmatic research is therefore the manifestation of Māori thinking and theorising within a definitive tribal research context, and as such is driven by a social history and worldview that is distinctly Te Arawa.

Replenishment

Four mātauranga (educational) replenishing themes emerged from the study along with an over-arching lever. The four themes, described below, are: Mana Motuhake, Mana Tū, Mana Ūkaipo and Mana Tangatarua. The over-arching lever was that of Mana Whānau. The concept of whānau appeared to have no bounds – it appeared with incredible regularity throughout the course of the study rendering it a priceless presence, as it were. It is to these themes and the over-arching lever that we now turn.

1. **Mana Motuhake: A positive sense of Māori identity is crucial if Māori students are expected to succeed**

Mana motuhake is experienced via developing a sense of cultural efficacy. This includes the ability and knowledge that students can engage meaningfully with Māori culture; that their social behaviour is informed by Māori values such as manaakitanga and māhaki. Successful Māori students are more likely to experience a sense of belonging and connectedness to others in their whānau, school and community. Whānau play the most important role in terms of socialising their children into the Māori world and helping them to develop cultural efficacy.

The research indicates that many schools do not appear to play as important a role in enabling Māori identity to be developed, apart from those instrumental teachers who purposefully engage with Māori students around kapa haka, Māori studies and te reo Māori. The Māori communities tend to see young Māori as critical players in the continuation of Māori culture, language and tradition. They like to see Māori students equipped to play a meaningful and successful role in social and cultural activities.

2. **Mana Tū: a sense of courage and resilience**

Successful Māori students develop positive self-efficacy, positive self-concept, resilience and an internal locus of control to thrive in the school context and eventually beyond it. They tend to be aspirational, have high expectations and enjoy overall physical, emotional and spiritual wellbeing.

Whānau need to ensure their children have a healthy home environment that supports this physical, emotional and spiritual wellbeing. Whānau members need to model practical resilience strategies – for example work ethic, perseverance, determination and discipline – because students look to whānau as their "first teachers" and ultimate "motivation for success".

Māori students need "touchstone teachers" who act as mentors and as confidantes at school. These teachers look for the good in students, articulate Māori students' potential and have high expectations of them. Successful Māori students see themselves as

contributing community members. They want the community to provide opportunities for them to meaningfully participate in the broader success of their whānau, hapū and iwi communities.

3. **Mana Ūkaipo: A sense of place: making the learning relative to the context**

Successful Māori students seek a synergy between school-based learning and the unique Rotorua/Waiariki/Te Arawa context - what is referred to as Place-based Learning. They want to see Te Arawa role models of success made visible and prominent in schools. Te Arawa students want Te Arawatanga to have some resonance with their educational activities, and expect Te Arawatanga to occupy a position of importance in the school curriculum in the rohe. They perceive Te Arawatanga to be a viable platform for future aspirations and achievement.

4. **Mana Tangatarua: Bi-education – a sense of navigating success in two worlds**

Academic success should not come at the expense of Māori identity – all participants saw both identities as vital to overall "success". Students need the appropriate 'navigational skills' and 'role models' and a strong sense of emotional and spiritual wellbeing to navigate the two worlds of Aotearoa successfully.

The responses indicate that supportive and galvanic relationships are essential to success. Families are primarily responsible for "success as Māori" and should model what this looks like. Schools contribute largely to Māori students' "success in the non-Māori or 'generalist' world" because they offer students many opportunities to be innovative and creative, to try new things and to take risks (which many Māori families cannot offer them – so they value education for this very reason). Therefore, schools offer students new experiences that "unleash their potential" to bridge their two worlds and increase their "range of opportunities" in terms of "possible futures".

Schools play a role in students' physical wellbeing but appear to contribute minimally to Māori students' emotional wellbeing. The wider Te Arawa community wants Māori students to thrive in the non-Māori world but retain "a heart for things Māori" within proximity to the tribe – the 'culturalist' world. All participants value the reciprocal role that successful Māori will play in terms of eventually "coming home to make a

difference", "participating in the ongoing success of others" and "giving back" to their whānau and communities.

The over-arching lever: Mana Whānau

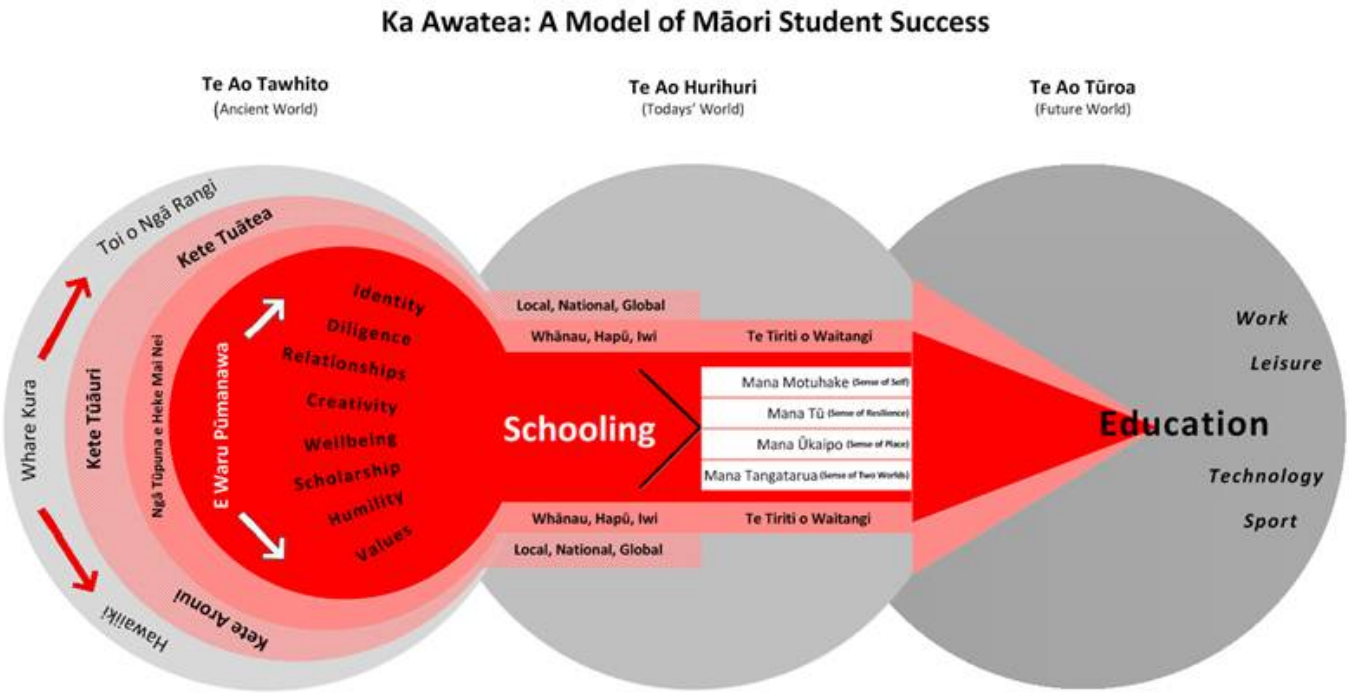
The study revealed that successful Māori students occupy a central position of importance within their whānau. They are nurtured into succeeding in both worlds by their whānau, are socially capable and have a developing sense of belonging across a number of contexts. Māori students who are successful appreciate that their families value education, and that their school success is important to the whole whānau because their success is seen as a driver of the whānau's success.

They also know that their failure is conceived of as the failure of the whānau. As such successful Māori students have a fear of not reaching their potential and letting their whānau down. In the final analysis successful Māori students take the responsibility of 'academic success' very seriously.

The four themes and the over-arching lever are key reference points in the development of a 'Ka Awatea Mana Model' for educational success. If education is about successful learning and development then it must also be about enhancing cultural continuity and cultural growth. The culture promulgated in this model can be referred to as a way of life. It includes particular wisdom and ways of knowing as well as ways of communicating these to others. These skills might rightly be referred to as "cultural assets".

Figure 2 shows three inter-connected worlds – ancient, today and the future (ngā tapuae o mua mō muri – the principle of *the events of the past influencing the activities of the present and future*). The Ka Awatea Mana Model espouses education as being lifelong and spanning the ascension to retrieve the three baskets of knowledge - to the first whare kura or place of learning, to the eight beating hearts (and what they each represent), to the political influences nationally and globally, to the influences of the Treaty of Waitangi, to the four key themes that emerged from the research project, and finally (see the far right of Figure 2) to the rather unknown but scale-able realities awaiting post-school life.

Figure 2. *The 'Ka Awatea Mana Model' based on cultural assets*



The Ka Awatea Mana Model is based on cultural assets and draws in the first instance from Māori cosmology. In Māori tradition there is not one heaven but twelve. The greatest and most important is Toi-o-Ngā-Rangi, the dwelling place of Io. Within each of the twelve heavens in an eternal time and space resides Io in his innumerable forms, the supreme god, the primal god, the god that was before there were gods.

Io, in Māori mythology and tradition including that of Te Arawa, represents the beginning of all things. It is said that in the night regions of soft light, Io established Hawaiki, the great Hawaiki (Hawaiki-nui), the extensive Hawaiki (Hawaiki-roa) and the far distant Hawaiki (Hawaiki-pāmamao).

Narratives inform us that it was Tāne (and to some iwi, Tāwhaki) who ascended the heavens to seek the baskets of knowledge for humankind. There were struggles but Tāne, with the aid of the winds, was able to proceed until he reached the summit of the twelve

heavens. Here, at Toi-o-Ngā-Rangi, he was welcomed by Io and received the three baskets of knowledge.

The baskets or kete were:

- the kete-aronui: that which held the knowledge that could help humankind
- the kete-tūāuri: that which held the knowledge of ritual, memory and prayer
- the kete-tūātea: that which contained knowledge of the esoteric.

When Tāne finally reached earth again he placed the baskets in a special house of knowledge - whare kura, which he had built before his journey to the heavens. The whare kura is said by many to be the first house of learning.

In Te Ao Māori, cosmology and mythology precede the contemporary status quo. For that reason the far left of the model shows Toi-o-Ngā-Rangi, Hawaiki, the Baskets of Knowledge and the first Place of Learning (Whare Kura). The inner circle depicts students attending school in the here and now (see black arrow) and lists the eight indicators of success of the research project (left) and the four principal themes that emerged from the research findings (right). Additional contexts that impact on schooling for Māori students are local, national and global political influences as well as whānau, hapū and iwi influences (see above and below).

The model incorporates the Ngā Pūmanawa e Waru o Te Arawa – the Eight Beating Hearts of Te Arawa through which exemplar ancestors provided the eight key qualities used by the study. These are set out in Chapter One and are summarised again in Table 14 on the following page.

Table 14. *The Eight Beating Hearts: Ngā Pūmanawa*

Quality (Exemplar)	**Characteristics**	**Application**
Identity (Tamatekapua)	A belief in and knowledge of one's self; strength of character, strength of personality; a strong will; boldness and a tendency to take risks.	• Te Ao Māori • Te reo me ōna tikanga • Whenua
Diligence (Frederick Bennett)	Patience, commitment and a sacrifice of time and effort; an ability to overcome difficulties; resolute confidence often balanced with a quiet, unruffled calm.	• Discipline • Motivation • Attentiveness
Relationships (Te Ao Kapurangi)	The ability to sustain relationships that are premised on a balance of assertiveness and warmth (manaaki) because this provides sustenance for the inner person.	• Whānau encouragement • Teacher relationships • Peer relationships
Innovation (Ihenga)	An enquiring mind which probes, draws conclusions and makes associations; an exploratory orientation that is exploited in social and academic activities.	• Courage • Competitiveness • Curiosity
Wellbeing (Bubbles Mihinui)	The sound physical, spiritual and mental health that are needed to flourish at school, affirming the inexplicable link between wellness and learning.	• Health care • Fitness care • Resourceful
Scholarship (Makereti)	An aptitude for things scholarly is a quality that is instilled in those students who excel at examinations and assignments.	• Application • Fastidiousness • Aspirational
Humility (Hiko Hohepa)	A quality which is often a cultural point of difference because it is about service to others and putting others before the self.	• Puts others before self • Accepts criticism • Service to others
Values (Hapi Winiata)	A synthesising of the most meaningful qualities in Māoritanga portrayed by way of unbridled care, inclusion and spirituality.	• Manaakitanga • Kotahitanga • Wairuatanga

The middle sphere in the Ka Awatea Mana Model references the local, national and global influences. This sphere seeks to encourage educators and career advisors to introduce students to a range of ongoing and emerging skills via the fields of humanities and the sciences, including global issues like financial crises, climate change, indigeneity and international laws. A sound school programme would highlight how individuals and groups of people have come together to respond, challenge and take action to address these problems and to consider what more could be done.

The Ka Awatea Mana Model would insist on effective 'educultural' programmes (Macfarlane, 2004); those that provide students with the knowledge, skills and inspiration to directly engage with and meaningfully change the world in which they live. Furthermore, what is of equal (or more) importance is that Māori students continue to live in a world that is influenced by whakapapa, wherein they integrate knowledge from a variety of fields that evolve from within the culture itself. The repertoire would include music, oratory, craft and lore – things that are passed down as taonga. Through culturalist and generalist lenses, Māori students can explore and investigate complex problems in innovative ways, while cultivating critical thinking and creative problem-solving skills – as citizens of two worlds.

The final sphere in the Model (see far right in Figure 2) acknowledges that work, leisure, technology and sport are key domains into which successful young Māori will engage in the future world, te ao tūroa. Those who subscribe to the Ka Awatea Mana Model orient towards the education of culturally-conscious and socially-conscious global citizens, who have the capacity *to dream* and *to do* in personal and educational contexts - thereby contributing to a more positive future for all.

Study Recommendations

In keeping with the discourse of the 'eight beating hearts' of Te Arawa each of the important dimensions of the study – students, whānau, teachers and schools, iwi, and policy-makers – will be assigned eight recommendations.

Recommendations for Māori students

- Hold fast to your deeply held cultural values and moral standards.
- Embrace additional opportunities to enhance your cultural competence.
- Maintain a balance in terms of your wellbeing – especially your tinana and hinengaro – find time to nourish both.
- Value your teachers and friends within the context of the school community because they are valuable sources of knowledge and support in times of struggle.
- Value your whānau because they are you and you are them.
- Seek out and maintain relationships with positive role models who you aspire to be like.
- Mahia te mahi! Drive your own learning – ask questions, do the hard work required and celebrate all successes (large and small).
- Be humble – seek out and acknowledge the support, assistance and expertise of others and receive correction, compliments and feedback gracefully.

Recommendations for Whānau

- Ensure that your home environment is positive, safe, caring and nurturing. Students who are products of such environments are more content, emotionally secure and resilient.
- Be tamariki-centric – place your child at the centre of your whānau. Make their success and wellbeing the most important thing in your household.
- Nurture your child's sense of Māori identity – give them a sense of belonging and connectedness to their reo, marae, hapū and iwi.
- Make your home a place of learning – establish routines and rituals that prioritise education.

- Be present and active in the school context – this signals to your child that you value education (and *their* education in particular).
- Encourage dialogue, open communication and good listening in your home.
- Ensure that your children are exposed to positive role models – children emulate the behaviours and characteristics of 'significant others'.
- Model coping skills – talk to your children about how to be resilient in the face of adversity.

Recommendations for Teachers and Schools

- Value Māori students' cultural distinctiveness and support them to develop a degree of academic and cultural self-confidence and self-belief.
- Articulate Te Arawa hapū and iwi features in teaching and learning.
- Actively support Māori students towards a state of cultural enlightenment and encourage them to embrace opportunities to engage within the wider community.
- Premise your instruction on evidence-based and culturally-responsive practices.
- Build upon students' cultural and experiential strengths to help them acquire new skills and knowledge.
- Utilise Te Arawa role models of success, living or dead, to promote aspiration, cultural pride and achievement.
- Ensure academic programmes have meaningful links to Te Arawa people, their history and their reo.
- Visionary school leaders should promote and model the right balance between whakahīhī (pride) and māhaki (humility) in their interactions with students, whānau, staff and wider community members.

Recommendations for Iwi

- Continue to be involved with local schools.
- Provide visionary and proactive leadership – 'reach in' to schools; don't wait for schools to 'reach out'.
- Provide stewardship to whānau encouraging them to be tamariki-centric.

- Within reason, provide and promote marae-based reo and tikanga wānanga. Such offerings provide whānau with opportunities to become more culturally competent and connected.
- Where possible, support the organisation and provision of local cultural events (e.g., Te Matatini and Te wiki o te reo Māori) and ensure they are connected and relevant to the local context.
- Interact with local educational policy-makers, academics, teachers and interested whānau in your forward-planning.
- Provide places and spaces for voices to be heard particularly wahine and rangatahi.
- Provide support for the educationally vulnerable because they too have talents and gifts to offer.

Recommendations for Policy-makers

- Draw on iwi and local educational expertise.
- Make links to iwi-specific education strategies.
- Find out about iwi aspirations regarding education.
- Personalise and/or contextualise large Māori education projects to better suit local area needs.
- Provide seminars and workshops on Māori and tribal education priorities.
- Familiarise administrators with local tikanga and kawa.
- Adopt a Treaty approach of shared responsibility for educational advancement.
- Institutionalise a clearly marked path to student success.

Conclusion, final words

The Ka Awatea research project has produced a number of emerging themes that reveal the interface of tribal and global knowledge, and which collectively contribute to Māori students' success. At this concluding juncture, five sets of eight recommendations have been chronicled (above) for consideration. Guided by their links with the past, including their iwi ancestor, Ihenga, and working closely in collaboration with Te Arawa, *Te Ara ā Ihenga* has aimed to ensure that the Ka Awatea research project will accrue benefits to the tribe both today and in the future. While the project is distinctively Te Arawa, it is offered to all who seek pathways toward success for rangatahi.

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