"BEING MAORI" AND "BEING SUCCESSFUL" – MAORI GIRLS' EDUCATIONAL SUCCESS AT SECONDARY SCHOOL

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Rochelle Mackintosh

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ABSTRACT

Why is there inadequate research that focuses on young Maori women's educational achievement? Clearly there is a need to examine the positive strategies that Maori girls utilise to achieve success. This study identifies the factors that promoted and/or hindered four bursary Maori girls' achievement, during their schooling in a single sex urban, mainstream secondary school. The construction of Maori women is examined through different spheres over time in context. Qualitative research using semi-structured interviews and open-ended questions were utilised to gather the data. Critical theory, Kaupapa Maori theory and Maori centred approach guided the research processes. The findings indicated six major themes that emerged from the data as significant, showing that Maori girls' success involves numerous complexities and contractions. For instance, the definition, meaning and representation of success shifted and changed across context. The intersections of different interpretations of success within the same context, at times, located Maori girls in problematic positions. Further complexities involved Maori girls adjusting and modifying their identity in order to succeed. Maori girls' identities were shaped through social relations with whanau, peer networks and schools. This process involved constant negotiation of the girl's sense of being Maori and others definition of what it means. A number of theoretical lens were utilised to analyse and interpret Maori girls' educational experience. These included: hegemony; social and cultural reproduction; egalitarianism and equity. By sharing and examining Maori girls' educational experience, it helps us to better understand their realities.

Please note that when Maori words appear in the body of this thesis a glossary of terms is provided (p.135). The meanings given should not be read as definitive and full rather they are reflective of what the words mean in the context of this thesis and the conversations that underpin it.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

"Hey, have you ever wondered why we didn't hang out with the Maori girls at school even though we were Maori?"

Entrenched in this statement are the emotional and internal struggles my twin sister and I experienced as young Maori women trying to succeed, academically at a secondary school. Our experiences mirror some of the conflicts Maori girls' encounter that makes our educational experiences distinctly different from our Pakeha peers. There are disparities Maori girls have to contend with, that many Pakeha students don't have to think about. The pathway to educational success for Maori girls encompasses numerous complexities and contradictions. Maori girls have to develop and utilise strategies to overcome obstacles in order to manoeuvre their way successfully through an education system that often thinks of itself as neutral.

The dilemmas Maori girls stumble upon include trying to cope and combine "being Maori" and "being successful". The education system, especially secondary schools rarely present positive images of Maori girls as achievers, therefore, Maori girls often have to compromise one for the other; as trying to maintain both can be problematic. Maori girls can often find themselves in a position where they are forced to choose between the two. For example, Penetito (1988) maintains choosing to be successful often distances Maori from their Maori peers, while at the same time, choosing to be "Maori" means sacrificing being successful, consequently losing either way. However, for Pakeha, being successful is never challenged. Their success is normalised not only within Aotearoa's education system, but also within the wider society.

My sister and I were at the cutting edge of this predicament. We always knew that we would go to University and that was our goal. Yet as Maori, this was not a widely accepted goal among our Maori peers, nor was it commonly accepted by our Pakeha peers. Our strategy to survive and succeed in the education system was to associate with Pakeha girls who helped us stay focused on our educational goal and keep us on track. Hegemonically, it appeared to us that the majority of Maori girls did not value or were even interested in education. They had better things to do, such as hang out with their friends, smoke down by the tree or roam down town. Nevertheless, their choices surrounding achievement were not a straightforward decision they were consciously made. There are many factors such as parents, schools, teachers and peers that impact on ones ability to succeed. For my sister and I, the consequence for choosing to be successful came at the expense of being excluded from our Maori peers.

Being Maori and being successful did not feel right. The opportunity for Maori girls to be academically successful, while at the same time retain their Maori identity, was never widely accepted. The realisation of this notion was reinforced when attending bursary classes and walking in and being forced to play "spot the Maori". The few Maori girls who took bursary were caught in the middle, neither belonging to Maori, who were missing in these spaces nor fully fitting in with Pakeha girls who were there. For my sister and I, we felt like we were in the centre. We felt that we didn't fit in with our Maori peers because we had chosen an academic career path. In relation to Pakeha girls, we didn't belong either because we were different – we were Maori. We had always felt inadequate and inferior to Pakeha girls because it was customary for Pakeha girls to take bursary subjects. Yet for Maori girls, this was not the case.

The education system was a place where Maori girls' identity was at times promoted, at other times it was challenged and contested. Vague criteria existed to judge one's "Maoriness" that was never openly spoken about. By this I mean specific characteristics were used to define one's "Maoriness" that simultaneously included some, while excluded others. High achievers did not fit the stereotypical view of being Maori, which meant academically successful Maori girls were at times excluded. My sister and I doubted our identity as Maori because we didn't meet the

components of the perceived criteria. For example, we couldn't speak Te Reo Maori, we didn't have Maori friends, we didn't look stereotypically Maori, we were not involved in kapahaka, and didn't attend hui or Marae. These attributes excluded us from being considered Maori and we started to pretend we were something we were not. The labels did little to empower us but rather distanced us from our origins, denying us the right to be who we were – Maori women.

Internalising these stereotypical views reflects Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony that encompasses the ability of the dominant class to project its own way of seeing the world so that even those who are subordinate perceive it to be natural or commonsense. The dominant groups' ideologies have been internalised by Maori girls where they have come to believe Maori are underachievers and that it is natural for Pakeha girls to be the achievers. In order to reject this worldview we need to share our experiences and to break down the "culture of silence" that continues to marginalise us.

Despite the issues, my sister and I have always known that Maori girls can be successful because our parents told us so. I had seen other Maori girls at secondary school that had become lawyers and doctors. I had cousins who obtained University degrees that proved that Maori could succeed. We have come from a whanau of strong Ngati Porou women – kuia, aunties and cousins who have been role models for us and have shown us diverse representations of women. We have learnt that Maori does not mean lazy, dumb or stupid. We have had to challenge the dominant discourse that has distorted our vision, in order to seek an accurate interpretation of ourselves.

The outcome of being academically successful has challenged our identity as Maori. At times, the ramifications of determinants such as community, school, teachers and peers have inhibited us from proactively and confidently living as Maori. Our identity had been deconstructed and it is now that we seek to reclaim it and to put back the pieces that make us who we are.

This research has given me the opportunity to explore some of the issues Maori girls experience at school. This study investigates the factors that promoted and prevented

Maori girls' educational achievement at bursary level to see if there were any commonalities to my own experience. The study's objective is to identify the strategies Maori girls and their parents developed and utilised, to successfully negotiate their way through the education system. It is hoped that this study will give us an insight to better understand Maori girls' educational achievement.

This thesis is about four Maori girls' realities that represent a number of commonalities with my own personal experience from which the topic for this study emerged. Their experiences help us to make sense of their world and have also helped me understand my own.

What I looked at:

Maori Girls' Educational Achievements

Maori girls' educational achievement is under-researched (Clothier, 1992; Carkeek, Davis & Irwin, 1994; Bowkett, 1996). Pihama and Oldman (1990), Smith (1990), Selby (1996) and Neilson (1997) have recognised the insufficient literature about Maori girls' educational success exists. Non-Maori, mainly men have been the source of knowledge about both women as a group and Maori people that had contributed to the lack of literature that recognises Maori girls' educational achievement (Selby, 1996). Furthermore, the educational experiences of Maori girls have often been concealed within histories and stories that deal with women or Maori people in general (Smith, 1990). It is for these reasons that there is a need to explicitly research Maori girls' educational success so that they do not continue to remain invisible.

Literature that focuses on Maori students' educational experience rarely recognises Maori girls as a distinct group. McKinley (1995) believes studies about Maori students are problematic because Maori women and girls are frequently overlooked as a group of their own. For example, Hirsh's (1990) study about Maori achievement fails to identify and acknowledge Maori women and girls as a unique group. McKinley (1995) maintains that Hirsh's (1990) research makes Maori girls invisible. Thus, studies must

focus on Maori girls and women as a discrete group in order to better understand their educational experiences.

Studies that focus on Maori girls' educational experiences should be mindful of the complexities that influence this group. Even though Maori girls share common experiences with Pakeha girls in regards to western patriarchies and equally share common experiences with Maori boys in terms of cultural domination, Maori girls experiences are, and continue to be, distinctly different. Each position (whether Maori, girl, or Maori girl) signifies distinct histories, experiences and stances that contribute to the complexities of Maori girls' lives (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2001). For example, Irwin (1992) identifies some of the barriers that young Maori women encounter that makes achieving educational success difficult. The double oppression of being Maori and a woman is frequently marked by multiple responsibilities of being Maori, a women, educated, role model, leader and successful (ibid).

Recent writings of Maori women (Paraha, 1992; Selby, 1996; Johnston, 1998, Waitere-Ang, 1999) acknowledge the manifold factors that impinge on the educational experience of Maori girls that not only draws this group together as the opening narrative attests, but also distinguishes them from each other. For example, differences in iwi and hapu, socialisation in a variety of whanau contexts, geographic location, sexuality, disability, socio-economic status, political beliefs, level of formal education, knowledge of Te Reo Maori and tikanga Maori all work to shape Maori girls' experiences (Conner, 2000). For this reason, it is not possible to establish a sense of personal identity that is universal to all Maori girls nevertheless it is possible to distinguish a collective identity (ibid).

While there is insufficient literature about Maori girls' success in education, a substantial number of studies have focused on Maori girls' educational failure (Fry, 1985; Carson, 1991; Ministry of Education, 1993; Education Review Office, 1995). Maori girls have been identified as a disadvantaged group in the New Zealand education system (Alton-Lee & Praat, 2000; Education Review, 1995; Carkeek el at, 1994; Biklen & Pollard, 1993; McDonald, 1981) where specific barriers impact on their educational achievement at an interpersonal and institutional levels (Meha, 1987; Scott, 1994; Carkeek et al, 1994; Education Review, 1995). For example, barriers of

oppressions; racism, classism and sexism hinder Maori girls' educational success that does not necessarily impact on the other groups such as Maori boys, Pakeha boys and Pakeha girls to the same extent as Maori girls (Pihama & Oldman, 1990).

How did I look at Maori Girls' Success in Education?

The focus of this study was on Maori girls. Western and Maori theoretical paradigms informed this study. However, Maori research frameworks were significant to this study as they helped to address Maori interest and aspirations. Kaupapa Maori and Maori centred approach that assumes Maori people, language and culture are at the centre of research procedures (Durie & Kingi, 1997). These paradigms take account of the philosophies and practices of being Maori that at times challenges some western research frameworks (Smith, 1992 in Bishop, 1996). Qualitative research using semi-structured interviews was chosen to explore participants' perspectives taking account of the complex environment in which they are located (McDade, 1988). Ethical approval conferred by Massey University before the fieldwork commenced. Student participants were selected from a provincial single sex secondary school. Consent was obtained from Maori girls and their parents to participate in this study. The data from the interviews was transcribed, emerging themes identified then analysed.

Overview

Chapter one, the introduction reflected on my personal experience to illustrate how the topic of this study emerged. There are a number of reasons why this topic is important to study. The limited research in this area, Maori girls as a group are commonly overlooked and Maori girls are identified as a disadvantaged group in the education system were some of the factors why this area of study needs further research. This chapter described the overview of the methods and methodologies used to examine Maori girl's success followed by a brief overview of each chapter.

Chapter two examines the construction of Maori women in cosmological and tribal narratives. These archives present positive images of traditional Maori women who achieved in and performed multifaceted roles. However, as a result of missionary contact, Maori women's position and status was to shift reflecting negative images of Maori women's success. Education in Aotearoa at that time illustrated the limited opportunities for Maori women were offered at school. Recent statistical data shows

that Maori girls to underachive, reinforcing negative images about Maori girls' success. Maori girls' underachievement has in part been the result of past educational policies that have hindered their success. Examining statistics reveals some of the ways in which these statistics impact on Maori girls' achievements. This chapter also theorises the ways Maori girls' educational success is constructed in today's education system using the ideological constructs of sameness and difference.

Chapter three, the methodology outlines the research design and research procedures utilised in gathering and analysing the data. Qualitative research using semi-structured interviews and open-ended questions were used to obtain participants' views and perspectives. The theories that guided this study included critical theory, Kaupapa Maori theory and Maori centred approach. Maori research paradigms were essential components of this study in that it took account of Maori interests and attempted to address Maori research issues.

Chapter four presents the findings in response to the research questions: what are the factors that promoted and hindered Maori girls' educational achievement? And what are the strategies these parents utilised to promote their daughter's success? A detailed account of the participants' perspectives and shared experiences are cited to exemplify their views. This chapter identifies and discusses the six major themes that emerged from the data that included; constructing a definition of success, stepping stones to success, the community endorsing the girls' Maori identity, school based factors influencing school choice, the determinants promoting Maori girls' achievement and stumbling blocks to success.

Chapter five, the discussion, engages with the question, how we better understand Maori girls' educational success. A number of theoretical constructs are utilised to examine the participants' views and experiences.

Chapter six, the concluding chapter, draws the threads of the thesis together. It provides a summary of each chapter and identifies areas for further research. This study suggests, as illustrated in the opening narrative of this thesis, a number of complexities and contradictions that make Maori girls' success problematic. Even

though whanau and the girls successfully negotiated their way through the education system, this was not straightforward nor an easy task.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

A definition of identity construction is presented in this chapter to provide an understanding of the ways in which Maori girls identity is shaped. Maori cosmology is examined in order to investigate the ways in which Maori women are depicted. The representation of Maori women in cosmological and tribal contexts illustrates the diverse roles they fulfilled in Maori society. While on the other hand, colonial missionaries' conception of Maori women limited this group's view of the roles and functions they performed in society. This is reflected in Aotearoa's schooling system of the time, and continues to restrict Maori girls' educational advancement today. Currently, statistics show Maori girls are under-performing in the education system. Those statistics negatively impact on Maori girls' perception of educational achievement in relation to Maori. Therefore it is necessary to critique statistics in order to understand them and the impact it has on the ways in which Maori girls perceive themselves in relation to school. This chapter theorises the ways in which Maori girls' identities are shaped using the notion of sameness and differences and how this affects Maori girls' educational achievement today. Maori women seek to improve their position and status their ancestress once held. Maori women have and continue to construct their identities by developing theories that incorporate their realities and experiences.

Constructing Identities

Identities do not exist in a vacuum, they are constantly shaped by a number of external influences. Abercrombie et al (2000) identifies three components that are associated with identity construction. Firstly, identities are fluid and changeable, although there is commonly held view that identities are fixed and coherent entity (Taylor, 1999; Abercrombie et al, 2000). Taylor (1999) indicates that our identities are constructed within cultures and through social relations such as; families, peer

networks and institutions like schools. That is, our identities are dynamic and continually being reshaped through social processes. They are shaped by class, race and gender thus not unitary (ibid). Structuralist sociologist would agree as they argue our sense of identity is largely the product of social factors (Abbott, 1998).

Secondly, Abercrombie et al (2000) talks about acquisition of identity. For instance, there may be important moments of transition in identity during the process of moving from childhood to adulthood. These transitions may involve adjustment in the individual's sense of what kind of person she or he is. They also engage in a process of negotiation between one's self and external agencies (ibid). Someone who is Maori, for example, has that identity confirmed in a constant negotiation between his or her sense of being a Maori and others' definition of what that means.

Thirdly, Abercrombie et al (2000) notes that identities in contemporary society are fragmented. In recent past, individuals would have had a number of central elements to the construction of their identity such as family, locality, nation, social class, race and gender. Modern societies introduce more sources of identity, which intersect these, resulting in more complex pattern of identity and belonging (ibid). Furthermore, Abott (1998) recognises the difficulties for individuals to define themselves adequately in contemporary society because there is a range of competing sources of identity. The classic sources of identity; race, gender and class are no longer cohesive entities. According to Abott, this makes contemporary society a problematic environment for individuals to live in as it leads to different types of individuals, different types of living, and different types of social groups, structures and processes (ibid:15). For example, in relation to Aotearoa, Durie states, "…far from being homogenous, Maori are as diverse and complex as other sections of the population, even though they may have certain characteristics and features in common….Maori live in diverse cultural worlds. There is no one reality nor is there any longer a single definition which will encompass the range of Maori lifestyles" (Durie, 1995:1). Some of the external forces that shape this particular group's identities include whanau, peers, school, as well as tribal and cosmological narratives.

Maori Women depicted in Maori Cosmology

It is important to focus on Maori women in Maori cosmological narratives in order to understand the ways in which they are positively constructed and can positively contribute to a strong Maori identity for young rangatahi today. Female characters in Maori cosmological narratives illustrate their achievement in manifold roles across various spheres: economic, political and social (Waitere-Ang, 1999). Maori women in these archives are highly valued. In saying that, this does not locate Maori men in a subordinate position, as they were essential parts of the collective whole, both forming part of the collective whakapapa linking Maori back to the creation of the world (Mikaere, 1994). Absent from these early traditions were patriarchal ideal of female subordination and male domination (Tomlins-Jahnke, 1997). Maori myths and legends demonstrate the positive concept of Maori women reflecting the power, autonomy and strength they held. The ways in which Maori women were seen in Maori cosmology provides an indication of their status and position prior to missionary contact.

A positive female figure in Maori cosmology is Papatuanuku, the earth mother. She is considered the ancestress of all-Maori and significant to them, socially, culturally, spiritually, politically and economically (Pere, 1987). The following whakatauki reflects the importance of the Papatuanuku (the land), "Ko te whenua te wai-u no nga uri whakatipu", referring to the land as a provider, the sustenance for the coming generation (Mikaere, 1994). Thus the land is crucial for the survival of future generations. A key role Papatuanuku demonstrated in Maori cosmology was the mana over life and death. In order for the world to develop and for the survival and security of her descendants, Papatuanuku recognised the separation from her husband Ranginui as beneficial for all mankind. Additionally, she gifted iwi the power of birth and rebirth (Kupenga et al, 1990). For example after the birth of a child, the whenua (placenta) is returned to the whenua (land), thereby earthing the child's mana tangata (personal dignity) (ibid). At death, Maori people return to rest with her (Madden, 1997). Another vital function Papatuanuku performed in Maori cosmology was instructing her son, Tanemahuta, where to find the human element and how to construct Hine-ahu-one so that humankind could be created (Mikaere, 1994).

The legend of Hine-ahu-one and Tane reveals the influential role Hine-ahu-one demonstrated. This legend is about Tane who married Hine-ahu-one. They had a daughter together called Hinetitama who Tane later married. Hinetitama wanted to know the truth about who her father was, learning her husband was her father. She was horrified and fled from the Te Ao Marama (world of light) to Rarohenga (world of dark). As this point, Hinetitama became Hinenuitepo, guardian and protector of the spiritual welfare of the dead (Mikaere, 1994). Tomlins-Jahnke (1997) indicates her achievement was reflected in her actions lead from the powerless to the powerful. In this sense, she may be constructed as powerless, unable to undo the infringement by Tane upon her body. On the other hand, there is evidence that she is powerful as she consciously reconstructed her own identity of Hine-ahu-one to Hinenuitepo. As noted by Tomlins-Jahnke, Hinenuitepo was empowered by her autonomy, strength and courage. Determined to be in perpetual and irrevocable self-exile, she inevitably was to gain the most powerful position of all, that over the mortality of humankind (ibid).

The tale of Maui and his quest to advise immortality reflects the important role Hine-ahu-one performed in that she had the power to preserve or destroy life. In Maui's efforts to overcome death, he changed himself into a fantail by attempting to enter the womb of Hine-ahu-one and exist out of her mouth. The violation Hine-ahu-one experienced by her father, Tane persisted that this never reoccurs therefore destroying Maui by pressing her knees together crushing him to death. Even though Maui is considered a demi god of the living, Hinenuitepo was more powerful in that she prevented him from achieving immortality. This narrative reflects the autonomy and power of Maori women reveal (Mahuika, 1973).

The narratives of Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga demonstrate the significant role Maori women performed (Mikaere, 1994). This is evident in the legend of Maui who acquired fire from his kuia, Mahuika. Maui went to the underworld to obtain fire from the fingers of his kuia but on his return home, Maui purposely destroyed the fire. He kept going back to his kuia asking for fingers of fire until she only had one left. Mahuika was angry at Maui and took her last finger and threw it upon the world and in doing so, she knew she was going to die. She took her child and hid in the kaikomako tree where she perished and died. The kaikomako tree is considered

important today because it holds the child of fire. If dry wood is rubbed together the flame once lived in the Mahuika fingers bursts forth new life again. The consequence of Mahuika actions led to the creation of fire that is an essential part of life. The autonomy of Maori women is further reflected in tales such as Maui fishing up Aotearoa and taming the sun. Maui's kuia, Muriranga-whenua's jawbone is significant in these tales because it was utilised to fish up Te Ika a Maui (the North Island) and used to make the patu to subdue the sun (bid).

Within cosmological narratives Maori women were constructed as bearers of knowledge such as Papatuanuku informing Tanemahuta where to find the human element. Maori women were posses of technology in that Maui kuia jawbone was utilised to fish up the North Island and to subdue the sun. One of the most powerful functions Maori women performed was the control over life and death. The images of Maori women in Maori cosmology reveal the powerful position and status they held and the diverse roles they performed. The next section provides another set of cultural forces that factor into the ways in which identity is constructed, for and by young Maori women.

Tribal Narratives Construction of Maori Women

When exploring Maori women roles in traditional Maori society we must consider the iwi in which Maori women are situated because each iwi has different views, attitudes, beliefs and experiences (Irwin, 1992). As noted in Chapter One, there are factors that not only draw this group together but also distinguish them apart such as differences in iwi and hapu. Selby (1996:30) notes each hapu and iwi has its own stories of wahine rangatira: wahine who led, made decisions, composed, negotiated marriages and alliances with neighbours. Much of the same, Irwin (1992) claims iwi focus is relevant in studies of Maori women because tribal kawa and tikanga differ markedly. For example, iwi such as Ngati Porou, Ngati Kahungunu and Nga Puhi allow women to whaikorero on the Marae yet this is not the case for all tribes like Te Arawa and Rangitane. The reason for different roles of women and diverse tikanga pertaining to whaikorero lives deep in the history of each tribe (ibid).

The construction of Maori women in tribal narratives stemmed from the conception of Maori women in Maori cosmology. The images of Maori women in both

cosmological and tribal narratives portray positive female characters, who performed similar or at times identical roles as men. A small but growing number of literatures support the notion that Maori women in tribal narratives performed numerous roles alongside Maori men. Maori women demonstrated the autonomy to move within the boundaries of tribal customs performing roles assumed to be of a male domain such as being tribal leaders. Tribal narratives enlighten us about the social roles and expectations Maori women enjoyed that provide a benchmark for today's young Maori women to aspire to.

The discussion about the roles of Maori women in tribal archives suggests that some iwi kawa reflect patriarchal views while there are some tribal regions who accord Maori women autonomy and different status. As noted by Mahuika (1973) a commonly held assumption about leadership, successions, rank and status is these roles were peculiar only to males while females were in the background or inferior thus not aspiring nor qualify for leadership. In relation to tikanga Maori, a non-Maori belief is that leadership was often perceived to be primarily the domain of men in which they exercised power over women. Furthermore it has been argued that certain iwi kawa such as Te Arawa manifest patriarchal ideologies (Madden, 1997). For example, the kawa of Te Arawa requires women to sit at a lower level than men during formal occasions and also excludes Maori women from whaikorero on Marae that is evident in other iwi (ibid). However if one looks at Te Arawa narratives such as Hinemoa and Tutanekai, the female character Hinemoa illustrates strength, power and autonomy. In brief, this archive is about a woman called Hinemoa who lived in the village of Owhata on the shores of Lake Rotorua and a young man named Tutanekai who live four kilometres across the water from Owhata (Reed, 1997). Hinemoa and Tutanekai were from different tribes. Their tribes visited each other and this is when these two come to know and love one another. The affair was kept discreet because their families did not want them to be together. Hinemoa's love was so strong for Tutanekai that she swam the long journey to Mokoia to be with him. This was the sacrifice she made to be with her lover. Hinemoa demonstrated mana, courage, strength and determination. Therefore the construction of the female character in this narrative reveals a positive image of Maori women.

Similar to Te Arawa narratives, models of traditional histories support the ideal that Maori women fulfilled an assortment of roles across diverse domains and shared equal status to men. Traditional narratives handed down by ancestors through generations rejects the view that Maori women were ranked lower status or that traditional Maori society attached greater significances to male's roles than to female roles (Mahuika, 1973; Mikaere, 1994; Selby, 1996; Tomlins-Jahnke, 1996; Waitere-Ang, 1999).

The naming of hapu and iwi after Maori women leaders as noted by Mahuika (1973:126) illustrates the important role they demonstrated in traditional society. For example, the meetinghouses in Ngati Porou have been named after significant women like Te Whanau-a-Hinerupe (Waiapu Valley) and Te Whanau-a-Hinematioro (Tolaga Bay). This is not only evident in Ngati Porou tribe but across a wide range of iwi (ibid).

Maori women roles in some tribes held oral traditions to prevent them being lost, if Maori men were killed at war. Other roles included Maori women maintaining the transmission of iwi history and knowledge that is reflected in waiata tawhito, karakia and korero composed by women. In regards to Ngati Porou women, they composed songs with reference to tribal history and genealogies to continue maintenance of iwi history. Songs that are still being composed today illustrate the enduring power and influence of Maori women (Mikaere, 1994).

Marked broadly across groups, karanga reveals the imperative role Maori women are exclusively given. The significance of karanga is that it is usually given to older women because the specialised knowledge within tradition. Maori women who perform karanga are those women who hold such knowledge that is seen as a source of mana (Madden, 1997). According to Yates-Smith (1998), the karanga illustrates the connection with Maori women and the spiritual world with Hinenuitepo. Furthermore, the distinct voice of a women's karanga is needed for the spirits to be called back onto the marae (ibid). This link to the ancestors and the role as te puna roimata explains the physical position of women at the front of a group proceeding onto the marae, the stance of tangata whenua women (in front of the men) during the powhiri, and the positioning of women around the tupapaku (ibid:220)

Although cosmological and tribal literature constructs Maori women in a positive light by revealing the diverse roles and functions they fulfilled in society, the colonial contact view of Maori women was to shift.

Missionary Contact and the Shifting Construction of Maori Women

Female oppression is deeply rooted in western culture that has limited women's opportunities to succeed over time (O'Neill, 1992). In contrast to Maori women, western women were devalued, diminished and degraded by men. The characteristics of an ideal woman were to be submissive, dependent and passive (Harris, 1993). Male colonial ideologies were maintained through knowledge and discourse that ensured male dominance. Knowledge was produced and controlled by men which best suited their interests and reinforced their superiority (Spender, 1982). Furthermore, the hegemonic view reinforced women as subordinate and inferior, therefore not deserving the same chances as men (ibid). As a result, patriarchal influences have silenced women, limiting their opportunities to fully participate in society.

The missionaries' values and views about gender construction were evident in missionaries' grand narratives such as biblical readings. In contrast to Maori cosmology, biblical reading illustrated Adam to be the first person on earth and Eve was created from part of Adam, thus women being of man (Madden, 1997). However, Maori cosmology revealed the equal roles males and females element had in the creation myth. Here, the female element (Papatuanuku – earth mother) was equally important to male (Ranginui – sky father) in the creation of humanity.

The arrival of missionaries and early settlers in Aotearoa brought with them their culturally specific understandings of the role and status of women (Mikaere, 1994). The European ideal of womanhood was transferred and applied to Maori women (Conner, 2000). This signalled a shift in Maori women societal positioning across a range of spheres: socially, culturally, spiritually, politically and economically, (Irwin, 1992a). The displacement of Maori women position led to various forms of oppression such as being written out of historical literature that was predominantly constructed and written by white men. Nevertheless, if these men wrote about other

groups such as Maori women, these groups were often misinterpreted because western men's perspective and understanding passed through their cultural epistemology of knowing. This led to inaccurate representation of Maori women whose realities and experiences were often distorted that further marginalising them (Salmond, 1991).

The western reconstruction of Maori cosmology by the settlers reflected the shift away from powerful female influences in the legends towards male characters. For example Maui stories become focused almost solely on the exploits of the male demi-god, his kuia being made nearly invisible in the process (Mikaere, 1994:3). As Madden (1997) articulates the account of the creation of the first women, Hine-ahu-one, metamorphosed into a tale uncannily similar to the biblical myth of Adam creating Eve from his rib; Tanemahuta become the main figure in the story with Papatuanuku's essential role virtually silenced. The settler's writings reflect the dominant ideologies of male superiority.

Christianity inspired missionaries to convey notions of patriarchy involving the unequal gender power relations that located Maori women subservient not only to Pakeha men but also Maori men. It has been argued that patriarchal influences have been applied to Maori customs and beliefs such as the exclusion of Maori women speaking at formal occasions. Hoskins (2000) argues this is an oppressive behaviour that affirms male dominance and sets the standard for Maori men and women to the kinds of behaviours acceptable in their culture. For example, in particular iwi the kawa on the marae reflect male domination in that Maori women are not allowed to speak on the Marae or Maori women are required to sit at lower levels to Maori men.

Patriarchal hegemonies had a damaging effect on the whanau (Mikaere, 1994). This forced Maori women away from their husbands and into Pakeha models of the nuclear family that left them vulnerable in a host of ways. For example, they became depend on their husbands as breadwinners and increasingly isolated as caregivers at home (ibid). The Christian values about what constituted an ideal wife and mother compelled Maori women to maintain that role. These values meant that husbands became increasingly the head of the family while their wives feeling compelled to stay with them no matter what. The historical position of Western women provided a

benchmark for Maori women and Maori men to aspire to. Furthermore, Aotearoa's schools at this time further reflected the views and values of missionaries.

The Education System Constructing Maori Girls' Educational Achievement

The past policies of Aotearoa education system reflect the ideologies of Pakeha culture (Selby, 1996). The dominant ideologies reflect the eighteenth and nineteenth century views and values of women, along with racial principles of that time. These philosophies limited young Maori women's opportunities to succeed in that higher education was despise for Maori girls. It was believed that more appropriate education for Maori girls was domestic or manual chores. To some extent, patriarchal views are still present in today's system that continues to marginalise Maori girls.

The period of 1815-47 reflected the 'Christianising' policies of the missionaries that affected Maori girls in mission schools. At this time, churches shared similar views in that all human beings were children of God. The state joined the church in 1847 and 1867 in the provision of Maori education to hasten what is believed to be necessary 'civilising' process (Jenkins & Matthews, 1998). The settlers' reinforced the ideal that Maori should not only learn English but that they should stop learning the Maori language. However, the late 1850's saw the mission schools abandoned as Land wars began and by the mid-1867's Maori schooling was placed under state control.

There were a number of Maori girls' boarding schools that were established prior to 1880 such as St Stephen's (1846), St Joseph's (1867) and Hukarere (1875). Maori boys' boarding schools at this time included St Stephen's (1845) and Te Aute (1854). The churches aim was to remove young Maori from their homes and place them in a European environment. Missionary churches ensured Maori girls conformed to a model of ideal womanhood, in that they were perceived as future guardians for morality through their roles as wives and mothers (Jenkins et al, 1998). The missionaries' philosophies being taught to Maori girls included the model of femininity, the Virgin Mary. According to Jenkins and Matthews (1998), Maori boarding schools were places where Maori girls learnt that the combination of hard work and Christian principles were essential prerequisites for their future lives as

wives and mothers of a new Maori labouring class. The wider community manifested similar views. For example, families such as William's family commonly regarded Maori women as promiscuous (ibid).

Maori girls who arrived at the boarding school from their remote rural homes were educated along the lines of an English middle class Victorian girls' school. The lessons in such school encompassed girls to assist with daily running of the school (ibid). This included meal preparation and serving, laundry work and general housekeeping. The training in these tasks was part of the mission of the school. Thus girls were to be 'domesticated' as part of the 'civilising' process and this implied that Maori girls 'valued knowledge' was defined as 'useful' domestic knowledge needed to run Pakeha-style homes (ibid).

In 1929 the attitude present at this time was much the same. For example, the Director General of Education stated, "Maori Education should lead the Maori lad to come good farmer and the Maori girls a good farmer's wife (in Durie, 2001). Maori girls were educated in a way that developed a collective awareness of 'knowing their place' and that was of lower hierarchy to men.

In 1931, the state aimed at educating Maori girls in boarding schools and Native schools differently from their Pakeha sisters in state-run public or boarding schools. As the inspector of Native schools at the time explained, "The subjects taught in public schools is likely to have little benefit for the Natives" (in Jenkins et al, 1998). Four years later, gendered and racialised ideologies were still evident in school curriculum. What girls needed to learn was 'a practical knowledge of housecraft, including plain sewing, cooking, washing and care of clothes, house cleaning and beautifying (ibid).

There were opposing views about the school curriculum during this period. For example, Mere Hall the Principal of Hukarere mentioned she wanted more for the pupils than just for them to be homemakers. She noted that the nineteenth century goals for Maori girls were restricting. Nevertheless, Maori parents continued to send their daughters to Maori boarding schools. However the fees charged at these schools meant the majority of Maori were not able to attend them. Those who

passed Proficiency Examinations were granted access to secondary education such as Maori district high schools that were established in 1941. Maori boarding schools and other secondary school offered different opportunities for Maori district high schools. Jenkins et al (1998) noted the differentiation in the secondary school curriculum continued to exist between Maori and Pakeha in many areas. Therefore an attractive option for Maori parents was Maori boarding schools, for those who could afford the fees.

As early as 1980's, the evidence of the imposition of Pakeha gender attitudes and models increased. This resulting in high unemployment, poor health, low levels of education and high rates of Maori imprisonment. A strategy to overcome this problem illuminated by Maori was to teach Maori language and culture that would validate their identity. Despite what has happened to Maori girls as a result of state policies, the establishment of Maori school such as Te Kohanga Reo (preschool) and Kura Kaupapa Maori (primary) has been considered a way of addressing some of these problems. These initiatives seek to enhance and reclaim Maori girls' identity and to improve their educational achievement.

Missionaries' construction of Maori girls' identities have challenged the dominated the way in which they view themselves and influenced other's perceptions of what it is to be Maori.

Statistics as Constructing Maori Girls' Position in Education

The construction of Maori girls' educational success in relation to statistics presents a negative image of Maori girls. Statistics tell us that Maori girls' achievement levels are lower then Pakeha students. The gap between non-Maori girls and Maori girls still exist. For instance in 1994, 94% of non-Maori girls sat School Certificate exams in comparison with 69% of Maori girl. The grades awarded for this group of girls showed that 14% of Maori girls were awarded A or B grade and 36% for non-Maori girls (ibid). In year 2000, 45% of Maori girls who sat School Certificate were awarded A, B, C grades and for non-Maori girls 70.5% (Ministry of Education, 2002). In 2000 bursary examination, 62.2% of Maori girls were awarded A, B, C grades for bursary examinations compared to 78.9% for non-Maori girls (ibid).

Looking at the 2000 bursary results show that Maori girls are under-performing compared with non-Maori girls but the gap appears to be closing.

In 1996, the qualification status of Maori and non-Maori women aged 15 years and over was recorded by statistics New Zealand (in Te Puni Kokiri & Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1999). The percentage of Maori women with no qualification was 47.2% compared with non-Maori women 33.1%. The highest qualification gained in relation to school qualification for Maori women was 31.4% with non-Maori women 33.1% (ibid). Furthermore, vocational qualifications as the highest qualification gained by Maori women was 11.5% and non-Maori women 18.0%. Additionally, the percentage of graduate qualifications for Maori women shows 1.9% in contrast to non-Maori 5.4%.

The 1998 figure for retention rate between young Maori women aged 16 who remained at school was 75% compared with 92% of non-Maori peers. Overall, Pakeha girls tend to outperform Maori girls across a range of areas (ibid).

The educational achievement of Maori girls and boys is lower than non-Maori boys and girls. The 1999 educational achievement statistics illustrate 5% of Maori girls and 4% of Maori boys leave school with University Bursary, while 26%of non-Maori girls and 20% of non-Maori boys gain University Bursary (Te Puni Kokiri & Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1999). Thus Maori students are less likely to leave school with University entrance and continue on to tertiary education. However, this should not assume that these students who leave school without University entrance would not continue their education at a training institution or educational provider.

Over the past decade Maori girls' participation level has increased in primary and secondary school (Te Puni Kokiri & Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1999). Furthermore, young Maori women are more likely to remain in school to senior levels and the percentage of Maori women entering tertiary education has double (ibid).

Although gains are being made, statistics show that the majority of Maori students are not well served in schools. Therefore there is a need to understand how those

who do make it overcome some of the impediments that act as potential barriers to their educational success. Educational statistics may be considered a barrier in that statistics have the prospective to influence the ways in which Maori girls and others view their achievements.

Critiquing the Construction of Statistics

Statistics reinforce negative assumptions and perceptions about Maori girls' educational achievement. This may result in Maori girls exhibiting low expectations, low self-esteem, lack of confidence, low self-perceptions and self-fulfilling prophecies. Additionally, statistical figures impact on the way Maori girls' view themselves and how others view them. Although it is necessary to critique statistical data in order to understand them and the ways it impacts on Maori girls' success, statistics has provided the 'evidence' that disparities exist and the need better educational provision if Maori are to succeed.

According to Bennett (1995) statistics create sociotypes. Sociotypes are defined as accurate generalisations about social group. The problem with sociotypes is that they help us make assumptions and judgements about individuals (ibid). Statistics indicate that Maori girls are more likely underachieve in comparison to Pakeha girls however it would be unsafe to assume this to be true when teaching or working with young Maori women. Bennett asserts us that sociotypes need to be treated with care or they can be used to confirm prejudices and justify discrimination, which can create problems for Maori girls (ibid).

Penetito (1988) classifies statistics as an aspect of objective deprivation. He refers to objective deprivation as the way in which one is discriminated against socially and economically (ibid). For example Maori statistics across a range of sphere emphasises Maori failure such as education, housing, and unemployment, which discriminate against Maori. Statistics send messages, implicitly or explicitly that Maori culture inferior to Pakeha culture. This may impact on Maori girls' achievement when they begin to internalise these ideologies to be true.

Statistical documentation utilises a comparative approach, Maori against non-Maori that reinforces Maori students' underachievement. This sends overt messages to

Maori that they are underachievers where they may begin to fulfil these expectations. In addition, Pakeha and Maori people equate consciously or unconsciously "Maoriness" with academic failure and low vocational aspiration (Ranby, 1979). Therefore statistics can have an impact on the way Maori girls' view themselves and how other perceives them to be.

Statistics that highlight Maori students' underachievement has been associated with the deficit view, blaming the individual or people involved as the cause of the problem (Johnston, 1998; Waitere-Ang, 1999). This locates Maori as having deficits where they internalise their failure to be their own fault. In effect these students produce low expectations about themselves and develop low self-esteem.

Another issue surrounding statistical data is that it is vague and we know that this measurement alone cannot provide us with sufficient understanding of the many complexities of Maori girls' educational success (Tait, 1995). Likewise, McLeod (2002) claims that statistics are misleading in that they are often taken for granted, culture free, neutral and objective even though they are not.

Pakeha educational achievement statistics has set a benchmark for Maori students' educational success in which it is measured against (Durie, 2001). This disparity approach advances Maori students as failures even when their progress over time has improved (ibid). Comparative approach in this context fails to acknowledge the pathway to educational success for these two groups is distinctly different. In addition Durie (2001) believes a more meaningful benchmark for Maori learners is to map Maori students' progress against their own performance rather then against non-Maori.

Theorising the Problematic Constructions

The term difference has diverse interpretations. According to Johnston (1998) difference is controversial in the sense that it is political. That is, in spite of the context in which this concept is used, difference is contested, challenged and struggled over (ibid). A contemporary term commonly used to describe various theories and beliefs about difference is the 'Politics of Difference'. The difficulties defining difference, is that its definitions, interpretations and representations can only

be view within a specified context and specified time, shifting and changing across contexts according to those who have control over the contexts.

It is important to understand how the process of difference occurs. As noted by Burbules and Rice (1991) it is the difference between two signifiers that allows for them to serve as different; that difference is arbitrary and meaningless in relation to itself unless there are signifiers to determine what that difference is in the first place (in Johnston, 1998:26). To illustrate this point, Johnston (1998) refers to Stuart Hall's discussions of the 'West and the Rest'. Hall refers to the notion of West to a body of knowledge and thought that constructs Western knowledge and culture as superior, and the Rest as inferior. Western knowledge and culture means little by itself, but in comparison to Maori knowledge and culture, then the body of knowledge represented by the West begins to signify a whole range of different meanings, especially in relation to the ideas of West as superior and neutral (ibid).

However, crucial to defining what counts as difference is the unequal power relations that determine inferiority and superiority, especially in terms of the power of the dominant group to constitute the definition of difference (Johnston, 1998). For instance Western knowledge is located as superior to Maori knowledge because Pakeha have control over various contexts such as what counts as knowledge and whose knowledge is validated. Johnston (1998) pointed out that it is power and control that underpins how difference is defined.

Young (1990) refers to sameness in relation to ignoring minority group differences. The dominant ideologies, often implicitly assert that everybody is the same or should be treated the same regardless of race, sex, religion and background (ibid). The problem with sameness is that the dominant group is unable to recognise ways in which their culture is perceived to be universal or common sense. Consequently, sameness becomes problematic for those whom culture sits outside the norm of the dominant group.

The principle of assimilation is central in understanding the notion of sameness. According to Abercrombie et al (2000) the assimilation ideal was first utilised in American race relation research to describe the process by which immigrant groups

where integrated into the dominant white culture. Assimilation is seen as a one-way process in which the outsiders surrendered their own culture in favour of the dominant group (ibid). The dominant groups culture and their cultural capital exist in schools. As Bourdieu (1973) indicates that the dominant culture is reproduced and validated in schools. As a result minorities' group culture is diminished. The education system reflects an assimilationist approach that endeavours to make all "other" groups the same as the dominant class. This implies that minority groups must adopt mainstream behaviours, values and goals. Pakeha culture is the dominant culture in Aotearoa's schools. Their values, attitudes and norms are reproduced and legitimated in the education system. Through the assimilation process, Maori girls are forced to adopt the behaviour, values and norms of Pakeha culture if they are to succeed. Nevertheless, there are consequences for Maori girls to assimilate which impacts on their culture and identity.

The aspiration for minority groups to succeed through assimilation helps to produce double consciousness characteristic of oppression (Young, 1990). As noted earlier, the aim of assimilation demands people to fit into the mainstream or in other words be "the same" as the dominant group, accepting their values, attitudes and beliefs. While at the same, minority groups are identified by their group differences such as black or gay therefore unable to simply fit (ibid). The contradictory nature of minority students schooling experience locates them in an irresolvable dilemma: to participate to accept and adopt an identity one is not, or trying to participate but being reminded by oneself and others of the identity one is (ibid:165). This situation is evident in the opening narrative of this thesis where two Maori girls chose to be "the same" as Pakeha girls in order to succeed. This meant displaying stereotypical characteristics of Pakeha culture such as goal orientated towards career and high achievement. These Maori girls felt that they were excluded from their Maori peers because at times they chose for strategic reasons to adopt a Pakeha identity. While on the other hand, Maori girls who were trying to fit in with Pakeha girls found it difficult because they were marked by their differences as Maori hence did not necessarily fit.

Hegemony reinforces sameness. Gramsci (1971) used the term hegemony to denote the predominance of one social class over others. This represents the ability of the

dominant class to project its own way of seeing the world so that those who are subordinated by it accept it's as 'common sense' and 'natural' (ibid). In Aotearoa, Pakeha hold the power to control and manage schools. Pakeha hegemonic views are reflected in schools that influence teachers and students thinking. Consequently, the Pakeha way of doing things becomes "common sense" or assumed to be the norm. Hegemony is a way of minority groups comes to accept "sameness" through manipulation and consent, believing the dominant culture is superior and universal. For example hegemony as noted in the opening narrative of this thesis is evident when Maori girls accept the dominant groups' belief that they are intellectually inferior to Pakeha girls.

The hidden curriculum presupposes sameness. Middleton (1980) defines the hidden curriculum as what children learn even though not actively taught. The critical role of the hidden curriculum is transmitting the values, assumptions and subtleties of class, ethnic and gender relations (Fry, 1985). Hidden curriculum is illustrated through various school practices such as teacher expectations of students, teacher's control of children's behaviour and hidden messages conveyed to children. While there is a wide range of literature that depicts gender inequalities through the hidden curriculum, few studies in Aotearoa focus on hidden curriculum in terms of the complexities for ethnic groups. Nevertheless, Simon's (1996) study illustrated aspects of the ways in which the hidden curriculum impacted on Maori students' learning. For example, teachers who do not acknowledge cultural differences were sending overt messages to minority students that their culture was insignificant and being difference from the norm was perceived to be negative.

Teachers are sometimes unaware of how they reinforce the notion of sameness by practicing egalitarianism. Simon (1996) maintains Pakeha teachers who practice egalitarianism are often unconsciously unaware of how they are discriminating against Maori students. Egalitarianism is open to different interpreting however it is commonly referred to treating all students the same regardless of their race, gender, class, religion and background (Simon, 1994). Simon (1996) research showed that teachers believe that treating all students the same is fair practice thus catering for Maori and Pakeha students' needs identically. The problem with teachers who cater for Maori and Pakeha children's needs distinguishably are only catering for the

educational needs of Pakeha students because the ways of catering for them are identified according to the norms of Pakeha culture (ibid). As a result Maori students' needs are neither recognised nor catered for. Furthermore these teachers are reinforcing to students that treating all students the same is a constructive pedagogical practice.

Success for minority groups is problematic. For example, Penetito (1988) maintains that in order for minority groups to be successful they have to compensate their culture for the dominant culture, while trying to maintain their identity and achieve at the same is difficult. He explains, "If you are a Maori student in a school the more you achieve the more you are separated from your Maori peers. If you don't achieve, you get to keep your mates but then you can't get a job therefore deprived whichever way you turn" (ibid:105). Therefore as the opening narrative illustrated the dilemma for Maori girls, whether to choose to be academically successful by adopting the Pakeha culture thus losing their Maori identity or not to achieve by rejecting Pakeha culture while keeping their Maori friends and their identity. Schools add to these complexities in that they do not provide space for Maori students to be "successful" while at the same time retain their Maori identity. Unlike successful Pakeha students, whose identity is never challenged nor questioned.

Some Maori students choose to adopt the notion of sameness because their difference is constructed negatively. They learnt that negativity and stigma is attached to their differences. The feelings Maori students have about their status, reflects subjective deprivation (Penetito, 1988). Penetito (1988:93) refers to subjective deprivation as the awareness of deprivation; feelings of powerlessness, the denial of recognition, the stereotyping and frustration that makes up the minority experience.

Constructing Difference Positively

Minow (1985) discusses the dilemma of difference that involves being aware of the ways to deal with the issues of difference. She indicates the problem with either ignoring or focusing on difference (ibid). For instance focusing on minority differences normalises dominant groups' culture. In addition, illuminating minority group differences can create barriers, and delay or derail successful entry into the society that continues to make that difference matter (in Johnston, 1998:34). Other

problems surrounding the recognition of difference are the negative aspects attached to difference such as stigma. However, Grosz (1994) argues that difference does not need to be represented in a negative way, as it is those who hold the power of contexts, which defines the ways in which difference is characterised.

Grosz (1994) suggest that what needs to happen is to replace the negative aspects associated with difference by seeking and developing positive characteristics that will assert the validation of knowledge, culture and language of indigenous groups (ibid). Johnston (1998) claims that we must review, reinterpret, rewrite and highlight differences in positive forms that theoretically have the potential to liberate and empower groups such as Maori (p.35). This involves recognising the ways the dominant group interests are sustained through negative perceptions of different, how they maintain control over contexts and how they represent difference in specific ways (ibid).

Recognising social groups' difference has liberating and empowering outcomes. Minorities need to reclaim the identity the dominant culture has taught them to despire (Cliff, 1980 in Young, 1990). Reaffirming and positively celebrating their identity helps to remove double consciousness (Young, 1990). When minorities groups insist on positive values of their specific culture and experiences, it becomes increasingly difficult for dominant groups to parade their norms as neutral and universal, and construct the values and behaviour of the oppressed as deviant or inferior (ibid). Furthermore Young (1990) points out a relational understanding of group difference reject exclusion in that difference no longer implies that groups lie outside one other. For those reasons, there are constructive implications for celebrating cultural diversity and positively recognising minority group differences.

Contemporary Maori Women Constructing their own Identities

As noted earlier, knowledge was produced and controlled by men that best served their interest. Contemporary Pakeha and Maori women have become increasingly aware of the patriarchy hegemonies that have, and still continue to oppress them. As a result these women have begun to contest and challenge the male colonial views by constructing their own discourses. This involves documenting centuries of knowledge that has been lost and constructing their own theories that are consistent

with their realities and experiences (Spender, 1982). It is important to note that Pakeha and mana wahine have developed distinct paradigms that take account of their experiences. Jones el at (1990) has raised the issue that some Pakeha women have tried to interpret Maori women experiences using their interpretations and perspectives, as a base to compare and write from that has little contribution to mana wahine. According to Alton et al (2000) it is crucial for wahine Maori herstories to be told in a way that Maori women can make senses of their realities, otherwise they will be limited to understanding themselves only through the eyes of others.

The clear difference between mana Maori and Pakeha feminist frameworks is that mana wahine theories are grounded in Te Ao Maori, locating Maori culture at the centre (Irwin, 1992). This reflects Maori centred approach that will be later discussed in Chapter three. These theories help to analyse and explain the realities of Maori women. Tomlins-Jahnke (1997:33) attests in order to make sense of the reality of Maori women's lives, we must find relevant ways to explain the nature of Maori women's experiences in contemporary contexts, thus it is necessary to employ an analysis that is grounded in Te Ao Maori. Mana wahine Maori is an example of a mana wahine framework that provides an appropriate analysis for Maori women realities. This term Mana wahine Maori is used to describe what counts as feminism as it relates to Maori women (Smith, 1993). As noted by Smith (1993:61) the concept of Mana wahine Maori, is a broad term that can accommodate the range of viewpoints and analysis. As noted in Chapter one, Maori women lives are diverse accordingly, mana wahine theories accommodate for their differences. It is a strong cultural concept that takes into account the complex relationships of Maori women to one another, their whakapapa and situates them in relation to the outside world and other indigenous women (ibid). These frameworks attempt of challenge colonial male dominated views about Maori women in seeking to reclaim the status and position they once had.

SUMMARY

This chapter explored the notion of identity construction to understand the way in which Maori girls identity is constructed. Maori women's identity in cosmological and tribal narratives was constructed positively. They demonstrated various roles and functions across a range of spheres. A shift was evident as a result of missionary

contact where Maori women were located in an inferior position. Western women's position of the time set a standard for Maori women to aspire to. The male colonial dominated view limited the ways in which Maori women viewed themselves and how others view them restricting the roles they performed. During that time, the education system reproduced oppressive structures that hindered Maori girls' educational achievement that is still evident to some extent in today's education system. Recent statistics paints a negative picture of Maori girls' educational success that has impacted on their perceptions and the ways in which they view themselves and how others perceive them to be. Conceptualising the notions of sameness and difference revealed the ways in which Maori girls' educational achievement is constructed in today's schooling system. Contemporary Maori women have contested the dominant colonial epistemology by constructing their own theoretical frameworks as a way of improving their position in society.

The next chapter will explore the methods utilised in this study and philosophical research frameworks that help guide this research.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the research design by describing the research methods used to gather and analyse the data. The research methods were guided by philosophical positions grounded in critical theory, Kaupapa Maori theory and Maori centred approach. This thesis does not reject western methodological frameworks, as they were ulitised in this study however by themselves these paradigms fail to account of historical and cultural influences. For this reason, Kaupapa Maori theory and a Maori centred approach were essential to the research process. These Maori research paradigms do not endeavour to negate Western methodological positions but rather respond to research issues raised by Maori and to provide a lens to best understand Maori peoples' realities.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Research Aims

This study focused on the academic success of four Maori girls at bursary level. Success was defined based on the girls' school credentials that would serve as entry into the tertiary education provider. The determinants that supported Maori girls' educational achievement are imperative for improving their position in society. Equally important are the factors that prevented Maori girls from succeeding. The three specific aims that underpinned this study were:

1. To investigate the factors that contributed to Maori girls' educational success

2. To investigate the factors that hindered Maori girls' educational achievement

3. To analyse the strategies the parents utilised to promote their daughter's educational success.

Qualitative Research

This study took a qualitative approach to investigate Maori girls and their parents' views and perspectives through interviews. Qualitative method is descriptive in nature where the researcher must make sense of the participants' experiences (Gillham, 2000). This may be problematic in the sense that the researcher analyses the participants' philosophies from their own cultural perspectives and experiences that could misinterpret the views of the participants. According to Gillham, there are six components of qualitative methods (ibid). These are; to carry out an investigation, investigate situation, explore complexities, to find out what really happens beneath the surface, view case from the position of the ones involved, research into the processes leading to results rather than into the 'significance' of the results themselves. These components were evident in this study for instance this thesis investigated Maori girls' educational achievement in relation to the complexities they encounter in the education system that made success problematic. This study attempted to examine the girls' perspectives, the reasons behind the girls' success and the implicit factors that make achievement complicated. Maori theoretical frameworks: Kaupapa Maori theory and Maori centred approach guided the research processes. These paradigms take account of the cultural issues Maori girls encounter and help to validate Maori culture by locating it at the centre.

Interviews

This study utilised interviews as way of obtaining the parents and their daughter's views and opinions (Scott, 1996). This method provides the descriptive data and has the capacity to seek explanations by exploring individual viewpoints (Dever, 1995). Interviews were selected because it is considered culturally appropriate for Maori. A preferable Maori custom is to talk to each other face to face or in Maori terms, 'kanohi ki te kanohi' (Johnston, 1991; Vercoe, 1997; Waitere-Ang, 1999). Additionally Durie (2001) asserts that, 'kanohi kitea' or seen face cements one's membership within the community in an ongoing way.

Semi structured interviews allow the participants to bring their own ideas and to raise any issues they may have (Sullivan, 2003). The researcher outlined a general structure of semi-structured interviews by deciding in advance, what ground was to be covered and what main questions were to be asked (Gillham, 2000). This type of interview is conducted with in a fairly open framework that allows for focussed, conversational, two-way communication (ibid). According to Case (1990), the majority of questions are created during the interview, allowing both the interviewer and the participant the flexibility to probe for details or discuss issues. However a weakness of semi-structured interviews is that the research can only cover a small sample (Gillham, 2000).

Semi structured interviews using open-ended questions were used in this study in order to expand on the participants' ideas in-depth. The broad questions allowed the freedom to elaborate if required. Open-ended questions provided the flexibility to discuss any issues and to better understand the participants' perspectives.

Research Ethics

In carrying out this research, ethical issues were considered in order to protect the rights of the participants. Ethical principles that were applied in the context of this research included; informed consent, confidentiality, minimising of harm, truthfulness and social and cultural sensitivity.

Once the school accepted this research, the school Dean provided the access to the eligible student participants. Meeting with them kanohi ki te kanohi provided the opportunity to inform them of the purpose of the research project, rights and obligations of both the researcher and participants. Consent was approved by the participants to participate in an hour long face to face individual interview. Approval was given to audiotape the interviews and to utilise quotes while protecting the individual participant's identity. The consent forms and audiotapes were locked away in a secure place.

The participants were made aware of their rights to privacy and confidentiality that was included in the information letter (Appendix 1 & 2). Any information particularly names of individuals and places that might serve as a means of

identification were either suppressed or altered. The names of the participants have been changed and the names of hapu and iwi were not identified to further suppress the participant's identification.

A way of minimising harm to Maori research participants was achieved by forming a partnership between the researcher and participants. The data gathered through interviews was verified by the participants to ensure that the information was correct. This provided the participants the opportunity to delete, alter or add any information. Furthermore, careful consideration was taken to ensure that the type of questions asked did not impinging on the personal lives of the participants that may cause conflict or reopen old wounds. The School Counsellor was available for any psychological risks that may have occurred as a result of the study.

It was important for the researcher to make clear the precise nature of the study. The researcher did not want to mislead or withhold any information about the study that may have prevented them from giving open and informed consent. Truthfulness was an essential principle in this study to ensure that no harm was inflicted on the participants.

Social and cultural sensitivity were crucial guiding principle of this study. This principle encompasses respecting the participants and being cognisant of the Treaty of Waitangi and its principles of participation, partnership and protecting when Maori are involved in research. Participation was reflected in this study where Maori were involved in the research design and procedures. As indicated earlier, partnership was ensured when the researcher and the participants work collaboratively throughout the research such as constructing and accurately checking the data. The third concept of protection involves the researcher actively protecting Maori, either individually or collective, of their data, culture, concepts, values, norms, practices and language in the research process. This study attempted to protect Maori, for example by applying Maori practices to the research process and incorporating Maori concepts and values into the analysis of data.

Justification for Sample

The four Maori girls were the main focus of the research. The parents were interviewed as a secondary source of information providing additional data about their daughter's educational achievement. The reason for the selection of Maori girls at this specific level was their ability to attain qualifications that would serve entry criteria into tertiary courses. The small number of participants allowed for an in-depth understanding into their experiences and philosophies. However, the small sample may imply that generalisation beyond this study should be circumspect. The author of this study attempts to make no such generalisations.

Research Procedures

Fieldwork could not commence until approved by Massey University Human Ethics Committee. Once approved, the researcher could approach the school. The researcher knew the Principal at the provincial high school therefore access to the participants was straightforward. Consent was obtained from the Principal, Board of Trustees and School Counsellor for the research project to commence in this school.

The Senior Dean was asked to supply a list of girl's names that matched the given criteria. The criteria for eligible participants included: Maori girls enrolled in three or more bursary subjects and their parents or guardians. A list of the eligible participants was given to the researcher and a time was arranged for the researcher to meet the Maori girls to inform them of the study and to answer any questions they may have. Kanohi ki te kanohi was utilised as a way to meet with the student participants. The advantage of the Senior Dean making the initial contact with the eligible girls was the opportunity it gave the Maori girls to decline to participate in the study without obligation to another Maori. Conversely meeting the girls kanohi ki te kanohi provided the opportunity to encourage and motivate the girls to participate and to inform them of the benefits of the study.

The girls were given two letters, one inviting them to participate in the study (refer to appendix 3) and another letter inviting their parents/guardian to take part (refer to appendix 4). Information sheet was attached to the letter of invitations (refer to appendix 1 & 2). This study required both the girls and their parents/guardian to

participate however if any one guardian was available this was sufficient. The first four Maori girls and their parents who return their consent forms were interviewed (refer to appendix 5 & 6).

The participants and the researcher arranged a suitable time, date and location for the interviews. An office on the schools premises was used to interview the students. The choice of venue for the parents' interviews was arranged. Three out of the four parents wanted the interview to take place in their own homes, some of which had younger children to look after who were present at the interview. One parent was interviewed at work during his lunch break as this was the only suitable time. Out of the four students selected, two of the students' parents only had one parent participate in the study. A koha was sent to the participants as a way of acknowledging and appreciation of their time taken to participate in the study. Koha is the traditional act of gifting in Maori culture. The interviews were carried out over a period of one month.

The equipment needed for the fieldwork included; two high-quality tape recorders (one held as spare in case the other one failed), batteries, tape cassettes (type C-60) and a notepad to take brief notes. The cassette tapes were named, dated and filed after each interview.

Preparing for the Interviews

The decision to meet the students prior to the interviews, kanohi ki te kanohi, gave the students the opportunity to familiarise themselves with the researcher and to ask any questions about the study. However not all the girls were available to meet with the researcher because of other commitments.

The participants were given a consent form to read, complete and sign. Interviews could not commence until consent forms were signed and collected. The participants were reminded prior to the interview of their right not to answer any questions they were not comfortable with and the right to withdraw from the study at any time.

The interview schedule was divided into four sections outlining the topics to be discussed. The students and their parents were given an interview schedule providing a brief overview of the subject matters that gave them the opportunity to clarify any questions they may have regarding the interview agenda (refer to Appendix 7 & 8).

Transcription of Korero

The limited time available to complete the study given within a timeframe as well as the demanding job of transcribing the data meant it was convenient to hire someone to transcribe the interviews. Prior to the tapes been given to the transcriber, a list of names, places and unfamiliar terminology such as Maori words, was given to the transcriber to make the job easier. The transcriptions were typed on single sided sheets with double spacing that made it easier for the researcher to read and edit. An agreement was signed by the transcriber to ensure the information remained confidential. The researcher and the transcriber were the only people who had access to the tapes. Once the transcriber returned the tapes and transcripts, the researcher listened to the tape to check if the tapes were accurately transcribed.

The transcripts were edited by the researcher and returned to the participants for correction, addition or deletion of any material. The transcribed material was read and signed by the participants then returned to the researcher. The participants made alternations to the original copies if required then sent back to be checked again by a specified date. The participants were informed that if the original copies were not sent back to the researcher by the specified date, the researcher would use the information as planned for analysis. Cooperation and collaboration between the researcher and participants was important so that participants' views were not misinterpreted and that they were satisfied with their commentary. Once the participants were satisfied with the analysed copy, it could be used for further publications.

Data Analysis and Writing up

The final verified transcripts were reviewed by the researcher identifying and coding themes. Descriptive coding was utilised in analysing the data (Mile &

Huberman, 1994). Codes were written in the right hand margin of the interview transcripts. For example, P-SUPP (for parent support) or LCK-S-CONF (for lack of student confidence). These codes were not prescribed prior to analysis but emerged when reading the transcripts. Following the completion of the coding process, the transcripts were reviewed and checked for recurring themes. Different colour highlighters were used to categories the themes that emerged.

Limitations

Time

The limited timeframe to complete this research meant that the number of participants had to be minimal. A large sample size would imply more interviews, more data thus more time. It was difficult to arrange a suitable time to meet with the parents as they had work and had whanau commitments therefore in some cases only one parent was available.

Snapshot Perspective

The perspectives' presented in this research were a snapshot of the parents and daughters' realities. In-depth and detailed understanding into the girls' lives could not be obtained due to the time constraints.

THEORETICAL RESEARCH FRAMEWORKS

The philosophical positions that guided the research methods in this study included critical theory, Kaupapa Maori theory and Maori centred. Critical theory, a western methodological framework that contributes positively towards this study about Maori girls however it is critical to the engagement of the Maori research framework such as Kaupapa Maori and Maori centre in order to capture Maori culture.

Critical Theory

Critical theory is relevant to Maori research as in some ways it draws parallel to Maori research paradigms. Maori academics have applied and adapted critical theory to critique Aotearoa's education system among other institutional structures. In addition critical theory is beneficial to Maori as it focuses on identifying the unequal power relations that exist within the education system that hinders their performance (Pihama, 1993).

There are various components that characterise critical theory. Firstly it provides the means of resolving problems by enabling people to gain more control over their lives (Gibson, 1986). This study helped the researcher understand Maori girls and their parents' problems that they encountered in the education system. Maori girls seek to improve their status in society by obtaining school credentials. Qualifications were perceived as providing greater job opportunities and to intensify life options. This component of critical theory links to tino rangatiratanga, a common goal among Maori that refers to facilitating Maori in gaining more control over their lives.

Secondly critical theory involves questioning the taken for granted assumptions and challenging many conventional practices, ideas and principles (ibid). This is important in analysing Maori girls' education by understanding how Pakeha institutional philosophies and practices are perceived to be neutral which hinders Maori girls' educational success. For example, Pakeha teachers believing they know what is best for Maori students but failing to see how their judgement passes through their cultural perspective of pedagogy.

Thirdly, the aim of critical theory is to benefit the minorities who are marginalised in society because of the way that society is structured in an unjust way. Society is constructed to benefit a particular group. In Aotearoa, Pakeha are the majority who are located in the privilege position. There are many barriers, some not explicitly obvious that disadvantage Maori girls in the education system. Schools and society are structured in a way to support some specific groups, while on the other hand marginalise others.

Finally, critical theory examines issues of race, gender and social class (Bogdan & Biklen, 2002). The analysis of ethnicity, gender and social class is imperative to Maori girls' educational schooling in that these factors impinge on their educational success. Theoretically, the identification of the following components: Maori, female and low economic status locates Maori girls in a deficit position that has restricted Maori girls' opportunities to succeed.

Even though western research methodologies such as critical theory have many advantages for Maori, a clear distinction between these research paradigms and Maori research paradigms is the element of Maoriness. As indicated earlier this is not to imply that western theories are not relevant as some were utilised in this study and have contributed positively towards Maori development. However, we must be mindful that not all western frameworks specifically address Maori perspectives or aspirations. It is imperative to utilise Maori theoretical paradigms as they best understand Maori peoples' lives and to specifically address Maori needs.

Theorising Maori Research Frameworks

The critique of Western theoretical paradigms has led Maori to construct their own research frameworks that position Maori as the norm. These frameworks are developed from a Maori perspective grounded in Te Ao Maori, aimed at empowering Maori people. Maori centred and Kaupapa Maori theory has guided the research methods of this study that specifically address Maori interests and provide positive outcomes for Maori. Clearly, there are distinct differences between western theoretical frameworks and Maori research paradigm in that Maori culture is centred from within instead of located outside or added to such frameworks. Equally important, Maori research paradigms seek to validate and recognise Maori differences.

Kaupapa Maori Theory

Burrell and Morgan (1979) questioned whether Kaupapa Maori research could be located somewhere between qualitative and quantitative paradigms. It has been

recognised that quantitative, positivist "science" – ontology, epistemology, and methodology is a development from, or consequence of, Western philosophy and European history (Tapine, 2000:18). Post-positivism, as it is associated with qualitative ontology, epistemology, and methodology must be seen as derivative from, a consequence of, the tensions resulting from the inherent weakness of empirical science, as perceived by the post-positivist (ibid). Imperative for Maori is that these paradigms are located in Eurocentric epistemology.

The problem with some Western research methods is that they do not address Maori culture or interests appropriately or directly. On the contrary, Kaupapa Maori research emphasises interdependence and spirituality as an essential element of intellectual endeavour and knowledge construction (ibid). Equally important, Kaupapa Maori research it is manifestation of a Maori cosmology.

It is therefore essential to explore Kaupapa Maori theory and the principles underpinning it. In order to understand Kaupapa Maori research one must understand the meaning of Kaupapa Maori. This term Kaupapa Maori is often used to describe traditional Maori ways of doing, being, and thinking, encapsulated in a Maori worldview or cosmology (Henry, 2000). In contemporary times Kaupapa Maori continues to reflect traditional Maori values and beliefs.

Kaupapa Maori is difficult to define because it shifts considerably from one situation to another and is influenced by circumstances characterised by those situations (Johnston, 1998). In an educational context, Kaupapa Maori is the underlying theory for the development and transformation of alternative schools such as Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori schools. Kaupapa Maori as a theory has been utilised in other areas such as Maori health and Maori business organisations (Pihama, 1993). The advantage of this versatile concept is that it can be applied to diverse terrains.

The past decade has seen Maori renaissance where Maori intellectuals have begun to challenge Western knowledge construction from which Kaupapa Maori research paradigms emerged (Henry, 2000). In relation to Kaupapa Maori theory, it is an attempt to respond to Maori crisis by developing a more culturally appropriate

approach which is 'holistic' in the sense of attempting to engage with both cultural and structural concerns (Smith, 1995:27). Kaupapa Maori theory is more than legitimating the 'Maori way' of doing things. Its impetus is to create the moral and ethical conditions and outcomes which allow Maori to assert greater cultural, political, social, emotional and spiritual control over their own lives (Smith, 1997:456). Additionally, Kaupapa Maori theory allowed the development of appropriate cultural research methods for Maori participants. This is one way of addressing cultural issues in research for Maori.

There are several characteristics that guide Kaupapa Maori theory. This theory ensures that research is orientated towards benefiting all the research participants and their agenda in this case, Maori girls and their parents. Self-determination or tino rangatiratanga is a central notion aimed at Maori independence and the ability for Maori to determine their own destiny. This theory aims to empower Maori in that they should regain control over their lives. Critical theory draws parallel to Kaupapa Maori theory in that they both focus on enabling people to gain more control over their lives. Graham Smith provides a summarised Kaupapa Maori theory:

1. Is related to being Maori
2. Is connected to Maori philosophy and principles
3. Takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Maori, the importance of Maori language, culture and knowledge
4. Is concerned with 'the struggle' for autonomy over our own cultural well-being (in Smith, 1999:198).

A Kaupapa Maori approach and Maori centred approaches have a political stance, a focus of activism, contestation, resistance and protest, that have the potential to address Maori interests and aspirations in research (Johnston & Waitere-Ang, 1999:14). The shared element of these two approaches recognises structural and political considerations locating Maori as central in addressing Maori inclusiveness within research (ibid). More importantly, the key philosophy underpinning these two approaches is addressing the unequal power-relations between Maori and

Pakeha through integrating appropriate decision-making forums for Maori in that decisions are made for Maori by Maori (Johnston et al, 1999).

Maori Centred Approach

Maori centred approach is a research paradigm that empowers Maori people lives. This approach to research assumes that Maori people, their language and culture are at the centre of the research process (Durie, 1997a). The three key philosophies that underline this approach are: *whakapikitanga* – enablement, *whakaatuia* – intergration, *Mana Maori* – Maori control in relation to tino rangatiratanga meaning self-determination. The first principle "should aim to enhance people lives so that either their position improves as a result of the research or they are better equipped to take control of their own future" (ibid:10). This principle is reflected in this thesis by examining the factors that contributed to, and hindered Maori girls' educational achievements to improve their educational experiences. The second principle as described by Durie acknowledges the holistic Maori views linking well-being, culture, economics, social standing into a matrix that takes account of the individual, the collective and complex interactions between past and present (ibid). The third principle locates the locus of control of research involving Maori, or aspects of Maori society, culture and knowledge with Maori. For example Maori have greater control over decision-making process in research.

The difference between Maori centred research and Kaupapa Maori research as noted by Durie (2001) is Maori centred research locates Maori at the focal point unlike Kaupapa Maori research only suggests the rationale rather than the people being the justification. Despite this discrepancy, woven throughout these two theoretical paradigms are common threads that draw them together the construction of these paradigms by Maori, secure a research position that validates Maori research frameworks (ibid).

SUMMARY

This chapter reviewed the research design of the study that illustrated the research methods used to gather and analyse the data. A qualitative approach using semi structure interviews were used to obtain participants' views and ideas. This chapter explored the ethical issues in carrying out this study. The research procedures

illustrated the steps taken to gather the information. A brief overview about the transcription procedures and data analysis was presented, followed by limitations of this study. Maori research frameworks were essential in providing an appropriate lens to view and understand the girls' experiences and perspectives.

The next chapter presents the findings of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

This chapter explores the findings of the research. A detailed presentation of the data gathered through interviews is examined. The chapter seeks to investigate the determinants that promoted and/or hindered Maori girls' educational achievement. This chapter also identifies the strategies parents utilised to endorse their daughters' educational success. A number of perspectives were commonly cited among this group to exemplify their views. The six main themes that emerged from the data included: constructing a definition of success, stepping-stones to success, the community endorsing Maori girls' identity, school based factors influencing school choice, the determinants promoting Maori girls' achievement and stumbling blocks to success.

The four young Maori bursary women: Ngaire, Marama, Aroha and Ripeka were the focus of this study. All four girls attended the same mainstream single sex secondary school. They shared their views and stories about their schooling experiences. Here, they are introduced to provide an insight of the background of each student.

Ngaire is the second eldest of seven children. The personal qualities that best describe Ngaire are determination, commitment and strong drive to succeed. She is a creative person and has a keen interest in art. Ngaire is involved in sports and enjoys socialising with her friends. When Ngaire first started secondary school in the urban community, she boarded with her grandparents while her family lived in the rural community. However, in Ngaire's final year at secondary school her family moved to the urban district. Ngaire shifted from her grandparent's home to live with her family. Her parents decided there were better educational opportunities for their children in the urban region especially at secondary level. In the sixth form, Ngaire went on a school exchange for a year. This provided the opportunity for Ngaire to travel to different countries and experience different cultures. While on the exchange, she learnt how to speak German. This experience has motivated Ngaire to continue to travel in the near future and has influenced her career choice in becoming a Foreign Correspondent.

Marama has one younger sister who attends the same secondary school. Her family has lived in different communities such as urban, semi-rural and rural. In these communities, Marama met and interacted with other people from different cultures: Maori, Pakeha and Chinese. Marama's parents made a conscious decision to move back to their tribal area in order to strengthen his daughter's links to her whanau, hapu and iwi. Marama has a close relationship with her parents and whanau. She regularly visits her cousins, aunties and uncles. Marama identified her parents and whanau as her role models. Sport has been a significant part of Marama's life as she played hockey since she was young and still continues to play. Sport has influenced Marama's subject choice at bursary level as she is studying physical education. She has considered teaching as a possible career choice.

Ripeka has a younger sister. They grew up in the local rural Maori community where they enjoyed living because it was safe environment and everyone was friendly and supportive. However, living in a small community meant they knew the majority of the people in that community, so in this sense there was little privacy. Ripeka's grandparents lived in the same rural community. At secondary level, Ripeka and her sister moved to the urban district to attend a secondary school where they stayed at the hostel. Like Ngaire's parents, Ripeka's parents believed there were better educational opportunities for their daughter at the urban secondary school, which included better educational resources and a wide range of subject choices. Ripeka often helped her sister with her schoolwork. Ripeka is interested in Mathematics, which she is studying at bursary level and has considered accountancy as a possible career choice. Ripeka and her family plan to travel overseas, so Ripeka's career plans are delayed.

Unlike the other three Maori girls, Aroha grew up in an urban community. Nevertheless this community had a considerable number of Maori. Aroha attended primary and secondary school in this district. Many of these schools did not focus on Maori culture to the same degree as the schools located in the rural Maori communities. Aroha is the second eldest of three sisters, who she shares a close relationship with. She enjoys playing sports such as netball, waka ama and touch rugby. Aroha does not spend much time with her friend because most of her time is spent with her boyfriend. Aroha's mother was hesitant about her daughter having a boyfriend because she thought

her schoolwork would suffer. Aroha has proved to her mother that her boyfriend is not a distraction to her schoolwork. Aroha's mother describes her daughter as being stubborn, *"She knows what she wants and knows how to get it"*. Aroha is the type of person who does not give in easily and has the commitment and determination to complete tasks. She is interested in nursing which she plans to study once she has completed secondary school.

Constructing a Definition of Success

This section examines the participants' ideas and views about success. The interview questions were aimed at exploring what constitutes success for this group. The discussion with the participants reflected the contradictory nature of the ways in which success is measured and defined. However common threads interwoven throughout the interviews bind this group together as to how success is conceptualised.

Ngaire's comment, *"Success to one Maori girl may not be the same as it is for another. I think success is a mixture of things like success in sports, future career, relationships and family"*, reflects aspects of individual achievement in that she assumes that Maori girls to view success individually. Her remarks illustrate the diverse ways in which success can be defined. This includes achieving across a range of contexts. Although Ngaire's knowledge of success emulated individual achievement, she also views relationships and family as having some influence on success. Examining the notion of relationships becomes essential in understanding Ngaire's ideas of success. For instance, Ngaire's relationship with her teachers, friends, whanau and parents influenced her perception of success. Her father provided a rich definition of success that was concurrent with his daughter's view. He stated,

> *"With our family, it's a Christian belief so this may have different criteria for success, like God can be seen as success, it's quite different to how society perceives success. In a Maori context, the people who are Maori have been deemed to be successful are those who have served the people or helped to uplift the people in some way could be successful. It could also be to inspire the next generation that comes up behind you".*

Like Ngaire, her father's conception of success illustrates diverse meanings. He recognises the definition, meanings and representations of success to shift and change across contexts, identifying one view within a Christian view and another within a Maori view. Embedded in Ngaire's father's view of success is the notion of establishing relationships. For example, he noted that success could be establishing relationships among Maori or members of church.

These participants at times rewarded school differently to the whom the school recognised and rewarded success. Marama believed a more satisfying reward for her success was making her parents and whanau proud of her achievements. She noted, *"My achievements are not only to do myself proud but also to do my family proud"*. Marama's whanau appeared to value educational achievement. As for Ngaire, she considered a reward for her success as personal accomplishments. Aroha's mother rewarded her daughter's success by telling her how proud she was and buying her a small gift. Ripeka's parents acknowledged their daughter's success by hugging her and congratulating her, as well as telling her how proud they were. It was important for Ripeka's parents to recognise their daughter success in a humble way. They did not want to exaggerate their daughter's achievement.

In a school context, a great emphasis is placed on individual success (Fry, 1985). The ways in which school reward individual success include certificates, cups or shields presented at either prizegiving or school assembly. Marama noted that her school rewards students' success by allocating book vouchers at prizegiving. The school rewarded success differently to the how these parents recognise success. At this school, individual success was recognised in a very public way. By way of contrast, Ripeka's parents acknowledged their daughters success in a humble and private way. The manifestation of this notion is reflected in the proverb, "The kumara does not speak about its own sweetness", in other words, the kumara does not boast about its sweetness". Furthermore, humbleness is steeped in Maori tradition and is a very highly valued trait. Many great Maori leaders were humble people which contributed to their greatness. As a result, the way schools reward success can contradicts the way Maori whanau reward achievement, locating Maori girls and their parents in a problematic position. This will be further discussed in the next chapter.

The participants illustrated similar views about whether one's qualifications, occupations and income were a 'measurement' of one's success. Ripeka's mother considered money to be a component of success but not a measure of success. She experienced financial difficulties and understood that money could reduce stress levels and intensify life options, *"Life is easier when you have a bit of money. Because we were on the benefit for a couple of years, it was a real struggle, so having some money to me, is success"*. As a result she encouraged her daughter to obtain qualifications so that she will not experience the same situation. Ripeka's father agreed that money was not a measure of one's success. He stated, *"Success to me isn't being a millionaire and having material things. As long as I can pay the bills I'm happy"*. Similar to Ngaire's mother view, *"If you are a judge with a lot of money but unhappy, this doesn't necessary mean you are successful"*. For these participants, happiness was the key attribute of success and money did not necessarily make one happy.

Regardless of the status of one's occupation the fact that one had a job was considered success. This was a common belief among this group. Nevertheless, it is important to consider the context so that the participants' views are not misinterpreted. The context within which the participants were located had a high Maori unemployment rate, thus helping us to understand the participants' perspective in that having any job was considered success. For example, Marama's father stated, *"I know this guy who had the opportunity to go into the police force and then got accepted but instead got a job with the fisheries across the road and has been there ever since. Yeah he's successful, he's got a job"*. In light of Marama's father's comment, having a job and providing for your family was considered success. Similar, Ripeka believed success was not necessarily based on one's qualifications, *"I don't think you have to go to University to be successful"*. This reinforced the idea that qualifications were not a measure of one's success.

Although the majority of participants believed success was not measured by one's qualifications, occupation or income, they all believe qualifications were important, especially for their daughter's future. However, these parents were aware of the tension and complexities involved in trying to gain qualifications and a well-paid occupation, as some of them experienced a similar situation. The tension reflects Penetito's (1988) notion that the more you succeed as Maori the more alienated you become from your

whanau and peers. Success for these Maori girls is fraught with obstacles. This will be discussed further in the next chapter.

According to these participants an important aspects of 'success,' included emotions and feelings such as happiness; feeling healthy; establishing and maintaining positive relationships; and being proud of one's achievements. As noted earlier, happiness was an important component of success for these participants (p.49). The parents did not want to impose a career on their daughters but rather give them the choice to decide because they wanted their daughters to be happy with whatever career path they chose. Success for Ngaire's father comprised of: achieving one's potential, feeling proud of one's achievements, and doing absolutely everything with the talents one has been given. Similar to Aroha's mother's view, *"Success for me is feeling satisfied when I have reached my goals and when I have learnt something that I never knew before"*. Further examples of success consist of establishing and maintaining a positive relationship with family, friends and other people. For example, Ngaire's mother stated, *"I think you need to be able to have good relationships with other people, like interact with other people socially, having good communication and social skills. It is all about life"*.

The parents' ideas about success helped shape the girls' views. These girls were fortunate to have supportive parents who encouraged them to obtain school credentials. In some ways, school credentials were implicitly identified as success. The support and guidance these parents provided for their daughter may not be the same advice their peers received. Success for these participants, is gaining qualifications; that may not be, however, the same view as their peers. Ngaire's comment reinforced this view in that not all Maori girls perceive success in the same way.

Stepping Stone to Success

This section identifies the parental strategies that endorsed these girls' educational success. The strategies the parents utilised were consistently maintained from an early age and continued throughout the girls' schooling experience. These strategies provided the foundation for these girls to succeed. The parents' behaviour, actions and philosophies influenced the girls' attitudes, decisions and views about education. The girls recognised how fortunate they were to have supportive parents who played a key

role in promoting their educational success. The six strategies these parents utilised were: parental attitudes, high parental expectations, parent/whanau support, discipline, promoting self-esteem and confidence and parental involvement.

A brief vignette of each of the students' parents is presented. Each vignette provides a fuller detailed picture of the parents. In order to provide a fuller glimpse into the girls' home environment and background.

Ngaire's mother is Pakeha and her father is Maori. Her father is a respected Maori artist and her mother is a secondary school teacher. Ngaire's family lived in a Maori rural community for a number of years. However, they decided to move to the urban district because there were better educational opportunities for their children. Ngaire has a good relationship with her parents and whanau. Ngaire's parents respected and trusted her. Both of her parents have been actively involved in their daughters' education. They believe a positive and secure home environment has been crucial aspect of their daughter's success. Ngaire's parents believe education is important as it can be used as a tool to obtain their children's economic dream. A Christian belief was valued by this family and reinforced in the home environment. Even though there are seven children in Ngaire's family, this did not impact on her learning at home. She had her own room and space to study. Both Ngaire's parents took part in the interview.

Both Marama's parents are of Maori descent. Her father is a school Principal and her mother works for a local business firm. Marama's mother used to work in a bank for a number of years. Nevertheless, she decided to obtain her qualifications as an adult student. Marama's parents' ideas and attitudes have influenced and shaped their daughter's views. Marama identified her father as a role model. She recognises the contribution her father has made to the lives of the children at his school, not only educationally but also personally. He has inspired them in some way. His involvement with families at this school goes beyond the boundaries of just being a school Principal, but also by helping them with personal issues they may have. The families approach him for help. Marama's father was the only one interviewed, as Marama's mother was unavailable at the time.

Ripeka's mother is Pakeha and her father is Maori. Her parents grew up in the same rural Maori community. At secondary level, Ripeka's mother shifted to a secondary boarding school in another district. Ripeka's father has lived in the rural Maori community all his life. Ripeka's mother is a secondary school teacher at the local school. Like Marama's mother, Rikepa's mother went back to study as an adult student. The decision to gain her qualifications was influenced by her experience of being on the benefit and having to financially struggle. Ripeka's mother noted that gaining her qualifications has improved her economic position and made life less stressful. Ripeka's father works on a local farm in the area. Ripeka's father has supported his daughter's achievement by participating in school related activities such as going on sports trips. Ripeka appears to have a positive relationship with her parents. For instance Ripeka's parents would let their daughter go out with friends because they trust her. Even though Ripeka lived away from home while attending secondary school, she is able to travel in the weekends and holidays to see her parents as it was not far for her to visit. Ripeka's mother and father participated in the interview.

Aroha's parents are both of Maori descent. They are separated but they both live in the same district. They were both brought up in this area and lived there most their lives. Aroha lives with her mother but regularly visits her father. Her relationship with her mother appears to be much stronger than with her father, as most of her time was spent with her mother. Aroha's mother as a solo mother for a few years experienced financial difficulties. Like Ripeka and Marama's mother, Aroha's mother is gaining her qualifications in order to improve her social and economic position. She is studying to be a nurse. Being a solo mother and studying at the same time has been difficult for Aroha's mother however she maintains it is important and achievable. Aroha's father works at a local factory. He has supported Aroha's education by attending parent interviews and prize giving. Aroha's mother has a partner who has been supportive of Aroha's education. Aroha's mother and her partner have encouraged Aroha to obtain her qualifications, however, she maintains they noted it is her choice and they would support her regardless of her decision. Only Aroha's mother participated in the interview.

Parents Attitudes

The participants understood the impact parental attitudes could have on students' achievement. For example, Aroha's mother noted, "*Parents do have a big influence on their child's education especially the younger years like the attitudes, morals and values they learn from the home*". The parents in this study, at times exemplified values and attitudes of the dominant culture in focusing solely on seeking academic achievement. However, at times, this was contradictory when parents are trying to maintain a balance their daughter's success in a Pakeha dominated education system but also maintain strong links with their Maori culture and whanau. The parents in this study had obtained qualifications and understood some of the difficulties their daughters may have to contend with. Marama agreed that parent's behaviour and attitudes could have an influence on the students' attitudes towards school. She explains,

"*I think the way you are brought up plays a huge part of what you think about education. You can go down the road and see people who just drink and do whatnot and their kids are exposed to that and they think, I am just going to be like mum and dad. I don't need to go to school, I don't need to learn*".

In the same vain, Ripeka's mother recognised the strong influence parents' attitudes can have on a child's upbringing in shaping their personality and beliefs,

"*Parents have a strong influence on their children, especially the early years. When I look at the behaviour of some children, it reflects their upbringing. A child's upbringing has a lot to do with it. With Ripeka, most of her teachers like having her in their class. She has been a good kid because of her upbringing and other people she has been around*".

Ripeka's parents, in some way, reproduced the behaviour, attitudes and beliefs of the dominant group. It is important to note that Ripeka's mother belongs to the dominant group. Their daughter illustrated characteristics of the privileged group that helped her to achieve. In this sense, she was swimming with the tide, as her mother noted most of her teachers like having her in their class because she was well behaved. In that way, she appeared to conform to the rules of the classroom.

The parents' attitudes illustrated the importance of education. They perceived education as a vehicle to obtain qualifications, job and money. For instance, Marama's father believed education was extremely important. He wanted his daughter to attend University. He stated, *"I have given her the opportunities to attain tertiary education"*. However, he mentioned that it was her choice whether she attended University but at least he had given her the opportunity. In addition Ngaire's parents' comment emphasises the value they placed on education,

"We have tried to instil in our children to really seek out their dreams using education as a tool to achieve it. Education makes it easier for one to achieve their economic dream".

Aroha's mother wanted her daughter to continue her education at a tertiary level; nevertheless, she would support her daughter regardless of her choice. Similar to Ripeka's parents who endorsed their daughter to obtain her school qualifications, however, it was her decision.

The parents' attitudes revealed the powerful influence they had on their daughters' philosophies towards education. The parents and their daughters shared similar views about education. For example, Marama's comments showed the way in which her parents' attitudes influenced her philosophies as they correspond with her parents' views. Marama's parents consistently reminded her to take the opportunities to learn now, rather than later in life. This is evident in Marama's dialogue, as she stated, *"Some of the students will go back to school, sort of backwards the way I look at it. They should be getting their qualifications and that before they have kids"*. Her remarks mirror her parents' belief about taking the opportunities to learn while she is still young. Furthermore, Marama's mother's past experience influenced Marama's educational decisions. As Marama noted, *"My mum worked in a bank when she left school, now she has got all her qualifications and if she had the chance she would have gone to University and done it straight away"*. Marama has taken her parents advice, as she seeks to further her education at tertiary level once she completes secondary school.

Parental Expectations

Throughout the girls' education the parents held high expectations for their daughters to achieve. These expectations were consistently maintained and would continue even after the girls leave secondary school. These parents shared similar expectations of their daughter's education. This group of parents wanted their daughters to try their best and to fulfil their potential. Furthermore they wanted the best for their daughters and for them to be happy with the choices and decisions they make. It was important for these parents to set appropriate expectation because they did not want to underestimate their daughter's potential while on the other hand did not want to place expectations too high, creating unnecessary pressure.

Even though these parents wanted their daughter to obtain qualifications they were mindful that their expectations should not determine or restrict their daughter's options. The parents' expectations should not pressure or force their children to fulfil their parent's aspirations but rather the child's own ambitions. Aroha's mother stated,

> *"Your dreams should not be your child's dream. I have always wanted my own children to do well at school and end up with a good profession. However, I have now realised my dreams should not be their dream. If they become a doctor or nurse, I would be happy. Nevertheless, later on if I found out that they did it to please me I would loath myself. If my child decides to work in the fields, it is their choice. They will learn from that experience and hopefully want to return to study and get a better job. I think people learn from their life experiences".*

Likewise, Ngaire's father believed parents' expectations should not pressure or determine what a child should learn. He mentioned,

> *"I don't think you learn in an environment of compulsion. If you let people choose the subjects that they want to learn then they are going to have a positive attitude towards learning. You learn when you are ready to learn and when you want to learn".*

The discussion with the girls showed that they were aware of their parents' expectations. They understood why their parents held high expectations of their educational achievement because they cared about their education and future. An expectation for Aroha was that she had to complete her work as she noted, *"My mum expects me to keep up to date with my work and likes to know that I'm doing well at school"*. Similar to Ripeka's remark,

> *"They have pushed me along, like if I get a bad mark they will tell me to shape up, because they care about what I do at school because they want me to do well so I can get a good job"*.

Interesting to note that Ngaire believed her parents did not have explicit expectations. For example, Ngaire stated, *"They want me to be happy at whatever I do and they don't really have expectations, which is good because I see other girls who have been under pressure from their parents to do well"*. Ngaire felt that there was no need for her parent's expectation as she was self-motivated and had a strong drive to succeed. However, it was clear that Ngaire's parents had expectations of their daughter's education. That is, for her to fulfil her potential and feel that it is her choice, and to seek out what is in her heart but not to forget their expectations.

The girls identified the benefits of their parents and whanau's high expectations. First, it sets a standard for them to achieve. Secondly, the parents and whanau expectations provided the motivation for these girls to succeed. This was evident in Ripeka's statement, *"Without my whanau high expectations I don't think I would have got this far. Their expectations have motivated me and helped me stay focused on my work"*. Marama's motivation to achieve was to make her whanau proud of her achievements as she noted, *"It's not only to do myself proud but also to do my family proud"*. Marama's whanau held an expectation for her to succeed at school as she stated,

> *"My two aunties work in the prison ward and stuff but like, they are the one's who have got that far in life because of themselves, they wanted too and they wanted to make their family proud and stuff and my aunty always told me that out of all us mokopuna, that me and my sister were probably be the only ones who will get somewhere"*.

Marama understood that success was important for her whanau, for instance her aunties expected her to achieve at school. Marama's comment also reveals the issues of recognising Maori achievement in that it emphasises the idea that few Maori achieve. For instance Marama's aunties noted that Marama and her sister would be the only mokopuna to achieve, emphasising the notion that not many Maori succeed. Nevertheless Marama's aunties were role models for her, reinforcing the ideology that Maori can succeed if they have the determination to do so. The whanau held a collective expectation for these girls to achieve.

The parents' educational aspirations for their daughters were for them to continue their education at tertiary level or to obtain a job. However, they saw it as predominantly their daughter's decision. The girl's educational aspirations were consistent with their parents' aspirations. Ngaire, Aroha and Marama have considered attending University once they completed secondary school. Ngaire intends to enrol in a Bachelor of Arts and a Bachelor of Law. Her educational ambition is to be a Foreign Diplomat or Foreign Correspondent. Ngaire's exchange trip overseas influenced her career choice as she enjoys travelling and experiencing different cultures. Aroha has thought about enrolling in a Bachelor of Nursing. Similar to her mother, who is in her second year of a nursing degree. Marama has thought about enrolling in a Bachelor of Education, the same career path as her father. Ripeka plans to travel with her family overseas for a year. Once they return, Ripeka is considering attending University.

Whanau Support

Whanau support was an essential component for these Maori girls' educational success. Although there were a number of complexities these girls encounter in schools that made success problematic, whanau support such as guidance, high expectations and encouragement helped to over come some of the obstacles. Whanau support was significant for these girls as Ngaire noted, *"Whanau support and self-determination is the main reason I have come this far"*. Similar to Aroha, as her mother's claimed the main reason her daughter has reached this level is the love and support from her family. Marama believes her parents support is one of the main reasons she has reached bursary level. Her parents have guided her and encouraged her to take the opportunities that

come her way. She understands how fortunate she is to have supportive parents. In addition, Ngaire's father illuminated the significance of whanau support,

"The thing about Maori education is the support that is needed to get them through. You can't just push them off to Victoria or Otago University and they will automatically achieve. Even the achievers need that support".

He also recognised the lack of support some Maori students received from their families as he stated,

"For others (Maori students), it is an advantage to get away from their home environment, sometimes their home environment can be an obstacle to learning and they are kind of doing it on their own sort of things, but I believe the best scenario is giving them whanau support".

Discipline

Discipline was established in the home from a young age and consistently maintained throughout the girls' schooling experience. Discipline reflected the importance of education in that the parents reinforced the boundaries and rules within the home, in order to keep their daughters focussed on their education. The girl's attitudes, behaviours and actions to some extent were similar to the discipline reinforced in the classroom. Ngaire and Ripeka's mother's culture, norms and values were reproduced in schools, so these girls may have been exposed to their dominant class culture. If these girls were to survive and succeed in the education system they must obey the rules of the school. Nevertheless, what behaviour, attitudes and values that were acceptable in the home, may not be accepted in the classroom.

From a young age, Ripeka's parents tried to shelter their daughter from any negative influences. For example they did not let her roam the streets at night because she may mix with the wrong crowd and cause trouble. Her parents wanted to keep her focused on her education by trying to steer her away from any negative company.

The parents were interested in their daughter's social life. They wanted to know whom their daughters were with, what they were doing and what time they would be expected home. These girls did not think their parents were interfering with their social life but rather concerned about their health and safety. The parents did not mind if their daughters socialised with their friends, just as long as they keep up with their schoolwork. The parents thought it was important to give their daughters the freedom and responsibility to make their own decisions because if they leave home they need to be able to cope with the freedom.

Marama's father had concerns about his daughter's boyfriend. He did not want his daughter's boyfriend at their home when they were not there. If Marama was going out with him, she had to make sure her homework was completed first. Marama's father did not mind his daughter having a boyfriend, just as long as her work did not suffer. Marama believes a boyfriend can be an obstacle for many girls' learning. However, she claims it is possible to balance schoolwork while maintaining a positive relationship with a boyfriend, especially if he the same educational goals. She stated,

> *"It is something you have to juggle around. Although I don't have a boyfriend anymore but we are still mates, I am able to go over to his house and do my homework and stuff because he wants to the same things, like he wants to get his qualifications".*

Similar views shared by Aroha's mother who noted that having a boyfriend does not necessarily imply that girl's schoolwork will suffer. She explains,

> *"When Aroha first met her boyfriend I was anxious about her not keeping up her schoolwork, as she had exams. I really thought her schoolwork would suffer because she had a boyfriend. At first I believed that her boyfriend would be a barrier to her learning however, she proved to me he wasn't because she has reached bursary level and continues to do well at school".*

The positive relationship between the parents and their daughter was an essential part of the discipline process. The relationship was established from a young age and continued to secondary level. The rules and boundaries were respected and accepted by

the girls. The parents and their daughters were able to negotiate rules and boundaries, where they could come to an agreement. Communication was a key element in understanding each other views and respecting each other decisions. Ripeka's relationship with her parents revealed the trust they had. Ripeka noted, *"I don't consider my parents to have strict boundaries because they trust me and know that I will make the right decisions".* Furthermore, Marama noted that her parents gave her the freedom to do most things, however within certain boundaries.

Promoting Self-esteem and Confidence

High self-esteem and confidence is a contributing factor towards these girls' achievement. These attributes are significant, especially for Maori girls' as their identity is not necessarily constructed positively in schools. A strong Maori identity is linked to one's self esteem and confidence. Marama claims that self-esteem is strongly influenced by what happens in home environment,

> *"I think self esteem depends on their upbringing and background. I have always been told to be proud to be Maori and to hold my head up high. I feel good about being Maori which I think helps my self-esteem".*

Aroha's mother believes parents have an important task in nurturing their children's self esteem, as she stated,

> *"If you are praised for your achievements you will continue this behaviour. However, if no one reinforces this behaviour at a very young age, you will not feel good about yourself and then you will have a low self-esteem".*

Aroha's mother promoted her daughter's confidence. Aroha used to have a lack of confidence to ask for help in the classroom. However, Aroha's mother encouraged her daughter to ask for help and this contributed to her daughter's confidence.

Parent Involvement

The parents were actively involved in their daughter's education prior to school and throughout primary and secondary level. These girls were fortunate to have parents

who encouraged them to learn prior to attending school, thus giving them a head start. Ripeka's mother illustrated the way she has been involved in her daughter's education,

> *"We have encouraged lots of talking and communication, reading books and answering questions honestly. We have tried to help them to do their homework and ask them how their day went. We have also brought them books or helped them do searches in the library".*

Ngaire's parents were also actively involved in their daughter's education from a young age, *"We used to read to our children all the time, especially when they were young. We have provided them with heaps of books for them to read".* Aroha's mother read to her daughter at a young age and encouraged her daughter to read to her. Marama's father, a School Principal, supported his daughter's learning by teaching her how to read and write prior to attending school. Marama was fortunate while growing up that her father was able to promote her learning. As for the other parents, they received their teaching qualifications once their children were elder.

Parental involvement included helping their daughters with assignments or schoolwork. For example, Ngaire parents helped their daughter with her schoolwork if she needed it. Aroha's mother stated, *"I have always helped Aroha with her assignments but sometimes the work is too difficult for me".* Similarly, Marama's father has helped his daughter with her schoolwork, as illustrated in Marama's comment,

> *"He has always helped out with homework and assignments. I get him to look over my assignments and he will give his opinion, like if you did it this way it might sound better or maybe if you rephrased it, just little tips from teachers' point of view. This has helped out a lot."*

Unlike Aroha's mother, Marama's father was able to help his daughter with her schoolwork because he has studied at tertiary level. He explains, *"When I went back to study, I tried to teach Marama how to study using the techniques I have learnt. I have also offered her help if she wanted it".* In light of Marama's father's comment, a parent's occupation can help promote student's learning. This is significant as few Maori parents have little or no qualifications.

For these parents supporting their daughters financially is important. These parents purchased learning resources such as computers, internet access, desks and providing study space. The parents also paid for school fees, hostel fees, sports fees, trips, books, stationary and other school related activities. According to Aroha's mother, financial support is important because *if you haven't got any money, you can't buy resources like a computer, internet or even books to read so your child misses out.*

Equality of opportunity is often used to defend the education system. This refers to the notion that seemingly everyone in society has the same opportunity to achieve in the schooling system. As noted by Aroha's mother, not everyone has equal opportunity to succeed in the education system because students of low socio-economic family backgrounds are unable to afford learning resources that would support their education. The following chapter will draw on this idea in detail.

The Community endorsing the Girls' Maori Identity

Ngaire, Marama and Ripeka's family lived in different rural Maori communities for a number of years. However Aroha's family lived in an urban community with a considerable number of Maori people. The rural Maori community played a critical role in promoting the girls' Maori identity. A taken for granted norm of Maori culture was present in these rural communities but also some limitations. There were a number of advantages living in these communities. The girls were privileged to have grown up in these communities, while having access to cultural resources.

The schools in the rural Maori communities strongly supported Maori culture. The girls were fortunate to have attended early childhood and primary schools in these communities where Maori culture was highly valued. Ripeka, Marama and Ngaire attended their local Te Kohanga Reo in their community. The primary school these girls attended, placed a strong focus on Maori culture, knowledge and language. The strong emphasis on Maori culture in these schools was supported by the wider community. The primary schools validated and affirmed Maori identity, as Ngaire noted, *"We had to learn Te Reo Maori and everyone was in Kapahaka whether you were Maori or Pakeha".* Furthermore Ripeka noted, *"At primary school we had to do a*

karakia every morning and sing waiata and stuff like that". These parents made a conscious decision for their daughters to be educated in an environment that affirmed their Maori identity. However for Aroha, she attended a kindergarten and primary school that did not focus on Maori culture to the same extent as rural schools the other girls attended.

All four girls attended the same mainstream single sex secondary school in the urban community. This school incorporated Maori culture such as kapahaka, bilingual unit and Maori language courses. The parents noted that the rural schools where they lived, placed a greater emphasis on Maori culture compared with the secondary school in the urban district. For example, Ripeka's mother noted,

> *"I remember when Ripeka started secondary school; I rang the school to find out what time the powhiri was because we wanted to come along. The school said, "There wasn't one". I was a bit shocked because there is always a big powhiri at the school here (in the rural community) to welcome new students, teachers and parents".*

Ngaire's mother recognised the cultural differences between the rural and urban schools as she stated,

> *"Coming from a school (in the rural Maori community) where Maori culture was valued like the kids will go to the marae at school and they would pay their respects. Everyone including the kids knew how to behave on a marae, the protocol and all that, it was just part of living in that rural community".*

The ideologies of the schools were influenced by the context in which they were located. The rural Maori schools placed a greater emphasis on Maori culture that was supported by the community. The urban school demonstrated a Maori friendly approach (Johnston et al, 1999) that aimed at sensitising environment/individual/groups towards matters Maori. This approach includes Maori culture but it is not located at the centre (ibid). Additionally, Johnston and Waitere-Ang (1999), articulate that Maori friendly approaches makes a minimal contribution towards addressing the needs and

interests of Maori, instead it is more about 'ticking boxes,' being seen as sensitive and understanding towards Maori.

There were a number of advantages living in rural Maori communities. This included the freedom their children had to explore and venture around the town. The rural community had various outdoor activities for their children to participate in such as fishing, horse riding, eeling, swimming and camping. These rural communities were safer and quieter than the urban communities.

The small size of the community meant that these families could establish and maintain relationships and connections with members in the community. The community was often perceived as a whanau as Ngaire's mother cited, *"The community was like our whanau, like if there was a tangi everyone helped and supported each other"*. Even though Ngaire's parents moved from the rural community to the urban district, they believe they will always have the connection with that community. Ngaire's mother claimed, *"Not something that used to be apart of our life and now no longer is. We still have that connection with that community and it will always be there"*. The reason Marama's family decided to move back to a rural community was that they could develop and maintain a connection with her parent's whanau and to strengthen their links to their tribal area. The lifestyle was an attractive aspect of the rural community as Marama's father stated, *"I really enjoyed it because it was home. I found myself getting back into that really slow life style. I really missed that"*.

Despite the advantages of living in small rural Maori communities, we must be mindful of the limitations such as lack of employment and schooling opportunities. Further, stereotypes thrive in these communities such as high unemployment and negative perceptions of Maori.

The rural Maori communities were not the only community these families lived. For example Marama grew up in three different environments, urban, semi-urban and rural. The benefit of living in different communities is that Marama formed relationships with other cultures living in that area such as Pakeha, Maori and Chinese. Aroha, Ngaire and Ripeka grew up mainly within two cultures, Maori and Pakeha. Ripeka's parents recognised the advantage of growing up with dual cultures in that it widens their

daughter's knowledge and perspectives of the two worlds. Ripeka's mother acknowledged the differences between the cultures, *"Our families are from different worlds, especially between my mother (Pakeha) and my husband's mother (Maori), their lives are worlds apart"*. The girls' upbringing and experiences exposed them to both worlds. Ngaire, Marama and Ripeka grew up in Maori communities that proved critical in strengthening their Maori identity. At times, the community helped to construct positive images about Maori. These girls will be able to disregard any discrimination or prejudice they may encounter by continually referring to the positive experience growing up as Maori that reaffirms their realities. Although Aroha did not grow up in a rural Maori community, her mother and whanau helped to promote her Maori identity.

School Based Factors influencing Girls' Choice of School

The girls decided which secondary school they wanted to attend. Their parents gave their daughters the responsibility and freedom to decide. It was clear that the parents wanted the best education for their daughters. The parents had their own views about which secondary school was the best option for their daughter. For example, Marama's father wanted his daughter to go to this particular school however he pointed out that it was his daughter's choice. The parents and their daughters cooperatively negotiated which secondary school provided the best opportunity for them and best catered for their needs.

The school's positive profile influenced the participants' decision to attend this school. The school was perceived to have a good reputation as it provided a positive safe learning environment for girls' learning. As Marama's father mentioned, *"I think the profile of this school was more successful than other schools in this area"*. Along the same lines, Ripeka's mother stated, *"We considered other secondary schools in the region but this school had a good academic record, good sporting reputation, a range of facilities, a good cultural group so overall it seemed like a good school"*.

Single sex education was another factor that influenced the participants' choice to attend this school. Aroha's mother identified the advantage of sending her daughter to an all

girls' school, as she would only have to compete with the same gender and would have peer support. She explains,

> *"There are dramatic physical changes that take place during puberty. Aroha could discuss these changes with her peers, as they too would be going through the same changes. Peers have a great influence on young people and teenagers because they usually discuss their problems with their peers rather than their parents".*

A common belief held by these parents is that an all girls' school provided an environment free of distractions from boys. Although Ripeka's mother agreed with this view, she also recognised the disadvantage of single sex education in that her daughter would lack having interactions with boys. Ripeka's mother wanted her daughter to have contact with boys and believed the school's hostel was as a way her daughter could communicate with boys.

This school provided a range of resources and facilities such as the new technology department, bilingual unit, new gymnasium and library. This further influenced the participants' decision to attend this school. There were a variety of subjects offered. As Ngaire noted, if this school did not provide specific subjects, students could enrol in the subject through correspondence. According to Ngaire's father and Ripeka's parents, the problem with the rural secondary school is that it could not provide the subjects Ngaire in particular wanted learn such as history and design. In that way, the urban school was able to meet her educational needs.

Determinants promoting Maori Girls' Achievement

Personal Characteristics that contributed the Girls' Success

Each of the girls displayed positive personal characteristics of learning. While there were some common qualities among this group, there were also differences that made each girl unique. Some of the girls, at times, identified themselves as a barrier to their own learning. They were able to self analyse their weakness. Nevertheless, the positive

characteristics are important to identify, as they are a contributing factor to the girls' educational success.

The attributes Ngaire demonstrated were self-motivation, self-determination, a hard worker and having a strong mind. Her parents recognised her strong drive to succeed that meant they rarely had to remind her to complete her work. Ngaire demonstrated a positive attitude towards school and had set goals she wanted to achieve. The significant difference between Ngaire and the other girls is that she had a strong intrinsic motivation to succeed.

Ripeka's parents describe their daughter as considerate, respectful, pleasant, kind and caring. Her parents believe her stable and secure upbringing has influenced the type of person she is. It is interesting to note that Ripeka's motivation to succeed stems from her parents; as for Ngaire, she was intrinsically motivated. Although Ripeka displayed a number of positive characteristics, her mother believes she can sometimes place restrictions on her own learning. For example, Ripeka's weakness is her low self-esteem and self-belief. Her mother notes,

"She can be a bit lazy and I don't think she does as much as what she is potentially capable of doing. I think the laziness stems from the fact she believes she cannot do it like having low expectations of herself".

Ripeka's laziness according to her mother stems from her low self-expectancy. Ripeka may have internalised the dominant ideologies that Maori girls are intellectually inferior creating a mindset that she is not able to achieve. Encouragement and support from Ripeka's parents was therefore critical in reaffirming their daughters' self-esteem and self-belief she has about herself.

The personal qualities Aroha demonstrated included; motivation, determination, commitment and confidence. Aroha is determined to succeed and has the ability to persevere at a task until it is complete. She does not give in easily. Her mother describes her as being stubborn, *"She knows what she wants and how to get it".* As mentioned earlier, Aroha's mother has nurtured her daughter's self-esteem and this undoubtedly has been an influential factor contributing to her achievement.

There were a number of qualities that Marama displayed that promoted her success. Marama was a confident and outspoken person, which was evident in the interview. Her parents have promoted and encouraged these qualities that is reflected in Marama's comment, *"My parents have always told me to say what I believe but in an appropriate way, just to get my opinion across".* Marama's strong Maori identity enhanced her self-esteem that made her feel confident and secure about herself. As she stated, *"I'm proud to be Maori and was always told to hold my head high".* Even though Marama illustrated positive qualities, she identified herself as a barrier to her own learning. As she mentioned,

> *"Barriers were caused by myself and not from other people. Just the way the teachers perceived me in fourth form as to who I am now. Like rebellious and stuff and they thought that was me but hitting fifth, sixth and seventh form they saw the change and the way I am now is not what I was then".*

Marama's father agreed that his daughter has prevented herself from learning *because of some of the decisions she has made.* In addition, Marama's father believes she needs to apply herself to her schoolwork. He has tried to encourage her to fulfil her potential, which he knows she is capable of achieving. The support and encouragement from Marama's parents plays an essential role in helping their daughter to reach her goals.

All four girls were goal orientated. They understood the benefit of setting goals as it gave them a focus and a clear direction. For instance, Ngaire mentioned, *"If you don't have goals then you will just muck around and there is no point going to school". Goals help you keep focussed on your work".* As mentioned earlier success for these girls meant achieving their goals. The girls believed goals were challenging and was a way of monitoring personal achievement. Even though these girls all had goals they wanted to achieve, they set their goals according to their ability. Ripeka and Ngaire wanted to achieve an "A" bursary while Aroha and Marama were focused on achieving a "C" bursary. If the girls did not achieve their goals, they reflected on their performance and were prepared to try again. These girls all had the determination to strive to achieve their objectives.

Friends

Marama's friends were representative of a range of cultures such as Greek, Pakeha, Thai and Pacific Island girls. However, the majority of Marama's friends were Maori. Interesting to note that Marama's experience of living in different communities enable her to meet other cultures which appeared to be an effective skill at secondary school where she mixed with different girls of different cultures. The advantage of having culturally diverse friends is that Marama learnt and respected different cultures. She mentioned,

> *"I have a lot of mates from different cultures; it is pretty good. It just makes you more aware. I would never use words that would offend them. If you know people from different cultures it makes you more aware of how they do things".*

Ripeka and Aroha's friends were mainly Pakeha and Maori. Ripeka thought it was important to have an understanding of other cultures and enjoys mixing with girls from other cultures. Interesting to note that Ngaire's friends were all Pakeha who were all taking bursary subjects. However some of Aroha, Ripeka and Marama's friends were taking bursary while others were not.

The girls associated with friends who had similar educational goals. Ngaire wanted to go to University, the same goal as her friends. Marama and her friends wanted to leave the district in order to further their education because they believed there were greater opportunities in other areas. Some of Ripeka and Aroha's friends shared the similar goal to attend University while others did not.

Social events these girls participated in with their friends included shopping, going out for lunch, going to the library, parties and sports. The educational activities these girls performed with their friends included helping each other with schoolwork and studying for exams. Aroha and Marama formed a study group with their friends where they would work on assignments and study for exams collectively. Marama recognised the value of cooperative learning as she stated, *"It is sort of like we are pushing each other along, helping each other out".* Marama's comment is symbolic of the whanau concept that is embedded in Maori tradition. As Moeke-Pickering (1996) noted, it is through the ideal of whanau that provides a supportive and learning environment for its members.

In addition, the whanau concept embraces the value of maintaining collaborative relationship with whanau, hapu and iwi (ibid). Marama and her friends supported each other's achievements by working cooperatively together that reflected aspects of whanau principle.

By way of contrast, Marama found that some of her peers were competitive and supported the individualistic approach to learning. These students were unwilling to share their ideas about assignments even after they had been marked. Marama explains, *"We are not doing it to copy; it is just like maybe this way is better way to set it out or something"*. While on the other hand, Ripeka believed competition among students had a positive influence on a students' achievement, *"We start wanting to beat other students and try to get better marks than others, which I think makes you work harder. We compete against each other right through school. It could be negative but I don't see it in that way"*. Ripeka's ideas are similar to Pakeha philosophy of individual achievement that differs from Marama's view. Individual achievement and competition reflects the ideal of the meritocracy myth in that ability and effort results in credentials, this concept will be explored further in the following chapter.

Junior level was a difficult time for many Maori girls, especially if they want to be academically successful. This is evident in Marama's statement,

> *"In third and fourth form are the hardest years to try and fit in, especially if you are Maori doing your work they think oh my god she is such a geek but now it doesn't matter, sort of like you are dumb if you don't do your work"*.

Marama illustrated a negative attitude towards school at junior level, *"School was a place to muck around with my friends"*. However, she believed it was a difficult period for adolescences where they were trying to find their identity or to fit in with the group. She mentioned, *"We're trying to fit in, trying to be cool stage"*. Penetito (1988) claims that Maori students who achieved become separated from their Maori peers. This was evident in this study when the girls noted that successful Maori girls were pressured to underachieve and if they did not compel they were excluded from the group thus not fitting in.

At senior level, there was a shift in the students' attitudes towards education. Marama recognised the positive attitude by friends and peers towards girls achievement especially for Maori girls, *"People look at you and think oh she has done really well for a Maori, but then there is the generalisation that Maori don't do too well"*.

One of the reasons for the shift in attitudes at senior level is that Maori girls who were negatively influenced by their Maori peers had left school by senior level. As Ripeka noted, *"Fifth form is when girls decide whether they want to stick around and see it through or not. A lot of my Maori friends I started school with aren't here now"*. The girls who were left at school were the probably focused on furthering their education. These students were not subjected to potent peer pressure because there were few peers to distract them from learning.

Teachers

At times, the teachers at this school promoted these girls' achievements. The girls identified teachers at this school who demonstrated effective teaching qualities that contributed to their achievement. There were eight common characteristics of effective pedagogical practices that were recognised by these girls. The qualities that surfaced during the interviews included; explaining concepts clearly, sense of humour, in-depth of knowledge in their subject area, showing an interest in students, motivating students and bringing the real world into the classroom.

Explaining concepts clearly was recognised by Ripeka as an effective teaching quality. For example, *"My mathematics teacher explains things clearly and makes it easier to grasp curriculum content"*. Marama agreed that an effective teacher is someone who explains things simply without writing an abundance of information on the whiteboard.

A sense of humour was identified as a key characteristic of an effective teacher. Ngaire thought her history teacher had a good sense of humour as she noted, *"My history teacher is like a joker and he is funny which makes class fun to go to"*. Marama shared a similar view,

"My geography teacher is hard case. He is really cool. I like his style because he dictates a lot and he keeps going on and on about it and it just gets drummed into you the whole time so he can talk about the same thing all week and you just don't forget it. He makes it fun which is good".

Teachers' in-depth knowledge in their subject area surfaced as another important quality. Ngaire recognised her art teacher's in-depth knowledge in his curriculum area as she said, *"My art teacher knows how to fix most problems and answer all questions I have about how to do things on the computer for design".* Much the same, Ripeka noted, *"I like my biology teacher because he knows what he is talking about like the real complicated stuff, he knows what he is on about".*

These teachers who had an interest in their students were identified as an effective teacher. This was reflected in Marama's comments, *"My geography teacher is really friendly and he gets to know us personally in the classroom like getting to know us and our work habits".*

The teachers ability to motivate the girls thinking and learning was considered a constructive teaching quality, as Ngaire noted, *"My art teacher really gets us motivated by providing interesting activities that makes us want to listen and makes us ant to do the activity".* Aroha also stated, *"Mrs K... is a cool teacher because she provides interesting and fun learning activities".*

"My drama teacher is really out there. He is a really good teacher because he knows what he is on about and brings the real world into the classroom". Ngaire's comment illustrated the constructive teaching qualities her drama teacher demonstrated. For example, her teacher was able to bring the real world into the classroom, providing practical realistic learning activities, which enhanced her achievement.

The girls' statements, *"I think the teachers treat me the same as the other students which is good"* and *"I would rather be treated just like any other person"* assumed that what their teachers are doing, treating all the students the same is effective pedagogical practice. There are consequences for Maori girls if teachers' pedagogical practices embrace the notion of sameness. For example, if teachers try to cater for Maori and

Pakeha students in the same way, what they are doing is only catering for the needs of Pakeha because the ways of catering for them are identified according to the norms of the Pakeha culture (Simon, 1996). In addition, those teachers who support the principle of egalitarianism, while at the same time ignoring the Maoriness of Maori students, send negative messages to Maori and Pakeha students that Maori culture is inferior or insignificant. The next chapter will discuss this in greater detail.

Marama noted that not all teachers treat all the students the same for instance, *"Maori teachers pushed us harder because they want us to just be like everyone else and there is no difference really. Like they just make us work that bit harder"*. Maori teachers treated Maori students differently by encouraging them to work harder. However Maori teachers reinforce the notion of sameness in that they wanted Maori girls to be same as Pakeha girls. In this sense, the Maori teachers were reinforcing assimilation and Bourdieu's (1973) social and cultural principle. This therefore creates a number of issues for Maori girls.

Stumbling Blocks to Success

Issues with Maori Identity

The participants were aware of the issues confronting Maori people in relation to retaining a secure Maori identity. Research studies have illustrated the benefit of a strong Maori identity that is linked to positive learning outcomes (Bennett, 2001; Durie, 2001). It is important to positively construct a Maori identity in order to raise the achievement levels of young Maori girls. Maori people have struggled to maintain their Maoriness in a country that is dominated by a particular group and is unwilling to share their position of power.

These participants were recognised the depletion of their Maori identity and culture. Ngaire noted that Maori are losing their culture. Furthermore, Marama's father's comments reflects the erosion of Maori identity,

"A lot of children here at school don't know if they are Ngati Porou, Tuhoe or whatever, so this actually raises a whole lot of issues. Some of these kids go back to their parents and they don't even know".

Ripeka's remarks reflected her interpretations of how a Maori identity may be defined. She also recognised the depletion of Maori identity,

"I perceive Maori as someone who knows and understands Maori compared to someone who is Maori. Nowadays, people who are Maori don't know much about themselves or their culture. There are some people who aren't Maori but know more about it then those who are".

Ngaire's father provided an explanation of why Maori people are losing their identity. He stated, *"Maybe that's how it happens, Maori are the minority so we don't have the population so I guess the majority culture becomes prevalent and we invest in it".* Further Ngaire's father claimed the dominant Pakeha group has little interest in Maori culture. If the dominant group is interested in minority culture, it is usually for economic benefit such as marketing Maori culture that serves the interest of the dominant group. Ngaire's father stated,

"People who only participate in society as a minority culture see the value of it. Pakeha perceive the value only as a National or individual benefiting development and I feel that the majority of people in New Zealand don't have the value of Maori culture and it is something that is undervalued".

Research shows the way in which schools construct Maori identity hinders Maori students' achievement (Penetito, 1988; Te Puni Kokiri, 1996). Unlike Pakeha students' identity, Maori students' identity is contested and challenged, not only by Pakeha peers but also by Maori themselves. Sometimes, one's Maoriness is measured against a checklist to judge their Maoriness, which may exclude some Maori from being fully accepted and identified as Maori. For example, Ngaire felt that Maori peers judged her identity as Maori. She felt that she did not fit the perceived criteria of being Maori because she had Pakeha friends, did not participate in Maori programmes such as Te Reo Maori programmes, bilingual unit or kapahaka. Ngaire's mother seems to think

that her daughter may have regretted not taking Te Reo Maori especially when her younger sister is involved in things Maori and is consider by her peers as having a strong Maori identity. Despite Ngaire's Maori peers' perceptions, Ngaire is proud to be Maori and has come from a strong Maori background thus she is able to reject their views.

Schools in the past did little to cater for Aroha's mother's Maori identity. She illustrated an insecure Maori identity growing up which further distanced her from her Maori origins. Aroha's mother's personal experience at school reveals the frustrations she experienced while trying to grapple with her Maori identity,

> *"When I attended high school I felt alienated because I went to join the Maori club and I was laughed at by my peers and teacher. My grandparents who I was living with at the time never taught me Te Reo Maori so this didn't help my self-esteem and as result I decided to quit school and get a job at Watties. If you have no identity you have no meaning of life. When I went to school I felt culturally alienated and because of this I taught my children to acknowledge Maori and Pakeha culture and to practice both".*

Aroha's mother lacked a secure identity that made it difficult for her to fulfil her potential. Nevertheless Aroha's mother has learnt from this experience and ensured that her daughter to experience the same situation. She has tried to support her daughter's Maori and Pakeha identities.

Participation in Maori activities such as kapahaka and Te Reo Maori programmes is a way of strengthening one's Maori identity. According to Ngaire, some Maori students become immersed in the system of the dominant culture unless they have participated in Maori activities such as hui, Maori ceremonials, Marae activities, Te Reo Maori language courses, Maori courses or kapahaka. Ngaire noted that this secondary school provided Maori programmes that help to strengthen Maori students' identity. However it was Maori students choice whether they want to participate or not. Even though schools provide Maori courses for Maori students, the problem is that those students who lack a secure Maori identity are reluctant to participate in such programmes.

Negative Stereotypes

These students were consciously aware of the negative stereotypes and connotations associated with their culture. Marama noted the stereotypes associated with Maori were such as lazy, dumb, stupid and fat. Ngaire's peers reinforced negative images about Maori as she noted, *"I have heard Pakeha girls complain about not getting any scholarships because all the Maori girls get them and other issues like land and stuff".*

Aroha noted that statistics influences the way in which Maori view themselves and how others perceive them to be. Aroha recognised that statistical data about Maori illustrates high unemployment rates and lower academic achievement. Aroha believes that statistics discriminates against Maori by labelling them as failures. As previously indicated in the Literature Review, statistics create sociotypes that help us make assumptions and judgement about individuals.

Aroha's mother is aware of the problems associated with stereotypes and assumptions about Maori culture. People assume Maori are all the same which disregard them as individuals. Stereotypes are just assumptions about a group of people and it does not necessary mean the group all behave in the same way. Aroha's mother believes that we must recognise the diversity among Maori,

> *"Some people believe that there is just one Maori culture and by thinking this way people believe that Maori have the same ideologies. People shouldn't judge all Maori as being the same, as not all Maori believe the same thing even though we do share similarities".*

Marama also noted the diversity among cultural groups that are often grouped under a single label like Pacific Islanders, *"There are different types of Islanders and they get really offended if you call them Tongan and they are Samoan and stuff".*

Stereotypes can lead to discrimination. Marama's father was at the cutting edge of prejudice. He explains,

> *"We went to parent interview night, I had just got there because I had a Board of Trustees meeting and my wife was already there. One of the teachers said, "Do you want me to explain the school system and qualification framework to you. I said, no. After we left, my wife said, "Why didn't you tell them you were a school Principal? The reason I didn't tell him was because he had the same perception of me, that is what he expected me to be and I didn't want to have to tell him any differently. He could find it out for himself and he can believe whatever he wants to".*

In this context, the teacher assumed that skin colour was an indictor of one's intellectual ability. Maori was linked to low qualifications and assumed to undervalue knowledge. One might think that if this teacher held negative stereotypes towards Marama's father then what might be the messages he is sending to Maori girls. This was not an isolated incident for Marama's father as he recalls another confrontation.

> *"I went to a staff meeting at another school down the road. One of the Pakeha teachers asked me what I did and asked me if I was a teacher aid. I just looked at him and said yes. Later on we had to introduce ourselves at the meeting and that teacher who assumed I was a teacher aid was shocked that I was a School Principal".*

These experiences have confirmed to Marama's father that he is judged by his appearance. The judgements are linked to negative images. Nevertheless, he is able to reject the negative stereotypes that the dominant group have constructed about him. What is significant to Marama's father, is his own perceptions he holds about himself.

Ripeka's comment reflected Maori stereotype, *"Maori are lazy and just because they are Maori does not mean they do not have to do much".* She had internalised the hegemonic view that Maori are lazy. These stereotypes impact on the way minority view themselves that may lead to negative consequences. Stereotypes are untrue assumptions about a group. Ripeka has a negative perception about Maori yet her reality is disconnected from her assumptions. This led us to ask whether she her goals were derived from her Pakeha side as Maori rarely achieve.

Lack of Confidence

Aroha and Ripeka illustrated a lack of confidence that effected their educational achievement. For example, Ripeka struggled to ask her teacher questions in front of her peers. She thought it was embarrassing to ask questions because her peers may think she is intellectually inferior. A similar experience was shared by Aroha who also lacked the confidence to ask for the teachers help. However, Aroha's mother encouraged her to ask the teacher for help and this support was valuable as Aroha felt more confident asking for help. Marama and Ngaire displayed the confidence to ask the teacher questions that helped their learning.

A lack of confidence was not only a problem for these girls but also for Maori girls generally. As Marama noted,

> *"I see in my classes a lot of the Maori girls who don't want to ask questions because they feel oh nah I'm not going to ask that, they would rather sit there and not know what the teacher is talking about rather than to ask in front of the whole class. They feel that they would be portrayed as dumb or stupid because they didn't get it but if I don't get something I just say I don't get it".*

Some Maori girls have a lack the confidence that can impact on their success. These girls believed the low number of Maori girls enrolled in bursary subjects is partly to do with the lack of confidence they have about themselves. Marama explains, *"Some of them see it as being hard and brainy and that but it isn't"*. Furthermore, Marama believes there is a commonly held assumption among Maori girls that they are unable to achieve, *"I don't know why Maori girls don't take the opportunities. I think it is just part of the Maori thing that I'm not able to achieve. Just that stereotype pretty much".*

Issues for Maori and Education

Insecure Home Environment

According to these participants, one barrier for Maori education is the inadequate home environment. Ngaire's father claimed that the home could be considered an obstacle for

many Maori students' learning. He emphasised the importance of providing a secure home environment, *"This is where we should focus on first. If you are not providing that foundation then we only have ourselves to blame"*. Furthermore Ngaire's father believes Maori parents must take responsibility for their children's education,

> *"We (Maori) are our own worst enemy. We can say its cultural deprivation but at the end of the day it is up to us to provide opportunities for our kids to learn and when we get money and go to the pub to spend it but cannot afford to buy books for our kids now there is something wrong".*

Parents were considered a barrier to Maori students' achievement that was evident in Aroha's mother comment,

> *"If we want our children to succeed, it has to start with the parents. As a parent I am a role model to my children and when my children see me writing essays and studying, this reinforces to them that education is important".*

Much the same, Ripeka's parents believe a child's ideas and attitudes towards education are strongly influenced by their upbringing. They suggest that parents need to educate their children at home from a young age by teaching them reading and writing skills. Ripeka's mother illuminated the issue with Maori parents in their community want their children to do well at school but not sure how to help their children. Some of these parents had unpleasant experiences that have made it difficult for them to approach the teachers and the school and as a result their children's education suffers.

Infrastructure of Schools

The structural organisation of the education system has been a major issue for Maori. This issue was evident in this study as Ripeka's mother noted the dissatisfaction among Maori with the schooling system. *"There is an anti-Pakeha backlash in this rural community because I feel it and I noticed it. I think Maori don't like the Pakeha education system".*

Aroha's mother believes the education system is problematic as it validates Pakeha culture while at the same time devalues Maori culture. Aroha's mother would be

satisfied if Aotearoa's schools could produce more equal outcomes among Maori and Pakeha students. Furthermore she asserts that schools need to recognise and value Maori culture as her schooling experience reflected the dominant culture. She explains,

> *"I would be satisfied with the education system if it had the history of New Zealand in the curriculum. When I went to school we learnt about everyone else's history accept our own. New Zealand's history is very important because it reflects the way our schools are run, the laws of society and even the way the health system is run. All these ideologies have come from the dominant culture and were implemented when New Zealand was colonised".*

Despite the lack of Maori culture present in the education system, Ngaire's parents recognised the increasingly support for Maori culture in school compared to in the past. They believe the curriculum has become more responsive to the demands of the community and the scene is beginning to change. Ngaire's father mentioned,

> *"People have become more responsive to the areas in which they are living and trying to make round pegs fit in square holes, it is starting to change. It is about Maori being able to make the choice rather than the choice being put upon them such as being compelled to learn English".*

SUMMARY

This chapter explored the findings of the research. The participants' ideas about success were influenced by Maori and Pakeha ideologies. At times, these tended to create contradictory views. The parental strategies utilised to promote the girls' success encompassed; parent's attitudes, parental expectations, whanau support, discipline strategies, promoting self-esteem and confidence and parental involvement. These strategies provided the foundation for these girls to achieve. The community played a critical role in strengthening the girl's Maori identity. The secondary school illustrated a number of appealing factors that influenced the girl's choice of school. This included; successful profile, being a single sex school and having a wide range of subjects and facilities. The determinants that promoted Maori girls' educational achievement included the girl's personal qualities, friends and teachers. The stumbling blocks that

made success difficult for these girls incorporated the formation of Maori identity, negative stereotypes and lack of confidence. Looking at the wider picture, the issues impacting on Maori students' achievement identified by these participants include insecure home environment and the infrastructure of the education system.

The following chapter will discuss the findings of this research, in an attempt to provide an explanation for the participants' views and shared experiences.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the findings from the pervious chapter. In this discussion an analysis of the participants' dialogue and shared experiences are examined. The work emerging from Te Hoe Nuku Roa (Durie et al, 1996) is ulitised to examine Marama, Ripeka, Ngaire and Aroha's Maori identity. A Maori identity was only one of the multiple identities these girls displayed which are shaped by whanau, school, Maori and non-Maori peers. The theoretical constructs of hegemony and social and cultural reproduction help to explain and interpret the girls' experiences. The educational principles: egalitarianism and equity provide a lens to analyse the parents' ideas about how they impact on their daughter's achievement. The notions of sameness and difference provide a theoretical tool to critique these girls' schooling experiences. Examining these principles and the whanau's struggle with hegemonic forces highlights the contradictory nature of success that these girls, parents and whanau contend with. Whanau, school, Maori and non-Maori peers influenced these girls' perspectives in the ways in which success was constructed. Hence, this chapter ends with a description of significant relationships these girls and their parents established among themselves and with others that played decisive roles in the girls' success.

THEORISING THE CONCEPTS

Identity

Marama, Ngaire, Aroha and Ripeka in their conversations about who they are and how they see themselves allude to a number of indictors that according to Te Hoe Nuku Roa (Durie et al, 1996) reinforce a sense of their cultural identity. For example, the whanau were an influential factor in strengthening the girl's Maori identity. Their whanau helped to validate their Maori culture such as by fortifying a whanau concept. The close connection between these girls and their whanau

members was illustrated in Ripeka's dialogue, *"When I come back home I always go and see my grandparents and whanau"*. Much the same, Marama noted, *"I regularly visit my grandparents, aunties, uncles and cousins"*.

Te Hoe Nuku Roa (Durie et al, 1996), a longitudinal study of Maori Profiles, identified seven characteristics that help to reinforce a sense of a cultural identity. The seven components are – self-identification, knowledge of whakapapa, marae participation, involvement with whanau, access to whenua tipu, contact with Maori people and ability in Maori language.

Self-identification

These girls were proud to be identified as Maori. The parents either Maori or Pakeha endorse their daughter's Maori identity. For example Marama's parents encouraged their daughter to be proud of her Maori heritage. As Marama stated, *"My parents have always told me to be proud to be Maori and to always hold my head high"*. Aroha's mother's past experience disclosed the insecure Maori identity she displayed that helped her to realise how important a strong Maori identity is to one's success. As a result of this experience, she tried to nurture both her daughter's Maori and Pakeha identities. Ripeka's parents have supported their daughter's Maori identity. This was apparent when Ripeka's parents sent their daughter to Te Kohanga Reo, then primary school that strongly supported Maori culture. Ripeka believes a strong Maori identity is important for Maori students' achievements as it enhances their confidence and promoted their self-esteem. Ngaire's Maori identity was challenged by some of her Maori and non-Maori peers; nevertheless she was able to dismiss their perceptions and continues to identify herself as Maori. Her upbringing in the rural Maori community facilitated her Maori identity.

Durie et al (1996) defines self-identification as the individual identifying themselves as Maori rather than actual descent as a preferred factor of Maori identity. A common problem among Maori is that not all individuals of Maori descent chose to identify themselves as Maori. A prime example was reflected in Marama's statement, *"Not all Maori girls are proud to be Maori because some Maori girls choose to 'Pakeha-ify' themselves. They don't want to be identified*

as Maori". Marama's remarks reveal some of the complexities that surround Maori girl's identity as they manoeuvre their way between contexts. Such complexities include the contradictory nature of either sustaining or rejecting a Maori identity, both having positive and negative consequences. For instance, the benefit of maintaining a secure Maori identity, is that it provides a sense of belonging and helps to validate one's identity. While on the other hand, adopting a Pakeha identity can also have positive consequences for Maori girls. Adopting a Pakeha identity makes the pathway to succeed much smoother, as Pakeha cultural capital is legitimate and reproduced in the education system. Adopting a Pakeha identity is assumed by some Maori girls as a strategy to survive and succeed in the education system, which is reflected in the opening narrative of this thesis. However, those Maori girls who assume a Pakeha identity are sometimes excluded or distanced them from their Maori peers for appearing to denying their Maori identity.

Whanau

The close connection and relationship these girls shared with their whanau help to promote their Maori identity. The girl's relationship with their whanau provided the opportunity for them to engage in whanau activities and validate their cultural experiences. Throughout the interviews the girls made reference to their extended whanau such as their grandparents, aunties, uncles and cousins. This illustrated the strong connection they had with whanau that extended beyond the notions of a nuclear family. In the girls' dialogue, there were examples of their relationships and connection with their whanau. For example, Marama mentioned that she visited her cousins regularly who stayed nearby. Ngaire established a close relationship with her grandparents who she lived with for a few years while attending secondary school. When Ripeka went home to visit her parents during school holidays and weekends, she would also visit her grandparents that lived in the same community as her parents. Aroha's mother noted that when her daughter was growing up she spent most of her holidays with cousins and whanau. This helped to develop and reinforce a sense of whanau concept for Aroha. The girl's close connections with their whanau helped to fortify a sense of Maori identity.

Whakapapa

These girls were familiar with their whakapapa - knowledge of their ancestry. They could recite back at least three generations of their whakapapa. The girls were able to identify their pepeha making the link to significant land markers such as mountains, rivers, lakes, hapu, iwi and Marae. Pepeha is one of the first forms of formal introductions that identifies Maori individual with reference to mountains, lakes and rivers. Durie (1997) claims that whakapapa, whanau and land are significant factors of a Maori identity as they are interrelated to form the basis of Maori identity. Furthermore, Somerville (2003) articulates the basis of Maori identity comes purely from ancestral ties, from whakapapa, or genealogy that is grounded in connection and significant landmarks.

Not all Maori people are familiar with their whakapapa. For example, Marama's father, a School Principal noted that some of the students at his school did not know their whakapapa. He stated, *"There are number of children here who don't even know their grandparents. Some don't know their whakapapa and this becomes an issue. This creates a disparity between Maori and Maori.* Marama's father recognises the issue young Maori students are confronted with in relation to a compromised Maori identity that can cause a number of problems. While on the other hand, a strong Maori identity has many advantages for Maori students, as they are more confident in participating in Maori activities and are likely to be proactive in Maori events. Those Maori students who lack a secure Maori identity are disadvantaged in the way that they tend to steer away from things Maori and distance themselves from their culture. These students may also lack a self-concept and self-esteem that could prevent them from achieving their full potential.

Marae Participation

Marae participation helped to endorse the girl's Maori identity. Participation in Marae based activities helps to validate Maori philosophies, epistemology and protocols. While growing up in the rural Maori communities; Marama, Ngaire and Ripeka had access to their local Marae where they participated in various Marae based activities such as hui, weddings, birthday, tangi and community fundraisers. The schools in the rural communities supported marae based learning

activities. For example, Ngaire's mother noted, *"Schools in this area would pay their respects at a tangi. Everyone in the community understood the protocol and how to behave on the marae as it was just part of living in that community"*. Ripeka's mother promoted Marae customs and protocols. This was evident when Ripeka's mother rang the secondary school to find out if there was a powhiri to welcome the new students. She was disappointed to find that this school did not have a powhiri. As for the rural school, they had a powhiri to welcome new students, parents and whanau at the beginning of each year. Even though Aroha lived in an urban community, there were urban Marae, which she attended for whanau functions such as weddings, birthdays, tangi and for school trips.

Contact with Maori People

The girls were geographically situated in an urban community with a high Maori population. The secondary school they attended also had a considerable number of Maori students. At the secondary school, these girls formed relationships and interacted with: Maori and non-Maori peers, Maori teachers and non-Maori teachers. These participants involvement with church, sports, kapahaka and Te Kohanga Reo provided an avenue which to interact and establish relationships with Maori people. The girls and their parents established positive relationships among Maori people within the urban and rural communities. The advantage of living in the rural communities is that Marama, Ripeka and Ngaire had the opportunity to interact with Maori people, as a high percentage of the people in these areas were Maori. According to Durie et al (1996), contact with Maori people is considered a factor that strengthens a Maori identity.

Language

The Maori language is a vital part of a Maori identity, as it encompasses meaning systems and cultural epistemology essential to understanding one's culture (Bennett, 2001). However, the girls in this study demonstrated little understanding of Te Reo Maori. They only understood simple Maori words. While growing up, Ngaire, Ripeka and Marama attended Te Kohanga Reo, which provided the opportunity for them to access the Maori language and be immersed in a Maori learning environment. One of the reasons the parents sent their daughters to Te Kohanga Reo is that they believed their daughters would have the

benefits of both worlds. The primary school these three girls attended in the rural Maori community strongly supported Maori culture, as Ngaire pointed out, *"It was compulsory for all students to learn Te Reo Maori"*. Te Reo Maori was commonly spoken in this community. However, the Maori language was not commonly spoken in the urban community where Aroha grew up. The primary school Aroha attended did not focus on Maori culture to the same extent as the rural schools. Marama, Ripeka and Ngaire were fortunate to have grown up in a community that positively promoted the Maori language.

These girls had the option whether or not to learn Te Reo Maori at secondary school. Interesting to note is that none of the girls chose to learn the Maori language. The parents understood the benefits of learning Te Reo Maori however they believed it was important for their daughters to decide which subjects they wanted to learn. In that way, their daughters would have a positive attitude towards learning those subjects. However, their choices were not simply based on the desire to learn the language. One potential reason why these girls decided not to learn the Maori language could be perceived economic benefit. Income appeared to be an important component that influenced the career choice for these girls. For instance, Ngaire did not want to be an artist because of the financial struggle associated with that occupation. Pakeha hegemonic ideologies reinforce the notion that Maori language is insignificant and has little economic benefit. Additionally, Waitere-Ang (1999) noted Te Reo Maori is often perceived to have little economic value while English is perceived to be the bread and butter language, the vehicle to make the money. While there were perceived disadvantages of learning the Maori language, these girls also noted the benefits of learning Te Reo Maori in that it strengthened one's Maori identity. They noted that Maori girls who could speak the Maori language appeared to have a strong self-concept and are self-assured about who they are.

Even though these girls chose not to learn the Maori language, we must not assume that this decision was either straightforward or simple. For instance, the urban secondary school provided the opportunity for these girls to opt out of learning the Maori language. In relation to the rural schools, it was compulsory for all students to learn Te Reo Maori. Access to the Maori language was difficult

at this secondary school as Marama noted that the bilingual unit was only being established when she first started this school. This meant that there was limited opportunity for her year group to learn the Maori language. Additionally, Marama's younger sister was in the bilingual unit at this school, and experienced problems. Her peers in this unit inhibited her learning. The students were often disruptive and had negative attitudes towards learning. It was obvious that these girls were not in the bilingual unit for the same reason as Marama's sister who was there to learn and achieve. This made it extremely difficult for Marama's sister to fulfil her potential and to achieve her goals. An alternative option for her was to withdraw from the unit. Nevertheless, she would be disadvantaged in the way of not learning the Maori language.

A possible reason why Marama's sister found it difficult to learn and achieve in this bilingual unit, as noted by Marama's father is that some schools and teachers perceived bilingual units as a "dumping ground" for Maori students with social and behaviour problems. Marama's father stated, *"Some schools see this as a way of controlling kids that happen to be Maori and some of them that have behavioural problems. Some of these units are set up to fail"*. Despite some of the issues surrounding bilingual units, if they are implemented efficiently they can be effective. Marama's father noted there are bilingual units and rumaki that are successful. However, in order for these units to be successful he believes they need to have the support from teachers and the school. The rumaki in his school, is an example of a successful unit where Maori students can achieve while learning the Maori language.

Although these girls' secure Maori identity appears to have contributed to their educational achievement, a Maori identity is just one of the many competing identities these girls contend with.

Multiple Identities

The whanau, school, non-Maori and Maori peers influenced these girls' identities in some ways. As Taylor (1999) asserts, our identities are never static but rather dynamic. They are continually being reshaped through social processes. These

girls had no control of ascribed aspects of their identity, as they are born into socially constructed categories of identity (ibid). Naming the girls' multiple identities raises a number of complexities and contradictions. These girls assumed different identities as they weaved in and out of different contexts.

Whanau Constructing Girls' Identity

As previously indicated, whanau was fundamental to this identity. Durie et al (1996) identified whanau as an influential factor supporting a Maori identity. The girls in this study illustrated the ways in which their whanau constructed their Maori identity such as the choice of community which they lived, the school they attended, participating in Marae based activities and interaction with whanau.

In the home context, the girl's Maori identity was supported by their parents, which were assumed "the norm". The parents illustrated the different way they constructed their daughter's Maori identity. Marama's father influenced his daughter's Maori identity as he encouraged her to be proud of her Maori identity and not to let anyone distort that vision. Marama's father's incident with the two teachers illustrated his ability to reject the negative assumptions the teachers held about him where he was assumed to be a teacher aide. He did not let the teacher's judgements influence his actions or force him to assume another identity accepted by these teachers. Marama's father's experience showed his ability to sustain a Maori identity in a context that did not necessarily validate or fully accept it.

Aroha's mother constructed her daughter's Maori identity positively because she understood that identity was central to one's being. She stated, *"If you have no identity, you have no meaning of life"*. Her personal experience has proved critical in supporting her daughter's identities. Aroha's mother's describes her unpleasant experiences in regards to her insecure Maori identity. *"When I went to school I felt quite alienated because I never did well at school and when I was growing up my grandparents never taught me Maori. I tried to join Maori club but I was laughed at because I couldn't pronounce the words properly. I think Maori themselves create a barrier. You try to learn it but many Maori laugh at you and that's why I felt alienated at school. That made me angry. This negativity did not do a lot for my self esteem".* Aroha's mother's compromised

Maori identity led her to resist these negative messages and to promote her daughter's identities positively.

Ripeka's parents played an important part in supporting their daughter's Maori identity. For instance, her Pakeha mother learnt about Maori culture by participating in Maori activities such as powhiri, tangi and hui. Living in the rural Maori community and interacting with her husband's whanau, Ripeka's mother had the opportunity to gain some understanding of Maori culture that helped her to promote her daughter's identity. Ripeka's father also validated his daughter's identity. He had lived in a rural Maori community all his life that provided the opportunity to be immersed in a Maori community and Maori culture.

Ngaire's father, a well-respected Maori artist helped to ratify his daughter's Maori identity. Ngaire's father sent positive messages about being Maori through his Maori art. Further, living in a Maori community consolidates Ngaire's Maori identity. She noted, *"Yeah coming from a predominantly Maori community was pretty much all Maori culture but coming to this place (urban environment) meant it was bilingual and we had to adjust"*. Her comments reflect the taken for granted norm of Maori culture in the rural community which strongly supported her Maori identity.

Peers Constructing Girls' Identity

During adolescence, these girls are confronted with different identities at different times that they need to negotiate. These girls' identities were influenced by their Maori and non-Maori peers in both positive and negative ways.

Non-Maori peers helped to shape these girls' Maori identity positively and negatively. At senior level, non-Maori peers positively influence these girls' Maori identity by recognising, supporting and encouraging them when they achieved. However, non-Maori peers at times negatively influenced these girls' Maori identity. For example, Maori girls received the opportunity to apply for Maori scholarships which non-Maori peers believed to be unfair. As a result, these Maori girls were subjected to negative comments by their non-Maori peers. Being Maori for Marama, Ngaire, Aroha and Ripeka meant being treated

negatively by their non-Maori peers. Neither Maori nor non-Maori girls could justify the reason why Maori girls received Maori scholarships that further complicated this issue. Hegemonic norms ensure that Maori and non-Maori peers were unconsciously aware that some groups are disadvantaged, while others are privileged. Pakeha girls are part of the privilege group in the education system and a way of addressing some of these inequalities for Maori girls are by providing Maori scholarships.

Maori peers, at times positively and negatively impacted on these girl's Maori identity. These girls' Maori peers facilitated a positive Maori identity at senior level. There was less pressure from Maori peers to underachieve at senior level as the majority of their Maori peers had left school by that level. The girls that had reached bursary level were there to achieve school credentials and were focused on their education. This provided a positive environment for Marama, Ripeka, Ngaire and Aroha to achieve. These girls' identity was constructed positively in that there appeared to be positive images about Maori girls succeeding.

Conversely at junior level, Maori peers negatively shaped these girls' Maori identity. Maori peers discouraged these girls from achieving. As a result this often led to Maoriness being equate to underachievement. The negative pressure from Maori peers created problems for these girls. The girls understood the complexities of trying to succeed and maintain a secure Maori identity. If Maori girls did not accept the hegemonic assumptions of their Maori peers, that Maori underachieve, they were labelled "geek" or "nerd". Furthermore, they were excluded from many of their Maori peers social groups. Exclusion from these groups had a negative impact on these girls' Maori identity. This scenario reflects Penetito's (1988) notion that the more Maori students succeed, the more you are separated from your peers. In this sense, Maori girl's identity at times was challenged and constructed negatively by many of their Maori peers. In order to be accepted by some of their Maori peers they felt the pressure to conform to negative stereotypes related to being Maori. However, if they choose to reject their peer's ideas about what it is to be Maori then they improved their chances of success but increased results meant the possible exclusion their cultural group.

This was particularly apparent in junior forms. Examples included being rebellious which involved missing classes or not completing their work. Maori girls were expected to accept a negative attitude towards school. During this time, Marama conformed to this group's behaviour and actions. She stated, *"In third and fourth form, school for me was a place to muck around with my friends"*. Her actions were influenced by this group that impacted on her educational achievements.

Belonging to a group was imperative to these girls. For many Maori girls, it is important to be accepted by their Maori peers. If they were not accepted by a group this resulted in feelings of inadequacy, isolation, indicative shame and negative emotions. Aroha noted, *"If you did not fit in with the (Maori) group, it made you feel like an outcast and you felt left out or lonely"*. This reflects what Penetito (1988) calls subjective deprivation (refer to p.18). Ripeka and Ngaire believed this to be true, as they understood the pressure of trying to be accepted by peers. Ripeka noted that it was important to have friends because the girls would call you "no mates" and nobody wanted to be label. However, for Ripeka, Aroha and Ngaire, education was important and they were able to reject the pressure and to remain focused on achieving their educational goals.

School's Influence on the Construction of Girls' Identity

This school constructed these girls' Maori identity both positively and negatively. There were a number of Maori initiatives to support these girls' Maori identity such as Te Reo Maori programmes, bilingual unit, kapahaka and a few Maori teachers. But at the same time, this school provided the chance for Maori girls to opt out of learning Maori culture, as Te Reo Maori, kapahaka and bilingual were optional often timetabled as extracurricula or in competition with other subjects. However, in contrast to the rural schools Marama, Ripeka and Ngaire attended prior to this secondary school, Te Reo Maori and participation in Maori activities such as powhiri was compulsory. These schools were better equipped in supporting and constructed a secure Maori identity for these girls.

At this secondary school, teachers added to the contradictory nature of these girls' Maori identity. Teachers are not always consciously aware of how their culture

impacts on minority students' culture. Simon (1984) maintains teachers try to act in the "best" interest of all students. What is problematic however is that the notion of "best" by teachers standards are often assumed to be neutral. Many teachers fail to see that their judgements of students passes through cultural perspectives of pedagogy that is taken for granted as universal. The consequence of the teacher treating all students the same is that these girls' Maori identity is assumed insignificant. This sends messages to Maori girls that their culture has little value in this context, which in turn helps to diminish a Maori identity.

Two teachers at this school held stereotypical views of Maori. Based on these stereotypical assumptions, one teacher assumed Marama's father was a teacher's aid rather than a Principal. Another teacher assumed that Marama's father, a Principal, knew nothing about the educational qualifications framework. This teacher, once he had identified Marama's father as Maori, assumed he knew little about school processes and practices. These teachers' assumptions may transfer to the way they treat or perceive Maori girls. This becomes another significant influence, which can further complicate and challenge the ways these girls construct their Maori identities at school.

This school constructed an identity kit for prefects that contributed to these girls' identities. The characteristics of a school perfect identity include being a conformist, a person who obeys the rules of the school. Other labels associated with this identity comprise being a role model, leader and well behaved.

Ripeka was a school prefect, which she at times located her in contradictory positions. Ripeka's mother's comment, *"When I went on a school trip, the girls were talking about school prefects and they mentioned that Ripeka was a cool prefect because she talked to the younger students. Ripeka has never been a smart ass or ignorant"* reflects the competing identities of a school prefect. According to the junior students, a 'cool prefect' was a person who did not consider themselves to be of higher status then others students. A 'cool prefect' acknowledged the people around them. Being a role model, effective communication skills and establishing positive relationships with younger students was also considered important aspects of a 'cool prefect'. Implicitly, the

junior students were challenging institutional views. Interesting to note, Ripeka did not wear her school prefect badge. The badge was a signifier of a perfect. Ripeka choose to wear the internal title that was not explicitly obvious that she was school prefect. As noted earlier, Ripeka's parents encouraged their daughter to be humble of her success and this was evident in the interview where Ripeka made no mention of the fact she was a school prefect. Furthermore, as indicated in the Literature Review, many great Maori leaders were humble people, which contributed to their greatness.

Although some of the junior students viewed school perfects positively, there were instances where it was contested. A school prefect identity could act as a distancing agent between Maori peers. For example, a number of Maori girls chose not to conform to the rules and regulations of the school. However, for Ripeka, the school prefect identity encouraged her to conform to the process and procedures of that school. In this sense, some junior Maori girls were swimming against the tide, while on the other hand Ripeka was swimming with the tide. The conflicting views between Ripeka and few of her Maori peers while offering a positive role model also complicates their relationship, identity and success.

The multiple identities these girls displayed were influenced by factors such as time, contexts and people. These factors located Maori girls in a contradictory position where they had to constantly adjust and modify their identities in order to succeed.

The Impact of Hegemony on the Girls' Success

Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony provides a theoretical lens that can be used to understand the schooling experience of Ripeka, Aroha, Marama and Ngaire. As Gramsci asserts, hegemony operates in educational institutions among other societal organisations. As noted earlier in the Literature Review, hegemony is the domination of social class over another through ideological processes (p.25). This process involves the subordinate group accepting the dominant ways of seeing the world as "common sense" and "natural", thus serving their interests of the privileged group (Gramsci, 1971). Interwoven throughout these participants' dialogue were examples of how hegemony was played out.

The hegemonic assumption that success is characteristic of 'Pakehaness' while failure is constructed as a Maori trait, appeared to saturate these girls' consciousness. These girls at times accepted a Pakeha way of seeing the world as "common sense" or "natural". For example, these girls internalised Pakeha girls' achievement to be normal. This was further realised when few Maori girls enrolled in bursary subjects. In bursary classes, these girls noted few or in some cases, no Maori girls in their bursary classes. Maori peers often assumed those Maori girls who were academically successful to be non-Maori. This was reflected in Ngaire's experience who achieved academically at school which her Maori peers saw this as a stereotypical characteristic of a Pakeha girl. Maori girls' achievements, was considered uncommon. These girls' whanau members believed few whanau would 'make it'. In addition Pakeha girls at this school perceived Maori achievement to be exceptional as Marama noted that Pakeha girls were supportive and celebrated Maori girls achieve while at the same time emphasises the notion that few Maori girls achieve. She noted, *"People look at you and think oh she has done really well for Maori, looking at the generalisation that Maori don't do well"*. Maori girls achievement sits outside the hegemonic norm. The consequence is that the hegemonic norms reinforce both Maori and non-Maori perceptions of Maori girl's capabilities (Adams et al, 2000). However, we know that young Maori women's underachievement is inconsistent with Maori cosmological and tribal narratives as these archives illustrated Maori women's achievement to be normal (refer to Chapter two). This should be the benchmark for today's young Maori girls to aspire to.

There are examples in this study where Maori culture is perceived to be secondary or inferior to Pakeha culture. The hegemonic assumption that Pakeha people are intellectual superior was evident in the girls' dialogue. For instance, Marama noted that some Maori girls believe they are incapable of achieving higher education. Marama stated, *"Some (Maori girls) see bursary as being hard and brainy and that but it isn't"*. She further stated, *"I don't know why Maori girls don't take the opportunities, I think it is part of the Maori thing that I'm not able to achieve"*. Ripeka agreed with Marama that a common belief among Maori girls is that they are intellectual inferior to Pakeha girls which may be a possible

reason for the low number of Maori girls taking bursary subjects. As Ripeka cited, *"Not many Maori girls take bursary because they believe it's difficult. There was only one other Maori in my Statistics class and none in my other classes"*. However, we cannot assume that this is the only factor preventing Maori girls from achieving at bursary level, yet it may be considered a barrier to their learning.

Some non-Maori teachers at this school appeared to be unconsciously unaware of the power they held to advance hegemonic norms. For example, these teachers sent messages often implicitly to these girls that treating all students the same is effective pedagogical practices. Maori girls accepted their teachers' worldview in that treating all students in the same way regardless of their diverse background was considered fair practice. These girls perceived their teachers to be neutral in that they treated all students the same was equitable practice. However, Gramsci (1971) claims that teachers cannot be viewed as being economically and politically neutral as they explicitly support the interests and maintain the constitutional structures of the dominant group.

Aroha and Ngaire recognised the hegemonic belief exemplified in the media. These girls' discourse reflected the idea that hegemony is maintained through the media and controlled by the dominant class (Gramsci, 1971). The ideologies embedded in the media serves the interest of the Pakeha group, while on the other hand, reinforce negative messages about Maori. Ngaire stated, *"You don't see much positive things about Maori in the news, most of the time it's negative"*. Ripeka also mentioned, *"When you watch the news or read the paper, the majority of the time there are negative things about Maori. But there are some positive things which I think they should emphasis more"*. Ngaire and Ripeka implicitly recognised that Maori were socially constructed in a negative way through the media. They also realised that Maori could be normalised in that an alternative construction is to emphasis the positive aspects about Maori.

Common manifestation of hegemony is the stereotypes that are often based on race, gender and class (Gramsci, 1971). Stereotypes are not neutral, as they tend to represent inequalities (ibid). As noted earlier, these girls' identities are

complicated in that they have no control over ascribed aspects of their identity. These girls' experiences lie in the intersection between gender, class and ethnicity that complies all three stereotypes to impact negatively on their identities. The girls were aware of the negative stereotypes associated with their Maori culture such as dumb, stupid, fat or lazy. The problem with stereotypes is that people tend to believe they are true and begin to fulfil these prophecies. Once people accept stereotypes as truth they make no attempt to challenge them. Negative stereotypes influenced Ripeka's perceptions. Her views reflect this when she maintains that failure is the fault of Maori. A potential reason some Maori students were failing the system was because they were lazy. She appeared to accept the culturally sanctioned beliefs of Pakeha people that Maori simply 'get what they deserve'.

Gramsci's (1971) idea of organic intellectuals involves individual intellectuals contesting hegemonic control. Traditional constructions of Maori women illustrate a number of characteristics of an organic intellectual. Gramsci refers to an organic intellectual as those who help create philosophical epistemology that rejects the 'common sense' view of the world (ibid). Organic intellectuals can play an important role in deconstructing the hegemonic norm that oppressed minority groups such as Maori. Other characteristics include; individuals helping to advance collective groups, the individual having lived and belonged to the community and are the result of 'lived experience'. A significant role of an organic intellectual is the development of relationships with people they work with that ensures whatever they do they are regarded as part of the community. According to Smith (1994) the purpose of intellectual leader is not necessarily for individual advancement but human well-being as a whole. In relation to customary Maori women demonstrated diverse role within their communities. Maori women roles and responsibilities in the Maori communities contributed to the development of the whole community rather than for their own individual benefit. These women were also bearers of knowledge.

The Impact of Social and Cultural Reproduction of Girls' Success

Important to understanding hegemony is the ability of the dominant group to reproduce their social and cultural values as though they were universal. At

times, the strategies the parents' ulitised reflected the norms, values and attitudes of Pakeha culture. Given that two students had Pakeha mothers and that all these girls grew up a in society that by and large celebrates these norms and subjugates Maori values, it is not surprising that contradictions and tensions were experience by whanau. The parents and their daughters adopted aspects of Pakeha culture as a way of succeeding in the Pakeha dominated education system. Bourdieu (1973) reminds us that school reproduces the culture of the dominant class. The parental strategies implemented in the home context, to some extent conveyed a complex combination of characteristics that slid between these that are stereotypically seen as Maori and these that are stereotypically seen as Pakeha. Some of the Pakeha stereotypical characteristics these parents displayed included student orientated towards future, student internal control, high self-esteem and discipline (Gregory, 2000).

It is common for ethnicity minorities to mirror characteristics of the dominant culture as a way of succeeding in the education system. Sampson (2002) research is an example of this process. This study investigated the role families played in black children's educational achievement. The results of Sampson study found the family values, behaviour and attitudes are imperative determinants of a child's success at school. This research identified various characteristics of successful parenting for black parents that included; promoting child's self-esteem, parents emphasising the importance of education, parental involvement, and parent's expectations and implementing discipline strategies. Sampson (2002) noted that poor black families have to convey qualities of middle class families in order to be successful in a dominant white class education system. Sampson makes the point that social groups that differ from the dominant group must adapt a white class ideology and culture if they are to achieve (ibid). However, this should not assume that ethnic minority groups must reject the values of their culture as many minority groups seek to maintain and hold onto their culture.

Bourdieu (1973) articulates that children of the dominant class are advantaged in the education system as it reproduces their culture, language and knowledge. According to Bourdieu (1973) and the Education Review Office (1995), these girls in this study fall within the disadvantaged group whose norms, attitudes and

values are different from the schools. It is difficult for Maori and Pakeha girls to comprehend the idea that Pakeha girls are advantaged in education because they have identical cultural capital to that of the school. Hegemonic norms ensure that the education system is perceived neutral. These ideologies were internalised by these students who also assumed that everyone had equal opportunity to access education. In that way the schooling system was unchallenged and taken for granted as neutral by the girls at this school.

Maori girls are identified as having a high chance of failure because what is taught and examined in schools is different from their habitus and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1973). In order for these girls to achieve, they must assimilate into the Pakeha culture thus acquiring the habitus of the Pakeha group. This may result in pushing their Maori habitus into the background. The girls' Maori cultural habitus was absent in this school. For instance Maori knowledge, culture and identity was not commonly endorsed in this school. If aspects of Maori cultural capital were reflected in school to the same extent as Pakeha cultural capital, this may increase the chances of Maori students in general to succeed.

The inequalities in the education system that hindered Maori girls' performance have not gone unnoticed as the whanau challenged the school's structural system. As Aroha's mother noted the education system is problematic because it reproduces a Pakeha culture. Likewise, Ripeka's mother also recognised the dissatisfaction amongst the Maori community about the education system because it does little to cater for Maori interests and aspirations.

The school structure, a number of ways worked to prevented Maori girls from achieving their full potential. The parent's occupation, income and qualifications were other factors that impact on these girls' achievements.

The Impact of the Parents' Occupation on these Girls' Success

Ripeka, Aroha and Ngaire's parents, at some stage experienced financial difficulties. Ngaire's father, an artist noted that his occupation was not a highly paid profession. With seven children to support, this family understood the financial struggles that other families may encounter.

Aroha's mother also experience financial difficulties, as she was a solo mother for a few years and aware of the pressure of having no money. She claims that parent's income can influence students' educational success. She stated, *"If you have no money then you can't buy books and resources for your kids. The rich ones, they can do a lot for their kids because they can afford books but if you are from a poor family it's like a cycle, its going to carry on and you need to break that cycle"*.

For a few years, Ripeka's parents received the unemployment benefit and they understood the struggles in trying to make ends meet. Ripeka's mother describes the negative feelings she felt when she was on the unemployment benefit, *"I know when I was on the dole it was depressing. I had a low self-esteem of how you see yourself. I thought about my life and that was a real downward spiral. I would hate my kids to be like that so the dole isn't an option for Ripeka"*.

These experiences have been motivational factor to obtain qualifications in order to improve their economic status and life options. Even though Maori families are generally classified as low-income families, these families at the time of the interview were not considered low socio-economic class as the majority of these parents are considered professionals, one being a Principal, others teachers and a nurse.

Marama's family was different to the other three families, as they had not struggled financially at any stage of Marama's upbringing in the same way the others had. Her father obtained his tertiary qualifications after secondary school, which has proved beneficial for his family educationally and financially. Marama realised she was advantaged in the sense that her father is a School Principal. She cited, *"I am actually quite lucky that my dad, you know, he is from an average family and has a good job"*. This was ideology was reflected in Marama's father comment, *"With Marama's friends they would say to her you are alright because your father is a School Principal"*. This statement implies that Marama's friends believed she is fortunate to have a parent who has a professional occupation.

Parents' qualifications played an important part in supporting the girls' achievement. Marama's father, a School Principal was able to help his daughter with her homework. Marama noted her Maori friends' parents were unable to help them with their schoolwork therefore they would seek assistance from her father. In relation to Aroha's mother, she found it difficult trying to help her daughter with her schoolwork because it was too advanced for her. In that way, Marama, Ripeka and Ngaire were advantaged in that one of their parents was a teacher who was able to assist and support them with their schoolwork.

However research shows that Maori parents are less likely to be educated and have lower incomes than non-Maori parents (Chapple et al, 1997). This becomes an issue for a number of Maori families. Many Maori students therefore enter the school disadvantaged by their parents' lack of education and low income. These families are unable to provide access to educational materials in the home that can lead to increased educational opportunity or help their children with their schoolwork (Nash, 1993; Rich, 2000).

The principle of egalitarianism propels the notion that 'we should treat equals equally and unequals unequally' (Adams et al, 2000:121). According to Simon (1994) egalitarianism could be defined as a way of promoting equal rights and opportunities for all members in society. However, Simon asserts us that it is important to recognise the diverse interpretations of egalitarianism as it is often referred to 'equality', 'equality of opportunity', 'equality of outcome' and equality of treatment' (ibid). Minority groups such as Maori support equity provisions in order to address the existing inequalities in society to make it fairer (ibid). Not all groups have equal access to power and resources in society thus inequalities exist. Not all students enter the education on equal grounds as some come from well educated or high-income families while others did not. Maori girls are identified as a disadvantaged group in the education system and more likely to come from non-educated or low-income families. Consequently, they need additional support in order to achieve the same outcomes as their peers.

The notion that Maori are more likely to be unemployed and earn less than non-Maori (Chapple et al, 1997) may provide an explanation why the whanau held the

expectation that having a job was considered a success. Particularly given the personal experience of three whanau and the wider context in which these participants were located reflects high unemployment rate amongst Maori. As a result, employment can be considered a high expectation for whanau living in an area where lack of employment for Maori youth is considered the norm. However out of context, some may argue that these whanau may reinforce low expectations among Maori in regards to obtaining a higher education.

The Dilemma of Sameness and Difference

"People look at you and think oh she has done really well for a Maori, looking at the generalisation that Maori don't do well". Marama's comment reflects what Minow (1985) identifies as the dilemma of difference. The point Minow draws our attention to is that there are consequences of either ignoring or focusing on difference. Interwoven throughout the girls' dialogue reflects the dilemma of emphasising and ignoring these girls differences.

Recognising Difference

One of the problems of focusing on minority group differences is that it normalises the dominant groups' culture. This was reflected in this study when Pakeha girls demonstrated good intentions in supporting and acknowledging Maori girls' educational achievements at this school. However this reinforced the underlying assumption that Maori girls' success is exceptional as evident in Marama's comment above. The point of difference is that Pakeha girls' achievement is never viewed through the same lens. Pakeha girls' success is assumed to be normal while on the other hand, Maori girls' achievement is assumed to sit outside the norm.

Recognising Maori girls' difference resulted in Pakeha girls treating Maori girls' negatively. Maori girls are identified as a disadvantaged group in society, while Pakeha girls are classified as part of a privileged group thus scholarships were allocated to Maori girls as a way of addressing some of the inequalities in the system. However by focusing on Maori girls' differences: Marama, Ngaire, Ripeka and Aroha were subjected to negative comments from their Pakeha peers.

For example Ngaire noted, *"Pakeha girls complained about Maori girls receiving scholarships because they believed it was unfair"*. Not only did Pakeha girls share this way of thinking but so did Ripeka's mother, *"When I was doing my teaching course there was scholarships but all the brown brothers got it and I didn't get anything. As a Pakeha it isn't fair"*. These remarks reveal the ways in which hegemony is played out. Pakeha girls' views manifest the ideology of equality, in that all members of society have equal opportunity to succeed in the education system. Pakeha girls' ideas reflect the notion that the education system is neutral. Non-Maori peers believe Maori girls should not receive unequal treatment because it is assumed to be unfair. However as noted earlier, schools reproduce and validate Pakeha culture as a result Maori girl's needs are often ignored. What Pakeha girls are unconsciously unaware of are power relations between Maori and Pakeha that are concealed in the structures of the school, which support Pakeha interests while disadvantage Maori.

Reflecting on Ripeka's mothers comment about scholarships, she may be sending subliminal messages to her daughter that her Maoriness should not determine differential treatment one should receive. Ripeka's mother's remarks appeared to supporting the slogan, "We are all one people" which fails to recognise Maori interests or Maori as a distinct group. What is problematic is that her mother was unconsciously unaware of the inequalities reproduced in the education system that disadvantages her daughter as hegemony helps to conceal these ideologies. Ripeka may have been influenced by her mother's views as she internalised the ideal that Maoriness equated to inferiority. Ripeka believed that Maori underachievement was a result of their laziness. However, Ripeka's mother also sent her daughter positive messages about Maori culture. She positively supported her daughter's Maori identity and culture. This was evident when she enrolled her in Te Kohanga Reo and participated in Maori based activities.

Ignoring Difference

Not only does focussing on Maori girls' difference result in negative consequences but also ignoring their difference have similar outcomes (Minow, 1985). Young (1990) identifies three oppressive consequences for ignoring difference.

Firstly, Pakeha blindness to difference disadvantages Maori girls because their experience, culture and socialized capacities vary from Pakeha culture. The dominant group's blindness to difference is reinforced and concealed through the assimilation process. This process aims to exclude groups from mainstream. The dominant group's sets the standards and rules that is, they set the standards to be measured against. This group reproduces their rules as culturally and experientially universal. In relation to Maori girls they enter the education system, a game that is already set up by Pakeha ideologies, norms and values. As indicated earlier, Maori girls who are identified as a disadvantaged group enter the game already underprivileged because of the inequalities reproduced in the system. For example, Maori girls' success is defined, viewed and measured against the hegemonic norm of the dominant group. They are expected to accept these norms, if they don't the consequence could result in failure. Winning the game may imply minority groups working the system or playing the game to the best of their ability even if they do not necessary agree with the rules of the system.

Secondly, the notion of a universal humanity without social group differences allows Pakeha to ignore their own group differences (Young, 1990). Pakeha girls and teachers occupy the norm and unconsciously see themselves as normal. For example, Pakeha girls failed to see their culture, language and knowledge was endorsed within the education system because it was invisible to them. Pakeha girls occupy position of normality, while Maori girls are identified as the "other". Pakeha girls are expected to succeed while Maori girls' success was considered exceptional. Some of the non-Maori teachers reinforced the notion that treating all students the same was an effective pedagogical practice. They failed to realise that their teaching practices pass though cultural pedagogical filters. Treating all the students the same meant that these teachers were catering for the needs of the dominant group by fault, while Maori girls' interests and needs are neither necessarily catered for nor recognised (Simon, 1996). Teachers in these situations are advancing the egalitarianism principle that supports the notion of sameness.

The third consequence involves minority groups being identified as problematic. Minority groups that aim to assimilate or to be successful in the education system produce what Young (1990) identifies as double consciousness characteristics of oppression. Minority groups are unable to win either way. For example, success often requires minority groups to fit in with the norms of the education system that is to act and adopt an identity of the dominant class. While at the same time, minority groups fail to fit because they are marked as the "other" or different. A prime example was when Ngaire's Maori peers assumed her to be like a Pakeha girl because they believed she displayed stereotypical characteristics of Pakeha culture. This included associating with Pakeha girls, being academically successful and her non-participation in Maori cultural activities. Despite Ngaire's Maori peers' perceptions of her, she was able to dispel their assumptions. As Ngaire noted, *"I have always identified myself as a Maori because I'm proud to be one"*.

Sameness

Marama, Ripeka, Aroha and Ngaire's cultural differences were perceived by their Pakeha peers to be divisive. At times, this resulted in these girls wanting to be the same as the norm. They wanted to "fit in" with the dominant group that often meant that their differences were ignored.

"I think the teachers treat me the same as the other students which is good (Marama). I would rather be treated just like any other person" (Aroha). Marama and Aroha's comments suggest that what their teachers were doing, that is, treating all students the same is constructive pedagogical practice. These comments promote the idea of sameness in the sense that they wanted to "fit in" with the mainstream. They learnt that being singled out by their differences equated to unfair treatment by their Pakeha peers. Furthermore, there was stigma attached their difference.

Some non-Maori teachers, Maori and non-Maori peers appeared to support the egalitarian principle that refers to equal treatment for all students (Allen, 1990). As noted in the Literature Review, egalitarianism is underpinned by the notion of sameness in that everyone should be treated equal regardless of diverse their

backgrounds. These teachers and girls failed to recognise that if teachers cater for Maori and Pakeha girls needs in the same way, they are inadvertently only catering for the educational needs of Pakeha girls (Simon, 1996). This can be problematic for Maori girls whose needs are not recognised as being met or addressed.

Ripeka's comment, *"We start wanting to beat other students and try to get better marks than others, which I think makes you work harder"*. *We compete against each other right through school. It could be negative but I don't see it that way* provides an insight of the strategies she used in order to succeed. Her remarks illustrates the principle of sameness in that she has adopted an individualised competitive approach that was supported by the majority of peers. A strong belief among the girls at this school is that it is important to work hard in order to gain higher qualifications. At times, this meant that girls were unwilling to help other students because they had put the effort in and did not want someone else to gain the rewards for their effort.

Marama tried to reject the notion of sameness by challenging an individual learning approach. For example, it was the norm in this school to work individually and to compete for grades. As noted earlier individual success was validated in this school context. Aroha and Marama's cooperative approach to learning contested the hegemonic assumptions embraced by their Pakeha and some Maori peers. In this way, Marama resisted sameness by trying to encourage her friends to share their knowledge. Marama sought to be different from the assumed norm but this resulted in negative consequence in that she was labelled a cheat.

The Dilemma of Walking between Two Worlds

For these girls, succeeding in the education system was neither straightforward nor simple. Not only did these girls encounter conflicts and tensions while trying to cope and combine "being successful" and "being Maori" but their parents and whanau also lived out some of these contradictions. The whanau tried to simultaneously grapple with the notion of "being Maori" and "being

successful". Interesting to note that the majority of these parents were educated and it may be assumed that they experienced some of the complexities their daughters contend with.

The girls and their whanau ideas about success were continually sliding between the two worlds. As reflected in Ripeka's mothers comment, *"One thing that is good for Ripeka is that she has had her fathers side of the family (Maori) and my side of the family (Pakeha) so she has had a good overview of different worlds, especially between my mother and my husband mother. Their lives are worlds apart"*. Her statement reveals the conflicts between the two cultures. She acknowledges the differences between her mother's and her husband's mother's cultures. These two cultures Ripeka had to contend with which she assumed herself fitting in with both cultures. For instance Ripeka fitted in with her non-Maori peers in that she shared the same educational goals as the majority of them. She also fitted in with Maori peers because she shared similar cultural experiences with them such as close relationships with whanau, going to Marae, hui and participating in Maori activities.

There were contradictions in the home context in relation to how success was differentially defined across the two worlds. Ripeka and Ngaire had a Pakeha mother and a Maori father. As for Marama and Aroha, their parents were of Maori descent. Ngaire and Ripeka's mother and father were both interviewed. Ripeka's parents illustrated different views about success. For example, Ripeka's father thought success was, *"Feeling good, being healthy and proud about yourself. Success to me isn't being a millionaire, not material things"*. While on the other hand, Ripeka's mother stated, *"Life is easier when you have money because we were on the benefit for a couple of years back and it was a real struggle. Only a couple of years I have been teaching and earning a bit of more so having some money to me is success. You have to be able to provide for yourself. I would not like to see Ripeka on the dole."*

Money was perceived by Ripeka's mother as success, juxtaposing Ripeka's father who disagreed that success included money and material possessions. However he encouraged his daughter to obtain school credentials. Ripeka's

parent's ideas about success appeared to pass through their cultural perspectives while at other times were influenced by the hegemonic norm. For example, in a Pakeha context, money is often used to measure success and a significant attribute of success. While in a Maori context, money is not always viewed in the same way, as it is not commonly used to a measure one's success. As noted by Ngaire's father a preferred way measuring success in a Maori context is by the contribution to a whanau or community (Skill New Zealand, 2001; Hirsh, 1990). Ripeka's parents' ideas about success appeared to be influenced at times by their differing cultures. This locates Ripeka in a contradictory position where she had to contend with the different interpretations of success. Ripeka's parents may be sending their daughter mixed message as to how success was viewed defined. No contradictory views about success surface in Ngaire's parent's interview.

In some ways the parents challenged the Pakeha dominated view of success. The characteristics that constitute a Pakeha definition of success includes; qualification and money used to measure success, qualification for individual benefit, a high value place on individual success and recognising success publicly (Career Service, 1996). These participants believed money and qualifications was not a measure of one's success nor was it an indictor of success. As Ripeka's mentioned, *"You don't have to go to University to be successful"*, illustrating the idea that qualifications were not necessarily an attribute for success. Ngaire's mother noted that having a well-paid occupation was not considered success to her. She thought that having an abundance of money did not indicate how successful one is. However, Ngaire appeared to hold on to the hegemonic view of success in that money was considered success. She did not want to be an artist because of the low salary. Her father noted that she was a talented artist but the lack of income associated with that occupation increased her motivation to seek another career option.

Education was important for these participants because it was a way of gaining qualifications and money. Even though some of these participants believed success did not include qualifications and money. Interwoven through the participants' dialogue was the idea that qualification was a considered

component of success. For instance, Marama considered her two aunties to be successful based on their occupational status.

Even though these parents emphasised the importance of education, they also stressed the idea that it was their daughter's choice what they wanted to do in relation to their careers. For example Aroha's mother stated, *"I have always wanted my own children to do well at school and end up with a good profession. However I have now realised that my dreams should not be their dreams"*. Similarly, Marama's father noted, *"I have provided my daughter with the opportunities to attend University however it is her choice at the end of the day whether she wants to go or not"*. What these parents were saying and what they were doing was completely different. The parents noted that they would support their daughter's career choice. However the parents wanted their daughter to continue their education at tertiary level. This was evident in the ways in which these parents supported their daughter's achievement such as reinforcing positive attitudes, high expectations, parental involvement and whanau support. The girl's educational goals appeared to be influence by their parents in that they want to continue their education at tertiary level.

Constructing the Notion of Success within Whanau

The whanau influenced these girls' ideas about success. The whanau and the girls illustrated a number of similar ideas about success. Relationships were an important characteristic of success for this group. For example, Ngaire and her mother believed establishing and maintaining a positive relationship was an important attribute of success. The participants' dialogue illustrated the positive relationships they had established with others such as family, friends, work colleagues and people generally. The significant relationships that these participants established are discussed later in this chapter.

The whanau and girls considered success for the collective group. The whanau collectively helped to support these girls' achievement. Ngaire's father's views about success illustrated a collective and reciprocal approach to achieving success (p.106). He noted that in a Maori context success might be measured in relation to the contribution an individual or group has made to their whanau or

community in some way. This involves individuals supporting each other or utilising their achievements to help others. Aroha and Marama demonstrated this principle when they formed a study group with their friends to help each other succeed. For example, Marama stated, *"My friends and I talk about our assignments share them because you can compare and think oh maybe if I did it that way it would be better. It's really good because we help each other out, but there are some who are just like oh I'm not showing you"*. Marama's comment showed that some of her peers disagree with her collective approach to learning. Marama wanted her Pakeha peers to adapt to her way of learning that was endorsed by her whanau. However when she tried to apply this approach in the school context she was unsuccessful in transforming her non-Maori and some Maori peers views and approach to learning.

The whanau further facilitated the way that these girls' viewed success. These girls noted that they represented their whanau and their success belonged the whole group. Achievements were valued by the whanau. As Marama noted *"My achievements were not only to make herself proud but also to make my whanau proud of my achievements"*. Aroha also stated, *"I want to do well at school to make my whanau proud of what I have achieved"*.

Constructing the Notion of Success in School Context

School constructed success differently as to how whanau viewed and defined success. Sometimes this resulted in a number of contradictions among the whanau and the school. Achievement in schools was publicly acknowledged. However this contradicted the way Ripeka's parents celebrated their daughter's success. They did not want to boast about their daughter's achievements and did not want success to change her. The way Ripeka's parents recognised their daughter's success reflect on Maori tradition. For instance traditional Maori customs acknowledged success in a humble way. It was considered whakahihi to talk about one's own success. This school ignored the way Ripeka's parents recognised success. The problem of recognising success in a public way contradicts the way some Maori may acknowledge success. Celebrating Maori students success publicly may humiliate some Maori students as boasting about their achievement can be discouraged in their culture.

This school supported individual success and learning. Success was based on an individual approach to complete tasks, task completions and competing for marks. However, the attributes of success the whanau demonstrated included collective approaches through cooperative learning and support as a way of achieving success. Marama and Aroha ulitised a collaborative approach to learning where they formed study groups with their Maori friends. Marama endorsed collective learning as she noted that her friends supported each other learning by helping each other with assignments. Some Pakeha and Maori peers internalise the notion that success should be an individual and competitive process as Marama had discovered that not all of her peers agreed to share their work or to work cooperatively.

Non-Maori Girls Constructing these Girls' Success

Non-Maori girls judged Ripeka, Aroha, Ngaire and Marama's success in an individualistic and competitive way. Non-Maori peers influenced and sometimes challenged these girls' ideas about success. Ripeka's perceptions of success were influenced by the hegemonic assumptions that competition was a positive aspect of success. Ripeka thought that competition was a motivational factor to enhance educational performance. This ideal was further reflected when Ripeka noted that she did not establish a study group with her peers because she did not want to share their knowledge. Moreover, success was perceived by Ripeka to promote individual achievement. However, it is important to note that individual achievement was perceived differently from non-Maori peers in that achievement was shared among the collective group or for the whanau.

Marama embraced a collective approach to success. This reflected her whanau philosophies that achievement is a cooperative process that involves support from various people. Marama rejected the idea that achieving school credentials was an individual pursuit. For example she formed a study group with her friends as a way of supporting each other's achievements. Furthermore, Marama's friends may have seen her as a leader as she organised the study group and took responsibility for their learning. Marama stated, *"I would*

organise a time and place to meet with my mates. We would go to each others houses or use the library because it had everything we needed".

Many of Marama's non-Maori peers and a few of her Maori peers challenged her collective approach to learning. Her peers considered success for individual advancement and were unwilling to help other students with problems regarding assignments. As Marama noted that her peers in her class did not want to share their work with other students even after it had been marked. For Marama, she did not want to copy the assignment but to have a better understand the assignment question. When Marama asked her non-Maori peers for help with her assignment she was accused of cheating. Marama's peers had adopted an individualistic approach to learning that made Marama and her friends' look like cheats. Her non-Maori peers did not want to share their work with her because they had put the effort in and did not want to share their work. The school culture endorsed individual success and was accepted as the norm. Students would withhold information from other peers in order to advance their own individual achievement. Supporting each other's achievements was perceived to be a negative initiative by a number of Marama's Maori and non-Maori peers. However, Marama and her friends thought it was a positive approach to achieving success that worked for them.

Maori Peers Constructing the Girls' Success

As previously noted, Maori peers constructed these girls success in positive and negative ways. At junior level, Maori peers constructed the girls' achievement negatively. Maori peers encouraged these girls to underachieve. This was evident in Marama's comment, *"In third and fourth form are the hardest years to try and fit in, especially if you are Maori doing your work, they think oh my god she is such a geek"*. Maori peers, at times discouraged these girls from obtaining school credentials. Marama, Ngaire, Ripeka and Aroha found it difficult to succeed at times with the pressure to conform from their Maori peers. As the opening narrative of this thesis illustrated, a strategy for Maori girls to be successful is to associate with Pakeha students who are often focused on achieving qualifications thus less pressure to underachieve. The problem with this however is that success has the potential to cost them a positive cultural

sense of self. Nevertheless at senior level, these girls success was constructed in a positive way. The majority of the students who reached senior level were properly focused on their educational goals and achievements. Maori and non-Maori peers positively influence these girls successes as they were immersed in a positive learning environment and surrounded by both Maori and non-Maori peers who had similar educational goals.

Relationships

The multiple relationships these participants formed with numerous people played an imperative role in the girls' success. These significant relationships established were between; the girls and their whanau, the girls and their teachers, the girls and their peers; and parents-school relationship.

The Relationships between the Girls and their Whanau

There were a number of components that underpinned the relationship between these girls and their whanau. This included five values: aroha (love), manaakitanga (caring), awhina (embracing), tiaki (guidance) and tautoko (support) (Pere, 1991). To some extent, these five characteristics were evident in other relationships these participants forged with school, staff and peers.

The components underpinning the relationship between whanau and the girls were evident in the participants' discussion. The whanau revealed their aroha for the girls by caring and supporting them. The interviews with the girls showed that they valued their whanau and wanted to impress them. For instance, these girls wanted to make their whanau proud of their achievements because they understood how important their achievement were to their whanau. Aroha's mother believed the main reason her daughter reached bursary level was the aroha and tautoko from her whanau. The parents' attitudes towards education, high expectations, discipline and involvement showed that they cared about their daughter's educational achievements. The whanau supported the girl's achievement by providing encouragement and being actively involved in their education. The girls knew they were fortunate to have supportive whanau because they understood that not all Maori students had the same support.

The whanau guided these girls in different ways. For example, Marama's parents encouraged their daughter to obtain her qualifications after secondary school. Ngaire discussed issues with her parents and they gave their advice if she needed it. If Aroha had any problems at school, her mother was always willing to help her resolve them and would approach the school. Ripeka's parents guided their daughter by trying to steer her away from any negative influences and also gave her advice when required.

The Relationship between the Girls and their Teachers

Establishing a positive relationship with people was important for Marama, Ripeka, Aroha and Ngaire. They established a positive relationship with their teachers that helped to promote their learning. The connection between the teachers and these girls was evident in their dialogue. For example, the teachers could joke with these students where they felt comfortable and relaxed in each other presence. The girls identified their teacher's sense of humour as an effective teaching quality. As Marama stated, *"My geography teacher is a hard case. He is really cool. I like his style because he dictates a lot and he keeps going on and on about it and it just gets drummed into you the whole time so he can talk about the same thing all week and you just don't forget it. He makes it fun which is good".* Clearly Marama approved of her geography teachers teaching techniques and in some ways perceives him as a role model as she thinks he is cool. Marama also described her geography teacher as *friendly because he knows the students work habits*. This helped to further enhance the relationship between this teacher and these girls.

The girls were able to identify teachers who genuinely cared about their learning. This contributed to the positive relationship these girls had with some of their teachers. These girls felt that their teachers valued their learning, as they would go that extra mile to help them. For example, some teachers organised tutorials during lunchtime for these girls who needed extra help. Ngaire stated, *"Teachers are willing to help when you need it, and they have set up tutorials when you need extra help during lunchtime".*

Teachers who illustrated an in-depth-knowledge of their curriculum area gained trust from these girls. Trust was important aspect of their relationship. These girls like to know that what their teachers were telling them was accurate and that their teachers knew what they are talking about. For example, Ngaire recognised her art teacher had extensive knowledge, as he was able to answer any problems she had.

Hawk and Hill (2000) believe a good relationship between students and teachers is important because there is less likely to be friction and more enjoyable interactions. Hawk et al (2002) found seven characteristics that constituted an effective relationship with teachers and Maori and Pasifika students. These included: empathy, caring, respect, going the extra mile, passion to enthuse and motivate, patience and perseverance, belief in their ability. Marama, Ngaire, Ripeka and Aroha's relationship with their teachers illustrated some of these qualities such as caring, going the extra mile and motivation.

The Relationship between the Girls and their Friends

The positive relationship these girls shared with their friends proved to be critical to their success. Their friends impacted positively on their achievements by supporting and encouraging them. These girls shared similar goal with their peers. This made it easier for these girls to succeed as they were surrounded by friends that supported their achievements. Ngaire pointed out, *"Most of my friends are in my class and they want to go to University. All of them are doing bursary subjects so we have the same goal"*. Aroha, Ripeka and Marama's friends were not all taking bursary subjects however they were supportive of their achievements. For instance, Ripeka's stated, *"Some of my friends have the same goal like to go to University but others know what they want to do although it may not be to go to University but they still support me"*. Even though these three girls' friends did not share the same educational goals to attend University they remained supportive of each other's goals.

All four girls appeared to have a close relationship with their friends. For example Aroha and Marama formed study groups with their Maori peers and worked on assignments and exams together. This illustrated the close

relationship they had with their friends by caring and supporting each other's learning. Even though Ngaire and Ripeka did not form a study group with their friends one cannot assume that they did not have a close relationship with their friends. As mentioned earlier, Ngaire mentioned that her friends were supportive of her achievements, while Ripeka's mother noted that her daughter had responsible friends who supported her achievements.

The relationship these girls shared with their friends went beyond the boundaries of school. After school, these girls participated in numerous activities with their friends such as sports, movies, going out for lunch, going to concerts and parties. These activities helped to strengthen the relationship between these girls and their friends.

Marama's upbringing reflected her ability to establish relationships with people of different cultures. When growing up, Marama lived in different contexts: rural, semi rural and urban where she established relationships with Maori, Pakeha and Chinese families. At secondary school this skill was critical in establishing relationships with girls from other cultures. Marama identified her friends as Greek, Thai, Pacific Islanders Pakeha and Maori. Marama enjoyed learning about people's culture and demonstrated her tolerance towards other girls' culture.

There were times when their relationship was challenged. For example, Marama's relationship with her Pakeha peers at times was problematic because of the conflicting views they held. Marama tried to promote cooperative learning and to encourage her peers to help one another. However, her peers were reluctant to help others even after marks had been allocated. Nevertheless, a shift in attitude was present at senior level when non-Maori girls supportive of Maori girls' achievement, providing encouragement and positively acknowledging their success. The relationship between the girls and their peers at senior level appeared much stronger.

Across gender divisions, these girls established relationships with young men. Their relationships extended beyond their friends at school to include

boyfriends. Marama and Aroha's parents were concerned about their daughter's boyfriend. Their parents thought their boyfriends might be a distraction to their daughter's learning. However, these girls proved to their parents that their boyfriends were not a barrier to their learning. For instance, Marama mentioned that the time she spent with her boyfriend who was also Maori included working together on assignments as they both had similar educational goals. Aroha noted that she spent the majority of time with her boyfriend that meant she spent less time with her friends, which at times caused tension between her and her friends. Ripeka and Ngaire did not have a boyfriend, nevertheless they still interacted with boys. For example, Ripeka's mother noted the advantage of daughter staying at the hostel was the interaction and relationship she established with boys. For Ngaire she had male friends that she associated with through sports, parties and other social events.

The Parent- School Relationship

These parents made a conscious effort to establish a positive relationship with the school in order to support their daughter's achievements. However at times, the relationship between these parents and school were contested. Nonetheless, there were a number of ways these parents connected with the school that strengthened their relationship with the school and teachers. Active parental involvement in their daughter's education provided the opportunity to establish a relationship with the school. For example, these parents would attend parent's interviews, prize-giving, sports game, fundraising, concerts and other school related activities. These families were an important resource to these girls' achievement. As Petr (2003) points out, schools need to view the family as the most important resource that is identified as a key principle of family-school relationship.

The parents established a positive relationship with the school that provided the opportunity for their voices to be heard. This also gave the parents the chance to be actively involved in decision-making processes with the teachers and school. The parents ensured their voices were heard. For instance, if Aroha had any problems at school, her mother would approach the school to sort it out. All the

parents attended parent interviews where they could meet with their teachers to discuss any concerns about their daughters' educational progress.

However, not all Maori parents are able to establish a constructive relationship with schools. Some are deterred from forming relationships with schools of their own negative experiences growing up in the education system. Ripeka's mother identified this as an issue among her community where Maori parents had unpleasant experiences that made it difficult for them to approach teachers and the school. She cited, *"Most of the parents in this community want their children to do well but a lot of them are not sure how. Some of them come to parent's interviews because they want their children to do well. Yet there are some parents who don't come to parent's interviews because they had bad experiences at school, so it is really hard for them".* This becomes a problem for Maori families as Petr (2003) claims that school, teachers and parents need to work together, share information, offer opinions and explore options. If the relationship among parents and school is absent, parent's voices are often unheard.

This school recognised the strengths of each family. It is important for school to recognise these families' strengths as too often school view the families as having deficits (Petr, 2003). Some of the strengths these families displayed were: caring, supportive, involvement in school related activities, being helpful and approachable. This school recognised the strength each family displayed and as a result these families felt valued by the school.

At times, this school appeared to recognise and respect the diversity among these families. This was a way of strengthening the relationship between these families and the school. It was imperative for this school to recognise and respect diversity among these families as their values, norms and attitudes often differed from the school. For example the differences between the school and the family, to some extent were illustrated in the way in which success was defined and measured. Furthermore, the way these participants defined family included extended family members, which reflected their diversity. Although there were differences among these families and the school, there were also

commonalities, some of this could be attributed to factors such as Ripeka and Ngaire's mothers being Pakeha enabling them at various levels of engagement, but also that many of the parents worked in professional roles and many having their own educational successes to draw on. These factors contributed to their ability to reflect the culture of the school for their daughters.

The relationship between school and parents was contested at times. These parents were willing to challenge the school at different levels. This was evident when Ripeka's parents were informed by one of the teachers that they had to pay for their daughter's school trip. Ripeka's parents did not know anything about the school trip. They did not receive the panui from the school. These parents rang the school in regards to be better informed about panui coming home. Ripeka's mother also challenged this school when she rang about the powhiri, which this school did not have. As noted earlier, Aroha's mother was prepared to question the teachers regarding issues her daughter had at school. She would approach the school to sort out problems that her daughter encountered. Even though Marama's father was a School Principal, this did not protect him from stereotypical assumptions as the teacher judged him based on his ethnicity, implying that he was not capable of obtaining a high level of education. It is essential for these teachers to question racial assumptions and stereotypes if they are to form positive relationships with families at this school. There were no incidents that surfaced in Ngaire's parent's interview where they had any questions about c the school or had issues with the school.

SUMMARY

This chapter explored the dilemma of sameness and difference. At times, these girls embraced the idea of wanting to be the same. They wanted to fit in with the norm because of the negativity that surrounded their differences. Yet there were some consequences for accepting sameness. However, there were situations where these girls challenged the hegemonic assumption of sameness and viewed their differences in a positive light. The work of Te Hoe Nuku Roa provided a framework which to examine the girls' Maori identity that was one of the multiple identities they assumed. Whanau, school, Maori and non-Maori

peers help shape the girls' identities in positive and negative ways. Hegemony, social and cultural reproduction provided a lens which to analyse these girls' academic achievement. The schooling structure and the hegemonic norms appeared to hinder these girls' success. Examining the educational principles: egalitarianism and equity illustrated some of the inequalities in the education system particularly parent's occupation, income and qualifications. The meaning of success differed across contexts and at times differed within the same context that reflected contradictory views. Finally, the significant relationships these participants had established, not only among themselves but also with the school were contested at times. Nevertheless, these significant relationships had played a key role in these girl's achievements.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

This study explored four young Maori bursary girls' academic achievement. The thesis illustrated the way in which these girl's success was constructed within the contexts of home and school. Various people influenced the girls' achievements that at times facilitated success, while other times made it problematic. Even though these girls, with the help of their whanau successfully negotiated their way through the education system they had to contend with a number of complexities and contradictions.

Chapter one the introduction, drew upon my personal experience from which the focus of this study emerged. A brief vignette of my experience revealed some of the complexities that lead me to investigate what Maori girls have to contend with, as they attempt to gain school based credentials. However, my personal experience as a young Maori girl trying to succeed in the education system cannot be universalised to all Maori girls. There are manifold factors that impact on young Maori women's lives, which contribute to the need to investigate this topic. There are few studies that focus on Maori girls' educational success. This gap in the literature has provided the motivation and rationale to explore this issue further. This chapter also provided a brief overview of this thesis.

Chapter two explored the construction of Maori women in cosmological and tribal narratives. These archives reflect positive images of Maori women achievements. What is significant is that the multifaceted achievements of Maori women's were normalised in these contexts. These women were an essential part of Maori communities as they performed multifaceted roles. They held powerful positions and status within their tribes, some of who were leaders (Mahuika, 1973). Traditional Maori women were identified as bearers of

knowledge and posses of technology. Equally important is that these women shared the privilege position alongside Maori men.

In contrast, Chapter two reflected the construction of Maori women in relation to colonial contact. As a result of missionary arrival to Aotearoa, the western hegemonic view of gender relations downplayed Maori women's status and roles they performed in society. The images of Maori women shifted to represent Maori women in a narrower range of roles. Racial and patriarchal influences signalled a shift in Maori women's position across a range of spheres; socially, culturally, spiritually, politically and economically (Waitere-Ang, 1999). The dominant hegemonies impacted on the way Maori women viewed themselves and how others perceived them to be. Underachievement among Maori women increasingly became the acceptable norm.

This chapter further examined the values and views of the missionaries of that time which was reflected in the education system. Young Maori girls received limited opportunity to succeed in schools. For example, Maori girls were prevented from obtaining higher education (Jenkins & Matthews, 1998). Furthermore, Pakeha men believed more appropriate education for Maori girls was domestic or manual chores (ibid). The schooling system continued to construct young Maori women's success negatively. However during this time, Maori challenged the dominant ideologies that marginalised Maori girls' educational achievement (ibid).

Recent educational statistics paints a negative image about young Maori girls' achievement. Statistics show that Maori girls are under-performing in relation to non-Maori peers (Ministry of Education, 2000). The problem associated with statistics is that this data can influence the ways in which Maori come to view themselves and how others assumed them to be. Maori girls may come to believe that statistics is 'truth' and begin to live up to these expectations. According to Bennett (1995) statistics help us make assumptions and judgements about individuals. Based on educational statistics it is commonly assumed that Maori girls are underachievers. Statistics need to be treated with care because they can create, reinforce and perpetuate prejudices making it

difficult for Maori girls to achieve. In a positive light, statistics has provided the 'evidence' for Maori to endeavour for improved provisions for Maori girls.

Furthermore, chapter two theorised the way in which contemporary Maori girls' success is constructed in the education system through the notions of sameness and difference. Sameness is problematic for Maori girls as it involves the dominant group ignoring their differences that allows the dominant class to see themselves as neutral (Young, 1990). Consequently Maori girls are often perceived as the 'other' that has various consequences. There are number of different ways in which sameness is reinforced in the education system, for example through assimilation, hidden curriculum, hegemony and egalitarianism. Sameness locates Maori girls in a contradictory position. At times, Maori girls appeared to accept the hegemonic norms as a strategy to survive and succeed in the education system. For example, adopting the same identity as Pakeha makes it easier for Maori girls to succeed in school. However, there are negative consequences for adopting a Pakeha identity as this may lead to Maori girls being excluded or distance from their Maori peers. This can impact negatively on the girls' Maori identity and educational performance.

Chapter three outlined the methodology of this study. This chapter presented the research design and research methods utilised to gather and analyse the data. Qualitative research using semi-structured interviews was a way of obtaining the participants' views and opinions. Open-ended questions provided the opportunity to expand on the girls and their parent's ideas in-depth. In carrying out the study, there were a number of ethical issues that were considered so the rights of participants were protected. Research procedures described the steps undertaken in obtaining the data. Descriptive coding was used to analyse the interviews. The limitation of this study included the limited time to complete the study, as well as the snapshot perspective used to understand participants' experiences and views. No generalisations were made as a result of the small number of participants. The research methods were guided by philosophical positions grounded in critical theory, Kaupapa Maori theory and Maori centred approach. It is important to note that western methodological frameworks were used in this study however by themselves they fail to address Maori interests and

aspirations. Maori research paradigms were essential to this study as a ways of responding to the research issues raise by Maori and provide a theoretical lens to best understand these girl's realities.

Chapter four presented the findings of the study. This chapter attempted to explore the aims of this study. These included:

1. To investigate the factors that contributed to Maori girls' educational success

2. To investigate the factors that hindered Maori girls' educational achievement

3. To analyse the strategies the parents utilised to promote their daughters' educational success

The participants reflected a number of common perspectives that were cited in this chapter to exemplify their views. A short vignette for each of the girls and their parents were presented to provide an insight into the background of girl's lives. The six main themes that emerged from the data included: constructing a definition of success, stepping stones to success, the community endorsing the girls' Maori identity, school based factors influencing school choice, the determinants promoting Maori girls' achievement and stumbling blocks to success. These themes tell us there are many factors that contribute to Maori girls' success. However, there are also determinants that prevented them from succeeding. There was no single factor that led to academic success however there were some factors that appeared to have a greater emphasises on the girls' achievements such as their parents and whanau.

The participants' views and ideas about success were diverse. The definition, meaning and representation of success shifted and changed across context as noted by Ngaire's father. Although these participants identified a number of common characteristics that constituted success, they also illustrated contradictory views. The way in which success is defined in home and school

contexts influenced the girl's ideas of success that at times complicated this notion. These participants were grappling with the different ways of recognising success that changed. For example, at school success was most often perceived as something you worked towards for individual benefit, publicly recognised and measured by qualifications. In contrast to the home context, success was recognised more subtly and qualifications were not necessarily used to measure one's success. Additionally, achieving qualifications was viewed by the whanau as a collective process that would in turn be beneficial to the collective group or whanau.

In this section, the stepping-stones to success used to metaphorically represent the positive strategies these parents utilised to promote their daughters' educational achievement, were discussed. These strategies were fundamental as they provided the foundation for these girls' to achieve. From an early age: the parents positive attitude towards education, high whanau expectations, whanau support, discipline, parental involvement, and promoting self-esteem and confidence were reinforced and continually maintained throughout the girl's schooling experience. These strategies proved to be beneficial for these girls, especially at secondary level.

Three of the girls were brought up in a rural Maori community while the other student grew up in an urban environment. There were a number of advantages living within a Maori community. For example, Maori culture constituted the taken for granted norm. This was evident when the girls shifted to the urban community to attend secondary school and realised that they had to adjust and become more bilingual in the urban context. As Ngaire noted, *"Coming from a rural Maori community it was pretty much dominated by Maori there. Coming here (urban community) it was much more bilingual that meant I had to adjust"*. These girls had access to cultural resources in these Maori communities such as Maori language, Marae, whanau and iwi. The schools located in the Maori communities were better equipped at catering for the girl's Maori identity and culture. While on the other hand, the urban secondary school did not place a strong emphasis on Maori culture as the rural schools.

This mainstream single sex secondary school illustrated a number of attractive school-based factors that influenced the participants' choice of school. These included; positive profile, single sex education, a wide range of subjects and a variety of facilities and resources. It was the girl's choice which secondary school they wanted to attend although, their parents had their own opinions which school they thought was the best option for their daughter. These parents were satisfied with their daughter's final decision.

The girls displayed various personal characteristics that contributed to their learning. These girls illustrate some common but also different characteristics that made each girl unique. Some of the characteristics that emerged were: motivation, hard worker, committed, determination, confident and a secure Maori identity. Two of the students were able to self-reflect on their weakness, which they identified at times to be a barrier to their learning. The girls' friends appeared to have both a negative and positive influence on their achievements. Nevertheless, these girls were able to cope with the negative pressure from their peers that proved crucial to their success. At times, their teachers positively influenced the girls' success. They demonstrated various effective teaching qualities identified by these girls that enhance their learning. These included: explaining concepts clearly, sense of humour, in-depth knowledge in subject area, motivating students, interest in students and providing realistic learning activities. However some of the non-Maori teachers that treating all the students the same regardless of diverse background was deconstructive pedagogical practice. These teachers failed to recognise and address equity Maori girls and as a result Maori girls needs are not catered for.

Finally, the stumbling blocks to the girls' success included the issues surrounding a weak Maori identity, negative stereotypes and lack of confidence. The participants voiced their opinions about some of the issues that prevented Maori students in general from succeeding. This included: an insecure home environment and the inequalities reproduced by the education system. Despite the factors that hindered these girls' achievements, as noted earlier, there were factors and strategies that worked for these participants that enable the girls to succeed.

Chapter five analysed the findings of this study. The participants' dialogue and shared experiences were examined through utilising a number of theoretical constructs. The work of Te Hoe Nuku Roa (Durie et al, 1997) was used to examine these girls' Maori identity. A number of characteristics identified from this study help to understand these girls' Maori identity. This included; self-identification as Maori, whanau, whakapapa, Marae participation and contact with Maori people. A less significant factor that promoted the girls' Maori identity was Te Reo Maori. None of these girls continued to learn Te Reo Maori at secondary level and none could fluently speak the language. However, the decision not to speak Te Reo Maori was not straightforward. A number of issues surrounded the access to the language. For example, the bilingual unit was only being established when the girls started at this secondary school. This provided limited access for them to learn the Maori language.

A Maori identity was one of the multiple identities these girls' displayed. As Taylor (1999) reminds us, our identities are never static but dynamic. The girl's identities were continuously being reshaped by their whanau, peers, teachers and the school. The multiple identities these girls assumed revealed various complexities and contradictions. The whanau positively promoted these girls' Maori identity. However, at times whanau, teachers, non-Maori and Maori peers challenged their Maori identity. Nevertheless, there were times when these people positively influenced these girls. Other influences impacting on these girls' attitudes, behaviour and actions was the notion of being a school prefect combined with an adolescent identity. Ripeka assumed aspects of a school perfect identity, which sometimes created conflict and tension between her and her Maori peers. For example, Ripeka displayed characteristics of a school perfect that included being a conformist by obeying the rules of the school. Conversely, young junior Maori girls sought to challenge the system by disobeying the rules of the school. These opposing views at times distanced Ripeka from her Maori peers. An example of the complicated tensions, involved some junior Maori peers viewing Maori girls who were prefects negatively as 'Pakehafied', while others positively. According to some of the junior students, a 'cool prefect' was a student who did not consider themselves

to be of higher status the other students. Other attributes of a 'cool' school prefect included being a role model, effective communication skills and establishing a positive relationship among students. Despite these complexities Marama, Ngaire, Ripeka and Aroha constantly adjusted and modified their identities in order to succeed.

The girls' schooling experience illustrated the ways in which hegemonic assumptions influenced their perceptions and views. Hegemony is concealed within the structures of the education system (Gramsci, 1971). Hegemony works to support the status quo while on the other hand disadvantage Maori. An important component of hegemony is that the dominant culture is assumed neutral or common sense. There were a number of examples of the way in which hegemony was played out in the girls' educational experience. For instance, Maori girls internalised the hegemonic norm that Maori meant that they were intellectual inferior to Pakeha. Hegemonic ideologies were also evident when these girls believed Pakeha girls' success was perceived as common sense or natural. While Maori girls achievement was perceived exceptional.

Although two of the students had Pakeha mothers, Maori parents also had access to cultural capital that served their daughters well in schools. The majority of these parents had professional occupations. Two parents were teachers and one a school Principal that help to breach the division between the girls and the school. These parents had an insight of how to best support their daughters achievements as they familiar with the 'ins' and 'outs' of the education system. The impact of parent's occupation on the girl's achievement reflected the educational principles of egalitarianism and equity. For instance, egalitarianism implies that every student has equal opportunity to access education (Allen, 1990). The girls in this study were fortunate to have access to required knowledge needed to achieve school credentials provided by their parents. Yet, not all students have parents who can provide them with the knowledge needed to support their achievements. Consequently, some students are privileged while others are not. Equity provisions are therefore essential in helping disadvantaged groups achieve more equitable outcomes.

These girls and their whanau understood the complexities of trying to succeed in a Pakeha dominated education system as they lived out some of the contradictions. The notion of success was complex in that it was defined differently across contexts. Further complicating matters, the concept was also seen to be defined differently within the same contexts. For instance, in the home context when two different cultures intersected, showed a reflection of the different interpretations of success. Ripeka's parents' ideas about success appeared to pass through their differing cultural epistemologies and their ideas about success which at times sent contradictory messages to their daughter. These girls received mixed messages about success that appeared to be influenced by dominant hegemonic norms as well as a Maori worldview that complicated the notion. Further, contradictions were evident in the parents' dialogue. Some of the participants believed qualifications were not a measure of one's success or not necessarily considered a component of success. Yet qualification for these participants were important as they often implicitly referred to success in relation to qualifications. For example, Marama referred to her aunties as being successful in regards to their occupation status. The parents were sending mixed messages to their daughters that qualifications were important but also reinforced the idea that it was their choice whether they wanted to obtain school credentials or not. However these parents subtly conveyed the idea that they wanted their daughter's to continue their education at tertiary level. This was evident in the ways in which these parents supported their daughter's achievements through parental involvement, high expectations and positive attitude towards education.

Whanau, school, Maori and non-Maori peers influenced the girls' ideas about success. These groups in some ways shared common characteristics of what constitutes success while others reflected differences. Aspects of success identified by the whanau included, establishing significant relationships, collectively supporting one's achievement and viewing success for the collective group rather than for individual benefit. At school, some Maori and non-Maori ulitised an individual approach to achieving success. Marama, Ripeka, Aroha and Ngaire's ideas about success represented aspects from both groups.

However, when trying to validate characteristics of success defined by the whanau in the school context, it proved problematic. For example, Marama applied a cooperative and collective approach to achieving qualifications. She established a study group with her friends to help support each other's learning. Nevertheless in the school context, this was not the preferred way of achieving success. She was challenged and subjected to negative comments by her peers because she took a different approach to learning that was not widely accepted in this school.

The significant relationships established between these participants and others played a key role in the girls' success. The positive relationships included: the girls and their whanau, the girls and their peers, the girls and their teachers, and the parents and school. To some extent, these relationships were underpinned by several values such as aroha, manaakitanga, awhina, tiaki and tautoko. At different times, these relationships were challenged. For example, the relationship between these girls and their Maori and non-Maori peers were sometimes contested. At junior level, the potent peer pressure had a negative impact on these girls relationship. Nevertheless, at senior level their relationship appeared stronger as the majority of their peers both Maori and non-Maori were focused on achieving school qualifications. The teacher and parents relationship was also challenged at times. These parents were prepared to question the school regarding issues they had.

The notion of sameness and difference provided a lens through which the girls' educational success could be critiqued. Recognising and ignoring cultural differences made success problematic for these girls. Nevertheless, according to Johnston (1999), recognising social groups difference outweighs the benefits of ignoring differences.

Minow (1985) recognised the dilemma of difference. For instance, recognising and ignoring group difference had negative consequences. The consequence of focusing on Maori girls differences resulting in these girls being treated negatively by their Pakeha peers. Furthermore recognising these girls' differences contributed to the normalisation of the Pakeha girls' culture.

Young (1990) outlined three oppressive consequences for ignoring difference. Firstly the dominant group who ignore difference disadvantage other groups. Maori girls' differences were ignored by the some non-Maori teachers at this school, which limited their opportunity to succeed. For instance, the teachers treated all the students the same regarding of their diverse background. In doing so, they failed to recognise Maori girls' difference that meant Maori girls' needs were not recognised nor catered for. If these Maori girls needs were catered for it was often based on the norms of the Pakeha culture (Simon, 1996). The second consequence refers to the notion of a universal humanity without social group differences, which allows the dominant group to ignore their own group differences. Pakeha girls and teachers occupy the norm and were unaware of their privilege position. For example, Maori girls were given the opportunity to apply for Maori scholarship as a way of addressing the inequalities in the system. However, Pakeha girls' thought this was unfair as they failed to recognise that groups' differences are not equal and that they occupied the position of power. Thirdly, Maori girls are assumed to deviate from the norm in these instances they struggle with beliefs about inferiority.

These girls' differences as Maori were often constructed by the school, teachers and their peers negatively. This provided an explanation why these girls, at times wanted to be the same. For example, the girls did not want to be treated differently by their teachers. They did not want to be singled out or perceived to be different. The girls noted that their teachers treated the same as other peers. The teacher reinforced the egalitarian principle – everyone should be treated equal (Allen, 1990). However, what these teachers and these students failed to recognise and address was the concept of equity that implies treating different groups in different way in order to achieve more equal outcome as not all students have the same opportunity to succeed in the education system.

The notion of sameness was evident when Ngaire was assumed to be like a Pakeha girl. This created what Young (1990) calls double consciousness characteristics of oppression. Although Ngaire may appear to fit in with her Pakeha friends by adopting aspects of their culture as a strategy to succeed in

education. She was also marked as different because she was Maori thus unable to simply fit.

There were several consistent points that surfaced in this study.

As the opening narrative attests, there were various complexities Maori girls contend with and need to overcome if they are to succeed in the education system. The way in which success was defined and measured varied within different contexts. Maori girls' perceptions of success were influenced by various people, some of whom illustrated conflicting views. These girls' ideas about success illustrated some of these contradictions. For example, Ngaire was influenced by the hegemonic norm that success was viewed individually as she noted, *"Success to one Maori girl may be the same as it is for another"*. While on the other hand, she was also influenced by her whanau ideas about success that was not necessarily endorsed in the school context. There is a need for school to promote, support and give public recognition to other ways of measuring achievement, and to other areas of achievement to help validate other group ways of viewing success.

A common problem for a number of teachers in this study was that they unconsciously assumed their culture to be neutral. Teachers appeared to advance the educational principle of egalitarianism reinforcing the idea that every student has equal opportunity to succeed. However, there are some groups that are identified as disadvantaged thus not having the same opportunities to excel in schools. It is important for teachers to promote equity in order for particular groups to have a better chance at success. This may mean schools having to look their ability to extend cultural needs to of particular groups. Equally important, is for schools to provide Maori girls with additional assistance with schoolwork and to provide support learning networks for them that include celebrating collective group orientation to learning and teaching as seen by Marama and Aroha.

The parents in this study played a fundamental role in the girl's success. These parents called on and utilised a number of strategies they drawn from their own educational opportunities and occupation. For instance, these parents had the cultural capital to be able to assistance their daughter's educational achievements, especially the girls who had teachers as parents. These parents understood what and how to teach their daughters the fundamental knowledge required to achieve in schools.

Whanau support proved critical for these girls' achievement. The girls identified whanau support as one of the main reasons they reached bursary level. The whanau high expectations were a motivational factor for these girls' to succeed. The whanau provided a mechanism to connect school and home as a way of supporting these girls' achievements. The relationship between home and school was relatively straightforward as two of these parents were teachers and one a School Principal. However, if the teachers at this school were not tolerant of these families difference, the relationship between the families and school becomes problematic. One of the parents was subjected to stereotypical assumptions by two of the teachers at this school that may have further complicated the relationship between this family and the school. It is essential for teachers to challenge and reflect on their racial assumptions and stereotypes to help promote Maori girls' success.

As a result of this research, there were a number of further questions that remained unanswered. For instance, what are the strategies schools utilise to promote Maori girls' identity? This research reflected mixed marriages between Maori and Pakeha. It would be interesting to investigate the impact of culturally diverse marriages on Maori girls' educational success. The parent's occupations appeared to positively influence the girls' educational success as the majority of them had professional occupations. A question to investigate is to see if there are any differences between Maori girls' academic success and their parent's occupation. At times, a number of Maori peers at this school discouraged Maori girls from achieving. Further research is needed to understand the reason why Maori peers negatively influence Maori girls' educational achievement.

"Having an awareness of someone else's culture is not stating that their culture is right and yours is wrong. But it is saying, this is my culture and all I want you to do is respect it because it is a part of me". This concluding statement from one of the participants reflects the notion that culture in school needs to be valued and embraced. It is essential to celebrate cultural differences positively. As illustrated in this statement, identity and culture is important to one's sense of self. At times, Maori cultural group's identity is challenged, as the dominant group's culture is assumed neutral. A key to understanding and respecting other's people's culture is to have awareness and reflect upon one's own culture and identity. Above all, these parents wanted their daughter's to achieve school based success by attending credentials but not at the cost of loosing their own culture and identity.

GLOSSARY

Aotearoa	Original Maori name for New Zealand
Aroha	Love
Awhina	Embracing
Hapu	Sub-tribe
Hui	Meeting, gathering, occasion
Iwi	Tribe
Iwi kawa	Tribal protocols and customs
Kanohi ki te kanohi	Face to face
Kapahaka	Concert group
Karanga	Call
Kaupapa	Essence, theme
Kaupapa Maori	Essence of Maori, Maori strategy, philosophy
Kawa	Protocol
Korero	Talk, speech

Kuia	Old woman
Kura Kaupapa Maori	Maori primary school
Maori	Normal, people of this land
Maoriness	Everything Maori about a person or object
Mana	Power, prestige, reputation
Mana Maori	Maori control
Mana tangata	Personal dignity
Mana wahine	Integrity, women of renown
Mana wahine Maori	Maori feminist framework
Manaakitanga	Caring
Marae	Forecourt and buildings of meeting house
Mokopuna	Grandchildren
Ngati Kahungunu	Tribe situated in the Hawkes Bay and Wairarapa Area
Nga Puhi	Northern tribe
Ngati Porou	A tribe of East Coast of North Island
Pakeha	People of European origin
Panui	Newsletter

Papatuanuku	Earth mother
Pepeha	A way of introducing yourself in Maori
Powhiri	Formal welcoming ceremony
Rangatahi	Maori youth
Rangitane	A tribe of the Manawatu area
Rarohenga	World of dark or underworld
Rumaki	Immersion
Tangata whenua	People of the land; people from that place, hosts
Te Ao Marama	World of light
Te Arawa	A tribe of Rotorua
Te Kohanga Reo	Kindergartens where instructions is given in Maori language
Te Ika a Maui	The North Island
Te puna roimata	Spring of tears or the tear cuts from where the tears come from
Te Reo Maori	Maori language
Tautoko	Support
Tiaki	Guidance

Tikanga Maori	Maori customs, protocols and traditions
Tino Rangatiratanga	Self rule, governance
Tupapaku	Deceased
Wahine	Woman (singular)
Wahine rangaitra	Freewomen
Waiata	Chants, songs
Waiata Tawhito	Ancient Maori songs or chants from the olden days
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whanau	Extended family
Whakahihi	Arrogant, officious, smug
Whakataukii	Proverbs
Whaikorero	Formal speech making
Whenua	Land, after birth
Whenua tipu	Ancestral land

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

INFORMATION SHEET FOR STUDENTS

Title: *Raising Maori Girls' Academic Achievement in Secondary School*

Researcher: Rochelle Mackintosh
Contact No:
Address:

Supervisor:
Name:
Email address:
Tel:
Contact address: Massey University College of Education,
                         Private Bag 11 222,
                         Palmerston North

What is the study about?

My study is about what Maori girls do that helps them pass exams at secondary school. This study is interested in finding ways to help Maori girls gain better exam results. This study will also find out factors that stop Maori girls from learning better at school. The study will show what parents do that helps their child succeed in education. Parents will be asked to list the things that they think stop their child from passing exams or doing well at school. This study requires *both the student and their parents to participate*. You may/may not be taking part in the study but this information is to give you a general idea about my study.

Those taking part in the study are asked to do:

- Sign a form to show that you know what the study is about and that you will take part in an interview. If you want to we can tape your answers to the questions using an audiotape.

How much time is involved?

The interview will last about one hour. At a later date, you will be asked to check over your answers from the interview to make sure that it is correct that is, what you said and what you meant then return either in person or by stamped address return envelope provided, by specified date. The information from the interviews will be discusses by the interviewer in written form then return either in person or by stamped address return envelope provided, by specified date.

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

- Decide not to answer any questions that you feel you can not answer and you have the right to pull out of the study at any time.
- You may ask me extra questions if you want to.
- Your information that you give me might be used again in other studies, but your name and other information which may 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.
- You can say no to any tape recordings.
- You can also 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 any names.
- No personal information will be passed on to any other person or groups.
- I will make a code up for your name so that your information will remain private.
- All the tapes and information collected from you will be locked away safely.

If you have any questions about the study please do not hesitate to ask me or my supervisor.

If you decide to participate, please sign the consent form and put it in the envelope with tear off information below. Thank you.

I am willing to learn more about the possibility of being involved in the study.

Name: _____

Contact: _____

APPENDIX 2

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARENTS/GUARDIANS

Title: *Raising Maori Girls' Academic Achievement in Secondary School*

Ko Hikurangi te maunga,

Ko Waiapu te awa,

Ko Ngati Porou te iwi,

Ko Rochelle Mackintosh taku ingoa.

Researcher: Rochelle Mackintosh

Contact No:

Address:

Supervisor:

Name:

Email address:

Telephone:

Contact address:

What is the study about?

The research is part of my Masters study. The research focuses on Maori girls' academic achievement at bursary level. This research will investigate the factors that contribute to, or act as barriers to academic success of Maori girls and their parents. The research will identify the future academic aspirations of Maori girls (currently at bursary level) and their parents. Both students and their parents are required for this study. It would be more beneficial to have both parents participate in this study, however, where only one parent/guardian is available, an older family member is most welcome to take part. It is hoped that the results of this study may identify strategies that Maori girls and their parents will find useful in negotiating their way through education in order to achieve success.

What are participants asked to do?

Sign a consent form to show that they are aware of what the project involves and that they accept the invitation to participate in a questionnaire and an interview detailing your views about your child's educational experiences. This will be audio taped if acceptable.

How much time is involved?

The interview will take approximately one hour. The questionnaire will be sent out with a returned stamped envelope and will take approximately 10-20 minutes. The transcribed information from the interviews will be returned to the participants to amend material if needed either in person or by stamped addressed return envelope provided, by specified date. At a later date, a copy of the analysed information of the interviews will be returned to the participants to amend material if needed either in person or by stamped addressed return envelope provided, by specified date.

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

- Refuse to answer any particular questions, and to withdraw from the study at any time.
- Ask any further questions that occur to you during the course of the study.
- Provide information on the understanding that it will be used for academic purposes only and the information will be confidential and anonymous.
- Have access to the summary of the findings when it is complete.
- Refuse to agree to the interview being audio taped.
- Have the tape turned off at any time during the interview.

How is confidentiality and privacy to be ensured?

- Data collected will not identify anyone by name.
- No personal information will be passed on to any other person or agency.
- Data analysis will be undertaken and reported in such a way that information cannot be directly linked to anyone.
- Material used to collect information will be kept in a secure place accessed only by the researcher and destroyed when it is no longer needed for the study.

Committee Approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Ethics Committee, PN Protocol 03/36. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Professor Sylvia V Rumball, Chair, Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: Palmerston North, telephone 06 350 5249, email S.V.Rumball@massey.ac.nz.

If you have any questions regarding any aspect of the research, please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisor.

If you decide to participate in this study, please sign the consent form and put it in the envelope with the tear off sheet below. Thank you.

I am willing to learn more about the study, possibility of being involved in the study.

Name: _____

Contact: _____

APPENDIX 3

LETTER OF INVITATION (STUDENTS)

To

Title: *Raising Maori Girls' Academic Achievement at Secondary School.*

Kia Ora,

My name is Rochelle Mackintosh. I am in my final year of completing a degree at Massey University College of Education. My study is about what girls do that enable them to pass exams at secondary school. My study specifically looks at year thirteen Maori girls and their parents. This study is interested in finding ways to help Maori girls gain better exam results. This study will also find out factors that stop Maori girls from learning better at school. The study will focus on what parent's do that helps their daughter to succeed in education. Parents will be asked to list the things that they think stop their child from passing exams. I have talked to the Principal of your school about my study and I have got their approval to undertake this study.

This letter is to ask you to be a part of my study. I have put in a sheet that will give you more information on my study. 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   of September 2003 at the latest. I will contact you at a later date to set details.

Thank you,

.

Yours sincerely,
Rochelle Mackintosh

APPENDIX 4

LETTER OF INVITATION (PARENTS/GUARDIANS)

Ko Hikurangi te maunga,

Ko Waiapu te awa,

Ko Ngati Porou te iwi,

Ko Rochelle Mackintosh taku ingoa.

Title: Raising Maori Girls' Academic Achievement at Secondary School.

Dear Parents/Guardians

Kia Ora.

My name is Rochelle Mackintosh and I am completing a Master of Education at Massey University College of Education. My research focuses on Maori girls' academic achievement at bursary level. This research will investigate the factors, that a group of Maori girls and their parents identify as having contributed to or acted as barriers to their academic success. I have received approval from the Principal and Board of Trustees to conduct this study. This letter is an invitation for the participation of parents in my study. An information sheet is attached to give you more details about the research. Please return the attached sheet below if you are interested as soon as possible or by   of September 2003 at the latest in the envelope provided.

Thank you,

Rochelle Mackintosh

APPENDIX 5

CONSENT FORM FOR STUDENTS

Title: Raising Maori Girls' Academic Achievement at Secondary School

I have read the information sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me.

My questions have been answered and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and to that I do not have to answer any particular questions.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that my name will not be used without my permission.

The information will be used only for this study and publications arising from this project.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audiotape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signed: _____

Name: _____

Parent's consent (signed): _____

APPENDIX 6

CONSENT FORM FOR THE PARENTS/GUARDIANS

Title: *Raising Maori Girls' Academic Achievement at Secondary School*

I have read the information sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me.

My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and to that I do not have to answer any particular questions.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that my name will not be used without my permission.

The information will be used only for this study and publications arising from this project.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audiotape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signed: _____

Names: _____

APPENDIX 7

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

PARENTS

- Parents/whanau – influences, expectations, interest, encouragement, time, support, interruptions
- Learning environment – space, time, books
- Discipline – Strategies to help you remain focused

SCHOOL

- Teachers – expectations, teaching skills, encouragement, support
- Friends – peer pressure, same interest, supportive
- School subjects – wider range of subjects, more practical subjects

STUDENTS

- Attitudes and motivation to school – enjoys school, importance of education
- Time management – Assessments, homework
- Role models – whanau members, peers
- Difficulties at school – remain focused, resources
- Opportunities the school provides, positive aspects of school
- Main reason for coming this far and completing bursary
- Concerns about Maori girls in education - stereotypes
- Specific approaches to deal with challenges/issues
- Career goals or future aspirations – what you want to be or do

APPENDIX 8

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE – PARENTS

1. *PARENTS/HOME*

- Parents/whanau influences on student's achievement – expectations, attitudes, beliefs, involvement, greatest influence, interest, time and upbringing
- Home and learning environment – time, space, resources
- Community influence
- Future aspirations and career plans for your daughter
- Reflections as parents – what would you do differently and why?

2. *STUDENTS*

- Personal qualifies contributed to your child's achievement
- Factors that have made your daughter come this far
- Barriers/challenges and strategies to overcome the issues
- Concerns or issues about Maori girls and education

3. *SCHOOL/TEACHERS*

- Teachers – encouraging, supportive, positive attitudes, teaching styles
- Role models – peers, whanau member
- Maori culture/experience – upbringing, kapa haka
- School curriculum – what should be included/not included, extra curricula activities
- Attitudes, practices and environment of the school – type of school culture, environment
- Students view of school/education – provides them opportunities