









Articulating a pedagogy of success for Pacific students in tertiary education

Margaret Southwick, Wendy Scott, Jean Mitaera, Theresa Nimarota and Louise Falepau





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Following a peer review process, this project was a successful applicant to, and supported through the Ako Aotearoa National Project Fund 2013.

The report is available for download at www.akoaotearoa.ac.nz/pedagogy-success-pacific

Publisher

Ako Aotearoa – The National Centre for Tertiary Teaching Excellence PO Box 756 Wellington 6140 www.akoaotearoa.ac.nz

Published

March 2017

ISBN: 978-0-947516-70-3 (online)



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Acknowledgements:

Those who leap into the void owe no explanations to those who stand and watch.

(adapted from Jean-Luc Godard)

This may be the wishful battle cry of any group of researchers as they approach the end of their projects, but no group of researchers ever came to the end of a project without incurring a litany of debts to those who helped them on the way. To the extent that the body of this report constitutes our explanation, there remains the fact that we have not reached this point without considerable help.

In that spirit, we would like to acknowledge our indebtedness to those who helped get us here.

In particular, we would like to acknowledge the leadership of Peter Coolbear, Director, Ako Aotearoa New Zealand (Ako). This project owes much to his continued wise council and stewardship. Similarly, we would like to record the unwavering support from Rhonda Thomson, Ako Aotearoa's Project Funds Manager, who has been instrumental in enabling the team to work its way through some challenging issues during the course of the project. Both Peter and Rhonda in their relative roles have been sources of comfort and consolation when things were going badly, and eternally optimistic that the ambitions of this project could be realised and make a significant contribution. We would also like to acknowledge Linda Aumua, Chair, and members of Ako Aotearoa's Pacific Peoples' Caucus for the ongoing work they do promoting the agenda for equity and excellence for Pacific peoples in Tertiary Education.

The Whitireia team is also indebted to the project partners from other tertiary institutions that have been involved in some way or another over the past two years. We would like to particularly acknowledge Dr Fotu Fisi'iahi, Sue Gasquoine and the Nursing and Social Work staff at Unitec; Associate Professor Koloamatangi at Massey University; and Dr Willem Fourie and Nursing staff at Manukau Institute of Technology.

Others who provided support and encouragement are the colleagues who, along with Dr Margaret Southwick, have been delivering the Postgraduate Certificate, Diploma and Masters programmes to Pacific Registered Nurses under the Whitireia/Aniva banner since 2012. The pedagogical approach used to frame the teaching/learning experiences for these programmes is largely derived from the learning gained from the project being reported here. Thanks to Dr Debbie Ryan, Fuimaono Karl Pulotu-Endemann, Jonathan Malifa and Racheal Fleming.

We acknowledge Whitireia Community Polytechnic and the Health Faculty which provided the institutional support and location for this project. For a mainstream organisation, the discourse that is canvassed in this project can seem at times challenging and uncomfortable. We recognise this, but do not resile from our leadership responsibility to contribute a Pacific perspective. We do so safe in the knowledge that Whitireia has been, and continues to be, dedicated to the values of equity and inclusiveness upon which we were founded. In that spirit, we acknowledge the ongoing support and solidarity of the staff and students of the Health Faculty, with a particular nod to the Bachelor of Nursing Māori programme.

To the staff and students of the Bachelor of Nursing Pacific and Bachelor of Social Work at Whitireia Community Polytechnic, we thank you. You all contributed to the successful execution of this project and we thank you for your eagerness to participate and the honesty of your reflections, and we earnestly hope that we have done justice to the stories you had to tell.

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Introduction

For at least the past decade, Whitireia Community Polytechnic (WCP) has been delivering a number of programmes for which the completion and success rates of Pacific students are comparable to those achieved by non-Māori, non-Pacific students in the same or similar programmes nationally. This record of achievement is in stark contrast to the success rates reportedly achieved by Pacific students enrolled in the wider tertiary education context.

The thesis for this project is that, in the case of these successful programmes, Pacific students' teaching/learning experience is underpinned by a particular pedagogical approach — an approach that accounts for the levels of success achieved over the past decade. The intention of this project is to identify why and how these WCP programmes have been able to achieve this measure of success by making explicit the factors that constitute the pedagogical approach underpinning these programmes.

This aspect of the project was informed by an Appreciative Inquiry (AI) approach, which argues that focussing on what works well is a more valid basis for planning change than planning change from a problem-based perspective (Cooperrider & Srivastva, 1987; Cooperrider & Pasmore, 2005; Shuayb, Sharp, Judkins & Hetherington, 2009; Harmon, Fontaine, Plews-Ogan & Williams, 2012). There are limitations to this approach and, as we will argue through this report, while AI worked well as a methodological approach for aspects of the project, the overarching and epistemological underpinnings of this project are deeply rooted in Critical Social Theory.

More than the mere description that can be achieved through AI, the intention of this project was to engage in a critically reflective approach that not only challenged our norms, habituated practices and taken-for-granted assumptions, but which was also a necessary consciousness-raising exercise to be able to articulate the pedagogical approach of success for Pacific students.

Project Aims and Objectives and Definitions

Despite considerable concern expressed about the continuing under-achievement of Pacific students in tertiary education, the evidence suggests only minimal improvements to completion and success statistics for Pacific students have been achieved in the past ten years.

This project was designed to explicate what made programmes successful and to share this knowledge with other programmes/institutions that were committed to making a difference for their Pacific students. The project began by asking why these Whitireia programmes have been successful. What was the evidence that they were as successful as was claimed, what was the pedagogical approach adopted in these programmes, and was this approach the reason for their successful track record?

The aims, goals and objectives set out at the beginning of the project were:

Aims:

- 1. To contribute to improved completion and success for Pacific students engaged in tertiary education through the articulation of a pedagogy of education that would enhance the likelihood of their success.
- 2. To provide a critique of institutional educational barriers that makes completion and success difficult for Pacific students.

Goals/Objectives:

- 1. Articulate a pedagogical framework for successful achievement for Pacific learners.
- 2. Work with collaborative partners/teaching teams to identify and articulate the systemic barriers to Pacific student success and demonstrate the effective transfer of knowledge embedded in a transformational pedagogical approach.
- 3. Demonstrate leadership in the promotion of Pacific student success.

The aims and goals of this project were designed to challenge the prevailing deficit model of education delivery experienced by Pacific learners. In this ambition, we believe the project is fully aligned to the vision of Ako Aotearoa articulated as "the best possible educational outcomes for all learners" (Alkema, 2012).

"Pacific" – a stipulative definition and use within the context of this project

Throughout this report, we refer to "Pacific students" and, for the purposes of this report, we are primarily referring to students enrolled in tertiary education who self-identify as being a member of, or affiliated to, at least one South Pacific nation state. The critical aspect of this definition is that it is open to self-identification. The majority of the Pacific students enrolled in the programmes we centred this study around are New Zealand-born. Many students self-identify with more than one ethnic/cultural group. By virtue of their accepted enrolment in tertiary education, these Pacific students are either New Zealand citizens or have permanent residency status. Not all Pacific students were competent/confident speakers of languages other than English.

We are aware of the criticism that is sometimes levelled at research that talks about "Pacific" experiences instead of specific Pacific ethnic groups' experiences (Ministry of Social Development, 2012). The argument is that in generalising all Pacific cultures we lose the richness that is provided by the diverse culture of the Pacific. We are also aware that the label "Pacific" is a concept of convenience, particularly for non-Pacific people for whom the nuanced layers of meaning by which Pacific people name and identify themselves within their own communities represents more detail and specificity than we felt could be managed within the context of this project.

Acknowledging what some might see as a shortcoming, the research team's position is that the primary intent of this project is to make the case that poor Pacific student results are not about the inadequacy in individual students. Rather, poor results are more a consequence of the inadequacies of a system that has resulted in a normalising and self-perpetuating a deficit approach.

We would argue that the system has normalised the perception of non-achievement or failure of Pacific students to the extent that the problem is defined almost exclusively as a problem of Pacific students rather than a failure of the system to adequately address the learning and educational needs of these students. This argument goes to the heart of this project. If the issue of Pacific student achievement was about the ability of the Pacific learner, then it follows logically that systematic success would be unachievable. If, however, as we have found from our own experiences, we problematise the delivery of education (the system) and evidence measurably improved completion and success rates, then it follows logically that the problem lies more with the system than with the individual student. This positioning is supported by academics such as Bartolomé (1998), for example, whose modest text entitled "The Misteaching of Academic Discourses: The Politics of Language in the Classroom" is an attempt to discuss the dominant deficit ideology that underlies the cultural difference explanations of academic underachievement of minority students in a United States of America context.

James Paul Gee, writing a Foreword to Bartolomé's treatise, had some particularly pertinent observations to make that are relevant to our own project. He begins with the observation that:

For quite some time now, we have asked: why do so many minority and poor children fail in school? And, indeed, mounds of research devoted to this question have piled up, even as these children continue to fail. (Gee as cited in Bartolomé, 1998, p.ix).

Later in the same text, he makes the telling statement that "this situation – where we can attribute failure to the children rather than to our society, works because we systematically hide the information that would enable these students to fully participate" (Gee as cited in Bartolomé', 1998, p.xiii).

All of this is to make the point that this project is not primarily directed at Pacific communities – although we acknowledge that this is a discussion that is of profound interest to them. This project is primarily directed at the society that has the power to change the way a dominant cultural ideology operates to systematically disenfranchise Pacific students in a tertiary education context.

"Pedagogy" - a stipulative definition and use within the context of this project

Another concept that we will clarify at the outset is to make explicit what we understand by the term 'pedagogy'. A simple dictionary reference describes the term as a noun meaning "the science of teaching" (Allen, 1990). Such a simplistic definition would fail to convey the depth of commitment the Project Team has to the concept of 'pedagogy' in the tradition informed by scholars such as Habermas (1971), Freire (1994, 2013), Carr and Kemmis (1986), hooks (1990, 1994) and Gadotti (1996). We will expand on this concept in the pages that follow. Sufficient for now is to signal that the concept of 'pedagogy' as it is used in this project is informed by the critical social theories of these radical scholars of educational practice. In the forward to his book, "Pedagogy of Praxis" (1996), Gadotti writes:

... the pedagogy of praxis evokes the radical tradition of education. In this tradition, praxis means transformative action. The kind of education that copies models, that wishes to reproduce models, doesn't stop being praxis, but is limited to a reiterative, imitative and bureaucratised praxis. Quite different from this, transforming praxis is essentially creative, daring, critical and reflexive. Pedagogy of praxis intends to be a pedagogy for transforming education (p. xvii).

The relevance of this approach will become clearer in the section that describes the programmes used as exemplars in this project.

Project Background and Literature Review

The evidence-based need for this project can be attributed to a number of sources that, over the past decade, have reported a persistent record of low achievement for Pacific students in tertiary education. (Arini, Anae, M., Mila-Schaaf, K., Coxon, E., Mara, D., and Sanga, K. 2010; Statistics New Zealand 2010; Horrocks, J., Ballantyne, N., Silao, A., Manuelli, K., and Fairbrother, P. 2012; Chu, C., Samala Abella, I., and Paurini, S. 2013).

While across the tertiary sector some level of improvement in participation and success rates are noted by the Tertiary Education Commission's 2011 Performance Report, the numbers still do not reflect a level of achievement relative to the proportion of the Pacific population compared to that of the total population. The Statistics NZ Report 2010 also cautions that there is some evidence that, while Pacific student participation rates have increased in the last few years, retention rates have decreased during the same period. They sound the warning that the persistence of poor completion rates means that the increase in Pacific participation in Tertiary Education may not lead to improved educational outcomes, especially at the higher level. This issue is made even more acute in the current environment of "capped" Equivalent Full Time Students (EFTS) in which risk-averse tertiary institutions may make access an even greater barrier for Pacific students.

That this record remains a concern is evidenced by the government's Tertiary Education Strategy 2010-2015 (MoE, 2010), which indicates to Tertiary Education Institutions that a focus of government policy is to continue to strive for improved achievement in relation to those priority groups such as Māori and Pacific.

The Ministry of Education's Profile & Trends 2014: Tertiary Education Outcomes and Qualification Completions Report indicates that there have been substantial increases in the number of bachelor degree qualifications gained by Māori and Pacific in recent years. However, the report cautions not to expect the trend of improvement to necessarily continue. The improvements noted in the report are largely attributed to "the population bulge of young people moving into tertiary education, as well as increases in participation rates at bachelor degree level" (Ministry of Education, 2014, p.7). These increases will stabilise as a result of a slowing down of the population bulge. So, while there are increased numbers of Pacific students successfully completing bachelor degree programmes, issues of inequity continue for both Māori and Pacific students.

Some comparisons have been selected from the report to provide a picture and context for the argument that, despite some level of improvement (which may only reflect increased numbers rather than real progress), inequity remains an issue.

Table 1: Proportion of population aged 15 years and over with tertiary qualifications by ethnic group

	Bachelor Degree or Higher		Other Tertiary Qualification	
	2004	2014	2004	2014
European	13%	21%	38%	32%
Māori	4.3%	9.8%	32%	28%
Pacific	4.7%	7.8%	23%	22%

Other ¹	29%	34%	22%	23%

Source: Ministry of Education (MoE) 2014, p.8.

The MoE Report provides a comparative picture of completion rates across all qualification levels between 2009 and 2014 by ethnic groups. During this period, course completion rates for Māori increased by 10 points to 75% and by 8 percentage points for Pacific students to 74%. "This compared to a course completion rate of 87% for Asian and 86% for European" (p.23).

The course completion rates for domestic students enrolled in bachelor degree programmes across all ethnic groups are represented in the following table (table 2).

Table 2: Course completion rates of domestic students in bachelor degrees by ethnic group

	2009	2013	2014
European	85%	88%	87%
Māori	70%	77%	77%
Pacific	65%	71%	71%
Asian	83%	86%	86%
Other ²	78%	83%	83%
Total	83%	86%	85%

Source: Ministry of Education, 2014, p.23.

As is always the case, these statistics can be interpreted in different ways. An optimistic reader could take comfort from the fact that Māori and Pacific rates of successful completion have improved over these years. A more pessimistic view would note that the improved result for Pacific relative to that of European students has narrowed from a 20% difference in 2009 to a 16% difference in 2014. In other words, the gap closed by 4% over a period of 5 years. It is our view that these statistics provide sufficient evidence for the need to continue to be diligent and critical in continuing to argue for greater equity in achievement for Pacific students.

For the purposes of this project, we looked at the statistics of bachelor degrees and higher achievement statistics because these are relevant to the particular Whitireia programmes selected for this project. That is, the Bachelor of Nursing Pacific and the Bachelor of Social work. These programmes were selected because they have demonstrated a pattern of completion and success rates that exceed the completion and outcomes statistics for Pacific students cited in the tables above. Both programmes have an established record of

¹ Other includes Asian, Middle Eastern, Latin American and African (Footnote in MEd Report 2015).

² Other includes all ethnicities previously included except for Asian (MoE, 2015. p.26)

achievement rates comparable with the results reported for European and Asian students enrolled in similar programmes. The records of completion and success rates for Pacific students enrolled in the targeted Whitireia programmes will be discussed more fully in the quantitative data section.

Epistemological Underpinnings

Situating the project within the context of Whitireia

The genesis of this current project has its roots in the very establishment and development of Whitireia since it began as a tertiary education institution in 1986. The decision to locate the polytechnic in Porirua was itself a politically contested and challenging proposition. From the outset, the institution understood that one of its key *raisons d'être* was to provide tertiary education for groups who found accessing tertiary education a difficult and daunting process. Whitireia very quickly established a reputation and self-belief that, as an institution, it promoted a teaching/learning culture that valued diversity and uniqueness and that emphasised collaboration, support and encouragement. Manaakitanga was one of the institution's core values. Southwick (1994a and 1994b) describes the process of embedding these values and principles into nursing education and the impact these values had in the development of the first Bachelor of Nursing degree curriculum.

Despite our noble intentions and efforts, a decade of trying to improve the completion and success rates for Māori and Pacific students was not evidenced in the way we had hoped. This realisation resulted in the development of a PhD research project with the explicit agenda of interrogating the question: "What stops Pacific students being successful in tertiary education?" (Southwick, 2001). This research examined the experiences of Pacific students enrolled in the Bachelor of Nursing programme delivered at Whitireia Community Polytechnic (WCP). The research sought to understand why Pacific students in this programme, despite considerable efforts by themselves and Faculty, consistently found successful completion of the programme more difficult to achieve than their palagi counterparts. The analysis of the narratives of the research participants led to a conclusion that students, particularly in the case of New Zealand-born Pacific participants who had received their compulsory education in New Zealand schools, invariably entered tertiary education as "wounded learners". They saw themselves as "struggling students" with little or no belief in their own academic abilities. The "wounded stories" of many Pacific students revolved around their narratives of their identities. The question of "identity" for many was interpreted to be a question of "who am I?" but, as the thesis argued, the question of identity was really one of "how do I belong?" (Southwick, 2001)

How do I belong as a Pacific person when within my own ethnic community/ies, I don't feel I am fully accepted because I am often judged to be "too palagi" and, on the other hand, how do I belong in the palagi world of school and education because I am "too Pacific"? Caught between worlds, the Pacific student often feels powerless and internalises and personalises their perceived shortcomings into narratives of self-blame and guilt. These Pacific students experience being marginalised from both the worlds that constitute their social and cultural foundations.

These insights led the researcher to deconstruct the concept of marginality and then reconstruct this concept in a way that made clearer the role of the teacher and the role of the Pacific student in a teaching/learning relationship. The thesis took an unashamed critical social science approach to critique the social context and circumstances within which Pacific students try to learn.

Freire (1994) identified the first step in this critique as that of "conscientização" or consciousness raising, to examine the way dominant cultural values and norms are institutionalised within tertiary education. Fay (1987) provided a powerful reminder of the exclusionary nature of dominant culture to define specific actions as "natural" while denying or marginalising others through appropriation and redefinition. Gramsci (1942) named this process as hegemonic power in which "... those who govern and disproportionately possess its goods are thought to have the right to do so" (pp.181-182).

The following three maps provide a diagrammatic representation of the three theoretical constructs of marginality that were developed by Southwick (2001). In the dissemination of this work, the development of the maps became a helpful tool to enable an audience to navigate their way through unfamiliar material. Despite their apparent simplicity, they have been tweaked and modified over the years, in response to participant feedback.

The first map represents the way the hegemonic power of the dominant group defines the boundary between the "them" and "us".

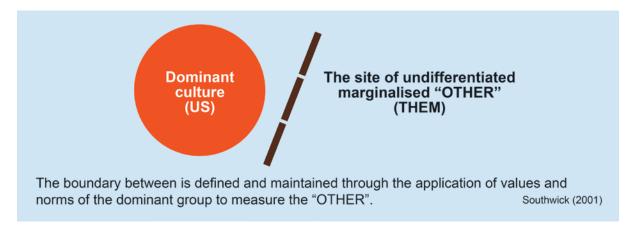


Figure 1: Constructed model of marginality

In this construction of marginality, the characteristics of the "other" are less important to the dominant culture than the power to define and maintain the boundary. In this conceptualisation, the power to name, define and monitor "STANDARDS" rests entirely within the purview of the dominant culture. That this is part of the hegemonic power described by Gramsci (op. cit.) is evidenced by the fact that the marginalised groups seldom challenge the legitimacy of this process. The twentieth century provides a number of great examples (the feminist movement, the anti-apartheid/anti-segregation and gay rights movements) of the effort required by the "marginalised other" to overcome the normative power of the dominant culture to define and maintain the boundary between the "them and us".

In the context of tertiary education, which seldom challenges its own hegemonic assumptions and taken-for-granted world views, concepts of achievement and success are paraded as objective standards. The critique offered by Bartolomé (1998) argues that the academic non-achievement experienced by ethnic minority and working-class students is related to the fact that these students are seldom explicitly taught the conventions that govern academic discourse. She further states that the use of terms such as 'objective standards' "... hide the reality that dominant ideology often devalues language varieties that do not conform to the prescribed rules of the standard academic discourse" (p.4).

The defining characteristic of an education programme located in this pedagogical model is one of benign indifference to the academic experiences of ethnic minority students (or any other marginalised students). The teacher-learner relationship is defined by the traditional "banking" model described, for example, by critics such as Bourdieu (1986) and Freire (2013).

In order to gain access to the skills, knowledge and privileges enjoyed by those who are the "natural" members of the dominant culture, the marginalised "other" has two options: start a revolution or become "like them".

Critical reflections led to the deconstruction of the concept of marginality as described below.

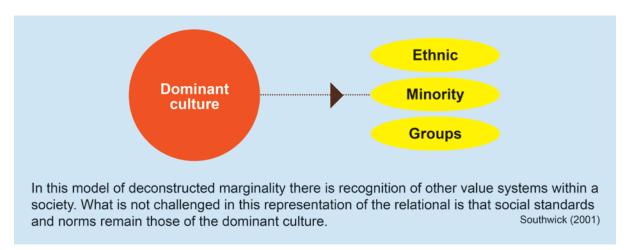


Figure 2: Deconstructed model of marginality

The defining characteristic of a programme of education located in this model is that well-intentioned but ineffective strategies are employed by Faculty in an attempt to achieve better outcomes for ethnic minority students. In this model of deconstructed marginality there is recognition and acknowledgement of a diversity of value systems operating within a society. However, what is not acknowledged or challenged in this model of marginality is that the power to define social standards and normative values remain the privilege of the dominant culture. The epistemological underpinning of this kind of approach can be recognised in the disciplines of anthropology and perhaps to some degree the humanistic agenda. Within nursing, the emergence of Transcultural Nursing developed by Leininger (1995) and Humanistic Nursing described by Paterson & Zderad (1976) are expressions of marginality in which the category of "undifferentiated other" is deconstructed to recognise the differentiated characteristics of the "other". In this approach to education, Pacific students are more likely to be successful if they are secure in their Pacific identity or they relinquish their Pacific heritage in order to adopt the cultural values of the dominant culture. The Pacific students most likely to not achieve success are those who are stuck between worlds (Southwick, 2001).

A Reconstructed Model of Marginality

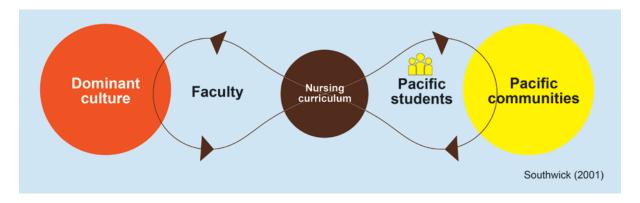


Figure 3: Reconstructed model of marginality

This reconstructed framework provided a map for Pacific students, and those involved in their education, that showed not only "how they could belong", but also encouraged them to celebrate their uniqueness as Pacific peoples.

The defining characteristic of this model is the explicit understanding of Faculty that their role is to coach students to understand from a critical social perspective how power structures operate to construct their experiences. The Faculty's role is to then develop effective strategies to mediate the boundaries.

This framework led to the development of the Bachelor of Nursing Pacific (BNP), which has been delivered by Whitireia since 2004 and has achieved completion and success rates comparable with all other Nursing Degree programmes offered nationally and demonstrably exceeded the completion rates for Pacific nursing students achieved nationally.

In a report on the state of the Pacific Health Workforce, Pacific Perspectives (2013) stated that in relation to nursing education:

The highest rates of participation and completion are associated with the Wellington region, which may reflect the long-standing commitment to the training of Pacific people by Whitireia Community Polytechnic reflected by the Bachelor of Nursing Pacific and the proximity of the TEO to a significant Pacific community (p.55).

The report goes on to state that there is considerable variation in the participation and completion rates for Pacific students between metropolitan Auckland and Wellington.

Student enrolments and completions per 1,000 people in Wellington were 3.0 and 0.7 respectively and [were] the highest rates recorded nationally. By comparison the rates for the Auckland region were 1.2 and 0.1 respectively (p.56).

A more recent report released by the Nursing Council of New Zealand provides a profile of the Pacific Nursing Workforce for the 2014-2015 period. In this report, the majority of Pacific nurses practise in the Auckland region (897n 27.2% of all Pacific nurses) with the next largest group practising in the Wellington Region (253n 10.4%) (Nursing Council of New Zealand, 2015).

These figures need to be interpreted within the context of the relative size of the Pacific populations in both Auckland and Wellington. The Pacific Health Workforce Service Forecast report (MOH, 2013) had previously argued that there was a striking regional difference between Auckland and Wellington and attributed that the difference was in large measure due to the success of the Bachelor of Nursing Pacific programme offered at Whitireia. The report makes the following observations:

The number of completions in the Auckland region... was one-third higher than that reported for the Wellington region despite a population which was more than five times larger...

The level of enrolment and completion growth in the Auckland region is encouraging; however, in order to deliver results consistent with those reported in Wellington it would be necessary for 1) enrolments to increase from 289 to 581; and 2) completions to increase from 32 to 132. (MOH, 2013)

Evidencing that the Wellington results are attributable to the Bachelor of Nursing Pacific programme delivered at Whitireia, the MOH report provides a 2011 example that "of the 24 completions reported in the Wellington region, 22 were associated with the Bachelor of Nursing Pacific (programme) at Whitireia Community Polytechnic" (p.56).

While the BNP is one model of success that has emerged from Whitireia over the past decade, it is not the only one. The Bachelor of Social Work (BSW) has similarly experienced high levels of participation and success for Pacific students. Unlike the BNP, the BSW programme is not specifically designed for Pacific students. What sets this programme apart is that it is almost exclusively delivered by academic staff who themselves self-identify as being of Pacific heritage and descent.

The pattern of success achieved by these programmes challenges the pervasive deficit model of education. The challenge of this project was to explore whether the Reconstructed Map of Marginality applied in the BNP programme, and the enculturated expertise of the BSW staff provides the pedagogical framework that underpins the patterns of completion and success for Pacific students.

Methodology Section

This project was designed to draw together the staff directly involved in the delivery of the Whitireia programmes to critically review the programmes and to begin to articulate what made them successful for Pacific students. This was a unique opportunity for these teaching teams, as the opportunity to examine each other's curricula, practice and pedagogies had not been undertaken in any formal sense previously. Like many tertiary institutions, programmes become siloed within their different disciplines and organisational structures, which often create barriers to the development of dialogic communities of interest. In this case, the community of interest revolved around the issues of Pacific student success.

The initial stage of developing the dialogic community was informed by an Appreciative Inquiry (AI) approach, which involved a systematic discovery of the art and practice of asking questions that "strengthen a system's capacity to heighten positive potential" (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2005). AI is a method of inquiry that encourages organisations to identify areas of success and systematically build that capacity and capability. This was a particularly useful approach for this stage of the project because the challenge to be addressed was to assist practitioners to articulate their practice. There is a stage in the development of expertise where practitioners are often no longer consciously able to describe what it is they do that makes them expert. Kidd and Wellbank (1984) state that an expert is often able to perform tasks at a high level without being aware of exactly how or what it is they do. Engaging in cycles of critical reflection, participants were able to begin to identify the critical factors that best described the pedagogical approach/es that led to Pacific student success in their individual programmes.

To assist the team to organise their focus, we used the reconstructed framework of marginality, developed as a pedagogical underpinning of the BNP, to encourage a culture of critical self-reflection that was open to the critique of peers. This was not a time for self-congratulatory or self-serving heroic narratives. Nor were the self-professed claims of "Pacific humbleness", which are sometimes offered as an excuse not to make a contribution to discourse, an accepted stance. Neither position was acceptable to the team members because it did not serve the intention of this stage of the project, which was to articulate what the pedagogy of success for Pacific students might look like.

The Whitireia team worked with a team from Massey University, led by Associate Professor Malakai Koloamatangi, and a team from UNITEC, jointly led by Dr Fotu Fis'iahi and Sue Gasquoine. Whitireia invited these two organisations into the project as collaborative partners because of their geographic location in Auckland and, therefore, their access to the much larger Pacific population in that region compared to the Wellington region. There were also pre-existing professional relationships between all of the teams that recognised a mutual commitment towards striving for enhanced Pacific student success.

Almost as important as the exchanges of knowledge and experience was the initial coming together of the collaborative teams, which was an opportunity to develop confidence and rapport between colleagues. All participants in the workshops were seen as co-constructors of this pedagogy of success for Pacific students. Important as the exchange of knowledge may be, the more significant aspect of this work is perhaps best signalled by reference to the seminal work of Freire (1994) and his critique of "banking education"; and the belief that genuine education begins with educators being prepared to be open to consciousness raising and critique (Freire, 2013). Engaging in this kind of intense, critical self-review is significant to challenge the hegemony of the pervasive deficit model.

The Quantitative Data

Method and Results³

Whitireia NZ has long enjoyed close relationships with local Pacific communities and as a consequence is "recognised for its unique approach to developing programmes by and for its Pacific communities" (Falepau & van Peer, 2010).

An example of one of these unique approaches was the development of the School of Pacific Health, Education and Research (2000-2004), which brought together similar programmes with high Pacific enrolments and a critical mass of Pacific staff with the intention of improving Pacific academic success. The creation of this environment fostered a focus on Pacific pedagogical approaches to teaching, learning and programme delivery. The BNP and the BSW programmes were initiated, developed and approved for delivery during this phase of Whitireia's commitment to innovation. The development of these programmes utilised Pacific skills, experiences and knowledge of their sectors, Pacific communities and contexts, and the informed collaboration of non-Pacific colleagues committed to the philosophy of the new programmes. Since 2004, both the Bachelor of Nursing Pacific and the Bachelor of Social Work have continued to demonstrate high Pacific student enrolments and a history of completion and success rates for these students that are significantly higher than the reported national average. This performance has been sustained over the past decade and has provided the platform for this inquiry.

In order to test and validate the claims of successful achievement, the Project Team used two approaches of investigation. The first approach involved collating the quantitative data to determine whether the claimed achievement results could in fact be validated by analysing the student data. The second strategy took a qualitative approach that sought to gain an understanding of the narratives of those involved in these programmes. It was the belief of the Project Team that an analysis of these narratives would provide an understanding of what a pedagogy of success looked like. In the following section, we present the details of the methods used and the data gathered that informed both of these aspects of the project.

The Project Team began by asking how it is that we know these programmes are achieving the success we have claimed they are achieving for Pacific students. What is the evidence?

Student data was retrieved from the institution's central database and analysed for patterns of enrolment, completion and success to establish a baseline to enable comparison with similar programmes and the national statistics. We also used the data to establish a demographic picture of who the students were. It seemed important to establish whether the reasons for the completion and success rates were simply the result of a policy of only enrolling students who were "the cream" – the kinds of students whose previous academic records would suggest that they would be successful whatever programme they were enrolled in. If this proved to be the case, there would be no justification for continuing with this project. The data demonstrated that this was not the case, and showed that the cohorts of students were diverse across the measures of age, previous academic success and ethnicity.

³ We have reported the data in this section of the report that is relevant to the issue of showing the evidence for claims of success. A fuller representation of the data is made available in Appendix 1.

Baseline data analysis and questions

In order to know what baseline data the research team needed to collate and analyse, we had to understand what questions we wanted to answer. After discussion and debate, the team agreed that the data collection of student enrolments in the Bachelor of Nursing Pacific and Bachelor of Social Work programmes would be focused on these questions:

- 1. Who are the students?
- 2. Where are they from and how did they get here?
 - What does their journey through the programme look like?
 - How long did it take for each student to complete the qualification?
 - How many completed in 3 years?
 - How many took longer?
 - How many are recorded as incomplete or fail in a year?
 - How many did not complete the qualification?
 - How many returned to the programme, at what stage and what was the outcome?

This stage of the project was largely undertaken by our colleagues Louise Falepau and Theresa Nimarota. Both researchers were familiar with the breadth and depth of data they could expect from the Whitireia database, as they both had previously undertaken a wider analysis of Pacific enrolments across the institution, as part of the Whitireia 2010 Pacific Education Strategy project, and had become aware of the limitations of both the data and the process of collection. For example, data could be collected from a number of sources which, when compared, raised issues of consistency and validity, making it difficult to get an accurate understanding of the data. Furthermore, there was no simple, systematic way to track student progress without tracking each student ID through each year it appeared, which is a very time consuming activity.

Consideration was given to the question of how to compare Pacific student patterns in the Bachelor of Nursing Pacific programme to the patterns of Pacific student experience/results in other comparable programmes in order to inform the premise of this project. Both the Bachelor of Nursing and Bachelor of Nursing Māori programmes, also delivered by Whitireia, provided a useful baseline but because the latter is a relatively new programme (5 years) we chose to look at data generated by the Bachelor of Nursing programme. This programme has been taking Pacific enrolments for many years and is a benchmark Whitireia degree programme.

The Bachelor of Nursing Pacific and Bachelor of Social Work programmes enrolled their first students in 2004 and data is available to the present day for twelve Year 1 cohorts. Allowing for a 5-year embedding phase for new programmes and for reasons of currency, we collected data from four cohorts of students whose first year of enrolment was between the years 2008 – 2011. First year cohorts enrolled after 2011 had not completed their programmes when the data for this project was being collected in 2014.

⁴ The Quantitative Data collation and analysis was largely undertaken in 2014. Cohort information to create the student data sets were inclusive of all years between 2008 and 2013.

While these years covered the whole cohort of students, the interrogation of the data required the Project Team to expand the search between the years 2007 and 2013 to capture the trajectory of students who failed to complete their programme within 3 years.

Using the questions referred to above, the data sets of students' cohorts were requested from and provided by the institution's Business Information Centre. The data requested was anonymised and the researchers used the Student ID number as the identifier to enable tracking.

1. Enrolments

Numbers of students enrolled in BSW/BNP/BN programmes from 2007 – 2013

- All years Years 1, 2 and 3
- Ethnicity of all enrolments
- Age
- Gender
- Existing qualifications/entry qualification

2. Retention

All students by year - first year entered to exit year.

Two lists were generated made up of:

- All Pacific students
- All students except Pacific.

Data sets

Student enrolment data was organised into the following sets:

- First year enrolled in the programme, creating a cohort list
- Ethnicity
- Age
- Gender
- Existing qualifications/entry qualification
- Prior activity, employment and/or enrolment in other studies

The Pacific student's journey was interrogated by tracking each Pacific student, using their unique ID number, from cohort enrolment Year 1 to Year 3 graduates for the years 2008-2013. The analysis of the accuracy of the data sets included, for example:

- Comparing the Year 3 completion lists to the official Faculty graduate lists for each year of the nominated years of the project inquiry.
- ID numbers missing from the Year 3 graduate lists were then tracked back to the point the student ID re-appeared in the course enrolment and then tracked to completion in the following years.
- Where a graduate list included Pacific students from outside that specific cohort, those IDs were tracked to identify their first year of enrolment.

- Where a student's ID did not appear on the graduate list in a 3-year progression and could not be located in subsequent years, we made the assumption that these were students who had not successfully completed and had exited the programme.
- Pacific student data over the same period of time from the equivalent Bachelor of Nursing programme was analysed in the same way.

What the quantitative data told us about enrolments, completions and success rates

Both programmes had a pattern of enrolling Pacific students and an assumption could be made that student outcomes reflect a similar programme progression from enrolment to graduation. On the face of it, it appears that both programmes do well for Pacific students.

However, by tracking students' progression using their individual ID we were able to identify that reporting aggregated data as part of the annual requirements for TEC shows a very different picture of completion and success for the two programmes.

The usual formula for the Annual Programme Evaluation Reports (APERS) does not identify whether enrolments are full-year enrolment, a progression from the previous year or enrolments in repeated papers. Nor do they indicate how long it takes for an individual student to complete the programme. In essence, data reports do not give a true account of Pacific enrolments in a given year.

Enrolment data

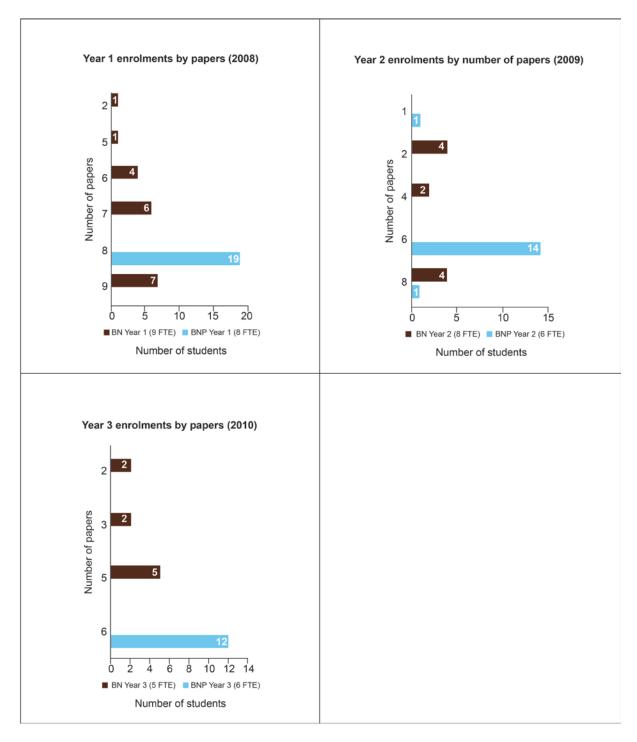


Figure 4: Bachelor of Nursing and Bachelor of Nursing Pacific enrolment data (2008 to 2010)

Tracking each Pacific student by their unique ID number through a 3-year timeframe provided a picture of the student's actual trajectory through their programmes. It allowed us to see how long it took for Pacific students to complete their programmes and in particular, how many first-year enrolments did not progress to the second year. Providing a more accurate picture of progression is essential to a transparent reporting process and making necessary improvements to programme performance for Pacific students.

To make explicit what the graphs are showing, using 2008 for example, both the Blue and the Black programmes recorded 19 Pacific student enrolments. The number recorded in each line indicates the numbers of papers being undertaken by students in this year. So, in 2008, the Blue programme had 19 Pacific students as full-time enrolments. For the Black programme, of the 19 Pacific students enrolled, 7 were full time. The remaining 12 students were repeating students undertaking various numbers of papers to complete this level of their programme. This pattern of progression is repeated across the other two years (2009 and 2010).

Student retention

Given the overall high rates of Pacific student success reported by Whitireia and particularly in its Nursing programmes, the project expected to find similar rates of enrolment, retention and success between the comparable programmes.

By tracking the student journey in each cohort, we found varied levels of student retention. The Bachelor of Nursing Pacific and Bachelor of Social Work programmes maintained a consistent level of Pacific student retention throughout their 3-year programmes. The pattern of Pacific students in the Bachelor of Nursing programme showed they took longer to complete, inflating the retention rates but diminishing the successful completion rates for the individual student. The practice of reporting aggregated results disguises the actual experiences of the individual student.

Given the number of students leaving paid work to study, completing the programme outside the 3-year timeframe has long-term financial implications for Pacific students and their families. Exceeding the timeframe restricts access to student loans and allowances and extra time out of the paid workforce imposes significant hardship on family supports.

The 'right' start

Meeting the level of entry criteria specified for acceptance into the Bachelor of Nursing Pacific and Bachelor of Social Work was not a predictor of success for Pacific students. Significant numbers of enrolled students had no formal secondary qualifications, NCEA or formal qualifications. This had no bearing on whether or not a student graduated.

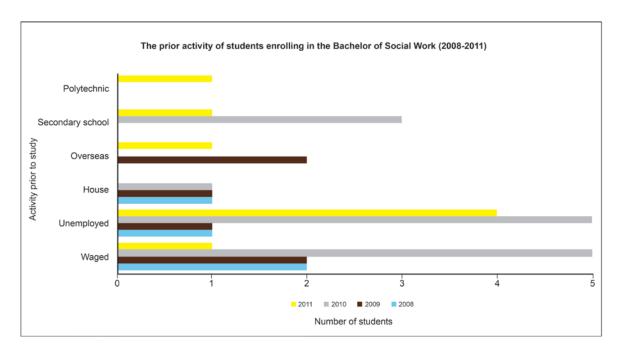


Figure 5: The prior activity of students enrolling in the Bachelor of Social Work (2008 to 2011)

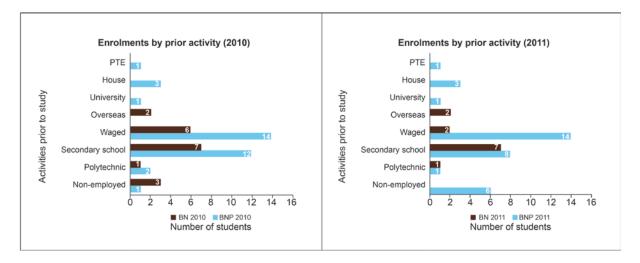


Figure 6: The prior activity of students enrolling in the Bachelor of Nursing and Bachelor of Nursing Pacific (2010 to 2011)

Tracking the enrolments of students using their unique ID numbers enabled the Project Team to gain a better understanding of the Pacific students' actual progress through their programmes of study.

The accepted methodology of reporting the aggregated enrolment, completion and success rates renders invisible the trajectory of individual student progress. On face value, the enrolments and progression of Pacific students in the BNP programme and that reported in the comparable programme, for example, make it appear that both programmes do well for their Pacific students. A more granulated examination of the data, however, shows that the BNP programme provides a much better likelihood of completion and success for the individual student and a greater likelihood of completing their programme of study within a three-year timeframe.

While the aggregated data may serve the needs of the institution and/or the Tertiary Education Commission, we would argue that when this picture is used to recruit future student enrolments, then Pacific families and communities are denied access to information upon which they can make informed decisions about programme choice.

The Qualitative data

Method and Design

Having established from the quantitative data evidence that both the BNP and BSW programmes had patterns of completion and success that exceeded national achievements for Pacific students, the project examined the question "what were these programmes doing differently?"

To conduct this aspect of the project it seemed logical to undertake a series of interviews with those most intimately involved in the programmes. We determined that interviewing the students, teaching staff and the two Programme Leaders would provide the opportunity to understand if these different narratives could illuminate the question about what these programmes were doing differently that made such a difference to the results achieved.

Investigating what the students' views were of their experiences in the BNP and BSW programmes and triangulating them against the lecturers'/staff views of the programmes was designed to test the theorising assumptions underpinning the intent of this project.

Student Group Interviews

The project identified that the three cohorts of students in both programmes, enrolled in 2014 (the year the project was active), would be the population from which interview participants could be recruited. The student interviews were undertaken as a series of focus group interviews and were conducted by Project Team members not directly involved in the delivery of either programme.

Ethical approval was sought and granted by the Whitireia Research and Ethics Committee for this aspect of the project. Recruiting current students into a research project that was intended to seek their honest views of the programmes they were enrolled in required careful attention to ensure student safety at all times. Not only did this mean that no student should feel compelled to participate, it was also important to ensure that any sense of "loyalty" to the programmes and tutors did not unduly influence their participation.

Recruiting Student Participants

The recruitment process began with several meetings with students held in out-of-class times and conducted by Project Team members who had had no direct relationship with and/or knowledge of the students. Information sheets describing the project were distributed at the meetings for all attendees. The attendees were given a full explanation of what the purpose of the project was, who was involved in the Project Team and what would be expected of those students who chose to be participants in the focus group interviews. Importantly, it was made clear to the meeting attendees that they were under no obligation or expectation to participate, and even if they agreed to participate they could withdraw at any time during the interview process without any negative consequences.

All students were informed that the focus group interviews would be tape-recorded, but individual students' anonymity would be protected. Transcripts and interview data would be anonymised to protect and maintain confidentiality.

To reinforce the message of student safety throughout this process, the project adopted an "opt-in" process for participants' enrolment. That is, a schedule of interviews setting out dates, times, programme (BNP or BSW), and level (Years 1, 2, 3) was developed and students who wished to participate could self-select the most appropriate session for themselves.

An opportunity to answer any questions was provided at the information sessions and contact details of the recruiters were offered to those students who, on reflection, wished for more information and/or clarification about the project.

The taped records of the focus group sessions were transcribed by the Project Team members who facilitated the sessions. The accuracy of the transcripts was moderated by the non-transcriber reversing the process and checking the transcripts against the taped recording of the sessions.

Once the transcripts were deemed to be a complete and accurate account, the Project Team collectively determined the strongest themes emerging from the data that were most inclusive of the student and staff narratives.

Student Focus Group Interviews

The student interviews were conducted over a two-month period in 2014 and were all undertaken at the Porirua campus of Whitireia. It was necessary to extend the time available for the interviews to be conducted due the students' learning schedules and being off campus in a range of clinical and practice learning contexts.

In total, six focus group interviews were held, involving 40 student participants. The size of these groups varied between 11 participants in the largest group and four participants in the two smallest groups. Of the forty students who participated in the focus groups, 34 (85%) self-identified as being of Pacific descent and heritage. Six (15%) students identified their ethnic descent/heritage from a range of African and Asian nations. Of the total participants, 75% indicated that they had previous experience of being enrolled in programmes delivered in tertiary institutions, including Whitireia.

The focus group sessions were generally an hour long, although in the larger groups the time was extended to ensure everyone had an opportunity to have their say. Each session was tape recorded, and two Project Team members were in attendance to ensure a smooth process and to facilitate active engagement with the participants, and also to observe the interactions of the students.

Each session began with a round of introductions, an iteration of the purpose of the focus group session and a further opportunity for participants to have any questions clarified. When the students indicated they were ready to proceed, the final step of collecting their signed Informed Consent Forms was completed and the session began.

All focus group sessions began with an invitation to the participants to talk about their experiences of being students in the BNP or BSW programmes, and in what way they felt these programmes were different from other learning they had experienced. They were invited to talk about the positive aspects of their current learning and challenged to be frank about aspects of their current programmes that were not helpful to their learning. Interviews were digitally recorded without participant identification apart from age, ethnicity and any previous tertiary education they had experienced.

Although the focus of the interviews was on the students' experiences of their current programmes of study, it was important to have an understanding of the frame of reference the students employed when making evaluative statements about their current experience. The facilitators of the focus groups were careful not to prompt or lead the students' reflections on their past and present educational experiences.

So, for example, the sessions did not begin with the facilitators asking students what made their current learning experiences "better" or "more successful" than previous experiences. Rather, the subjects for discussion were posed more in the spirit of a naïve inquirer along the lines of "... do you find the teaching/learning you experience in your current programme different from other experiences, what makes it different (same), do the differences (if identified) make it easier or harder for you as a student".

It is difficult, in reporting these sessions, to fully convey the sense of enthusiasm, energy and passion with which the participants engaged in these conversations. Apart from the introductory question as indicated above, the role of the facilitators became one of ensuring everyone had an opportunity to have their say, to confirm with the group whether one participant's story was unique to that individual or was something all or most could identify with. Anyone who has a stereotypical picture of Pacific students being characteristically silent, head-down, passive and reluctant participants would have had their preconceptions seriously challenged by the behaviour demonstrated by the students who participated in these focus group sessions.

These participants were eager to tell their stories. They were loud and at times raucously funny with self-deprecating anecdotes that they were keen to share. The joking has its own important function in group solidarity and identity building. When a participant told a story that revealed how they thought they had completely and utterly got something wrong, ("stuffed up" in the student's words), everyone responded with hoots of laughter. Both the story teller and the audience knew that the person was not being derisively laughed at. If there was any threat of being ridiculed, the story would not have been told in the first place. The laughter was rather in the nature of recognition and solidarity with the story-teller and in itself is a measure of how safe students felt to express their views.

So, at times, the focus groups were very loud and noisy. However, there were also times during the sessions when participants spoke from their hearts about what their current programme of learning meant to them as individuals, to their families and their communities.

It is appropriate at this stage to acknowledge that the students enrolled in the BNP programme are not limited to Pacific-identified students only. Since the programme's inception, it has been clearly understood that while the programme has an explicit focus on the health and illness experiences of Pacific peoples, it is not exclusively Pacific. As a consequence, up to 10% of Year 1 enrolments can and have been filled by students who do not self-identify as being of Pacific heritage and/or descent. Often these students are recent immigrants, from countries such as Somalia, Kenya, Indonesia and Nepal. These students become accepted members of the classes they enrol in.

As such, the Project Team challenged itself to deal with the question of whether the interviews would be limited to only include the Pacific students or whether they would be open to any student enrolled in the BNP programme. The view of the Project Team was that as members of the classes, the non-Pacific students had as legitimate a right to participate and offer their perceptions as any of the Pacific students. In the end, 85% of the participants in the BNP focus interviews were of Pacific descent/heritage and 15% were students of other ethnic heritages. The unifying threads for all the students enrolled in the BNP (apart from the obvious different degrees of brown-ness), are the common experiences of difficult migration stories, poverty and discrimination. While all the students recognise that these are things that make their lives hard, they use the solidarity of the group to not let these experiences define who they are as human beings.

As stated earlier, the transcripts of each of these focus groups were reviewed by the Project Team and several strong themes were found to be common across all groups from both programmes. These themes have been used to organise and report the data below. The three strongest themes involved the students' discussions about:

- Learning in a safe environment
- The importance of their culture
- Learning to navigate between different worlds

A degree of overlap between these themes occurred at times, and within each theme several sub-themes emerged.

Creating a Safe Learning Environment

Be-longing to learn

In response to the questions about their experiences in their current programmes, the students talked about feeling that they were learning in a safe environment.

- BNP Student: The classes are run in a way that makes it feel like home. Everyone is supportive and everyone wants to do well, they help each other out, are friendly and happy. We get to know each other well.
- BNP Student: Tutors encourage students to look out for each other. Compared with other experiences, there is less competitiveness between us. It's fun, everyone gets along with each other; tutors and students laugh and joke together.
- BNP Student: If I don't feel comfortable in class I don't feel confident to say or do things so feeling safe is a big thing. If you don't know something there is always someone who will help.
- BNP Student: As a non-Pacific person, I feel I am in the right place for my learning. We walk alongside our Pacific classmates and we are made to feel at home, that we belong.

Another non-Pacific student adds:

I feel I am treated as an equal in the class. I don't feel lonely. It's like a big family – everyone supporting each other.

Part of creating a safe environment includes making explicit links between students' cultural/ethnic heritages and the learning curriculum and creating a sense of inclusiveness.

- BNP Student: For us the Pacific environment is important. The cultural content makes the programme interesting and motivates me to learn more.
- BNP Student: There are opportunities to speak first languages in the classroom and that helps me learn about and build a sense of my Pacific identity.
- BNP Student: Having smaller class sizes means the tutors are more available and I feel that they know who I am. I am more than just a number to them.

The students seemed to be clear that creating a safe learning environment was not just the job of the teaching staff and that they, as students, had responsibilities in creating and maintaining an environment in which everyone's learning was important: "The BNP students are not just

themselves by themselves – that's what makes us different. We want everyone to be successful".

For the student participants from the BSW programme, while their stories resonated with those of the BNP student participants, they were not able to draw on a 'whole of group' for strength. By this we mean that these students were not enrolled in a programme that had been specifically and explicitly designed for Pacific students. The BSW students found their validation in the teaching team, which was made up almost entirely of academics who self-identified as Pacific. The pride these students felt towards their programme was directly linked to the cultural solidarity they felt existed between themselves and their lecturers.

For the BSW students, the difference they experienced in their programme also related to the fact that it felt safe. Having Pacific lecturers who were recognised leaders, (in both Pacific communities and nationally within the discipline of Social Work), was an important aspect of creating this "safe environment".

- BSW Student: One of the things that makes a difference for me is that I know that the teaching team is well known for their work in the community locally, regionally and nationally.

 They have big names and big reputations.
- BSW Student: Knowing who the lecturers were in this programme was one of the main reasons for me choosing Whitireia. In previous experiences of tertiary study, I had no idea who the teachers were.

The students talked about the fact that having competent Pacific teachers gave them confidence in the classroom setting. As with the BNP students, the BSW students identified that one of the positive messages they got from their teachers was the expressed belief that they could be successful.

BSW Student: There is a safe and welcoming environment as a whole and the lecturers want us to succeed and meet our goals. They believe we can achieve.

BSW Student: They understand me, my learning needs and my culture, and that helps.

BSW Student: They make the programme feel like home. They are like my aunties and uncles and "school" is the family.

This last participant also commented that they did not expect that this always made things easier for the Pacific students. Because of the Pacific lecturers' familiarity with Pacific world views, they could be sceptical about students' excuses for not handing in assignments on time. S/he commented that:

At times, I understand when I am being given feedback, and the lecturer is being 'firm', that it is being offered to help me be successful in my studies, and I appreciate her commitment to my learning.

They also appreciated the fact that their classes were not Pacific specific, and their lecturers demonstrated their abilities to be inclusive of all students' needs.

BSW Student: All students have the same access and engagement with the teachers, but the Pacific students appreciate the fact that being Pacific gives them a connection that is familiar.

Another student commented:

The rapport and relationship is good. The lecturers know my strengths and weaknesses and will pull me up when they think I need that.

The BSW students also made comments that the smaller class sizes helped make the environment feel safe for them, and that the teaching/learning relationship was characterised by humour and fun.

BSW Student: One of the things that makes a difference for me is that the classes are smaller compared to previous tertiary experiences of being in lectures with 200 other students, where the tutor just does their own thing and it's up to you if you listen or not. Here, it's easy to be, and stay, involved because of the tutors who are genuinely interested in my learning.

As with the BNP students, the Social Work students identified the way the Pacific lecturers in their programme could support the students to learn to walk between their cultural world and the academic world.

BSW Student: I find that the lecturers identify and monitor academic and study issues and then offer me advice on how I can improve in a way that doesn't make me feel defensive or take offence.

Both BSW and BNP students valued the ways their respective programmes were able to make their learning relate to Pacific experiences within the New Zealand context. They seemed to understand not only how this aided their immediate learning requirements, but also how it would assist them in their career development post-graduation.

From the BSW students, the comments were along the lines that:

We are well prepared for our placements; and the different perspectives we are exposed to, prepares us to work with diverse communities.

Similarly, from the BNP students:

Every student in this programme sees themselves as ambassadors of the course. We know that people are comparing us against other programmes.

A number of the students spoke about the fact that they had come across health professionals asking about the difference in the nursing programmes. Sometimes the students interpret these inquiries as curiosity and a genuine interest. At other times they have experienced negative reactions from both health professionals and, occasionally, from patients and the students feel the need to defend the programme.

BNP Student: Sometimes I feel tense inside when asked about the programme... to feel I have to defend it.

The students have been coached by their lecturers in how to respond in these situations.

BNP Student: I just explain that in the end we have to sit the same exams to become registered nurses. We just have a different pathway to get to that point.

The students also see that, in the end, how the quality of the programme is perceived by others will depend on how well they perform as Nurses and Social Workers.

Getting rid of these negative perceptions challenges me to prove that we are capable.

I know that I have to keep going. I feel a personal obligation to myself, my family and my community to prove that we are 'better than others'.

Culture as an asset rather than a deficit

The significance students placed on the importance of their Pacific cultures was a strong theme in all of the focus group interviews. To a large extent, this theme overlaps with the whole narrative about experiencing learning in a safe environment, but there were other aspects, not previously mentioned, that help enrich the understanding of the frame of reference these students bring to their "meaning making" world views. Understanding a Pacific worldview is to understand how culture is interpreted through the lens of the centrality of "family".

Within these discussions, students located themselves in the space between their programmes of learning and their families and talked about the fact that to be successful in their studies required support from both their families and their teachers.

BNP Students: Both (family life and their programme) have to work together. For example, to be on time to class means that home life needs to be sorted.

I find it difficult to stay motivated and focussed if both the programme and the family are not on-board. Tutors might be supportive, but then you go home to family saying to you "why don't you just go and look for a job?" Sometimes it can work the other way, where the family is fully supportive but the tutor doesn't believe in you... (so) it's a waste of time coming to class. Not having the support of one or the other makes study hard. Not having the support of either is impossible. Giving up is the only option.

If the cultural support wasn't there I wouldn't be in the course. It (the programme) wouldn't work without the support of family.

The BNP students talked about the fact that they sometimes get comments from their clinical preceptors that there's a "different feel" to these Pacific students that is not present in other students. The students' explanation for why they may seem different is reflected in this comment:

Culture and family input (how we are raised) and a Pacific background (the combination of culture, education, church and tutor input and support) enable us to "multi-task". The way we think is diverse and we apply this to our practice. How we treat our patients is how we treat our family members.

The BNP programme recognises that there are two key cultural factors that have to be incorporated into the philosophical underpinning of the programme's curriculum. The first is how to deal with the fact that, of necessity, the programme is delivered in a pan-Pacific orientation. To address the specific Pacific learning needs of the individual student, a requirement of the programme is that each student identifies a "cultural mentor(s)" from within their own family/community who then becomes a source of knowledge and wisdom.

Having a cultural mentor helps to involve families and communities and keeps me connected to my culture in a different way now that I am learning to be a nurse.

Building these connections now, also helps connect me to the community I want to work in when I register. I stay connected to the things that are important for my community and help develop new networks for the future.

The second curriculum issue, related to the "cultural" underpinning of the programme, was recognising that not all students who self-identified as "Pacific" were knowledgeable about their Pacific cultural heritages. The range of cultural knowledge spanned a continuum from those who were Pacific-born and educated, for whom English might be their second or third language and who felt less confident with their grasp of Western knowledge and cultural mores, to students for whom the continuum began at the opposite end of the spectrum. To a large degree, the ability of the programme to successfully address this issue lies at the heart of the question of creating pedagogical success for Pacific students. We have illustrated the point by using the words from students each representing the polar ends of the spectrum.

The programme shows me how I can take my Pacific knowledge and use it to make the health messages more relevant to my own community. In class, sometimes I will use a (specific Pacific group) word to show how I might explain something to the patient or community. Then the others in the class (from the same group) will confirm that is the correct use of the word/concept or make other suggestions. When we reach a point of agreement, we translate to English so the whole class can learn from the process and then see how it works in their own language groups. We do this with the non-Pacific staff as well, so then they are the learners and we are the teachers.

From the other end of the spectrum came this story shared by one of the students less confident in her Pacific culture:

(The programme) makes me more confident to identify with my Pacific culture. Before, I didn't know much about my culture and I had lost touch with the language and traditions. On the first day in the programme, I stood up when it was my turn to introduce myself and everyone said "that's not how you say your name. How do you spell it?" And then my new classmates said "this is how your name is pronounced". All this time and I didn't know how to say my own name properly! I guess I could have been embarrassed, but I wasn't. I felt people had given me a gift – the gift of beginning to re-claim my identity as a Pacific woman. And that is what this course has done for me

One of the benefits of being Pacific in a Pacific programme was the "sense of belonging" it gave the students. Being with other Pacific students raised the level of "taken-for-granted" knowledge that was part of their learning in this context. One student talked about their learning experiences in another tertiary programme where:

I was the only Pacific student in the (previous) programme and the tutor looked to me for information every time we studied anything to do with Pacific things. Kind of like, I was expected to be the "expert" in all things Pacific. In this programme, I can just be me. I know something's Pacific from my own experience, but I am also free to learn more about what it means to be Pacific for others.

BSW Students talked about the way their teachers recognised the pressures the students' home lives sometimes placed on them and actively worked with the students to manage the pressure in constructive ways. For example:

BSW Student: They tell us (the teaching staff) to stay in touch with them when stuff at home is getting in the way. When my child was sick, I had no-one to take care of him and I had to miss several days of class. I let (Teacher's name) know the situation and she organised for some of my classmates to take notes for me. When I returned to class, I found I was able to pick up where everyone else was. This experience had a big impact on me. It meant I didn't feel guilty about not taking care of my child when they were sick, and I felt the teaching staff had belief in me that my reason for being absent was genuine and not just an excuse to not be in class.

The students also commented on the fact that when there were issues going on at home, the teaching staff allowed students to keep their cell phones on.

BSW Students: She (the Lecturer) said "my family is important to me; your family is important to you. If you get a call – take it". The interesting thing was that the class was really good at self-monitoring and made sure they didn't abuse the situation or disrupt the classroom.

For the students in the BNP and BSW programmes, "culture" is not an optional extra. It is integral to the way they interpret and make meaning of the world(s) within which they are engaged. It stands at the heart of their sense of themselves as Pacific men and women. Their sense of family and notions of relational obligations and reciprocity are the values and beliefs they bring with them into their programmes. Their appreciation of the learning experiences they have in their programmes is in large part due to the fact that this "knowing" is valued and enhanced by the opportunity they have to contextualise their Nursing and Social Work knowledge within their existing world views.

Creating a safe learning environment that is respectful of the students' learning needs was to a large extent attributed to the qualities and skills of the teaching teams and the leadership examples of those responsible for delivering these two programmes. Across all of the focus group interviews, students were very clear that one of the defining characteristics of these two programmes was the uncompromising belief of the teaching teams that they (the students) could be successful. The commitment the teaching staff demonstrated to the students went beyond the confines of curriculum content.

The students' stories about the role of their teachers showing them how to navigate the space between worlds demonstrates that it is the quality of the teacher/learner relationship which makes the biggest difference to the students' belief that they can be successful in their programmes of study.

The students trust their lecturers and, as a consequence, the students know that when the teacher makes demands of them to be ambitious in their learning, it is because the teacher really cares about their success. It is not interpreted by the students as a criticism of their personhood.

BNP Students: They want us to be successful. We get lots of messages that we have the ability to learn.

They encourage us and don't make me feel small or shame me when I don't get it right the first or even the second time. This gives me courage to keep going. I want the tutor to be proud of me, and then when I get it right it is a celebration between me and my tutor. This makes me feel powerful.

The tutors are accessible and approachable. We feel we can talk to them about what is going on for us and we don't get the 'brush off'.

The tutors know who we are as people, so they keep a close eye on us. If they think the energy is low, or if we are looking tired, they are flexible and try another way.

They know that we can learn and have fun at the same time.

If they notice some of us are struggling with something they will run extra classes outside of class timetables. You don't have to attend, but most of us have learned the extra effort is worth it in the long-term.

We relied on the extra support a lot, especially in the first year. But as we got more confident, we started up our own study groups and supported each other.

As well as a great deal of affirmation about the regard between the students and their teachers, they also noted that their tutors were the programmes' greatest advocates. The students were aware that their programme was negatively perceived in some quarters as "not as good" as other programmes and that this perception was entirely due to the stigmatisation of Pacific peoples in the New Zealand context.

What the students were grateful for was that the Programme Leaders and teaching staff actively advocated for the programme and the students when these kinds of challenges occurred. Across all of the focus group interviews, students were emphatic in their agreement that this advocacy by their teaching staff was one of their most affirming attributes.

I have seen the tutors, especially out in clinical, stand up for me and our programme. They are not afraid to challenge "stinking thinking".

They showed me how I can politely but firmly argue the case for why this programme is important. I never dreamed I could ever be this BRAVE!

The student comments also reflected that creating a safe, inclusive learning environment were important parts of their tutors' roles. They also understood and appreciated at times when tutors were firm with them and demanded their best performance as learners.

(Tutor's name) is classic! She is enthusiastic, passionate and genuine. She has a great sense of humour and she breaks things down so we "get it". She runs extra tutorials. She is encouraging when I start to feel overwhelmed and tells me to have courage. But don't think she will let you get away with feeble excuses if you haven't done the work. She is strict in a positive way – try turning up to a tutorial without your dictionary (this last comment was greeted with howls of laughter by the group).

The notion of "genuineness" was a quality that numbers of students attributed to the relationship with the tutors.

For the BSW students, the rapport between themselves and their teaching staff is based on the ethnic solidarity between them. But it is also more than this. The students identified that they feel pride in the fact that their Pacific staff are nationally respected both within Pacific communities and their chosen field of Social Work. The students referred to staff reputations as being "big names". This reputation for professional credibility, along with the sense the students have that the Pacific staff "understand me, my learning and culture" makes the programme feel safe.

As with the BNP students, these students identified the abilities and skills of the teaching team that help their learning. Characteristics such as the "use of humour" and the "ability to monitor and adjust teaching sessions" by reading "the class temperature" are referred to by the students in the interviews.

As has previously been reported, these students also found that the ability of the staff to understand the context of the Pacific students' lives gave the students confidence and the motivation to be successful. This sense that their teaching staff "are like us" makes it easier for the students to ask for help. They felt that the staff "know who we are", "know how we think" and in some ways, they were like an extension of their own families. Having identified the things they saw as the advantages of having Pacific teaching staff, the students were under no illusions that this meant they had an easy ride, or a privileged status within the class. They appreciated and understood the "firmness" that the teaching team sometimes employed, and "I understand the way both compliments and critique is given to encourage my learning".

Summary of the learning from the Student Focus Group Interviews

What these interviews demonstrate is the sense the students clearly have that in these programmes there is not only a rhetorical commitment to their educational success, but teaching staff who can translate that commitment into tangible actions. The creation of a safe learning environment is given expression in a number of different ways. At its core is a sense that there is an authentic engagement between the students and the staff. The nature of this engagement builds a degree of trust, such that students do not have to spend time and energy constantly monitoring and guarding against challenges to their self-identity as Pacific students.

This phenomenon of authentic engagement is evidenced by the examples given of teaching staff "standing up" for the student when unfairly challenged by external agencies and by the pride students take in the standing and reputation of their lecturers, both in their cultural and professional communities. It is also demonstrated in the students' stories that recognise that the support that is wrapped around them does not indicate that staff has low expectations of their ability to be successful. Indeed, there is recognition of the reciprocal responsibility the students hold in maintaining a safe environment that is inclusive of non-Pacific students and staff.

These concepts of "collective responsibility" and "reciprocity" are central to Pacific world views and are evidence that the curricula of these programmes, by accident or design, are examples of the "reconstructed concept of marginality".

The Teaching Staff Perspectives:

As well as asking students what they thought the two programmes did that made them successful for Pacific learners, critically reflective discussions were also held with the two teaching teams. In total, thirteen staff including both programme leaders of the Bachelor of Nursing Pacific (BNP) and the Bachelor of Social Work (BSW) participated in these two sessions. For the BNP, five staff self-identified as Pacific, three self-identified as Palagi/Pākehā, and one self-identified as Māori/Pākehā. The four BSW staff all self-identified as Pacific.

Interviews with academic staff confirmed a consistency of response between the student experience and staff performance. The staff reflections and perspectives highlighted their belief that Pacific students achieved as well as they did in these programmes because of the specific approach that was deliberately adopted in delivering the different curricula. These views have been organised using the same themes as used to organise the students' narratives.

Creating safe learning environments

In response to the initiating question "what do you do as teachers that contributes to your student's completion and success?" the teaching staff began by firstly reflecting on their own personal philosophical positioning that informs their teaching approaches. Examples of their responses provide an understanding of the personal ethos that is shared within the teaching groups:

I am always consciously reflecting on my own learning, my cultural and professional practice so that I don't impose my taken-for-granted assumptions on the students.

I understand that to gain the students' trust, I must create the space for us to get to know each other. It is my responsibility, in the first instance, to show that I am authentic and trustworthy in my expressions of commitment to their success.

We believe in the students' ability to succeed. We recognise the talents and gifts of each student, but we also expect excellence at every level. We don't start from a "deficit" model. The students are not judged or limited by preconceptions.

We work to demonstrate a genuine care for each other and take a whole of team approach to the delivery of the programme. We work hard to create and re-create a collective understanding of the philosophy of the programme.

The relationship between student and teacher is critical to a positive learning environment. In part I do this by bringing my own experiences into the classroom. Taking the students back into my own history, life on an island, life in NZ, life in the professional world... brings a range of experiences so that the students can grasp at least one element to relate to. So, they can say "I might be different but there's something in here for me".

Another staff member expressed a similar perspective by saying that:

By including work and life examples we show a bit of ourselves and this helps students to connect. I use narratives that enable students to connect their experience with the learning. For example, asking "where's the first place you learn policy?" of students and then providing the answer — "at the kitchen table", allows students an immediate opportunity to engage and share.

Creating a safe learning environment involves everything a teacher pours into their work over time – supporting industry, working with organisations, being part of a team, running extra classes, providing pastoral care, having an open-door policy. Successful students engage in everything that's offered in the programme.

An understanding of this kind of approach is reflected in the words of a non-Pacific staff member. She states that:

Learning together and being open to a reciprocal process encourages a facilitative "lets figure it out together" approach. As a non-Pacific person, learning about Pacific contexts, lives and worlds helps me to be a better teacher. The students are the teachers in this experience

Another non-Pacific staff member offers the observation that:

I understand that Pacific people are relational and need to connect and that if it isn't here then the student won't connect to the learning.

These narratives from the teaching staff provide the sense in which they work to construct a teaching/learning environment that the students identify as safe. The teaching staff demonstrate that this process is neither accidental nor idiosyncratic. It is a considered process.

The further development of constructing a safe learning environment is demonstrated by the teaching staff's awareness of the cultural keystone that sets the delivery of these programmes apart from others. These contributions demonstrate the nuanced relationships that exist and are created and co-created between Pacific and non-Pacific students, Pacific staff and non-Pacific staff.

The Pacific teaching staff reflected on the relationship that developed between themselves and the Pacific students in which they balance their ethnic familiarity and understanding of the relational with their recognition of their professional teaching responsibilities.

The fact that we are Pacific staff means that the relationship is one of kinship. Irrespective of our ages, we are their parents inside the classroom... and we have an unspoken duty of care. Pacific students know when Pacific staff move from being a tutor to a relative.

There is a deep commitment and understanding (between the Pacific staff and students) because there is a common narrative regardless of the specific Pacific heritage we come from. It's a similar life narrative and journey in education when it's a Pacific student you walk the whole way with them because they're your kin.

The following excerpt from a Pacific staff member narrative provides a lovely example of how a deep knowledge of the student's experiences allows the Pacific teacher to authentically acknowledge the student's hardship and at the same time challenge the student not to give up on themselves.

A student is in tears at the end of the year saying they didn't think they could do another year of doing nothing but eat noodles and rice. I said, "Like the rest of us were brought up on croissants?" The student laughed, recognising that the key message here is that she only had one more year to go, and I knew she could do it.

The story is a significant indicator of the way that joking can work to acknowledge solidarity with students' experiences. The same words uttered by someone who was not judged to be "safe" by a student could be easily interpreted as a "put down" or insult.

What all the teaching staff demonstrated was a deep understanding that the students were not enrolled in their programmes to "become Pacific"; rather they were enrolled in programmes that would lead to them becoming Registered Nurses or Social Workers. That this is intuitively understood by both teachers and learners is best reflected in the pride Pacific students enrolled in the BSW programme had for the professional profiles of their teaching staff. On the other hand, (or perhaps as well), staff and students recognised that supporting poor learning practices by the students does not serve them long-term. When a "safe learning environment" has been achieved, students do not experience being shamed and/or humiliated, but rather accept the challenge and feedback that encourages success.

Analysis and discussion: Pedagogy of success

What does it mean to say we humans actively "contextualize" language? "Context" is not just "out there". We do not just "reflect" context when we speak or write. Rather, we always actively create "context". We make the world around us mean certain things. Gee (as cited in Bartolomé, 1998, p.X).

The preceding pages provide the evidence that Pacific students in Tertiary Education can achieve a level of completion and success at least as well as other students when deliberative and systematic approaches are adopted, rather than depending on the endeavour of individual Pacific students to "crack" the system.

In this project, one of the strong themes that emerged from the narratives of the teaching staff and students was the importance of a "safe learning environment". The two programmes provide examples of how creating a safe environment has been differently achieved. Within the BSW programme the process begins through the embodied presence of the Pacific staff whose individual and collective recognition and credibility is acknowledged both by their professional community and also by their Pacific communities. They are role models for their Pacific students in how it is possible to be both Pacific and Social Work professionals.

In the case of the BNP, the teaching staff are a diverse mix of Pacific, Palagi and Māori. The reconstructed map of marginality provides a pedagogical cornerstone that ensures that students are not caught between competing discourses.

The teaching/learning agenda in these two programmes is to provide students with a learning environment that prepares them to be competent practitioners in their chosen fields without having to relinquish who they know themselves to be as people of Pacific cultural heritage.

For the students, this translates into learning how to walk between worlds purposefully and confidently, with a commitment to the notion of service that will make a difference to the health and well-being of their communities.

There is no recipe or codified manual that could possibly represent what is meant by a "pedagogy of success" as examined in this project. Referring back to the work of Bartolomé (op. cit.), she argues that for minority students to do well in education, it is the responsibility of the educators to ensure the students have access to the rules of how this game of academia is played. We would argue that one of the reasons for the successes achieved by these two programmes is that, unknowingly, this is what both programmes do, and this is recognised by both students and staff in what is repeatedly referred to as a "safe environment". An example of how this is done in the BNP is probably the most illustrative way to communicate this point.

To a group of first year students newly enrolled in the BNP programme, lecturers take them through the marginality maps, and note, as often happens in these sessions, the nods of recognition as students identify times when they have been enrolled in programmes described by the first two maps. The third map, the map of reconstructed marginality, describes for them how they are going to learn to move between the "world of nursing" and their Pacific cultures. At first the students find it difficult to conceptualise how this might work, until lecturers remind them that in our everyday lives we are all moving in and out of the different worlds all of the time.

When you arrange to go out with your mates/friends on a Friday night, you know what you are going to be doing, what to wear, the language of the group and what behaviour is acceptable or not. And on Sunday, when you accompany your family to

church for Service, you know what you are going to be doing, what to wear and what language and behaviour is expected.

And even without thinking about it you never muddle up those social situations.

In this programme, you will be guided and supported by your lecturers to learn the "rules" of what you need to know to become a nurse. You will also be supported and encouraged to bring your experiences, learning and knowledge of your Pacific culture into your learning to experience how you move between these worlds with grace and confidence.

Creating a safe environment is a nuanced discourse and, more than anything, depends on the confidence the students have in their teachers' commitment to their success. It is also critical to the development of a relationship of trust. It is a credit to those who deliver these programmes how highly the students, who have generally experienced being marginalised in negative ways in previous learning experiences, regarded their current education experiences.

The degree to which this teaching/learning experience is informed implicitly and explicitly by Pacific ways of knowing can be gauged by how central the values of "relationship" and culture are to the delivery of each curriculum. Pacific ways of knowing are also present in the use of metaphor and story-telling. Those who deliver these programmes recognise that what Gadotti (op. cit. p.22) describes as a "pedagogy of transforming education" is what we believe is a pedagogy of success.

bell hooks (1994), in a book entitled "Teaching to Transgress", captures the spirit of the pedagogical agenda that the faculty engaged in delivering the two degree programmes in this project. In the Chapter entitled "Building a Teaching Community" she states that:

Given this agenda, it is crucial that critical thinkers who want to change our teaching practices talk to one another, collaborate in a discussion that crosses boundaries and creates a space for intervention. It is fashionable these days, when "difference" is a hot topic in progressive circles, to talk about "hybridity" and "border crossing", but we often have no concrete examples of individuals who actually occupy different locations within structures, sharing ideas with one another, mapping out terrains of commonality, connection and shared concern with teaching practice (pp.129-130).

It seems appropriate that we conclude this report with a reflection on the changes that have occurred in the context of tertiary education during the course of the life of this project. These reflective comments are a commentary on the rate of change the tertiary education sector has been experiencing over the past decade and which seems to have accelerated in the past five years.

Constant change within the substantial institutions of a society can have a disproportionate effect on those who have a tenuous, marginalised relationship with these institutions. Change at the centre creates a centrifugal force for those at the edges. The effects of this phenomenon on Pacific peoples in the New Zealand context have been observed in educational institutions in which the "deficit" explanation for poor achievement by Pacific students has become a normalised explanation. Within the health sector, the discourse on "access" is a similar expression of this phenomenon. Maoate (2013) has written that in the health sector the

"cyclical dismantling and rebuilding of Pacific teams in government, adds to the instability and inconsistency in supporting Pacific initiatives". In other words, it is difficult to develop effective challenges to the normalised negative discourses that stigmatise Pacific peoples. Recognising this provided the motivation for the authors of this project to try to articulate a different possibility. What follows in this report is the work undertaken by the Project Team at Whitireia, who have taken an evidence-based approach to articulating what constitutes a pedagogical approach that enables success for Pacific learners in tertiary education.

What we have been able to achieve in this project is to provide evidence to show that given the right environment and pedagogical approach, Pacific students can achieve as well as any other students. It is now no longer legitimate or intellectually honest for tertiary educators to argue that the more usual statistics of non-completion or non-achievement experienced by Pacific students are more about the inadequacies of the student rather than the educator. We hope that this work sits alongside other critics of this deficit model of education. We also hope that as a result of this work, Pacific students and their families will be encouraged to demand more of "the system" to better meet their legitimate tertiary education needs than is currently generally available.

We believe that these programmes provide the concrete examples that hooks (op. cit.) was calling for.

Conclusion

This project began as an ambition to document the delivery of two degree programmes that have been offered at Whitireia Community Polytechnic for the past decade because they have demonstrated a history of completion and success for Pacific students, which is not usually achieved elsewhere.

One of our motives for undertaking the project was to argue against the prevailing deficit model of tertiary education, in which the explanations for non-completion and non-success were attributed to failings of the students. Throughout this project, our thesis has been that if you provide Pacific students with culturally appropriate learning experiences they can achieve as well academically as any other group of students.

The statistical evidence suggests that, over the past decade, there have been improvements in the participation and success rates for Pacific students in tertiary education. Our challenge in response is that improvement is occurring at a glacial rate. We argue that this acceptance of a "creeping salvation" for Pacific students in all areas of the Tertiary Education sector is an abdication of our social responsibilities.

We believe that the articulation of a pedagogy of success for Pacific students in tertiary education provides a different possibility that can be realised if there is a collective determination to make a difference. While this project makes a contribution to articulating what this "different possibility" looks like, we would also suggest that this project represents a beginning conversation, not the last word. We look forward to the future pedagogical developments that continue to promote and enhance the success of Pacific students within tertiary education.

We would like to propose the following recommendations for changes/actions directed at the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC), to all Tertiary Education Organisations (TEOs) and to Pacific Leaders and communities.

Recommendation 1: These actions are directed to the TEC for their consideration. That the TEC:

- 1. Uses its leadership and authority to demand TEOs radically improve their current participation and completion statistics for Pacific students.
- 2. Require accurate reporting of participation and completion rates for Pacific students that makes explicit the difference between first-time enrolments in a given programme as distinct from students who are recycling through the same programme.
- 3. Takes a leadership stand in challenging TEOs, academics and the wider community to address the ongoing stigmatisation of Pacific students.

Recommendation 2: These actions are directed to TEOs for their consideration. That TEOs:

- 1. Accept their responsibilities to provide tertiary education that results in equitable outcomes for all students including Pacific students.
- 2. Require culturally competent practice demonstrated by academic staff especially in areas of high Pacific student interest.
- 3. Take responsibility for growing the capacity and capability of Pacific academics to grow their research and scholarly development.
- 4. Promote champions within their organisation who have the requisite skills, knowledge and passion to develop innovations leading to safe learning environments for their Pacific students and staff.

Recommendation 3: These actions are directed to Pacific Leaders and communities.

- 1. Notwithstanding the first two recommendations, Pacific Leaders and communities take responsibility to advocate for better tertiary education outcomes for Pacific students. We do not have to accept that status quo.
- 2. Organise Pacific community fono to assist Pacific students and their families to be informed consumers of tertiary education. This is not about marketing promotions undertaken by TEOs. This agenda is about teaching our communities about the rules of the game.

The final words we respectfully leave to the pre-eminent Samoan scholar and author Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi Efi.

The kind of education I speak of here is that implicit in the title of my talk "Le so'ofau o le poto ma le fauatauta"/ "Transforming intelligence into good judgement". It is education that comes about by a blending of faafaletui (i.e. teaching and learning through open and focused dialogue...) and faafailele (i.e. teaching and learning through close and loving nurturing...). In both cases there is the kind of sharing that seeks growth and progress. (2013, p.6).

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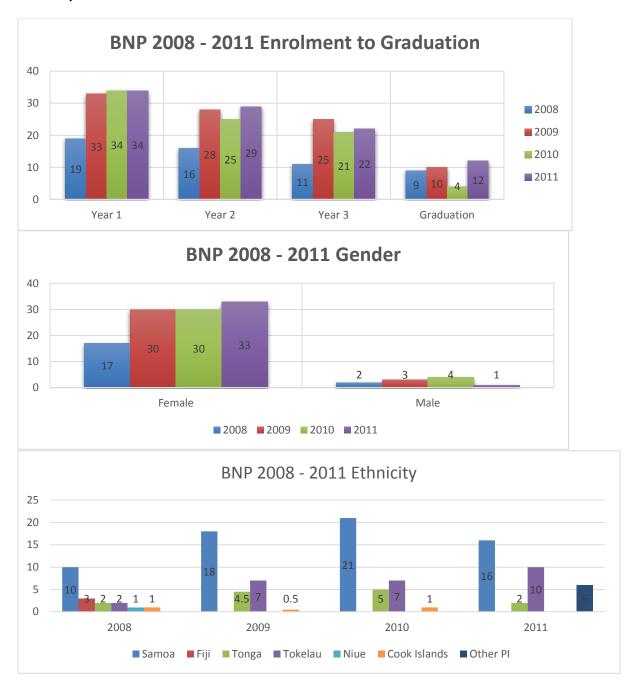
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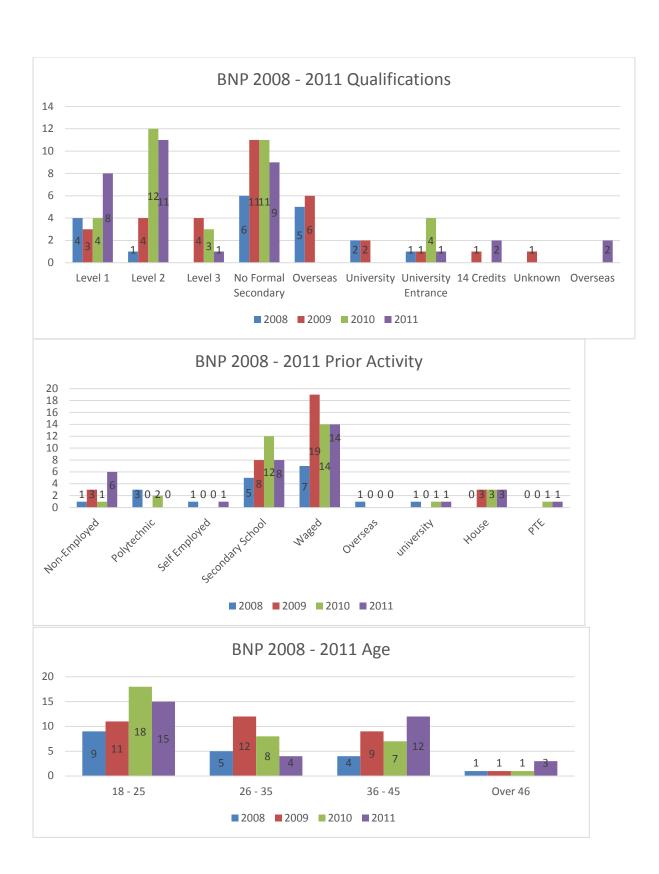
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Appendix 1

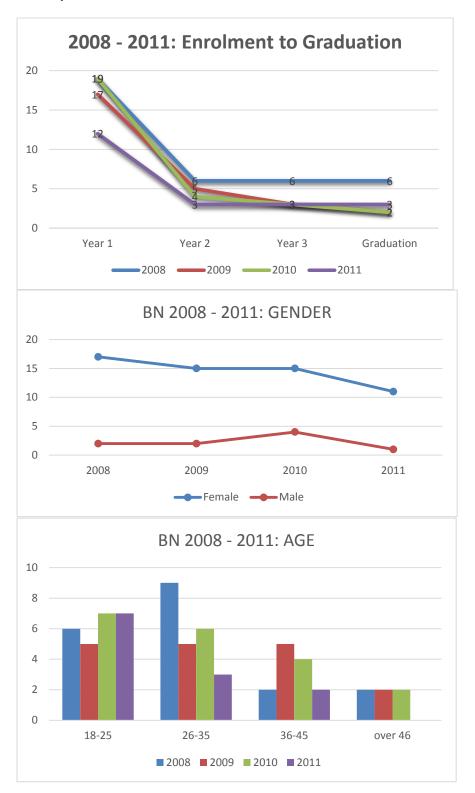
Baseline data graphs for Whitireia's Bachelor of Nursing, Bachelor of Nursing Pacific and Bachelor of Social Work programmes between 2008 and 2011.

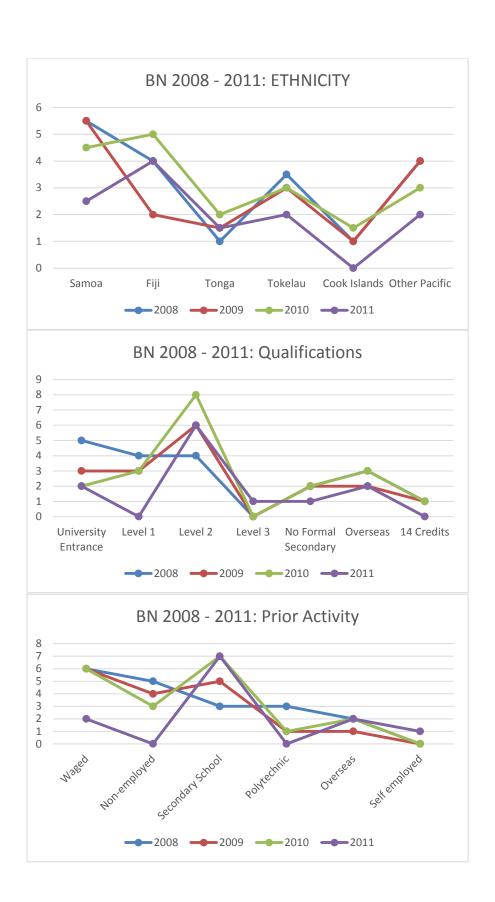
BNP Graphs





BN Graphs





BSW Graphs



