Agents of retention and achievement of Māori girls at secondary school.

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Robyn Anne McLaren
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Whaia te iti kahurangi

Me tuohu koe, he maunga teitei

Abstract

This research investigates positive agents of retention and achievement for Māori girls in mainstream secondary schooling. The study focussed specifically on pupils engaged in post-compulsory education at a selected state secondary school in Te Waipounamu.

The impact historically of schooling on Māori girls was reviewed as were changes and developments in educational policy in New Zealand.

Methodologies such as critical theory, Kaupapa Māori research, and indigenous research methods/tools informed the research. In order to investigate and empower Māori girls and the community of the school involved, qualitative methods of study, document analysis, and semi-structured interviews were used. Māori concepts of manaakitanga, mana, whanaungatanga and tino rangatiratanga were integral to the study.

By focussing on those things which provided positive impetus for the girls to remain at school and to achieve success, it became more possible to avoid any emphasis on pathological explanations for alleged lack of retention and achievement by Māori girls in New Zealand mainstream state secondary schools.

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the background to the study, including suggestions from other research about considering the successful experiences of Māori girls at secondary school. It explains how and why the research question was developed, and my role as researcher.

Background

Statistics today reveal that many Māori girls are not achieving academic success at secondary school (Caccioppoli & Cullen 2006; Hattie, 2003).They are not staying at school as long as their non-Māori peers, nor are they gaining academic qualifications at the same level. It cannot be denied that the New Zealand education has not served Māori well. Tait (1995) believes, however, that such a generalisation about failure, as measured against achievement rates of non- Māori girls "denies the success many Māori students are achieving" (p. 38).

This situation has remained unchanged since formal state-provided education was first introduced to Aotearoa New Zealand. In its infancy the Eurocentric state education system operated under a belief that Māori were not always suited to formal academic education, more suited to vocational training which

would enable them to take their 'rightful' place in the labouring classes of society (Barrington, 1965; Simon, 1994, Smith, L., 2005). This reflected British ideas of the time - that various groups of people in society were best suited to particular occupations and destinies. It was not until the 1960s, when the release of the Hunn Report showed that Māori were being increasingly marginalised socially and economically, that any major programme was introduced to try and improve the education of young Māori and thereby better equip them for an urban, industrialised economy (Jahnke, 1997; Simon, 1994). The changes that were promoted, including special language programmes for children who were seen as failing because of social deprivation, were mostly cosmetic and linked to the prevailing deficit theories, and usually aimed at identifying and reducing disparities. Deficit theorising implies that a child's background, culture, or standard of living are below standard, and have detrimental effects on their educational success. These disparities however were largely in the eye of the Pākehā beholders, who saw Māori society and culture as inferior, and merely supported their expectation that Māori simply needed to assimilate into the dominant Pākehā culture to succeed (Durie, M., 2003b); Durie,A.,1997; Fuli, 1995; Jahnke, 1997).

This deficit approach meant that Māori were still being told that their culture and lifestyle were inferior to those of 'normal' society, and that in order to succeed there was an expectation that they would need to become more like Pākehā New Zealanders. Little attention was paid to the education system itself, the dominant pedagogy, and the role this was playing in failing Māori students.

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In the 1980s and 1990s Māori voices, like many indigenous voices, became more assertive. There were repeated calls for a system more sympathetic to Māori values, more inclusive of Māori knowledge and more suited to Māori learners. This was to lead to Māori-driven developments such as Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Whare Kura, and Wānanga, where being Māori is the norm and success is measurably greater than in mainstream institutions.

Design of the study

It has become increasingly difficult for young people to achieve and maintain a strong sense of identity as Māori and it is widely understood and accepted that many live on the margins of two cultures. Durie (2003b), for instance, notes that many who live "at the border...are not able to participate fully in either world" (p. 282). Kaupapa Māori educational facilities, however, are still few and far between and approximately 80% of Māori secondary school students are in mainstream schools, where being Māori is not the norm, and where "Māori enjoying education success as Māori" (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 11) is even more difficult for many. In Te Waipounamu (the South Island) these difficulties are even greater, with Māori being a distinct minority in the population. Gudgeon (1998) notes that there has been little academic inquiry into educational issues of Te Waipounamu Māori. Many studies have ignored or glossed over the experiences of Māori girls in particular (Carkeek, Davis and Irwin, 1994; Mackintosh, 2004; Palmer, 2000) and there remains a need to "examine those positive strategies that Māori girls utilise to achieve success" (Mackintosh, 2004, i).

Research has been conducted into Maori achievement which has often highlighted the barriers Maori students face in their search for success. This however, often continues the concept of disparity, which is no longer acceptable. Caccioppoli & Cullen (2006) speak of special variations, those outstanding things which contribute to success. If these can be identified, they can become part of school systems and procedures, for the benefit of all students. Therefore, there is a need to make studies of success rather than shortcomings, of those things which influence Māori students in their decision to remain for post-compulsory secondary education, and of those positive ways in which their success is promoted and celebrated (Caccioppoli & Cullen 2006; Mitchell and Mitchell, 1988; Mackintosh, 2004). The Kotahitanga programme (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai & Richardson 2003) has also involved research into those things which helped junior Māori students, working with non-Māori teachers, achieve greater success in school,

The ability of Māori students to identify as Māori is an important component of positive self esteem and can contribute to their achievement (Mackintosh, 2004). This need to identify also needs to be recognised, accepted, and valued by the school.

The literature which was reviewed for this study focused on traditional Māori education and post-colonial schooling of Māori, concentrating on the schooling of girls, identity, and Kaupapa Māori methodology. Literature is reviewed throughout the study.

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Development of the research question

The aim of this study was to listen to the stories of Māori girls involved in post-compulsory secondary education in a mainstream secondary school in Te Waipounamu, to hear what they thought had helped them stay at school and achieve success. These special variations would be considered as agents of retention and achievement. The stories were collected from a case-study of a single-sex state secondary school in Te Waipounamu. Senior students from Years 12 and 13 were invited to share their experiences in semi-structured interviews in the hope that some of these positive influences could be identified and used to help junior students, and the school, build on these positive agents of retention and achievement.

My own interest in this research has developed from both personal and professional experiences. Following my involvement in Kohanga Reo with my young son, I was asked by local kuia to train as a secondary school teacher of Te Reo Māori. This has resulted in my working with Māori girls in secondary schooling, and their whānau, for more than twenty years. Because I have seen many successes over the years, this research question was one which might provide information for improvements to be made in the school, to benefit more young Māori women.

Structure of the thesis

This chapter has introduced the background and design of the study. Chapter Two presents historical perspectives on learning and education in Aotearoa-

New Zealand. Chapter Three explains the research methodologies which informed this study. In Chapter Four the research findings, the experiences of the research participants are presented. In Chapter Five recent educational developments and programmes aimed at increasing Māori achievement, and the impact of these on the research participants are discussed in Chapter Six.

Chapter Two

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Literature was reviewed which enabled an historical context to be established for the research. Traditional Māori education was an important aspect to consider as it presented pedagogical theories while early post-colonial schooling methods revealed a more successful approach to educating Māori girls than was to be utilised in the twentieth century. Literature concerned with issues of identity and Kaupapa Māori education and research methodology while included here, is also reviewed throughout the paper.

Teaching and learning in pre-colonial Aotearoa New Zealand

In pre-colonial Aotearoa New Zealand knowledge was highly valued as it ensured the survival of the people both physically and spiritually. A "sophisticated and functional system of education" (Jones, Morris Matthews, Smith & Smith, 1990, p. 35) to transmit this knowledge was an essential element of Māori society.

Tāne-o-te-wānanga ascended to the highest heavens and received Ngā Kete o te Wānanga for the people. These baskets contained all the knowledge deemed essential for the people and there was a responsibility for each

generation to ensure that this knowledge was transmitted effectively and correctly (Carson, 1991; Jones et.al, 1990).

Jahnke (1997) explains that certain skills and attitudes essential for participation in community life were available and imparted to all. These skills and knowledge were most commonly passed on to children in informal settings where they might learn about resources, life skills, attitudes, and moral codes, and of people's roles and status in society (Hemara, 2000). This essential knowledge was of the people and all shared the responsibility of passing it on to following generations for the benefit of the group, rather than for any individual gain (Jones et.al., 1990). Information was taught and learned in informal settings and was most commonly intergenerational (Hemara, 2000). To ensure that all children could become useful and responsible participants in the community, their education would include such things as the procuring of food and resources necessary for physical survival, the ability to participate appropriately in community activities, knowing who one was, and how to protect the mana and tapu of the people.

Dissemination of this knowledge occurred in relevant, everyday settings, with the child commonly working alongside a grandparent. The learning was often gender-specific (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974; Carson, 1991) as were certain roles in society. The child would quietly observe the task being performed, listening to the explanation of how and why the task was done. She might then attempt the task under the guidance of the knowledgeable person, gradually gaining proficiency. As competence at one level was

achieved, more complicated skills would be introduced. Children attended community activities with adults, observing and absorbing, so that when the time came for them to fulfil adult roles in the community they would do this responsibly and correctly (Pere, 1994). Games which often mimicked adult activities engendered physical skills needed in these areas, and other learning opportunities existed in the mastery of performance of waiata and purakau (Carson, 1991). These forms of knowledge were vital for survival and all were expected to be learners and teachers in a life-long commitment to the people.

Jahnke (1997) believes that knowledge was, and still is, "specialized and hierarchical" (p. 33). She explains that the higher forms of knowledge were more limited in access and were transmitted in highly formalised teaching and learning contexts. This knowledge pertained to spiritual things and included ritual knowledge, karakia, and whakapapa. The absolute importance of this knowledge demanded accuracy and excellence and was imparted to suitable and able learners in whare wānanga. Hemara (2000) considers this selection of pupils was based on the potential of the pupils to master the knowledge perfectly, as future errors in the transmission of such highly specialised knowledge could not be tolerated. A variety of types of wananga are known to have enabled pupils to learn about specific subject areas such as fowling, weaving, war craft, astronomy, recreation, histories and whakapapa, and even makutu. While the majority of pupils may have been boys from the ages of twelve to seventeen (Hemara, 2000), girls participated in the whare pora to learn the finer arts and karakia of weaving, and those of higher rank learned of whakapapa and tribal histories. Girls also attended the whare maire. The

selection of learners was based on gender, age, whakapapa, skill, and ability to memorise (Metge, 1984).The pedagogy of the wānanga was more formal and involved pupils learning from skilled elders in purpose-built premises. Learning involved a range of contexts such as recitation, waiata, pūrakau, and performance. Instruction often occurred at night. The pedagogy of the wananga often involved rote-learning, with an unquestioning attitude towards the teacher (Metge, 1984). Given the tapu nature of the knowledge, accuracy and correctness were stressed; anything less was untenable.

Education was, therefore, an intrinsic part of a life-long process in pre-colonial Aotearoa, related to the survival of the people, both physical and cultural, and to the maintenance of essential knowledge. With the arrival of Western-style education, in the form of formal schooling, much was to change.

The arrival of schooling

The value of knowledge to Māori was evident in the way it necessitated accurate and correct dissemination to all in the community, for the benefit of the whole community. This did not mean, however, that knowledge was static - new stories were added to the knowledge base, new methods and technologies were developed and new concepts could be introduced. These had all been necessary from the first arrivals of Māori in Aotearoa when geography, geology, botany, and even climate far different from the homelands had necessitated the development of new skills for survival (Jones et. al., 1990).

Contact with the early European explorers heralded another change for Māori. Visits to Aotearoa by Pākehā in search of natural resources introduced new technologies and concepts, but it was to be the missionaries who would eventually bring new knowledge and pedagogies that would impact most on Māori society (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974; Carson, 1991; Jenkins & Matthews, 1995).

British missionaries came from a society which was class-based. In their communities it was believed that people had their particular place in society and this was maintained by means of an education system which had both informal and formal constituents. For the majority of members of the lower, labouring classes, education was mainly informal. It took place within the daily life of communities, was intergenerational and gender specific. Teaching and learning took place by way of children working alongside skilled people, the telling and retelling of stories, song, and children attending and observing social and ritual occasions. Games also mirrored adult activities in the life of the community. Most in this class were illiterate and unable to access certain aspects of knowledge recorded in writing. During the eighteenth century there was no real organised education system and no Government assistance was provided (Reader, 1964). Following the emergence of a new spirit of egalitarianism (Wood, 1960), the churches began to take some responsibility for the education of the working class children. There was a perceived need in wider British society to educate working class children to fulfil economic roles in the technical positions arising from the Industrial Revolution. Some of this education took place in Charity schools, and included religious morals and

basic skills of literacy (Wood, 1960). By the nineteenth century, the role of educating working class children had been transferred to Sunday schools, which operated on the only day that children were not required at work. Public day schools also offered basic reading and writing skills to children (Harrison, 1971) and were flexible in that children could attend when able. Wood (1960) explains that there were also Dame schools providing basic literacy skills, and Industrial schools teaching trades, but generally the majority of children gained only the most basic skills.

For a select section of society a more formal system of education was available. The children of the upper classes were taught to read and write, and so were able to access knowledge through the written word. Much of this learning was based in the home, with the employment of skilled people to teach small numbers of pupils. Carson (1991) explains that learning was gender-specific in that girls generally only learned those tasks and attributes that were deemed by society as being suited to the adult roles of wife and mother . Girls' education concentrated on skills such as etiquette, childrearing, and housekeeping . Boys were taught skills which would enable them to manage people, and some were able to attend formal schools which gave them access to specific knowledge such as religion, medicine, and war craft, deemed suitable occupations for men. Harrison (1971) details Public schools which offered leadership training for the aristocracy, and Grammar schools in cities and towns providing education for the sons of tradesmen and businessmen.

Most British missionaries, who travelled to Aotearoa in the early nineteenth century, were from the middle classes of Britain. They had acquired the skills of literacy and believed their task in Aotearoa was to convert the indigenous people to Christianity. This they believed was to be achieved through 'civilisation'. The missionaries, although fired by the desire to open the souls of all to the teachings of the Bible, were also products of their time. Britain had accepted the Humanitarian ideals that required a more humane approach to indigenous peoples, than had been displayed in earlier British colonising ventures such as India and Australia, and there was a move towards providing education for all children, albeit for predetermined places in society. In the hearts and minds of the British, however, was an unquestioned belief in the superiority of their own culture. Consequently, this Eurocentric view guaranteed that any system of schooling to be provided for Maori would be based on British forms of knowledge (Johnson, 1998).

The decision to establish Christian missions in Aotearoa was to benefit from contact already made between Māori and Europeans. Some contact had occurred after sealers and whalers travelled to Aotearoa in search of rich resources, and Māori travelled as crew to other lands.

When Māori, such as some leading northern chiefs, met with missionaries they had therefore already encountered European people, who seemed to possess wisdom, skills, and technologies which Māori believed might benefit Māori society (Simon, 2000). Samuel Marsden, of the Church Mission Society, ran a seminary in the early nineteenth century in New South Wales for young Māori men wanting to learn new agricultural skills (Barrington &

Beaglehole, 1974) and requests were made from Aotearoa (Carson, 1991) to provide instruction to Māori boys and girls so they might learn to read and write. This was seen as a way to access the knowledge that Pākehā possessed, and which might benefit Māori (Simon, 2000).

The Church Mission society accepted Māori invitations to establish a mission in Aotearoa and the first mission school was established at Rangihoua, in Northland, in 1816. By 1839 at least fifty mission schools had been established, with at least half of these designated for girls (Carson, 1991). Initially these were in the far north, but by 1841 Octavius Hadfield had also established missions and schools in the lower North Island and there were two schools for Māori in the Queen Charlotte Sounds, where the teachers were Māori (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). The mission village schools for Māori children often divided their teaching time and spaces for boys and girls. In Paihia the boys were taught in the mornings, while girls attended in the afternoons (Carson, 1991). This arrangement suited the life of the villages most efficiently and reflected the fact that the whole community was involved in the schooling of children. In some areas classes were also conducted for adults, so great was the enthusiasm of Māori for literacy, which was a new skill seen to be highly relevant for the enhancement of the traditional way of life (Simon, 2000). In the mission village schools, the boys' classes were generally taken by the missionary himself, while the missionary's wife usually assumed responsibility for the instruction of the girls. This mirrored both the education of girls by women in Britain (Carson, 1991; Johnson, 1998), and the gender-specific learning in Māori communities. The subjects taught included

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reading, writing, arithmetic, and catechism or religious studies. Girls were also taught domestic arts such as sewing and housekeeping, health and nutrition (Barrington, 1965; Carson, 1991; Fry, 1985; Johnson, 1998; Simon, 2000).

Some of the methods of teaching reflected contemporary British pedagogy such as circulating classes (Carson, 1991) where pupils questioned each other about material previously learned, and the use of monitors, or senior student teaching assistants, assisted in the learning of new knowledge. The use of repetition, rote learning, and story telling, which were familiar pedagogies for Māori, also assisted pupils in the mastery of literary skills and catechism, and missionaries such as Kendall acknowledged Māori aptitude for learning (Simon, 2000). Pupils who had learned to read and write often took their skills back to the villages and shared their knowledge with the wider community. The skills gained were seen as having relevance for communities in that they could increase the knowledge base and enhance the traditional life of the people (Simon, 2000).

Missionaries, however, had different goals. Their idea of educating Māori was to expose them to the ideas of Christianity, and most material available for reading was of a religious nature. They hoped to replace Māori knowledge, culture, and social norms with those of Europe (Johnson, 1998). Often missionaries expressed dissatisfaction with Māori child-rearing and educational practices (Hemara, 2000). On occasion, children lived at the mission stations while attending school, so pupils could be separated from their home environment and be 'civilised' to a greater extent. Removing

children from the influence of kāinga, while lessening distractions for the pupils, also had the potential to remove future leaders from their community and met with mixed reception from parents and whānau. Children were often required to work at the schools, to produce and prepare food, and contribute to the day-to-day running of the school. While the missionaries saw this as an integral part of the education of the children, parents often regarded it as free labour. Parents also disapproved of the discipline meted out by the missionaries (Hemara, 2000) and sometimes removed their children from the schools.

By the 1840s, the initial flush of enthusiasm of Māori for schooling was waning. Simon (2000) explains that Māori wanted to learn more, from their reading, of knowledge which could "enhance their life chances" (p. 46). Most of the literature provided was of a religious nature, and Māori wanted to learn more English than was available in the Bible and other religious tracts.

After the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi the British Governor, George Grey became involved in the schooling of Māori. The passing of the Native Trust Ordinance in 1844 was an early expression of a policy of assimilation. This was a reflection of the Eurocentric beliefs of the colonisers who wanted Māori to learn the new laws and accept them. Carson (1991) explains that "under the guise...of humanitarianism, education was to become a political tool designed to foster the assimilation of the Māori" (p. 163).

The Education Ordinance of 1847 was an integral part of Governor Grey's Native policy, part of his 'civilising' mission, with the expressed end of implementing social change. The goal was to break down Māori beliefs and values, and for Māori to eventually accept British law. There was also the hope that this would facilitate the abandoning of communal land ownership by Māori. Grey was mainly concerned with providing schooling for Māori and half-caste children. Settlers were already establishing their own schools and many did not want to open their doors to Māori (Carson, 1991). Grey was prepared to make funds available for the missionaries to continue providing schooling, although he specified that the curriculum should include English and Industrial skills as well as religion (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). This funding was to make things easier for some of the mission schools, previously dependent on contributions from English donations. Grey also introduced a system of school inspection to ensure that schools were meeting his requirements. Johnson (1998) explains that during the 1850s there were 400-800 pupils enrolled in the mission boarding schools each year, half being girls. Many other Māori were attending Sunday schools and day schools often run by Māori teachers. It is important to note that at this time Māori pupils maintained a strong sense of identity as Māori. They had access to whenua tipu, ongoing contact with whānau, hapu and iwi, knowledge of whakapapa, and of course fluency in Te Reo Māori. Schooling was seen a way of adding to the knowledge base of the people, a range of new skills and technologies.

In the late 1850s and 1860s, conflict developed between Māori and Pākehā and involvement in schools diminished in many areas. Some schools were closed during this time. Several denominational boarding schools had been established, largely through the input of the Williams family - St Stephens in 1846, and Te Aute in 1854. A school for girls had been established at Waerenga-a-hika in 1859, but was destroyed in the wars. Following the cessation of wars, the Government introduced much legislation to continue the process of colonisation and assimilation of Māori. Some of the means by which it was believed that this could be done were by increasing religious conversion and westernising technology in areas such as farming. Land ownership was also to be individualised through the workings of the Native Land Court. Education was still seen by many settlers to be one of the more effective means of assimilating, especially if the children were removed from the influences of the kāinga and schooled in "Christian ethics, Victorian morality and the superiority of British culture" (Tomlins Jahnke, 1996, p.115). The establishment of further denominational boarding schools resumed in this period, including St Josephs. There was a belief among the settlers that Māori women could hold the key to transforming Māori society, to prepare Māori for their "rightful place as subordinate to Pākehā" (Tomlins Jahnke, 1996, p.117), and to prepare them for their place in the labouring classes (Simon, 1994). The introduction of a state schooling system was seen as one of the means by which to achieve this goal of assimilation.

National state schooling

In 1867, via the Native Schools Act, the settler Government legislated for Government-controlled primary education for Māori. This was debated fiercely in Parliament (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). Te Waipounamu Members of Parliament in particular did not see any reason why the responsibility for Māori schools should not remain within the Provinces. There were, as far as they were aware, far fewer Māori in Te Waipounamu, and Māori pupils there already had access to the settler schools. There was also the question of cost and the Otago Members in particular felt the South Island should not be expected to subsidise the cost of schooling North Island Māori children.

The Act was eventually passed; however, the provision of primary schooling for Māori children met with mixed reactions from Māori. While some areas such as the Bay of Islands, North Auckland, and Whanganui were enthusiastic, this was not the case in the recently ravaged areas of Waikato and Taranaki, still reeling from raupatu. In the South Island there were also some hapū seeking compensation and reserves, and they were not yet ready to co-operate with the Government. In Moeraki, Waimate, and Arowhenua children were kept away from school in case claims were prejudiced (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). This was also the case on Banks Peninsula. By 1875, schools had been built at Arahura on the West Coast of Te Waipounamu, and also at Wairau and Whakapuaka in Te Tau Ihu. However there was a lack of suitable teachers and only Wairau opened for instruction (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). Māori boys and girls in Te Waipounamu continued to attend the settler schools and make good progress according to

School Inspectors, although their presence in class was not always approved of by the settlers (Barrington, 1965)

The Native Schools system established village day schools and required an active commitment from Māori communities. They were required to request a school, and to provide resources such as land and a percentage of the teacher's wage. Each community also needed to establish a school committee, enabling Runanga participation. This committee would come under the umbrella of a local Education District. Under the mission system, Māori had pursued schooling as a means of adding to their own knowledge base, for the benefit of the people who maintained traditional life ways. By the 1870s those who requested schools saw a new need; to learn English as a "means to their survival and success in a Pākehā-dominated society" (Simon, 1994, p. 62).

By 1877 forty-one schools were operating in the North Island and eight in Te Waipounamu. There were many difficulties to overcome including isolation, and lack of resources including trained teachers. Furthermore, teachers were poorly paid. In these schools there was an emphasis on learning English, which was supported by both the Government and many of the Māori communities where the schools were built. However, parents also believed that their children would become bi-lingual and the greatest strength of the Native School system was to be the community involvement in the schooling of their children. Mason Durie, (2003a) explains that being able to participate actively in a Māori world helps maintain a sense of cultural identity.

Attendance at school was not compulsory until 1894, compared with 1877 for Pākehā children. This attitude towards attendance often took into account cultural and economic reasons for non-attendance.

The schools were seen by the Government as institutions where Māori children could receive enough schooling to undertake labouring class roles in Aotearoa in a time of rapid economic development. As well as English language, the Pākehā way of life was actively promoted, in the name of assimilation. This frequently meant that the Māori way of life was seen as less worthy, and even denigrated.

For those who showed aptitude for higher learning, Government scholarships were made available for pupils to attend the denominational boarding schools. There were also cadetships for employment in the civil service or the military. The other pre-requisite to gain one of these scholarships, was to have attended a Native School. In Te Waipounamu with its lower number of Native Schools fewer Māori pupils were eligible to apply.

The settler Government and educationalists of the time believed that money spent on schooling Māori girls would have a more lasting effect on social change, and the role of Māori Girls' boarding schools cannot be ignored here. The administrators of these schools saw that if the girls could be removed from the influences of the home, they could be more successfully assimilated into what was seen at the time as a "model of ideal womanhood" (Mackintosh,

2004). The girls were then to be expected to return to the kāinga where they might implement social change (Jenkins & Morris Matthews, 1995).

In 1867 there were only two Māori boarding schools in Te Waipounamu, one in Kaiapoi, which later burned down, and one in Ruapuke. St Stephen's established in 1847 in Auckland, originally for girls, had become a boys' boarding school, and Te Aute College for boys had opened in 1854.

By the early 1870s there were only two Māori girls' boarding schools, St Josephs Providence in Wellington, and St Josephs' Providence in Napier. Hukarere was opened in Napier in 1875, and by 1877 there were also schools such as St Mary's Institute in Auckland, and schools at Karakariki, Kawhia and Hukarere. One private school for girls was also operated at Taumarere near Kawakawa by Mary Tautari, although this eventually became a primary school only (Carson, 1991).

In 1877 The Education Act was passed, making primary schooling compulsory. Girls however only had to attend for at least half of the days that schools were open, and, as mentioned previously, compulsory attendance was not mandatory for Māori pupils until 1894. Control of Māori schools shifted from the Department of Native Affairs to the Department of Education, which governed twelve Education districts throughout the country. Standards were set to ensure that all schools taught the same body of knowledge. Inspectors continued to assess schools on their performance. Primary schooling went through to Standard Four after which pupils could progress to Secondary Schools on payment of fees, or by gaining scholarships.

The Williams family had established a girls' school at Waerenga-a-hika which was destroyed. In 1875 they replaced this with a school for Māori girls in Napier, Hukarere. Maria Williams, the daughter of the missionary William Williams, ran the school. She was assisted by her two sisters Kate and Marianne. Both their mother and grandmother were experienced teachers having worked in schools in England. Maria Williams spoke Te Reo Māori fluently and all three sisters had a genuine concern for the wellbeing and success of their pupils. In their study of Hukarere, Jenkins and Morris Matthews (1995) describe a school which had high expectations of its pupils. While the most common ideologies of the time saw the schooling of Māori girls as one means by which Māori would be better prepared for their 'rightful', subordinated place in society (Tomlins Jahnke, 1996), Maria Williams offered a more comprehensive curriculum, one based on the British grammar school system. The Department of Education advised her to introduce more technical subjects as was the normal policy for Native Schools. Williams believed however, that her girls were able to learn academic subjects, and in fact they were learning technical subjects in a much more relevant and practical way; by preparing meals and assisting with the maintenance of the school environment. Her pupils were not allowed to speak Te Reo while at school, and they were to achieve good results in English language exams. Many went on to become nurses or teachers, two occupations which were acceptable for women in the nineteenth century.

The classes at Hukarere were small (Jenkins & Morris Matthews, 1995) which suited the pupils, and the Williams sisters and other dedicated teachers

engendered a sense of whānau within the school. Pupils retained their sense of being Māori. Maria Williams often visited Māori communities and maintained long-time links with ex-pupils. Many families were to retain ties with the school over several generations.

In Te Waipounamu, most Māori communities had established Native Schools by 1880 and some girls were to travel north to attend boarding schools such as Hukarere. In the period 1886-1899 more Māori girls than boys were receiving Government scholarships to attend secondary schools (Carson, 1991). In 1909 a Native School for girls was opened at Ohoka, near Kaiapoi, north of Christchurch. The school operated here under the auspices of the Anglican Diocese of Christchurch until 1920. Magda Walscott, a pupil at Ohoka, remembered that the teachers did not have high expectations of their pupils and she eventually gained a scholarship to Christchurch Girls' High School where she was the only Māori pupil (Gudgeon, 1998).

In 1920 the Ohoka school was moved into Christchurch and as Te Waipounamu Maori Girls' College, catered for South Island pupils until 1964. In 1965 it eventually became a boarding hostel only and pupils attended a nearby state secondary school until Te Waipounamu closed in 1980.

Gudgeon (1998) explains that Te Waipounamu Māori Girls' College sought to school Māori girls and to continue a Christian influence on women and therefore the homes of Māori in Te Waipounamu and Wharekauri. The school

received a lot of support from Māori communities in both Canterbury and Otago in particular but girls attended from throughout the South Island.

When the school moved into Christchurch the nuns from The Community of the Sacred Name, an Anglican religious community established in Christchurch in the late nineteenth century, assumed responsibility for the schooling of the girls. Te Waipounamu taught a more technical curriculum than Hukarere and catered for primary pupils as well as secondary. The school was however under-funded during this time, receiving little assistance from the Anglican Dioceses. In 1940 Hilda Daniels became the principal and under her guidance there was a greater sense of success. While the pass rate of pupils in National Examinations was well above the national average, most of the curriculum was based around domestic sciences, reflecting current ideas about the purpose of schooling for Māori girls. Some aspects of Maori culture, such as the performing arts, were also a part of the school's character but few pupils had fluency in Te Reo and many felt their own South Island tikanga had been replaced by a more northern influence (Gudgeon, 1998).

While the denominational boarding schools provided valuable opportunities for many young Māori, there was also an emphasis on assimilation and many pupils who attended were encouraged to adopt Pākehā culture and values at the expense of their 'Māoriness' (Jahnke, 1997; Johnson, 1998;). Assimilation was to continue into the twentieth century as a goal of the colonial Government.

From integration to Kura Kaupapa Māori

In 1960 the Hunn report was published. It revealed lower standards of living
and life choices for Māori and the Government felt obliged to introduce
programmes to 'uplift' Māori. In his report Hunn demonstrated that Eurocentric
ideologies were alive and well. He ranked Māori according to the rate at which
they had assimilated into mainstream Pākehā society. Those he deemed
most successful were those he and his committee judged to be de-tribalised,
followed by Māori who were completely at home in both cultures. His concern
was for those he considered backward and primitive. This serves to illustrate
the fact that those who had maintained a strong Māori identity were
unacceptable to the dominant culture, and it was seen as essential that they
be dragged up to the 'higher' levels of European society and culture. He
promoted the concept of integration of Māori into the dominant culture,
although he accepted that there were a few worthy aspects of Maori culture
that should be retained. This was perhaps the only difference between the
policies of assimilation and integration. The Government however, would
decide for Māori which cultural aspects were worthy of saving. Māori
language was seen as an impediment to progress and the Government did
not feel any compulsion to take responsibility for its maintenance; this was for
Māori to do for themselves. However schools had been less than supportive
of Te Reo, and with increased urbanisation Māori themselves were concerned
about the survival of Te Reo. This led them to be more active in the promotion
of bilingualism for their children (Johnson, 1998).

The Hunn report espoused the theory that integration would be achieved by inter-marriage and by education, and the Currie Report of 1962 set guidelines for the future schooling of Māori and others seen as disadvantaged in the New Zealand school system. As well as Māori, those in rural and suburban areas, and the intellectually and physically disabled were to be provided with equality of opportunity in education. For Māori the first step was to be the abolition of Māori (formerly Native) Schools. This was greeted with dismay by many Māori for, although there were problems with the curriculum and resources in these schools, there was also strength in the community involvement with the schooling of their children. While urban schools might have offered equality of access, the fact remained that there were glaring inequalities for ethnic minorities, and Māori pupils in state schools were always in a minority. Positive relationships between urban schools and Māori communities were virtually non-existent.

According to the Education department, the lower achievement and retention rates of Māori in secondary schools could only be improved by intervention tactics. The Currie report (1962) proposed programmes for increasing participation in schooling, improving the teaching of English to Māori pupils, and providing more teachers and resources to schools with predominantly Māori rolls (Renwick, 1984). Most programmes promoted acculturation of Māori into the dominant Pākehā culture. Educational ideologies of the time included disparity theories and the concept of cultural deficiencies, which endeavoured to blame lack of educational success on an impoverished background, where families lacked English language fluency and cultural

knowledge relevant to schooling in particular. Remedies for this included remedial language programmes and early intervention such as attending kindergarten. These programmes were designed to "increase the dosage of English and Western culture" (Jenkins & K'ai 1994, p. 151). This was in line with international work with cultural minorities where the blame for failure was often laid on the victims (Dei, 2005, Nakhid, 2003).

According to Johnson (1998), the deficit theories of the time were "primarily based on the assumption that it was the culture of Māori that deprived them of access to educational achievement" (p. 116).

Some Māori had already been convinced by previous policies and schooling that aspects of their culture and life ways were indeed inferior and they encouraged their people to concentrate on living as Pākehā. While arts and crafts could be retained, other things should be discouraged. Mason Durie (2003b) explains that this type of inclusion of mātauranga Māori in the education system was in fact tokenism and merely added elements acceptable to mainstream society that would not challenge schools to make any real changes. Ans Westra's book *Washday at the Pa* , published in 1964, was removed from sale following the disapproval of the Māori Women's Welfare League which did not want a "primitive" rural Māori lifestyle portrayed in public. This illustrates the extent to which deficit theorising had impacted on the New Zealand population at large; even influential Māori women, such as those in the League, were convinced that the fault lay with their own people.

Others were of a different opinion and believed that a strong sense of identity as Māori was important. The majority of high achieving Māori academics were in fact bilingual (Watson, 1968). The reality for most school pupils, however, especially in urban schools, was that schooling was still essentially Eurocentric with little relevance to Māori (Johnson, 1998), and many felt that they had to leave their Māori identity at the school gate (Jahnke, 1997).

The 1970s was to herald a changing consciousness among Māori, a feeling that there was a real struggle for survival; of Te Reo and of a sense of identity as Māori in Aotearoa. The actions of Ngā Tamatoa, Māori University students, saw the Government take more notice of Māori demands for the inclusion of Te Reo Māori in the primary school curriculum and The National Committee on Māori Education, NACME, recommended the inclusion of more aspects of Māoritanga. There was a discrepancy between aspirations of Māori and anxieties of Pakeha (Renwick, 1984) and resistance of many teachers to include mātauranga Māori remained a concern to those who saw its value in the education of their children. Many Pākehā resented extra funding being made available for Māori programmes, and viewed the teaching of Te Reo as wasteful, or even a retrograde step. Difficulties still existed for Māori pupils in state schools should they identify strongly as Māori (Julian, 1970) and they were to chose to do so more infrequently in the 1970s. Many whānau believed that their children were losing self-esteem in a system which continued to undermine Māori language and cultural aspirations (Jones et.al., 1990). The continuing Eurocentric attitudes in many state schools affected yet another generation of Māori girls, daughters of women who had experienced similar

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treatment in the 1950s and 1960s. This ongoing educational failure had resulted in "intergenerational alienation and estrangement from the educative process for a disproportion of Māori students" (Penetito, 2005, pp. 349-350). Many whānau felt unwelcome in schools which did not support programmes which might acknowledge and celebrate their daughters' Māori identities. Johnson (1998) argues that many teachers misread this and assumed that Māori parents did not care about their children's schooling. Parents however, while well aware of the importance of schooling, did not necessarily accept the notion that to be successful their children should risk losing their Māori identity.

By 1974 Te Reo was offered in primary schools and the Te Ataarangi programme for teachers of Te Reo was developed. But there was growing concern amongst Māori that this would not be enough to ensure the survival of Te Reo. There was a continued push for bilingual schools amongst communities where Māori was still spoken in the home. In 1978 the first bilingual school was established in Ruatoki and would be followed by similar schools in Hiruharama, Omahu, and Tawera in 1980. Strong relationships developed between these schools and their communities and there were improvements in school spirit, the self esteem of pupils, and in literacy in both languages (Renwick, 1984). In many other areas of Aotearoa parents and grandparents had limited ability in Te Reo, after generations of involvement in a schooling system which had not acknowledged the validity of Māori knowledge. This, combined with the dislocating effects of urbanisation, had led to a lessening of a sense of Māoriness among many (Jones, 2000). A

mono-cultural school system, with Eurocentric ideologies and pedagogy, was still in evidence even though the Ministry of Education was well aware of the importance of Te Reo and tikanga in enhancing pupils' self esteem and sense of worthiness. Many Māori girls found little in mainstream state secondary schools that acknowledged Māori language and culture as being less than inferior. A shortage of Te Reo Māori teachers for secondary schools had seen the introduction of Te Atakura, a programme which encouraged native speakers to enter the profession. Their knowledge was affirmed by marae elders and was treated by the Teacher Training institutions as equivalent to a University degree. Coupled with a one year course at a Teachers' Training College, these skilled and knowledgeable people of the Māori world graduated as secondary school teachers. Unfortunately twenty years later the validity of their knowledge and expertise would be questioned and in secondary teachers' conferences and meetings I heard my colleagues express their concern that the Te Atakura qualification to teach was considered to be inferior to qualifications measured by European standards.

In the 1970s increased immigration into New Zealand exposed New Zealand residents to a wide range of cultures with which many were unfamiliar, and the Government changed their policies from integration to those of multi-culturalism. The aim of this change was to acknowledge and affirm diversity and promote the notion that all cultures were different but of equal status and significance. Schools were expected to introduce programmes which acknowledged this diversity, but the impact on a Eurocentric system was minimal. Māori were not acknowledged as tangata whenua and were in fact considered as an "other" culture (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Many schools opted

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out of the entire process, arguing that they would not be able to teach about all the cultural backgrounds of their students effectively and therefore Māori culture was often excluded again.

Pressure was to lead to a change to a policy of bi-culturalism, acknowledging the place of Māori as tangata whenua. The passing of the Treaty of Waitangi Act in 1975 was to provide a basis for the implementation of policies in schools, and the desire from Māori to see more Māori content in schooling was to lead to the introduction of the Taha Māori programme in the 1980s. While this was promoted by the Department of Education as a means to introduce more relevant material into schools for Māori pupils, it has subsequently been considered a programme designed primarily for non-Māori pupils to increase their understanding of Māori culture (Caccioppoli & Cullen, 2006; Durie, 2003a; Jenkins & Jones, 2000). Māori content was to be fused into the core curriculum, but only in the areas of music, art, physical education and Social Studies. In Social Studies the material was mainly anthropological (Caccioppoli & Cullen 2006) in that only pre-European Māori life was considered. This programme was to meet with resistance from both teachers and the Pākehā community (Jones et.al.1990). The majority of teachers were non-Māori and were unable or unwilling to include Māori content into their teaching plans. Watson (1968) notes that the "more troublesome problems in overcoming the scholastic difficulties of Māori pupils (lay) in the hearts and minds of those who (taught)" (p. 20). Mead (1996) reports that teachers often had negative ideas towards Māori, and resisted teaching Māoritanga, further undermining the importance of Māori values and Māori knowledge in the

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schooling system. The general Pākehā public was also resistant to the introduction of Māori content into the school curriculum, seeing it as irrelevant and a waste of time and money (Jones et.al., 1990). Furthermore, this coincided with a call for "back to basics" in schooling (Simon, 1994), meaning a concentration on European knowledge and culture. The negative impacts of this on the self-esteem of many Māori pupils cannot be over-estimated. Māori knowledge and culture was portrayed as being inferior and not worthy of inclusion in any schooling programmes. Little wonder that Māori still felt excluded at least, denigrated at most.

Māori began to take matters into their own hands with the introduction of Te Kohanga Reo, in 1980, developing a pre-school language immersion programme based on tikanga Māori and Māori pedagogy. It was an assertion of tino rangatiratanga, with Māori taking control of the schooling of their own. It was a brave statement of a desire to revitalise Te Reo in Aotearoa and would produce children ready for primary Māori medium schooling, a need that would be ably met by Kura Kaupapa Māori primary schools, the first of which was established in 1985, where to be Māori and successful was to become the norm (Jones et .al., 1990.) The absolute strength of these movements was in the potential for children to have their identity as Māori validated and celebrated. As Aroha Durie (1997) suggested "a positive learning and teaching environment, one which affirms a Māori cultural environment, will foster greater school success for Māori learners, which will in turn, increase life chances and choices" (pp. 157-158). In Kura Kaupapa Māori, teachers made a point of knowing the cultural, personal, and whanau

background of each child, enabling the development of positive relationships in the classroom (Jones et. al., 1990). Māori pedagogy was a major part of the teaching and learning process. More girls took up leadership roles in Kura Kaupapa Māori (Carkeek et. al., 1994), and this was done with a feeling of responsibility towards the welfare of other pupils, rather than for any personal sense of worth. The later development of Whare Kura for secondary schooling was to continue the momentum of Māori centred schooling, assisting and promoting academic success and retention.

The Ministry of Education, acknowledging that changes needed to be made, introduced the Tū Tangata programme in 1995. With the development of Kura Kaupapa Māori, Māori had themselves set in place an infrastructure which guaranteed tino rangatiratanga over the Government funding allocated to them. In the 1990s more whānau, hapū, and iwi took up the challenge and had begun planning for the schooling needs of their children. Pan-tribal Education Authorities were established from 1998 (Hattie, 2003).

Mainstream schooling however, where the majority of Māori pupils were still to be found, took little heed of best practices of Kura Kaupapa, or iwi aspirations, and achievement and retention rates of Māori girls changed little. The ability of many Māori girls to identify strongly and proudly as Māori had been compromised by the urbanisation of previous generations, and often pupils took the public pathological perception of what it was to be Māori as fact, then found it more difficult to stand tall as Māori (Pere, 1988). The school system still catered predominantly for those from the dominant Pākehā culture and in

1983 over 60% of Māori pupils left school with no academic qualifications. This continued to impact on further educational and employment avenues open to Māori. While schools made some attempts to validate Māori, it was most often in the forms of Māori Culture groups, optional language classes, Māori studies, and occasional marae visits (Jones et.al. 1990).This was largely tokenism, and seldom carried over into the culture of the whole school (Gadd 1976). The experiences, realities, expectations, opportunities, and achievement of Māori girls were often very different to Pākehā girls (McKinley, 1995; Tomlins Jahnke, 1996). Teachers, being mono-cultural in the main, were unable or unwilling to recognise and cater for this difference. Māori pupils continued to show low self-esteem, and many of those who did achieve academically, often did so by identifying less as Māori (Mitchell & Mitchell, 1988).

The Picot Report of 1988 introduced a restructuring of the education system in Aotearoa. To satisfy both the (politically) right and left sections of society, concepts of equity and efficiency were promoted. Families were to be given more say in the schooling of their children, through participation in school management via Boards of Trustees, and Māori were encouraged to get involved. Typically in Te Waipounamu, few Māori won places on Boards through election (Hui Taumata Mātauranga 2003). Boards have been able to co-opt Māori, whom they see as suitable voices for the Māori community. While this can be effective, in some cases the choice made by a school board does not allow Māori whanau to have a real say in the policies of the school, concerning the schooling of their daughters

The policies of the Ministry and the reluctance of most mainstream schools to make substantial changes meant that little real improvements were made in the retention and achievement of Māori secondary school pupils, with a third of Māori leaving school in 1997 with no formal qualifications (Durie, 2003a). A report prepared for the Ministry of Education in 1997, "Māori Participation and Performance in Education" was charged with considering the "gap" in retention and achievement between Māori and Pākehā pupils. The underlying aim was to consider how the "gap" in the labour market performance of young people might be minimised. While there was some acknowledgement that there might be barriers in schools, many of the report's findings placed the problem with Māori whānau and what were perceived to be their deficiencies. Negative ideas about the ability of Māori girls to achieve academically, low expectations of teachers, and discrimination in school practices were still impacting on the self-esteem of Māori girls (Awatere, 1995), and many Māori women saw themselves as being in the lowest levels of society.

This chapter has presented a review of historical literature concerning the education of Māori, from pre-colonial times, until the close of the twentieth century. The literature review conducted showed that there has been little improvement for Māori pupils after years of research which has lacked reciprocity and cultural sensitivity. Despite this largely negative historical process, there are, of course, many Māori girls who have achieved well in the system and this is what encouraged me to undertake this research. Māori hoped that the new millennium would bring a new sense of direction and hope.

Chapter Three

THE RESEARCH STUDY

"Education is a key to personal, social and economic success. Many Māori achieve at school and go on to make a huge contribution to the economic and social development of Aotearoa New Zealand" (Ministry of Education, 1997, p.5).

This chapter outlines the initial questions I hoped this case study would find answers to. The chapter gives an overview of methodologies which informed the research, including Indigenous research and Kaupapa Māori research The nature of researched community is explained, as is the interview process.

Overview

The specific questions that this study sought to answer were:

What are those positive influences which encourage and support Māori girls in their decision to remain at secondary school beyond the post-compulsory years?

What role does Māori identity and culture play in this decision?

How important is it that schools accord value to the Māori identity of their pupils?

Methodologies and methods were required that would empower Māori girls by placing them at the centre of the research, critically analyse some of the structures of the school and provide reciprocal information for both myself as

the researcher and those researched. Methodology is the term which refers to the philosophical framework which determines how research will proceed. It incorporates the reason for the research, the nature of the questions to be asked, the practical means to be employed and the analysis of the information gained (Smith, 1999). Over a long period much research in New Zealand addressing Māori educational issues has been what Smith (1999) terms "crises research" aiming to explain the causes of Māori failure, and solve Maori problems. However, much of this study, research, and analysis has resulted in little real improvement in retention and academic achievement for Maori. It has perpetuated the myth of deficit, placed the blame on Māori and resulted in minimal change in schooling in Aotearoa New Zealand. There has developed a feeling amongst Māori of distrust and even suspicion of such research (Smith, 1991).

Critical Theory is a research methodology crafted to expose social inequalities and empower minoritised people (Smith, 2005; Van Manen, 1990), This methodology which has offered a way for Māori voices to be heard, and feminist theory, focussing on issues of race, gender and class, also sees insider research as more acceptable in qualitative research. According to Van Manen (1990) "the researcher cannot afford to adopt an attitude of so-called scientific disinterestedness" (p. 33).

Indigenous people have long been concerned about the research processes they have been subjected to, and have sought methodologies which no longer

focus on pathologies, and which are more situated within the very communities being researched (Daniel, 2005).

Indigenous research

While critical theorists hoped that their style of research could lead to a greater understanding of social inequalities, many indigenous peoples also sought a method which might lead to more successful outcomes for their communities. The 1970s saw a global rise in indigenous activism which revealed continued colonisation of indigenous peoples and a denial of self-determination. The desire for the development of a research methodology which would take into account the philosophies of indigenous peoples, and their unique cultural world views, saw the introduction of methodologies which were anti-colonial and more culturally inclusive (Baba, 2004; Daniel, 2005; Dei, 2005).

Baba (2004) explains that indigenous communities were concerned with the need to reclaim their own knowledge systems and processes. Previously the researched had had little involvement with the actual research process itself. Indigenous forms of research, it was hoped, could more effectively challenge the status quo of social injustice, and promote equity and fairness (Dei, 2005). Existing research methodology had often concentrated on pathologies and aspects of deficit theory (Daniel, 2005).

Kaupapa Māori research

Kaupapa Māori research methodology is an indigenous research method which, like critical theory, seeks to analyse existing structure and social inequalities (Massey, Coxon, & Marshall, 1994). It is a methodology which recognises the fact that research in Aotearoa involving Māori people needs to be conducted in ways which are inclusive and culturally appropriate (Bishop, 2005).

Kaupapa Māori research methodology is connected with Māori principles and philosophies, enabling the researcher to place Māori people, language, and culture at the centre of the research process (Durie 1997). It has the potential to recognise Māori autonomy, tino rangatiratanga over Māori cultural wellbeing, and acknowledge mana Māori. This has been important for Māori, who have believed that much "traditional research has misinterpreted Māori understandings and ways of knowing" (Bishop, 2005, p. 111).

As well as being culturally accountable, Kaupapa Māori research has as its end goal, the possibility that a positive difference might be made for the researched (Smith, L., 1999). If research is well designed and carried out there is a real potential to improve people's lives and situations, and to open doors to the future. Baba (2004) describes Kaupapa Māori research as a methodology which can protect both the researcher and the researched while building the potential for the revitalisation of things Māori.

Bishop (1996) argued that "Pākehā need to accept responsibilities under the Treaty of Waitangi to be a part of social transformation" (p.18). As a Pākehā researcher involved in Kaupapa Māori research, I was guided by Smith's (1997) models of tiaki, whangai, power sharing and empowering outcomes. I have been mentored by local people involved in Māori education, and the guidance and advice I received from my supervisor, Dr Taiarahia Black, has been invaluable. My personal involvement with the community developed from 1982, when I attended Kohanga Reo with my son. Through almost thirty years of involvement in Kapa Haka, and Māori education forums at a local and national level, I am kanohi kitea and have gained much knowledge about aspirations and needs of Māori whānau. Having taught in the researched school for more than twenty years I have heard the concerns of our whānau Māori, and hope that my research addresses their concerns and will in future bring about positive outcomes for more of their daughters.

Making contact

At meetings of the Runanga Mātua of the case study school, a process was established to develop a strategy to improve the success of Māori pupils. Whānau were concerned with lower academic achievement levels for Māori, and lack of retention of Māori girls into the senior school. Rather than concentrate on what others saw as barriers to learning, the Runanga chose to focus on what was working well for those Māori girls who were staying at school and achieving. The question was raised about what were the positive

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things in the school which promoted success, and how these could be utilised and developed to maximise the success of all Maori students.

In response to this desire of the school community to discover what could be further developed I proposed a research project that would attempt to find those things which senior Māori girls perceived as being positive influences on their decision to remain at school, and to enjoy educational achievement. My background involves many years of teaching in the school, and my role as Dean of Māori students had enabled me to follow closely the progress of many Māori girls. There have been Māori pupils who have remained at school until Year 13, achieving success academically, socially, and in cultural and sporting arenas. Such girls would be asked to share their stories of success, in the hope that the strategies they were able to use to gain success might be shared with the school and community.

A letter was sent to the Principal and Board of Trustees requesting permission to undertake research within the school. This followed a meeting with the Acting-Principal and Assistant Principal. They had expressed support for the planned research, which they hoped might provide valuable information to guide the school in improving the educational success of its growing roll of Māori pupils.

I therefore had verbal approval and then received written approval from the Board of Trustees. The Board requested that interviews take place outside of

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school hours. They were assured that neither the school itself, nor the girls who chose to participate, would be identified.

A further meeting took place with the Assistant Principal, who facilitated access to school documents pertaining to the research focus. The Assistant Principal also agreed to make the initial approach to those girls who met the research participant criteria. A letter of invitation to participate was then sent to these girls, together with an explanation of the purpose and process of the research

The researched community

The school where the research was carried out is situated in an urban area of Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka a Māui. The community itself is mainly Pākehā, with Māori making up the majority of the non-Pākehā population. The total Māori population has doubled in the last five years. Other people who have settled in the area include more recent European migrants, Pasifika peoples, and a wide range of Asian groups including refugees.

Six iwi hold mana whenua status and there is also a large Māori population whose iwi affiliations lie outside Te Tau Ihu. Of the 107 Maori girls presently enrolled at the school 10% are from mana whenua iwi. Other iwi which are predominantly represented in the school are Ngā Puhi.and Ngāi Tahu..
Māori make up 11% of the roll and are the largest non-Pākehā group in the school, which, reflecting the wider local population, also has Pasifika students,

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fee-paying International students, private exchange students and resident refugee students.

The teaching community is also predominantly Pākehā. Two teachers identify as Māori, and there are two Māori teacher aides, whose time is dedicated to one student. 25% of the teaching staff are first generation New Zealanders, mainly from European countries and South Africa. There is one Pasifika teacher.

Pupils have access to mātauranga Māori through the provision of Te Reo Māori option classes at each year level, and for many years Kapa Haka has been operating. The strength of this group has varied over the years, largely because of the scarcity of tutors within the region. Recently the school has employed a well-qualified tutor, who also has a desire to help improve the retention and achievement of all Māori pupils. Sundrum (2009) noted that success in Kapa Haka "can become synonymous with academic achievement, and academic aspirations, and part of a unified goal of Māori students" (p. 89). The group is now well-attended and has a strong profile both within the school and the wider community.

A multi-level whānau form class operated within the school for more than ten years and catered well for girls who had come to the school from bi-lingual classes in local contributing schools. This whānau class has recently been disbanded and for the last three years Māori pupils have been mainstreamed into existing year level form classes. The Māori language class has been

relocated from the periphery of the school campus and is now in a more central part of the school. Plans exist for this room to be completely refurbished. The room has been made available for girls to use as a meeting place at interval, lunchtime, and before and after school. Māori girls and their friends have welcomed the availability of this space to meet together as Māori.

Māori pupils hold junior and senior leadership positions within the school and are represented on the student council. Sport is one area where Māori pupils achieve success, and there are others who are gifted and talented musicians and performing artists. Some in the Kapa Haka group have performed with local groups at a senior level in Te Waipounamu competitions and Te Matatini, as well as at Kapa Haka Kura Tuarua.

The interviews

After the Māori girls in Year 12 and 13 were identified from the school data base, information sheets and invitations to participate in the research were distributed to the girls. Although the girls were all aged seventeen or eighteen, whānau approval for them to participate was also sought. Bishop (2005) explains that "establishing a research group as if it were an extended family is one form of establishing the process of whakawhanaungatanga' (p.119) important in kaupapa Māori research.

I met with those who were willing to be a part of the study and further explained the aims of the study and the process of the research. The girls were assured of their anonymity, and advised that they could withdraw from the project at any time. Six girls decided to share their stories, although one later withdrew due to other commitments. The girls understood that they could take part in either individual or group interviews. Two girls preferred to meet with me together. In line with the Board's request that we did not impinge on school time, the interviews were conducted outside of class time, on the school premises.

Interviews commenced with karakia and mihi, and involved a series of open ended questions to initiate conversations. Being kanohi kitea to the girls and their whānau ensured that an atmosphere of trust and open communication was possible as the girls shared their personal experiences with me. All involved understood our connectedness and commitment into hoping the research findings might make positive differences for Māori in the school. As researcher I recorded and transcribed each interview. The girls were aware that they could ask for taping to be halted if they so desired. These transcripts were returned to the participants to ensure their accuracy.

The transcripts were then read several times and identifying information and interviewer input was removed. Several themes or plots emerged, and I re-organised the transcribed material into these themes. Examining these themes, and the original research questions, I retained particular quotes

verbatim and wove them into my analysis, referring often to the original transcripts.

The girls who shared their experiences of their time in the selected school were all in their fifth and final year of secondary schooling. They had achieved academic and social success and were making decisions about moving into further training and education in their personal areas of interest and talent.

As they shared their own stories several themes had emerged about what they personally perceived as 'agents of retention and achievement'; those things which they knew had helped them in their decision to remain at school, and to achieve success. These themes were those used to organise the information gathered from the interviews. The girls particularly valued support from a range of people, knowing that others had high expectations of them to succeed, and were aware of the importance of their own personal drive and motivation to reach their goals in life.

This chapter has provided an overview of the methodologies informing the research. Specific research questions and the nature of the researched community have been detailed. An explanation of the interview process, and organisation of data has been presented.

Chapter Four

THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

This chapter presents the findings of the research. The participants were given the opportunity to share their own personal perceptions of their time at the school in the case study. The main themes of their experiences presented here revolve around their perceptions of identity, support and expectations, opportunity and motivation.

Perceptions of identity

The girls who were willing to share their experiences and perceptions of their participation in post-compulsory secondary education were successful and motivated. Previous researchers have noted that many Māori girls in this position have at times felt they have needed to put their personal identity as Māori to one side in order to achieve in mainstream schools (Mitchell & Mitchell, 1988).The majority of the girls in this project explained that they moved from one cultural norm to another depending on the situation, and the people they were associating with.

> *I really like the culture side – when we do do things I feel really comfortable, but I'm almost a different person, it's hard to explain...I just relate to it.*

As in any community, there was a wide range of self-identification as Māori amongst the girls. Wilson (2007) in her study of a secondary school noted that

"parents may identify students as being of Māori descent, but may not wish to be included in anything Kaupapa Māori within the school, or alternatively...may appear to be Māori...yet may choose not to identify as Māori" (p. 36). Others may chose to leave their Māori identity out of school (Fuli, 1995; Mackintosh, 2004; Palmer, 2000).Those girls in this study who chose to identify strongly as Māori in any situation explained that this was strongly supported and nurtured by whānau. It included knowledge of whakapapa and access to whenua tipu. Whānau links were paramount.

Being with the rest of my family as well, that's awesome. Being with everyone in a group, and you see the rest of your family as well.

Just being around other Māori, like friends and family.

Some of the girls acknowledged that they did not participate actively in Māori society in the local area. This was partly due to their whānau situations. All had whanau links outside of the region and for some, living with a single non-Maori parent, those links were tenuous.

I don't really have much contact with my Dad's family, they're all over the place, up north mostly, and I've never met any of them.

I don't have a lot of contact with my family and wider whanau, because they're all up north, so I only get to see them at family reunions.

However, these girls are also exposed to both Māori culture and Pākehā culture which in turn implies an ability to acculturate into the dominant culture of the school (Tait, 1995). Mackintosh (2004) noted that some pupils found that while always identifying as Māori in whānau situations, adopting a Pākehā identity in school made success at school easier,

Involvement with Māori whānau was seen as the most important way in which identity could be affirmed and when girls had not experienced that strength of connection previously, as shown above, their first experiences were often considered life-changing and positive. For some this had occurred at school, with involvement in Kaupapa Māori such as Manu Kōrero competitions, at both regional and national levels.

That was a huge insight into Māori, the most that I ever had in my whole life, on the marae and just the people, my relations, kind of sussing it all out – it was a whole new thing for me – and it was massive.

The girls' perceptions of times when they all personally felt most confident in their cultural identity in school were always in specifically Māori environments, such as Te Reo classes, Manu Kōrero competitions, and Kapa Haka. The sense of pride and connection they experienced was evident. For those who had limited involvement in the wider local Māori community, this opportunity which schools could provide cannot be ignored as a positive influence from

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which all Māori pupils could benefit. It is an opportunity for schools to become more culturally responsive.

> *I personally identify as Māori very strongly, and I'm very comfortable identifying as Māori at school, Very comfortable, I don't have a problem with that at all. I do that by getting involved in as many things Māori in school as possible, so Kapa Haka, Manu Kōrero and that kind of thing.*

> *When I've chosen to identify as Maori at school, there's just people who have supported me, the Te Reo Māori classes with all the others, and in the third and fourth form, and mostly just people, suggesting things that you could take up and have a go at.*

The school was acknowledged in its efforts to provide avenues for Māori cultural expression, especially in Te Reo and Māori performing arts. While the school holds powhiri for all new students and staff and visitors to the school, this was not specifically mentioned by any of the girls. Opportunities for Māori girls to be acknowledged in their cultural identity within the school also include specific Māori leadership roles which had been undertaken by several of the respondents. These roles are valuable according to Sundrum (2009) as "a positive perception of Maori student leaders is likely to motivate students in enhancing their self-efficacy of academic achievement" (p. 87). The numbers of junior Māori students taking up junior leadership roles has already increased in the school in this study. The girls in the study had also been recognised as successful in academic, music, speech and drama, and

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sporting achievement. The school awards annual prizes for these achievements by Māori pupils although one girl noted that there was little awareness of these awards amongst younger students.

> *I mean, I didn't even know that you could get Academic Colours in 5th and 7th form until in assembly they were calling them out – and I thought – no-one told me. At the start of next year it would be good if they could get a list of all the prizes that they could get – like Best All Round Senior Māori student, citizenship awards*

Contact with other Māori people is a vital element of strengthening and maintaining cultural identity. The school has in the past offered a multi-level whānau form class, or tutor group. While this was not a timetabled class where pupils were in a dedicated learning environment, it was a place where Māori could meet together regularly. Whanaungatanga, establishing relationships in a Māori context (MacFarlane, 2004), was a positive achievement in this group. Recently this class has been disbanded and all Māori pupils are now members of mainstream single level tutor groups. For one respondent, who had been a member of the whānau class, the transition had not been easy. She felt the loss of a time when Maori could meet and support each other, was disappointing.

> *When the Whānau class was split up it was hard because we didn't have everyone.*

Tait (1995) found in her study of Tikipunga High School, that one important way the students affirmed their Māori identity within the school, was whanaungatanga, the unity of the group.

In the school in this study, the Māori language classes were relocated, from a prefabricated building on the periphery of the campus, to the centre of the school. Maori pupils are now also able to use this room as a meeting place. It is well patronised with girls meeting there before and after school, and in intervals and lunch breaks. The atmosphere is positive and has provided a greater opportunity for Maori to be with other Maori. While all who wish to use the room are able to do so, there I have noted some perception among other pupils and even some teachers that this is favouritism and separatist. Some of the girls who shared their stories explained how they often lacked confidence to join with other Māori students in this space, as they were not involved in Te Reo classes or Kapa Haka.

The provision of specifically Maori subjects such as Te Reo Māori, Tikanga Māori and Māori performing arts has given the girls the opportunity to participate culturally at school and they believed this to be an important influence on encouraging some Māori girls to continue with their education.

The majority of the girls had either studied Te Reo or participated in Kapa Haka at some time. One was still involved with Kapa Haka, but the others had chosen other academic and cultural paths. They spoke about school support for activities which affirmed cultural expression, such as Manu Kōrero participation and Kapa Haka.

They're like encouraging, and like when they come and see Kapa Haka

– when they walk past and we're in the hall practising – they say "I

listened to you, and it was beautiful" So we can participate culturally at

school and express ourselves as Māori. I think the majority of teachers

and the school value that cultural expression

The minority well, they're just not really too fussed about what goes on,

about what the Māori students do – they don't have anything to do with

them really.

From the interviews then, the need for Māori to be able to identify positively as Māori in school is clearly expressed and the provision of time, space and support for Māori pupils to do this is essential.

Perceptions of support and expectations

The girls spoke about support and encouragement they received personally in their goal to continue at school and to be successful. This encouragement was firstly centred in the whānau, and was the reason why the girls knew they had the potential to succeed. The expectations from their whānau were that their goals were achievable. In a previous study, Tikipunga High School students also affirmed the influence of family and Tait (1995) noted that those Māori who were most successful in that school seemed to come from 'successful' families. It is recognised that mainstream schools in New Zealand reflect the dominant Pakeha culture, in general, and the culture of the middle class as well (Tait, 1995). The majority of the girls in this case study are from

middle class backgrounds, and their parents and whānau have been willing and able to instil in their daughters a sense what is needed for achievement at school for the future. Marshall et. al. (2000) also explained that these parents find it easier to access and support educational benefits for their children.

It's been my choice really, to stay on at school although there is an influence from home. I guess I get support from home for getting stuff done and being involved at school. It's not easy because I travel about an hour each way each day.

I get a lot of support from my Mum – she doesn't really expect me to drop out – I have no reason to – I mean some girls have apprenticeships. Mum left after sixth form actually, but she still got a qualification – I don't know what it is, but she's qualified to do her job.

From the family – there's no pressure but there's heaps of encouragement for me.

It was important for the girls to know that they had this support and encouragement from home. Research has shown that Māori parents and whānau want their children to do well at school (Bishop et al., 2003; Sundrum, 2009). Also there was a real expectation from whānau that their daughters were capable of achieving in their chosen area at a high level. Some girls had considered the alternative of not gaining qualifications and decided to stay on at school instead.

The next group identified as being supportive and encouraging were overwhelmingly the networks of friends, both Māori and Pākehā, the girls had established at school. This was particularly important when friends had also chosen to stay on at school and pursue success.

Most of the things that have helped me stay on at school have been family, and my friends, that circle of friends, so when they're all going for it and you're going for it.

But nowadays it's more common to stay through school, and all my friends are doing it.

If you have really good friends - my friends have been really supportive as well – I think that if you are around others who also want to achieve, then you're more likely to go through with them as well and you won't get left behind, I think that's what's important.

Some of the girls spoke about their Māori friends from junior school who had already left school, and saw evidence of a range of reasons including lack of support and expectation of them to stay on at school and do well.

And it's difficult if your friends don't stay on – I mean, by Year 13 you've already established your friend groups, and if they're not going through, then you kind of don't want to either – I've been lucky though.

Heaps of my friends have left. Sometimes, like when they didn't have the encouragement from their families to stay at school, they had no-one putting pressure on them to stay at school.

At times other Māori friends had already gained the necessary qualifications to move on, but there was some sadness expressed about those, for whom school was not a comfortable place, and who had left without academic success or qualifications.

I have had friends who have left school and I couldn't see why they did, why they would leave school. There are only a couple of Maori students who started Year 9 with me who are still here.

Sometimes school just wasn't for them, they just didn't give it a proper go.

All of my Maori friends have left.

Regarding support from within the school itself, the girls expressed appreciation for those teachers who had supported them in their studies, and who had shown that they had high expectations of success for the girls. Some had chosen specialist subjects which meant that they had been fortunate to have the guidance of one teacher for several years. This had helped to develop very positive relationships between teacher and pupil, and a good

knowledge on the part of the teacher of the abilities, goals and learning styles of the individual pupils.

I think I've been lucky and have had really good teachers all the way through, and the ones I've had from Year 9 all the way up, they know me and how I work personally and so they've been able to help me. Relationships are definitely important; at least two of my teachers that I have really good relationships with have helped me to achieve to my highest level. They have high expectations of me. But I don't think all Maori students have the same expectations of them or support.

Studies which have involved listening to Māori pupils' experiences at secondary school, have overwhelmingly shown that the relationships that teachers establish with their pupils can be the most positive in raising Maori achievement at school (Bevan Brown, 2003; Bishop et.al., 2003; Jones, 1988; Mitchell & Mitchell, 1988; Simon, 1986).

A positive relationship between teachers and pupils in this study also meant that the girls knew their teachers were more aware of the interests and passions of the individual pupils, and had knowledge of the pupils' lives outside of school.

They encourage us in school to do things outside of school as well – just sort of have a life outside of school.

One of the strengths of the school is a tutor group system which allows for a form teacher, or tutor, to remain with the same class for the full five years of secondary school. For Māori this can encourage a sense of whanaungatanga. The tutor introduces the pupils to the school and systems in their first year, Year 9, and continues as their tutor until they graduate from Year 13. Usually this teacher teaches the class a core subject in that first year, but not always. Through five years of involvement with the girls in a pastoral role, there is a definite opportunity for the tutor to establish a positive relationship, especially in knowing well the girl, her whānau, and her abilities and hopes for the future. In particular the tutor of the whānau class had been able to encourage Māori girls to set themselves goals as Māori. Because this tutor group was a vertical grouping, the presence of successful and supportive seniors was valuable in providing positive role models for younger girls. In mainstream form classes, girls had found the long term nature of the relationship they had with their form teacher was generally positive.

Our tutor teacher, well he was constant. I was thinking about him. He wasn't much of a mentor, but he was a constant, good – right through college and the constancy thing is important – consistency and constancy.

There was a feeling that support from the school for the girls to achieve as Māori was mostly obvious in dealings with individual teachers, who had established positive relationships with them. They did not feel, however, that they had been able to establish such good relationships with all their teachers.

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They also mentioned teachers who, while acknowledging and celebrating their successes, did not necessarily acknowledge their success as Māori. A major part of establishing sound and supportive relationships must include knowing more of the background and culture of Maori pupils, and celebrating their success as Māori.

Perceptions of opportunity

All of the girls interviewed spoke about the opportunities they had gained by staying on at school into their senior years. These opportunities included being encouraged to study subjects which they were passionate about, and which were also seen as helping them to achieve future goals. In some cases the range of subjects offered at this school was the main reason for choosing to attend this particular school. Some had studied Te Reo Māori in their junior years but had changed to other options, which were more aligned with their future life plans.

> *The choice of subjects we have – definitely that has helped me want to stay on for sure as you get - another thing – as you get older, you get up into the seventh form, you get to chose subjects you actually want to do, and that you like, that you love – the things in life that you can apply to school and do as a subject – like music, it's really good.*

Being able to take sport as a subject has been good... there is a good range to choose from.

This school had better subject choices.

In senior years the school also allows pupils to plan an individual course of study which makes it possible for them to continue with study outside of school. This is often utilised by pupils who have heavy cultural and sporting commitments outside of school, which are important aspects of their future career or study plans. All five study participants had decided to undertake further study; in Science, Music, Drama, Physical Education, and one girl was planning to further her dance studies at The New Zealand School of Dance

I had a different goal, not so academic this year – I took less heavy subjects this year. That definitely helped me organise my time. I wouldn't have been able to get through if I had all academic subjects like I did last year – 'cos it's just a lot of extra time outside of school that I needed to do for dancing instead. Dancing was an important part of my education and I still wanted to get academic qualifications though.

The National Certificate of Educational Achievement is a system which each girl found merit in. They felt that the mix of internal and external assessment is a good mix although when following a more academic course of study, the pressure to achieve results in external exams is always present. Some felt

they did not really understand the system initially and would have benefited from more explanation.

NCEA is alright, like exams, it makes you focus the whole year because, you know, at the end of the year you have everything from the start of the year, and you have to go back and remember everything.

I think NCEA is difficult because it depends on how academic your subjects are and what are the chances you're going to get the credits – like high academic subjects have a lot of externals and you have to sit more exams, so it's a lot more pressure than the kind of low academic ones, where you get to do all internal stuff. I don't know – I guess you've got to take what you know you can do and – NCEA is okay..... NCEA works for me, but I really didn't understand it in the fifth form. I don't think I even knew what a Unit Standard was. A bit more guidance would have been good, I didn't know the difference – like credits – how many credits you needed to get, and then how many credits would be taken over to the next year – and things like that.

It was also important for the girls to have a good understanding of how they could best plan a programme of study that would allow them to have success in areas in which they had ability, and to prepare them for future career or study directions. The school advises all students about long term programmes

of study, and organises career education events. A community programme, sponsored by Sport Nelson, Te Puni Kokiri and Sealord, targeted young Māori in the region, and set up a mentoring system in several intermediate and secondary schools. Several girls had participated in this programme and found it inspiring. Māori and Pasifika career days have been held, and Māori Liaison staff, from most tertiary institutions make themselves available for advice. This advice includes information about the range of courses offered, support available to Māori students in tertiary institutions and how to access financial assistance. These opportunities are valued by the girls as they offer a time and place to meet with achievers from the Māori world, and establish links with Māori students from other local secondary schools.

This year we had that Pasifika/Māori careers day, so we could all come together, that was really good actually – I enjoyed that.

Well, I saw the career days for Māori and Pasifika students and I really wanted to go to them, but I couldn't because of other things. I just wanted to see what it was like, something to get into. Those are things I would like to get more involved in, support and mentoring programmes for Māori.

Manaaki Rangatahi programmes singling us out and making us special – and the role model thing – we can see that we can actually get there, we just need constant support.

It was obvious that each girl valued advice and guidance, and that this was particularly effective when there were avenues where they could be with other Māori who had achieved success in a range of arenas, and who could inspire secondary pupils to have high expectations of themselves. Links have been established by the school with local businesses and tertiary training institutions which, while aimed at senior pupils, are also made available to all Māori pupils. This has given many girls a better understanding of the opportunities available to them, and of the paths they need to follow to achieve their goals.

Perceptions of motivation

The girls all spoke strongly about their own personal drive and commitment to succeed. In choosing to remain at school until Year 13, they had made the decision to make the most of opportunities schooling had to offer them. While they acknowledged that the support and guidance they received from their whānau and friends was an important influence on this decision, as was the role that teachers had played for them, it was obvious that each girl had a high level of personal motivation.

> *It's been my choice really, to stay on at school although there is an influence from home because my brothers pulled out half way through*

Year 13, Year 12, so I want to do better than what they did, and Mum really wants me to stay on as well.

But overall I think it's your personal drive. I had a strong personal goal to stay at school because I wanted to.

Yes, I guess I have a high level of personal motivation.

As each girl had fairly definite goals for the future, they had seen the value of remaining at school, either to gain necessary qualifications or even to postpone the need to enter into full time employment.

I'm in Year 12, and coming back next year, because I want to go to University, to study Pharmacology.

I'm leaning really strongly towards teaching – early childhood or PE – one of the two – so that's my main goal, but also there's so many other options that I'm looking at as well – but teaching's definitely the highest priority.

I wasn't ready to leave school and go into the workforce not having an education background. I knew that if you didn't stay for Year 13, you were less likely to get a good job, good career and eventually good money.

I would rather 100% be at school than in a full time job right now. I didn't really see it as an option to leave school; I always saw the option being to pass at school, to achieve all the way through, and then keep going.

If I think about my aspirations, if I'm going to Uni, I'd love to go to Wellington and do music and performing arts – or else travel with music.

The girls explained that support and encouragement from whānau and teachers for them to succeed developed, and then strengthened their own personal motivation to meet those expectations of them.

You have to put in to get the results, help yourself as well – like your teacher can help you as much as they can, but if you're not willing to help yourself.

We all need to have personal drive, family support, friends' support. But if the teachers are willing to help, and you're willing to put the effort in, I think there's a much higher chance you'll get the results you want.

Like students at Tikipunga High School (Tait, 1995), these girls realised that their own level of motivation was a key to achievement, but that without input from others motivation is not always enough on its own. The ability of Māori girls to motivate themselves to achieve success is nurtured by whānau, who

provide encouragement and guidance in achieving goals, by friends who offer companionship and support, and by good teachers who establish positive relationships with their pupils and have high expectations of Māori girls to remain at school and achieve success.

Summary

The findings of the research have been presented here in line with the themes of identity, support and expectations, opportunity and motivation. The girls in this case study considered those things which they believed were agents of retention and achievement for themselves as young Māori in a mainstream state secondary school: support from whānau and friends, positive relationships with teachers, high expectations that they would succeed, and personal motivation. Of these they considered the most important to be personal motivation, a belief in self. However, they also explained that this was dependent on good support networks; friends, whānau, and especially teachers.

They saw school as a place where they could be educated and gain qualifications which would help them pursue their own personal goals, but acknowledged that they would always need support, help, and guidance from many quarters. They had high personal expectations and when others demonstrated similar expectations of the girls - that they could succeed - school had become a positive experience for them.

Chapter Five

TE WHAKATIPURANGA RUAMANO

Most of the girls in this study started school during the twenty-first century. This means they may have benefited from research into Māori educational achievement, and policies implemented by schools and the Ministry of Education, aimed at improving their chances of success. This chapter considers recent educational policies and programmes and relates it to the girls' experiences.

After more than one hundred and fifty years of contact with European schooling, there is an opportunity to asses the impact. The initial stages of involvement were effective for most Māori. New technologies and forms of knowledge were made available to Māori communities who saw it as a way to add to their own knowledge base, to enable them to take advantage of new knowledge for the benefit of Māori communities. Māori were able to retain their own identities as Māori and select those things which the Pākehā offered, which would improve the life ways of the people. The introduction of state schooling, however, would begin the more destructive process, promoted by the settler Government, of assimilation. This process was specifically aimed at the destruction of Māori cultural beliefs and values, and after one hundred years had had a major impact. Many Māori were, to a large extent, persuaded that assimilation was the only way to survive in a rapidly changing world. The impact of urbanisation saw many Māori losing contacts

with iwi and hapū, although the strength of the whānau had seldom diminished (Durie, 1997).

The participants in this case study were examples of this dislocation. Through several generations of urbanisation, close links to turangawaewae and hapū were not always present. Some girls knew few of their wider whānau, and it was often only at special occasions such as reunions or tangihanga that they travelled to home areas. For some, intermarriage and changed family situations had further weakened those links. Few of the girls had detailed knowledge of hapū affiliations.

Identity is, however, a very fluid thing, changing and adapting to meet the needs of a changing society. While urbanisation and the influences of a global community were to impact on the nature of Māori society, many retained a strong sense of being Māori (Metge, 1990). This is often not acknowledged in the mainstream education system in Aotearoa, and affects the retention and success rates of Māori pupils. According to Bevan Brown (2003) it is important for children's educational experiences to acknowledge and incorporate culturally appropriate content and pedagogies.

The Ministry of Education was made more aware of this issue by the involvement of Māori in policy direction making and through the development of Māori initiatives. These have included Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wānanga, Iwi Education Authorities, and the Hui Taumata Mātauranga initiated by Ngati Tuwharetoa in 2000. Via these initiatives Māori

were more willing than before to express their needs and aspirations for the schooling of their children to Government authorities.

In the region where this case study was carried out, an Iwi Education Authority has been established where whānau and Māori educationalists had been able to formulate educational goals for their children. Several Kohanga Reo have been operating since the inception of the movement, and primary schools have established bi-lingual and Māori enrichment programmes. None of the girls who shared their experiences in this study had attended Kohanga Reo or been part of specifically Māori classes at primary school. The majority had, however, participated in Kapa Haka at primary school, and one had continued this involvement at secondary school. There is as yet (2009) no Kura Kaupapa operating in the region, although a dedicated group of whānau are in the process of establishing one to meet the demands of Māori parents and children.

By the late 1990s Māori were taking a more proactive role in their children's education, and expressed concern about poor achievement and retention rates of their children. Ideologies of disparity and deficit were inacceptable excuses for a system which had continually failed their children. Māori pupils in Kura Kaupapa Māori were achieving at higher levels than their counterparts in mainstream, and research was initiated to determine the main causes of the continuing lack of achievement in mainstream schools. (Bishop et. al., 2003; Hill & Hawke, 1998). This was seen as essential because in the new millennium mainstream schools were still catering for over eighty percent of

Māori secondary school pupils. The future life choices of many of these young Māori continued to be limited by lack of higher educational achievement.

The Hui Taumata Mātauranga, initiated by Ngāti Tuwharetoa in 2000, signalled a determined effort by Māori to find solutions. Three main goals were formulated: enabling Māori to live as Māori; participating as citizens of the world; and enjoying good health and a high standard of living. The role of education in this process was regarded as central. Focus was on support for whānau involvement (tōku pā harakeke – tōku pū kurakura); more access to Te Reo and tikanga (tōku reo ohooho – ōku tikanga Māori); greater Māori authority and partnership in education (kia toitū tōku mana Māori, tōku ngākau ngatahi); lifting expectations and developing professional capability (ōku rangi whakamataara); and preparing Māori for both the Māori world and the global world (tahia te ara ki te ao mārama) (Hui Taumata Mātauranga, 2003).

The Ministry of Education heeded the advice of the Hui Taumata Mātauranga, and in its report on Māori Education for 2001-2002, Ngā Haeta Mātauranga,, also identified goals of better access to learning Te Reo and tikanga and acknowledging the valuing of Māori Knowledge. Schools were to seek greater involvement of whānau in the children's schooling, pursue excellence through having higher expectations of pupils, and to improve all school relationships with Māori. Support for Kura Kaupapa Māori would be increased and iwi partnerships would be encouraged. While many of these ideals had been promoted for some time, statistics showed that recently little had been achieved in mainstream schooling for Māori (Caccioppoli & Cullen, 2006).The

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reason for this was believed to be the schools themselves and their general lack of responsiveness to Māori aspirations and Ministry policies (field notes). In 2002 only 42% of Māori had gained School Certificate, although retention into senior levels of secondary schooling had improved (Mackintosh, 2004).

More research was conducted into how schools could encourage Māori pupils to stay on at school, and achieve better qualifications while there (Bishop et. al., 2003). There were many cases where it was shown that one of the main problems was of relationships – between whānau and school, and between teachers and pupils (Awatere, 1995; Bishop et. al. 2003; McLeod, 2002; Nakhid, 2003; Palmer, 2000). Many mainstream schools and teachers, however, continued with the perception that the blame for low achievement lay with Māori themselves, and in fact some research continued to espouse cultural deficit theories (Bishop et. al., 2003), citing lack of parental support, the lower socio-economic status of many Māori, and a lack of personal motivation. There was also still evidence of the Eurocentric belief that lack of intelligence or aptitude for higher learning meant Māori were achieving as well as Pākehā teachers expected (Awatere, 1995). This was also evident in the conversations of the girls in this case study, who had noticed the lower expectations some of their teachers had of many Māori in the school. In previous conversations with students selecting subjects I had been told there was, according to the girls, an over-representation of Māori in learning support groups and in the alternative Maths, Science and English classes, termed 'cabbage classes' by the girls. Tait (1995) suggested that this lower

level of expectation of achievement had become ingrained in many of the pupils involved in her research project.

The supposed lack of parental support was, as mentioned earlier, often measured by the failure of Māori parents to attend parent/teacher interviews. This, in many cases, has resulted from the intergenerational alienation of many Māori from the schooling system, in that parents' own negative experiences of schooling made it difficult for them to approach schools involved in educating their children (Bishop et. al., 2003). Some teachers admitted to not making contact with whānau, on the grounds that they taught so few Māori (McLeod, 2002). For Māori, however, face-to-face contact is essential for establishing positive relationships (Bishop et. al., 2003). The importance that Māori parents place on education is far greater than many schools assume (Sundrum, 2009), but it is often not visible given that many Māori parents find the culture of mainstream schools uninviting (Bishop et.al. 2003). Other indigenous people also experience similar feelings of discomfort in the European culture of mainstream schools (Daniel,2005; Fine, 2005; Harker & McConnochie (1985); Nakhid, 2003). Often parents find they are only asked to come into a school when their child is in trouble (Palmer 2000).

In recent years the growth of Runanga Mātua in secondary schools has enabled more parents to be involved in the schooling of their children, by establishing a "whānau of interest" where individuals can find strength in being part of a group. Moeke Paaka, an experienced teacher, explained to me that he believes Runanga Mātua can be involved in helping develop education

plans for Māori pupils in their school, and in supporting other whānau. The case study school has had a Runanga Mātua operating on a sporadic basis for around ten years. Its strength has varied depending on the issues being considered. In its early stages whānau were often asked by the school to implement school policies about uniform, taonga, attendance and especially to assist with discipline. More recently there has been greater empowerment for the Runanga Mātua to formulate strategies for the school to implement based on Māori aspirations for their children in secondary school.

In 2009 whānau were asked about the aspirations they had for their daughters in the school. The following is a summary of those aspirations:

- to support those whānau whose daughters do not always find it easy to identify as Māori, among their peers and at the school,

- that our daughter might have positive experiences, involvement in a range of activities and know that her aspirations are supported,

- to be confident, to be aware of tikanga, to take her skills and attitudes from school to community life, tertiary education and employment,

- especially in helping young people who find it difficult to identify as Māori, and to support each other,

- that our daughter will be involved in sports and cultural activities, that she may make the most of available opportunities, that she might become confident, an effective communicator, able to deal with challenges,

- that our daughter will remain confident in her identity, and not need to explain herself culturally, that she will be able to move comfortably in both worlds,

- that she will do the best that she can and always be encouraged, that she will aspire to do whatever she wants to do at College,

- that she will be able to participate at events on the marae, to strengthen her identity,

- that she can find a place at school where Māori can be Māori,

- that she can be proud of Māori history and heritage, both local and national,

- and that she can gain high achievement in all fields.

(Minutes of Runanga Mātua meeting, 29 February, 2009)

Lower socio-economic status can indeed impact on engagement with schooling (Tait, 1995). Likewise, the lack of resources in the home to assist with learning, and other financial constraints can affect schooling success. Research however, has shown that when Māori and Pākehā come from similar socio-economic backgrounds, Māori are still achieving at a lower level. In some cases pupils from other minority backgrounds have not identified their lower socio-economic status as a factor inhibiting their progress, as much as the fact that their cultural background is not validated or valued in the school (Nakhid, 2003). This is important, as one of the goals of the Hui Taumata Mātauranga is to take advantage of educational achievement and improve

employment opportunities for Māori and consequently gain higher socio-economic status.

The Ministry of Education has recognised the importance for all pupils to have their culture given value and validation in order for them to experience a positive sense of belonging and of worth. Schools often believe that the provision of an option to study Te Reo or Māori Performing Arts, displaying signs in Te Reo, and welcoming visitors to the school with a pōwhiri, are the ways in which this requirement can be met. The Education Review Office reports state that within some educational institutions this is, sadly, too often the total extent of acknowledging Māori (Caccioppoli & Cullen, 2006). It seems that the only aspects of Māori culture acceptable to many mainstream schools are the visual, audible, and physical aspects. The girls interviewed in this study supported this, noting that there were times when a Māori author might be studied in English classes or mention might be made of traditional Māori navigation methods, but that this happened more in their junior years than in senior curriculum areas. This is little different from the Taha Māori concept of fusing 'suitable' aspects of Māori culture into the curriculum, such as patterns in Art, singing waiata in Music, poi and haka in Physical Education, and pre-European Māori life into Social Studies. Many of these learning activities have few links to higher academic achievement (Caccioppoli & Cullen, 2006). And there is still a need to validate Māori knowledge to a greater extent across the whole curriculum.

Progress for Māori in terms of retention and achievement needs to be measured against Māori aspirations as expressed in the Hui Taumata Mātauranga's foci, and those of Iwi education Authorities. At hui of Te Kāhui Mātauranga o Te Tau Ihu, for instance, I heard of the importance of access to Te Reo me ona tikanga, quality education for Māori pupils, and strong and positive relationships between all involved in education.

Access to quality teaching of Te Reo me ona tikanga in most mainstream schools is still in need of improvement. There remains a shortage of teachers in many areas, and many of my colleagues have found the expectations of them in mainstream schools to be exhausting. Te Hiringa o Te Mahara, an organisation established to address issues facing Māori teachers (not only of Te Reo), found a high burnout rate for those expected to teach not only Te Reo, but also to take responsibility for all things Māori within mainstream schools. Many Māori teachers at Māori teachers' hui have described experiencing a lack of support from their non-Māori colleagues, and felt that they had little opportunity to make substantial changes to the Eurocentric culture of some mainstream schools. In these schools Māori pupils are often in the minority, and teachers have been challenged about the smaller sizes of their Te Reo classes as measured against their colleagues' classes. While Teacher training institutions aim to improve all teachers' understanding of Te Reo Maori, most courses offered are basic, consisting of little more than exercises in pronunciation and simple greetings (McLaren, 2007; Sundrum 2009). Some schools, in their Māori Education plans, have recognised a real need to encourage more Māori pupils to consider teaching as a profession, to

increase the numbers of Māori teachers able to teach Te Reo (Moeke Paaka, 2006).

The onus now seems to be on schools themselves to improve the retention and achievement rates of Māori pupils, in line with Māori aspirations, to enable young Māori to move into all fields of employment and tertiary education. However, Caccioppoli &Cullen (2006) claim that statistics still show that many Māori pupils leave school early, and often without formal qualifications. In 2003, approximately 30% of Māori nationally left school without qualifications. Furthermore, 42% did not achieve Level 1 literacy and numeracy in NCEA. In 2006, 66% of Māori pupils in the case study school gained NCEA Level one, with 77% gaining Literacy and 100% gaining numeracy. In 2007 41% of the school's Māori pupils gained NCEA level 1. However, in the same year 33% of Māori pupils left the school with no qualifications. This figure for 2008 was 45%. In the same year 71% of Māori Year 13 students gained both University Entrance and NCEA Level 3. Over the three years 2006-2008 this level of achievement in NCEA has increased, as have the numbers of Māori pupils completing five years of secondary schooling. There is also evidence nationally that a disproportionate number of Māori pupils are leaving before the minimum age of sixteen – 14% of Māori fifteen year old pupils were given early exemption in 2004 (Caccioppoli & Cullen, 2006). Truancy figures and stand-down and suspension rates of Māori pupils are also of concern. Clearly, some of these issues demand a real effort on the part of teachers, as professionals, and schools to establish better relationships with Māori. Much research supports this, and emphasises the

role of appropriate pedagogies, and the role of inspirational and culturally aware teachers in improving schooling for Māori (Bishop et. al., 2003; Caccioppoli & Cullen, 2006; Hattie, 2003; Marshall , 2000; Palmer, 2000).

Enabling Māori to live as Māori requires that schools validate and value the cultural background of Māori pupils, and yet the ability of many Māori to identify positively as Māori within mainstream education in New Zealand is fraught with difficulties. Māori today can include a new group; identifying strongly as Māori but with few ties to hapū and iwi (Durie, 1997). Identity is not a fixed thing, but subject to change through time and circumstance, and many Māori today have varying levels of knowledge and competence in their own culture (Metge, 1990). There are many ways in which Māori assert their identity including self-identification, knowledge of whakapapa, involvement with other Māori, with whānau and at marae, access to whenua tipu, and by use of Te Reo. In the new millennium, Mason Durie (2003b) identifies a range of strengths of identity, ranging from a secure identity, through to those who have little access to their cultural ties and even those who no longer chose to identify as Māori There is also evidence to suggest that people chose to identify differently in different situations. Some adults in the workplace sometimes choose not to identify as Māori if they feel they may be discriminated against (Durie, 1997). Little wonder that many Māori pupils are also faced with the same dilemmas in their schooling experiences. It must be stressed, however, that a strong sense of cultural identity enables people to develop a sense of self and feeling of belonging (Taylor, 1999), and this is especially important as children move into adulthood. There is evidence that

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many Māori girls still feel that their cultural background is not valued or validated in the mainstream school system (Durie, 1997; Mackintosh, 2004; Palmer, 2000).One of the respondents in the case study school acknowledged that the school and teachers recognised the special abilities Māori girls demonstrated in Kapa Haka, but that some saw the activity as an extra-curricula activity of interest to Māori only, and not really connected with the more 'important' academic goals of the school. At times some Māori girls still feel the need, as did their mothers and grandmothers, to leave their Māori identity at the school gate, having to acculturate into the education system, a process 'which undermines, rather than supports the identifying process' (Nakhid, 2003, p16). For those Māori girls who prioritise academic achievement highly, issues of identity may become more difficult. Schools are often not recognising the Māori identity of their high achievers, or their success is seen as exceptional (Palmer, 2000). When some Māori girls choose or are more able to adopt a more Pākehā identity in school in order to be treated by teachers as serious academic students, they also then risk alienation from their Māori peers (Palmer, 2000).

Mackintosh (2004) noted that examples of successful Māori girls are seldom presented. It has become difficult for many Māori girls to maintain a strong Māori identity and be treated seriously as academic achievers (Awatere, 1995). Māori girls are definitely achieving in mainstream schools and there is a need to acknowledge and recognise their successes, and to discover what strategies they employ to gain these successes (Caccioppoli & Cullen, 2006; Mackintosh 2004).

There is still a tendency in mainstream schools for teachers to espouse a theory of egalitarianism, whereby they believe that it is most fair to treat all pupils "the same". This stance however continues to deny the diversity in the classroom, the differences between Māori and non-Māori pupils, and even between different Māori pupils, and to suggest that all pupils should therefore endeavour to be the same as the dominant cultural group within the school. This maintains the concept that to be Pākehā is to be "normal" and that to be different is to be inferior, resulting in a message given to Māori pupils that their culture is insignificant (Mackintosh, 2004). Article 15 of the Draft Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples states that "indigenous peoples have the right to have the dignity and diversity of their cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations appropriately reflected in all forms of education". This concept is particularly relevant in today's mainstream schools, for to have one's culture valued and validated in a school setting enables each pupil to have a sense of belonging, and experience shows that this will improve individual learning and academic success (Bishop & Glynn 1999). In the case study school a junior student commented to me that there was nothing Māori in most of her classrooms apart from posters on the wall. If Māori culture is not validated and valued throughout the school, then it is hardly surprising that pupils and whānau will continue to experience a sense of alienation.

The Kotahitanga programme (Bishop et.al., 2003) revealed that most Māori pupils, both engaged and non-engaged, acknowledged that one of the most positive influences on their schooling was the role that teachers could play.

This was supported by pupils, parents, and principals. Teachers in the case study school, as a part of school-wide professional development, were able to hear Mere Berryman, from the Te Kotahitanga project speak about the findings in their survey. Unfortunately there was no follow up in helping teachers with strategies that would work in their classrooms, and there was evidence that a reasonable proportion of the teachers still subscribed to deficit theorising. Those teachers who validate Māori culture in their classroom, have high expectations for their pupils, and have knowledge of the familial and cultural background of their pupils, are more able to establish positive relationships with their students. Māori girls who achieve success in secondary mainstream schooling, and are keen to continue into senior levels, regularly report the support and encouragement of individual teachers (Mitchell & Mitchell, 1988; Palmer, 2000). To help improve retention and achievement of Māori girls in mainstream secondary schools in Aotearoa New Zealand, one might assume that if all teachers had the desire and ability to play such a positive role, then mainstream schools could be making more of a difference for Māori girls.

In 2008 the Ministry of Education launched Ka Hikitia - managing for success, the Māori Education strategy for 2008-2012. The aim of the strategy is to "lift the performance of the education system for Māori students" (p. 5). This publication presented findings based on what was working for Māori in schools, collating research findings, pupils' voices and statistcs. The focus of the strategy is to recognise Māori potential, and to ensure that schools use available evidence about what works for Māori, to improve outcomes. For

secondary schools the focus is to be on engagement. The girls in the case study understood that they were more easily able to engage positively with secondary education because their parents and some teachers had high expectations of them to succeed. They also acknowledged that their best teachers were focused on meeting students' needs. And it was clear from all the girls' experiences that they had high expectations for themselves. The validation of their cultural identity was important, but in this case study, as in Tait's study at Tikipunga (1995), it was not central to their involvement at school. They mentioned other friends, however, who found the dominant middle class Pākehā culture of the school "uncomfortable".

As evidenced by research it is important therefore for mainstream schools to identify those positive influences for Māori learners, and use this information to promote further success. (Ministry of Education, 2008) and also to understand the strategies that Māori girls employ in achieving success, to ensure that such success is more widespread than at present.

The closing decades of the twentieth century saw the development of many education initiatives. Some were the work of Māori communities dissatisfied with the mainstream system. Others were attempts by government to improve Māori education. This chapter has related these developments to the researched school.

Chapter Six

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter summarises the findings of my study, considers these in light of the initial research questions, and, taking into account current Ministry of Education strategies, proposes directions the school might consider to achieve whānau aspirations of increasing Māori retention and achievement of their daughters.

Summary of findings

The main findings of this study were that the girls found the most positive reasons they had remained at school and achieved success were:

- Whānau support and encouragement to believe in their ability to succeed
- Being with like-minded peers
- The positive relationships they had been able to develop with teachers
- Personal motivation was essential but the girls believed this was dependent on and nurtured by the other three reasons already stated.

The research questions

The specific questions that this study sought to answer were:

- What are those positive influences which encourage and support Māori girls in their decision to remain at secondary school beyond the post-compulsory years?

- What role does Māori identity and culture play in this decision?
- How important is it that schools accord value to the Māori identity of their pupils?

Implications for the school

The girls who shared their stories spoke powerfully about the positive influences that relationships play in helping them to gain maximum benefits from their time in a mainstream secondary school. In line with other research (Bishop et. al., 2003; Macfarlane, 2004; Tait, 1995), the support they gained from teachers and peers at school was invaluable. This support was something they all knew they had from the whānau and it was based in high aspirations, both personal and parental, and high expectations of their potential as demonstrated by whānau and teachers. Personal motivation was evident in each girl's story as was the realisation that it was something which came from within themselves, but was also nurtured and strengthened by strong relationships from supporters who had faith in their ability to realise their dreams.

The school will need to foster positive relationships with whānau, who overwhelmingly want what is best for their daughters in gaining school success. Sundrum (2009) suggests that schools need to reflect on how communication with whānau is conducted, stressing that it is vital to establish an environment of trust and respect, as "whānau are important educational resources for Māori student achievement" (p. 135). The document 'Better relationships for Better Learning' (Ministry of Education, 2009) encourages

schools to use "whānau friendly" methods such as "kanohi ki te kanohi'" where face to face communication is preferred. According to McLeod (2002) this communication necessarily includes good lines of communication between teachers and whānau. "Professionalism carries particular obligations and responsibilities and as a practising teacher one expects that the development of parent-teacher communication should be nurtured and fostered in order for both parties to create and understand the best possible learning environment for their shared interest; the learner".(p.183).

Good relationships with teachers within the school were stressed by the girls as some of the most important 'agents' for their success. They believed that these relationships were positive in the main, and they acknowledged that there were particular teachers, whose genuine support, guidance and high expectations of their success was obvious and appreciated. However, they suggested that not all of their Māori peers received similar encouragement and support. Vatterott (1999, cited in McLeod, 2002, p190) stated that 'teachers **must** believe in their own ability to impact student learning and the student's will to learn". This includes always having high expectations of all learners to gain success, and imparting that belief to each learner. When the girls in this study knew that their teacher believed in them, knew them and respected them, they were able to combine that knowledge with their personal motivation, and gain success.

There were several reasons why the girls had decided to stay on at school, but mostly these were concerned with giving them a wider range of life

choices as young adults. They were planning to continue with tertiary education in a range of fields including music, drama, dance and teaching. They understood that the gaining of higher school qualifications was an essential step along these paths. None had chosen to continue study of Te Reo, but there was an appreciation of the fact that there were avenues within the school for maintaining a connection with Māori language and culture. For some of their peers the opportunity to include Te Reo me ona tikanga, and Māori Performing Arts in their academic programme is definitely a reason they have chosen to stay on at school. It is important that the school continue to offer these opportunities to all pupils.

The girls believed that is very important for the school to accord value to the Māori identity of their pupils. While these girls admitted that they found it easy to acculturate into the mainstream, Pākehā culture of the school, they also were aware that this was not such an easy or even desirable process for many of their Māori friends, some of whom had found the process so difficult that they had chosen to leave school. The girls spoke of their pride when their cultural achievements were acknowledged and lauded by the wider school community, and their positive sense of Māori achieving as Māori in events such as Kapa Haka and Manu Kōrero competitions. There is a need for Māori culture and knowledge to be validated and valued in all of the school, and not simply relegated to the reo class, the Kapa Haka group, and the various Māori student group activities. McLeod (2002) argues that teachers need to gain more skills and knowledge in the area of Māori education. Whānau of the school desire that that their daughters will remain confident in their Māori

identity, and not need to explain themselves culturally, that they will be able to move comfortably in both worlds, while the Ka Hikitia strategy aims for Māori learners being able to excel while "successfully realising their cultural distinctiveness and potential" (2008, p. 18). For this to be implemented in a mainstream school, such as the case study school, it will be essential that culturally responsive learning environments are provided, that validate and value Māori knowledge, by incorporating a bicultural perspective in all curriculum areas, and employing culturally appropriate and effective pedagogies. These are all strategies which may engender a greater sense of belonging for Māori pupils, a greater ability to engage with the culture of the classroom and school, and a greater likelihood of staying at school, and achieving success as Māori.

Tūngia te ururua

Kia tupu whakaritorito

Te tupu o te harakeke

Appendices

Massey University

College of Humanities and Social Sciences
Te Kura Pukenga Tangata,
School of Māori Studies
Te Pūtahi-a-Toi

Title:
Agents of retention and achievement of Māori girls at secondary school.

Researcher:	Robyn McLaren
Contact number:	(03)54 87864
Address:	18 Alfred Street, NELSON

Supervisor:	Professor Taiarahia Black
Email address:	T.Black@massey.ac.nz
Telephone:	
Contact Address:	Te Pūtahi-a-Toi
	Massey University School of Māori Studies
	Private Bag 11 222
	Palmerston North

What is the study about?

My study is about Maori girls who have chosen to stay at school for Years 12 and 13. The study is about finding out what has influenced their decision to continue with schooling and also took find out about what things have helped them achieve success at school. The project will be a case study of a selected school.

Those taking part in the study are asked to:

Sign a form to show that they know what the study is about and that they will take part in an interview, *as an individual participant, or as a participant in a small group.* With their agreement, the interviews will be recorded using an audio tape
Participate in an informal meeting to find out more about the study if required

How much time is involved?

The interviews, which may be individual or group interviews, will last about one hour. Interviews will be scheduled for lunch times and study periods.

The questionnaire will be sent out in a returned stamped envelope and will take approximately 10-20 minutes to complete

At a later date participants will be ask to check over the transcript of the interviews and will have an opportunity to change, delete or add *personal* information. They can then return the transcript to me.

The final report will be returned to participants at a meeting of all involved.

If students decide to take part in the study, they have the right to:

Decide not to answer any questions that they feel you cannot answer and they have the right to pull out of the study at any time.

Participants may ask me extra questions if they need or want to

Information given me might be used again by other researchers, but participants' names, the name of the school and any other information which might allow the reader to identify individuals, will be taken out of the study.

Participants can have a summary of the study after the study is complete. They will decide as a group how the information may be disseminated.

How is privacy to be ensured?

The information collected from the interviews will not identify anyone by name.

No personal information will be passed on to any other person or groups of people.

I will make up a code for participants' names so that information will remain private.

All the tapes and information collected from participants will be locked away safely and destroyed when no longer needed for the study

Committee approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, application 07/25. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Karl Pajo, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, telephone 04 801 5799 x 6929, email *humanethicssouthb@massey.ac.nz*

If you have any questions about the study please feel free to contact me or my supervisor.

Massey University

College of Humanities and Social Sciences
Te Kura Pukenga Tangata,
School of Māori Studies
Te Pūtahi-a-Toi

Title:
Agents of retention and achievement of Māori girls at secondary school.

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                   Massey University School of Māori Studies
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                   Palmerston North

What is the study about?

My study is about Māori girls who have chosen to stay at school for Years 12 and 13. The study is about finding out what has influenced your decision to continue with schooling and also took find out about what things have helped you achieve success at school. You may or may not decide to take part in this research project; however, this information is to give you a general idea about my study.

Participant recruitment:
The names of possible participants have been obtained from the College data base identifying Maori students. Year 12 and 13 students have been invited to participate in this study. The Assistant Principal has assisted with the provision of this information, and been asked to give you this invitation. There is no compulsion for any student to participate.

Those taking part in the study are asked to:

Sign a consent form to show that you know what the study is about and that you will take part in an interview, as an individual or as a participant in a small group. You may chose whether you wish to participate in an individual interview, in a group or in both individual and group interviews. The people who wish to participate in groups may select the members of that group. With your agreement the interviews will be recorded using an audio tape
Participate in an informal meeting to find out more about the study if required

How much time is involved?

The interviews, which may be individual interviews or focus group discussions, will last about one hour. The same questions will be used for individuals and focus groups. These questions will be of a general nature and will concern those things you believe have helped you decide to remain at school, and have helped you gain success at school. Confidentiality will be maintained at all times. Should you feel uncomfortable any stage of the interview or group discussion, you should make this clear to the researcher.

These interviews and focus group discussions will be scheduled outside of school hours, to avoid missing classes.

At a later date you will be ask to check over the transcript of the interviews and will have an opportunity to change, delete or add information. It is not possible to change or delete individual contributions from focus groups' transcripts, as this may impact on other participant's contributions. You could, however, elect to participate in a further individual interview to further explain your answers. You can then return the transcript to me.

The final report will be returned to you at a meeting of participants in the study.

A koha will be made to each participant

If you decide not to take part in the study, non-participation in this study will not affect your grades or any other aspect of your education at this school.

If you decide to take part in the study, you have the right to:

Decide not to answer any questions that you feel you cannot answer and you have the right to pull out of the study at any time.

You may ask me extra questions if you need or want to

Information that you give me may not be used again by other researchers, without your permission.

Your name, the name of your school and any other information which might allow the reader to identify you, will be taken out of the study.

You can have a summary of the study after the study is complete.

If you are interviewed as an individual, you can ask to have the tape recorder turned off anytime during the interview.

How is privacy to be ensured?

The information collected from you through the interviews will not identify anyone by name.

No personal information will be passed on to any other person or groups of people.

I will make up a code for your name so that your information will remain private.

All the tapes and information collected from you will be locked away safely and destroyed when no longer needed for the study

Committee approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, application 07/25. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Karl Pajo, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, telephone 04 801 5799 x 6929, email *humanethicssouthb@massey.ac.nz*

If you have any questions about the study please feel free to contact me or my supervisor.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please sign the consent form and put it in the envelope with the information below.

Name:_____

Contact: _____

He puka whakamarama mō ngā akonga

Massey University

College of Humanities and Social Sciences
Te Kura Pukenga Tangata,
School of Māori Studies
Te Pūtahi-a-Toi

Nga ara hei whītiki, hei tūtuki hoki mō ngā kōtiro Māori kei ngā kura tuarua

Te kairangahau   Robyn McLaren
Waea: (03)54 87864
Kāinga noho: 18 Alfred Street, NELSON
Te rangatira mahi: Professor Taiarahia Black
e-maera: T.Black@massey.ac.nz
Wāhi mahi: Te Putahi-a-Toi
    Massey University School of Maori Studies
    Private Bag 11 222
    Palmerston North

Te take o te mahi rangahau

He rangahau tēnei e pa ana ki ngā kōtiro Māori, kua whakarite ki te noho kei te kura mo ngā reanga tekau ma rua, tekau ma toru hoki.

E kimikimi noa ana ahau i ngā mea kawekawe ai koe ki te noho tonu ki te kura, me ngā mea awhina ai koe ki te whai angitu hoki.

Kei a koe anake te whakataunga ki te uru mai ki te mahi rangahau nei; engari he puka whakamarama tēnei e pa ana ki taku mahi rangahau.

E tonoa ana ngā tangata whai pānga kia:

- whakapiri i tō ingoa ki tetahi puka, hei whakaatu koe i tō mohio i te take o te mahi rangahau. Ka whakaae hoki koe ki te uru mai ki tētahi rōpū kōrero, kōrero takitahi rānei. Ka mau ahau i ō kupu kōrero ki runga i tētahi ripene hopu reo.
- uru mai ki tētahi hui whakataki ki te whai mātauranga e pa ana ki te mahi rangahau

Te roa o te mahi

- Kotahi haora pea te roa o ngā kōrerorero
- Tekau ki te rua tekau miniti mo te mahi whakaki puka pataitai.
- Ina mutu ngā kōrerorero, ka taea e koe te pānui i ngā kupu kōrero, huri kē ai, tango kupu ai, tāpiri ai he whakaaro hou rānei. Ka mutu taua mahi, ka whakahokia e koe ngā pepa ki ahau.
- He hui ano mō te whakaatu ki a koutou i te pūrongo whakamutunga.

Mehemea kahore ka whakaritea e koe ki te uru mai ki tenei mahi, ehara i te ngoikoretanga mōu e pa ana ki ō mahi kura ātoa.

Ka whakatau koe ki te uru mai ki te mahi rangahau, ka taea e koe te
- whiriwhiria ngā pātai e pirangi ana koe te whakautu
- wehe atu i te mahi rangahau
- Pātai mai i ngā tini momo pātai e pā ana ki te mahi rangahau
- Tango i tētahi tauira o te pūrongo whakamutunga
- Ka kōrero takitahi koe, ka taea e koe te whakapirau i te mihini hopu reo i ngā wā e pirangi ana koe.

Pēhea te ara hei huna i tō tuakiri
- Ka pānui pea ētahi atu kairangahau i āu kōrero, engari ka whakangarohia tō ake ingoa me te ingoa o tō kura, nā reira, kāore ngā kaipānui e mohio ana ko wai koe, nō hea koe.
- Kei roto i te pūrongo whakamutunga ka tinihia e au tō ingoa
- Ka rūnā atu ngā puka me ngā ripene hopu reo, a , inā mutu i te mahi rangahau ka aurutia.

Te whakapaingia e Te Komiti Take Mana Tangata

Kua mātai te Komiti Take Mana Tangata o te Whare Wānanga o Massey i tēnei mahi, kua whakapaingia hoki; Southern B, application 07/25.
Mehemea he awangawanga āu e pā ana ki tēnei mahi rangahau, me whakaatu atu ki a Dr Karl Pajo, Kaiwhakahaere, Te Komiti Take Mana Tangata o Te Whare Wananga o Massey: Southern B, waea (04) 801 5799 x 6929, emeira humanethicssouthb@massey.ac.nz.

Mehemea he pātai tāu, pātai mai, kōrero ki tōku rangatira mahi rānei.

Ka whakaae koe ki te uru mai ki tēnei mahi rangahau, me whakapiri i tō ingoa ki te puka whakaae, a, me whakahokia mai.

....

E pirangi ana au ki te mōhio ake i te āhua o te mahi rangahau nei, uru mai ai pea ki te mahi.

Ingoa:_____

Waea/kāinga noho: _____

Title:

Agents of retention and achievement for Maori girls at secondary school

Kia ora,

My name is Robyn McLaren. I am in my final year of completing a degree at Massey University School of Maori Studies, Te Putahi-a-Toi. My study is about what factors encourage Maori girls to continue with senior secondary education and what they see has helped them to achieve. My case study will look specifically at Year 12 and 13 students at your college. I have spoken to the principal of your college about my study and I have her approval to undertake this study.

This letter is to invite you to be a part of my study. I have included an information sheet that will explain my study in more detail. If you are willing to take part in the study, please return the sheet below in the envelope provided as soon as possible, or by 11 November at the latest. I will contact you at a later date to set details.

Kia ora ano

Naku noa
na
Robyn McLaren

College of Humanities and Social Sciences
Te Kura Pukenga Tangata,
School of Māori Studies
Te Pūtahi-a-Toi

Nga ara hei whītiki, hei tūtuki hoki mō ngā kōtiro Māori kei ngā kura tuarua

Ngā mihi nui ki a koe,

Ko Robyn McLaren ahau. Ko tēnei taku tau whakamutunga mō taku mahi ako kei te Whare Wānanga o Massey, i roto i te wahanga Te Putahi-a-Toi

Ko te kaupapa o aku mahi rangahau, ko ngā mea e awhinatia ana ngā kōtiro Māori ki te noho kei roto i ngā reanga tuakana i te kura tuarua. E rangahau ana hoki ahau i ngā mea e tautoko ana i a rātou kia whai angitu ai.

E ata titiro ana ahau ki ngā akonga tuakana kei tou ake kura.
Kua kōrero ahau ki tōu Tumuaki mō tēnei mahi rangahau, a, kua whakaae ia.

No reira, he tono tēnei ki a koe ki te uru mai ki tēnei mahi rangahau.

Kei konei he pēpa whakamarama ake ai taku mahi rangahau.

Mehemea ka whakaae koe ki te uru mai ki taua mahi , me whakahoki akuanei, i te pēpa kei raro nei, ki a ahau kei roto i te kopae, a te 11 o Whiringa-a-rangi ranei. Ka hui māua ki te whakatakoto te māhere mahi.

Kia ora ano

Naku noa
Na

Robyn McLaren

Interview schedule

Each interview will commence with a karakia and mihi, and participants will be asked to identify themselves, to aid accurate transcription of tapes.

The interviews will be semi-structured interviews with participants asked to consider the following:

- self-identification as Māori (as per questionnaire)
- main reasons for staying at school for Year 12 or 13
- attitude towards school, motivation
- opportunities the school provides to be Māori
- support offered to Māori students
- NCEA
- Career goals or aspirations
- What helps them achieve:
- parents/whānau
- teachers
- friends
- subjects
- assessment

Identifying as Māori at school

The girls will be asked to consider how strongly they identify as Māori, in the wider community and at school. They may be asked to consider what effect this has had on their desire to remain at school, and their success.

Opportunities the school provides to 'be Māori'

The participants will be asked to consider the avenues that the school provides for them to participate culturally as Māori, in either curricular or extra-

curricula activities. They may be asked to consider whether they feel that their cultural values are validated in the school.

Support for Māori pupils

The participants will be asked to talk about their experience of support systems within the school, from their whānau and the wider community, and the impact this might have had on their decision to remain at school as a senior.

QUESTIONS
How strongly do you identify personally as Māori? Are you comfortable identifying as Māori at school?
Does the school support your identifying as Māori by acknowledging your identity, by enabling you to participate culturally as Māori?
Do you think the school values Māori cultural expression?
How do you think you have been supported to stay at school and strive for success? Where has this support come from?

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