

Hei Tauira: Teaching and Learning for Success for Māori in Tertiary Settings



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Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha: The University of Canterbury

Final Report 28 July 2008

A Teaching Matters Forum project funded by the Ministry of Education

Summary guide and reference card published by Ako Aotearoa and available at:
<http://ako.aotearoa.ac.nz/heitauira>

Hei Tauira literally means 'for example, by example'. The term hei tauira is also used in weaving to show the continuation of a design or pattern that is relevant to or representative of a particular whānau, hapū or iwi from a tribal region in Aotearoa. The tauira or pattern on the front cover is one of the most recognised in Māori weaving. It is the poutama or stairway to heaven pattern, illustrating growth in knowledge and learning and reaching for the sometimes unobtainable. The word tauira is also a commonly used word for students. This is an apt title for the focus of our project, which is a series of case studies of teaching and learning excellence for Māori in tertiary settings.

MIHI

E rere taku manu kura i ngā maunga tapu!

Timata i te hiku o te ika, koutou o te Te Taitokerau wānanga ka mihi. Ko ngā mahi hāpai whānau i te oranga hinengaro, i te oranga wairua me te oranga tinana, mai i Kaitaia ki Whangarei tēnā koutou!

Piki ake rā ki te Tai Rāwhiti, Te Toihoukura, ngā iwi o Horouta waka, Ngā toi o neherā; ngā toi o te ao hōu; hei tā moko rangatira i uhi mai hei tauira mō ngā iwi o Aotearoa whānui!

Haere tonu rā mā runga tae atu ki te rohe o Ngāti Raukawa, Te Ati Awa me Ngāti Toa Rangatira. He whakawhiti pārongo hei honohono ki ngā mātauranga o te ao me te hāpai i ngā pūkenga rorohiko o ngā whānau o ngā ākongā. He kākano i ruia mai i Rangiatea!

Whakawhiti ki Te Waipounamu, ngā Tiriritiri o te Moana e hukapapa ana, Te Tai o Mahaanui, ko Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha, Te Hōaka Pounamu, Ngāi Tahu iwi, he mahi kai hōaka, he mahi kai tākata.

Tau ana rā taku manu ki tōna pae rangahau: Ko ēnei ngā hōtaka e whā, hei tauira o ngā mahi angitū mō ngā ākongā Māori i ngā whare wānanga puta noa i te motu!

E mihi kau ana ki ngā tāngata katoa, i whakawhiti kōrero ki ā maua mo tēnei kaupapa whakahirahira.

Ki ngā kaipānui o tēnei mahi rangahau, ko te tumanako ka kitea, ka rangona, he kōrero, he tikanga rangahau, he tauira pai hoki kua whārikihia nei e ngā kaikōrero maha, hei whakawhiti ki āu mahi rangahau, whakaako, tautoko rānei i ngā ākongā Māori. Kia eke panuku ki ngā taumata o te mātauranga!

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY/ WHAKARAPOPOTO MATUA

The Project

This project was funded under what was the Teaching Matters Forum and has now become Ako Aotearoa. The aim of project was to investigate *tauira*, exemplars, of success for Māori in tertiary education. A good deal of previous research about Māori achievement in education, both tertiary and the school sector, has focused on the under-achievement of Māori, highlighting a gap between what is achieved by the population as a whole and what is achieved by Māori. This project focuses on examples of success.

Methodological approach/He whare whakairo; he kōrero tuku iho

The research adopted a methodology that aligns comfortably with Māori cultural perspectives. Co-investigation and co-construction of narrative allows participants not only to have a voice in the research but also to exercise rangatiratanga about the work, its multiple purposes and its outcomes. Such collaboration is compatible with kaupapa Māori research, which asks that Māori research is used for Māori development, and not just in the interests of the mainstream.

In order to contextualise the case studies, we have briefly reviewed key writings that are relevant to Māori in tertiary settings and to the field of each programme. We present these in the literature review.

Four case studies/Mā tau rourou, mā taku rourou, ka matau ai te iwi

The 'tauira' we selected emerged from four case studies: social services programmes at NorthTec; the contemporary Māori art programme Toihoukura at Tairāwhiti Polytechnic; foundations courses in e-learning at Raukawa; and language revitalisation for teachers, Hōaka Pounamu, at the University of Canterbury. We selected each of these courses because of the high participation of Māori and their high rate of successful completion. In addition, in each case, the institution involved identified the programme as a successful one, and iwi valued it, although in some cases they looked for further development.

By design, we selected four different fields of study and four differently positioned institutions. These not only represent a geographical spread but also engage with different iwi. One is a wānanga (i.e., totally based on kaupapa Māori); the other three are mainstream institutions, including two polytechnics and a university. However, within the mainstream institutions, two of the programmes specifically target Māori students and prioritise partnerships with iwi. One programme is open entry. However, it particularly addresses Māori students because the region has a majority of Māori students and because it addresses a profession where the majority of clients are Māori.

The food of chiefs is talk! Ko te tā te rangatira kai, he kōrero!

At each site, we interviewed administrative leaders, teaching staff, students, as well as members of iwi, community groups and wider whanau. In all, we interviewed over a hundred people. The result is a collection of 'thick descriptions'.

We report the case studies in detail because the woven 'whāriki' of discussion is important to our understandings of how the participants view the issues, challenges

and elements of successful practice within each of the four sites. Success is essentially a holistic concept, not just the sum of elements that can be itemised.

Findings/Ngā pūtanga

A number of key themes emerged from the discussions that we could identify as factors that lead to success for Māori in tertiary settings:

1. A high level of iwi support
2. Strong institutional support
3. Active consultation with iwi and engagement of iwi with the programme
4. A clear professional or vocational focus
5. Accommodation of students' varying levels of entry and needs
6. Insistence on high standards
7. Recognition of students' emotional and spiritual needs as well as academic needs
8. Affirmation of students' connection to the community
9. Creation of teaching spaces appropriate to the field of studies
10. Implementation of tikanga Māori and Māori concepts and values
11. Strong, clear-visioned and supportive leadership
12. Significant Māori role models
13. Teaching staff who are also prepared to learn
14. Teaching staff who have professional credibility in their field
15. Respectful and nurturing relationships with students
16. Opportunities for students to redress previous unsatisfactory schooling experiences
17. Opportunities for students to develop effective learning strategies
18. Tuakana-teina relationships between students
19. A personalised and preferably iwi-based induction
20. The importance of a graduation that involves whānau and community
21. Strategic reduction of financial barriers to learning.

A number of overarching themes also emerged that characterise a Māori approach to tertiary education—*he tāhuhu kōrero*:

- In Māori terms, education is valued as a communal good, not just a personal one.
- Māori models of sustainability or kaitiakitanga involve not only conservation of resources but also guardianship of land, language, history and people.
- The learner is a whole and connected person as well as a potential academic.
- The development of space where Māori values operate becomes a 'virtual marae'.
- Tensions need to be navigated between institution drivers and iwi goals.

One of the values of 'thick description' is that it makes possible further analyses over time. We happily invite such further analyses.

Tatari ana tēnei whare kia oti ngā mahi whakanikoniko e koutou!



INTRODUCTION/HE KŌRERO WHAKAPŪAKI

Discussion of Māori educational achievement often is framed in terms of underachievement in comparison to the population as a whole. While this discussion often has positive intentions, it is limited in that it focuses on the gap in achievement rather than on identifying what success looks like. This project examines success for Māori in tertiary education, offering ‘thick descriptions’ of practice in a number of sites. It also identifies factors that lead to such success.

The project furthermore investigates and reports examples of innovative and effective practice for Māori in New Zealand tertiary institutions.

We examined three interrelated areas:

- Institutional policy and practice
- Programmes and teaching
- Students’ learning approaches.

We draw on four case studies from both the North and South Islands. These involve a range of institutions: university, polytechnic, and wānanga. Included are mainstream initiatives and kaupapa Māori initiatives.

In each case study, we worked collaboratively with the people involved to investigate the practice, analyse key elements to identify why and how the practice is effective (and where it still struggles), and describe it in a way that allows it to be shared with others.

In broad terms, we investigated effectiveness in terms of

- Iwi aspirations
- Governmental priorities and vocational expectations
- Student outcomes
- Stakeholder perceptions.

The terms *effective practice*, *excellent practice*, and *successful practice* are used as working synonyms. We recognise that good practice is always emergent, adapting to the needs of the people and to available resources. Also, in most cases, even very good practice can still improve, as standards lift and expectations grow. The focus, therefore, is on practice seen as good or effective in terms of the four above criteria and that is still evolving and developing.

The project received its funding from the Teaching Matters Forum, which was interested in studies that are learner focused, teacher focused, and/or institution focused. Our overall project focused on each of these areas. Because Māori still stand to the side of mainstream educational priorities, learning and teaching situations that serve the multifaceted needs of Māori usually involve innovations and developments across all three of these focus areas.

Aims and Objectives of the Research

The aim of the project was to identify and share educational practices in tertiary institutions that lead to better education outcomes for Māori.

We selected a cross-institutional approach to allow for a cohesive inquiry that placed education for Māori at the centre—not at the margins—of educational research and

that supports the Tertiary Education Commission's strategy: *Contribute to the achievement of Māori development aspirations (Tertiary Education Commission 2004)*.

Our objectives were to:

- Identify, investigate, analyse and report policies, programmes and practice at institutional level that implement iwi educational aspirations and strategies and the government's tertiary educational priorities and strategies in terms of Māori.
- Identify, analyse and describe particular teaching programmes and teaching practices that support effective teaching for Māori and that support meaningful learning by Māori.
- Investigate, analyse and describe learning strategies used by Māori students (including utilisation of support structures such as site-based marae and kaiāwhina) that lead to meaningful and effective learning.
- Work collaboratively with participants to co-construct critical accounts of their practices.
- Develop an interactive research management site to report and further develop findings

In addition to these aims, which were completed within the scope of the project reported here, we have two more aims, achievement of which requires further funding. These two aims are to:

1. At some later stage, provide access to these accounts of effective practice by the wider tertiary community; and
2. Further disseminate the co-constructed accounts of effective practice through print publication and CD-Rom.

Research Questions

The above aim and objectives produced the following focusing research question: *What are the characteristics of programmes that have successful learning outcomes for Māori students?*

A number of other questions were embedded in this question. These 'sub-questions' shaped but did not limit our interviews with participants.

The practice of institutions

- a. How does the institution view its role in education for Māori?
- b. To what extent does it recognise and act upon the following:
 - TES 2002-7; TES 7-12?
 - Iwi aspirations and education development strategies?
 - Consultation with/feedback from Māori staff and students?
- c. What policies and strategic plans are in place?
- d. What academic programmes and courses operate?
- e. What student support structures are in place?
- f. What factors facilitate or impede the success of the above?
- g. How does the institution measure its own effectiveness in the above?

The operation of teaching programmes and the work of teachers

- a. What elements of course design and content support effective learning by Māori students?
- b. What teaching practices support effective learning by Māori students?
- c. How is engagement with students achieved?
- d. What are the special characteristics of the learning environment?
- e. What role do te reo Māori, tikanga Māori and kaupapa Māori play?
- f. How does the teacher measure effectiveness?

The learning strategies employed by students

- a. What institutional structures and/or teaching strategies does the student perceive as supporting her/his learning?
- b. Which elements of the programme does he or she see as most meaningful, and why?
- c. What are the personal strategies the student uses that lead to successful learning?
- d. What group interactional processes does the student see as supporting meaningful/successful learning?
- e. What role do te reo Māori, tikanga Māori and kaupapa Māori play?
- f. How does the student evaluate success?

Correlation with previous research and existing pedagogical knowledge

- a. What key dimensions of effective teaching and learning practices for Māori have been identified?
- b. How do these relate to/differ from what is discussed in the literature above relating to effective teaching and learning in general?
- c. What, if any, values or indicators of success underpin the differences?
- d. Also implicit in the project design are questions relating to development.

Development and sharing

- a. What opportunities for development/improvement do the participants see? (These relate to the institution as a whole as well as to the individual programme.)
- b. What strategies can be used to create that improvement?
- c. What specific further resource or professional development is needed?



CONTEXT/TE HOROPAKI

The context of this research is based on Durie's whāriki of realising Māori potential and hearing the voices of Māori themselves. It is important for those we educate, he said, 'To be Māori, live as Māori and participate as citizens of the world.'

Durie (2001) articulates that for Māori to be successful in the academic world, they need to acknowledge their Māori identity. Effective teaching can be evaluated by the extent to which Māori students are successful in careers of all kinds as well as being nurtured in their Māori values.

When examining the four case studies, we need to consider if the application of Durie's principles is correct in its totality or only partially correct. If we look across a number of programmes in tertiary settings, will there be essential components that lead to Māori success? What do these look, feel, taste, and sound like for Māori in the tertiary environment?

Our project is positioned against a backdrop of governmental educational priorities and strategies and iwi educational aspirations and strategies. It also builds on existing research in a number of intersecting fields: about effective teaching and learning, Māori education, and kaupapa Māori research.

The *Tertiary Education Strategy 2004–2007* (Ministry of Education, 2002) proposed the plan for future tertiary education development. Strategy Two is designed to 'contribute to the achievement of Māori development aspirations' (p.16). The 2007–2012 statement affirmed the commitment to Māori success in tertiary education and asserted the need to develop a tertiary system that supports "Māori to live as Māori; to actively participate as citizens of the world; and to enjoy a high standard of living and good health" (Ministry of Education, 2007 p. 22).

The strategy addresses issues related to skill development, research and capacity building for Māori. Realisation of this strategy impacts on the other strategies: to strengthen system capability and quality, to raise foundation skills so that all people can participate in our knowledge society, to develop skills New Zealanders need for our knowledge society, and to strengthen research, knowledge creation and uptake for our knowledge society. We believe it may also inform realisation of Strategy Five: Educate for Pacific peoples' development and success.

A recent investigation of first-year tertiary success by Māori students, *Te Whai i ngā Taumata Ātākura/Supporting Māori Achievement in Bachelor's Degrees Revisited* (Earle, 2007), found that 'while the level of Māori degree attainment has increased, it still lags behind the rest of the New Zealand population and international standards'

Earle (2007) summarises the major finding of his study:

Success during the first year of study is only partially explained by the kinds of variables captured in enrolment data—that is, demographics, school background and area of enrolment.

This reinforces a general theme throughout the international literature that there is a complex set of factors, institutional, personal and external, which influence student success. These include readiness for degree study, goal commitment, ability of the student to fit into the institution and ability of the institution to adapt to the student.

Earle adds:

Many of these wider factors are amenable to influence through student support services, improved institutional practice and teacher professional development. A key aspect for Māori students is likely to be

the extent to which Māori students are able to maintain their cultural identity, access social and support networks outside of the institution and feel that their experiences are valued within the context of their learning.

In an update, Earle (2008) adds:

‘Māori students enter degree study, on average, with lower school qualifications and lower NCEA results than their non-Māori peers. Māori students who had the same level of performance in NCEA as non-Māori did slightly less well on average in their first-year degree studies.’

The literature about Māori entering tertiary education suggests a combination of approaches is required to raise Māori achievement in secondary schools and tertiary education. A key theme is the need for educational institutions and teachers to move away from a deficit model, which locates Māori underachievement in the shortcomings of the student, to a view that considers how support, environment and teaching practice can be improved in order to build and enhance the learning of all students (Earle, 2008).

The *Ka Hikitia* strategy (Ministry of Education, 2008) supports this view. The strategy has three key underlying principles:

- *Māori potential*: all learners have unlimited potential
- *Cultural advantage*: all Māori have cultural advantage by virtue of who they are; being Māori is an asset not a problem
- *Inherent capability*: all Māori are inherently capable of achieving success.

The strategy states that the education system needs to have less focus on remedying deficit, problems of dysfunction, government intervention, targeting deficit, Māori as a minority, and more focus on realising potential, identifying opportunity, investing in people and local solutions, tailoring education to the learner, and indigeneity and distinctiveness (Ministry of Education, 2008).

The title for this research, *Hei Tauira/For Example by Example*, fits with this positive paradigm. Several generations of Māori have grown up in an education system that has normalised Māori as failures. We are therefore committed to carrying out research that contributes to the development of Māori.

During the past decade, several iwi groups have engaged in initiatives and attempts to address Māori achievement and strategise for the future. Ngāi Tahu, for example, in addition to developing education and te reo strategies, has also implemented an adult education strategy, *Te Manawa Tīti* (Ngāi Tahu, 2004). Some of the expectations established under this strategy are evident in its mission statement: “To support whānau and rūnanga to engage in a range of quality educational options that empowers them and contributes to their educational, vocational and professional aspirations...[and] are knowledgeable in their Ngāi Tahutanga’ (Ngāi Tahu, 2004).

Iwi throughout the country also are developing their own educational strategies. Among them are Tuhoe, Tuwharetoa, Tainui, Te Tau Ihu, Ngāi Tahu, Raukawa, and Ngāti Porou. Several iwi have formalised iwi partnerships with the Ministry of Education.

Because the term *tauira* is also used in weaving to show the continuation of a design or pattern relevant to or representative of a particular whānau, hapū or iwi from a tribal region in Aotearoa, we hope our four case studies delineate a pattern or example of good practice across Aotearoa—a pattern that can be replicated and transferred to other tertiary settings to enhance the achievement of Māori.



LITERATURE REVIEW/TE AROTAKE TUHINGA KŌRERO

The literature relevant to this study falls into several broad strands.

The first relates to a body of work on Māori educational attainment. This includes Māori conceptualisations of what achievement means in Māori terms, research into achievement outputs, iwi plans and government policy.

The second concerns literature relating to our methodological approach.

The third is bodies of work relating to the particular fields of the courses we study: the arts, language revitalisation, social services, and e-learning.

The literature is both written and oral. The written literature consists of theoretical and conceptual discussions, reports of research, policy and planning documents. The oral literature, which is also relevant to our themes, comes from the living libraries of marae debate and acknowledged Māori expertise.

Literature relating to the four disciplinary fields of our sites is varied and very extensive. In these pages, therefore, we offer a review of only selected works that show the key issues and concerns in each field.

Māori Educational Attainment

Māori values and Māori conceptualisations of attainment and success are fundamental to this project. As such, asking from the outset if Māori notions of success are the same as Pākehā ones seems a useful approach.

Durie (2001) establishes a basis for this discussion in his assertion that for Māori to be *successful* in the academic world, they need not only to succeed according to criteria that might be called global or universal but also according to Māori criteria, which involve their potential for participating effectively within the context of Māori values and Māori aspirations. A number of iwi strategic plans, such as Ngāi Tahu's *Te Kete o Aoraki* (2003) articulate the need for students to achieve across all general indicators of success as well as in knowledge of te reo and ngā tikanga Māori.

What this twofold success might look like and how it might be achieved is further problematised in the literature. Difference from the academic mainstream is highlighted by Smith (1992), who describes the cultural values that characterise being Māori and that underpin kaupapa Māori initiatives in education. Among these are 'social practices such as utu (reciprocity), maanaki (hospitality), tiaki (nurture).' His work also draws attention to a wider developmental framework that includes 'notions of rangatiratanga (autonomy), mana (authority), iwi (tribal support), whanaungatanga (group responsibility), manaakitanga (sharing and support).

Macfarlane (2003), although talking about practices within a school rather than a tertiary institution, stresses the importance of actively listening to culture, and grounds the concept of tino rangatiratanga in terms of clear physical embodiments of stance and language. Wilson and Greenwood (2004) emphasise the need to seek out a holistic framework and to value the emotionally charged subjective voice as well as the objective one. Durie's construct of te whare tapa whā (Durie 1982) adds the proposition that it may not be possible to consider students' academic achievement without also considering their holistic overall development.

Another body of work considers the importance of deconstructions of colonialism and deficit conceptualisations. Among these are the writings of Simon (1986), Walker (1996) and Bishop (2005). These writings stress not only the partnership

obligations grounded in the Treaty of Waitangi but also the need for educators and educational systems to unpack teaching strategies that configure Māori students as needing special attention because of their prior shortcomings in subject or cultural knowledge. These authors ask us to focus instead on the range of personal and cultural learning predispositions and skills that Māori do bring to teaching and learning.

A recent article by MacFarlane, Glynn, Grace, Penetito, and Bateman (2008) draws analogies between the generic key competencies in the new curriculum framework and a Māori cultural worldview. The authors assert the importance of a Māori worldview that is characterised by, in the words of their abstract, 'an abiding concern for the quality of human relationships that need to be established and maintained if learning contexts are to be effective for Maori students'.

These writings have useful parallels in the international literature relating to effective pedagogy, particularly the work of Apple (2004), Bourdieu (1993), Eisner (1991), Freire (1972), and Giroux (1988).

Among a further body of writings that report research into Māori educational achievement are reports that indicate serious concerns and reports that show successful innovations. Data reported by the Ministry of Education (2005, 2006) fall into the first category. In the second, Skerrett-White (2003) offers a seminal study of language shift reversal in kohanga reo and offers a model of how indigenous conceptual frameworks and methodologies can be utilised in a case study.

Along with the above are a number of government policy documents that identify the strategic importance to New Zealand of Māori development and Māori educational achievement. The *Tertiary Education Strategy 2007–2012* (Office of the Minister for Tertiary Education, 2007) emphatically asserts that 'Māori success is New Zealand's success' (p. 21). The strategy further asserts that while there has been significant growth in Māori participation in tertiary education, there is an ongoing responsibility to work with Māori.

Methodological Approach

A considerable body of literature examines a qualitative approach to research and considers the characteristics of ethnographic studies. Key definers of field include Bogdan and Biklen (2003), Denzin and Lincoln (2000), and Ely (1991). Geertz (1988) identifies a key value as the production of 'thick descriptions', in which detailed accounts of practices are generated. Kvale (1996) proposes case study as a research focus that provides in-depth qualitative data. Skate (2003) positions the case study as a means of finding understandings that are situation specific rather than examples of universals. He also offers a range of ways in which some commonalities and differences between case studies might be analysed. Richardson (1994) suggests that the researcher best uses in-depth qualitative data to crystallise understandings of a situation rather than to provide the basis for specious triangulations.

A strongly participatory approach to investigation is variously discussed in the literature. Bishop and Glynn (1999) describe its relation to Māori approaches to knowledge as a hui approach to data-gathering. Smith (1999, p. 190) describes it as 'a social project'. Such an approach acknowledges that the situations being investigated are not static, nor are they independent of the people involved and of the actions they take. Participatory approaches are also examined in the literature

on action research, particularly by Cardno (2003), Kemmis and Wilkinson (1998), Stringer (2003), and Zuber-Skerritt (1996).

Such a collaborative approach also finds expression in terms of capacity building in which participants use the investigative process to examine and refine their practices and plan further developments. Atweh, Kemmis, and Weeks (1998) and Kemmis (2006) offer rich discussions of this field.

A key initial tool in collaborative process is the use of open-ended interviews. Fontana and Frey (1994) examine how such interviews avoid objectifying people. Douglas (1985) is concerned with how they allow participants to express themselves more freely. Fine (1984) stresses how they allow participants to address their own concerns and to digress and elaborate in ways they consider are important. Māori parallels are evident in the concern for mana and reciprocity and the historic traditions of oral transmission and narratives (Royal, 1992).

A further key tool in the collaborative construction of accounts is the use of an interactive website. A growing body of literature examines the use of websites to facilitate collaborative approaches to knowledge and the development of communities of practice. Among the authors in this area are Friedman (2006), Wenger (1981), and Wright, Ryder, and Mayo (2006).

Fields of Study

The arts

Relevant literature in the field of Māori arts is rich and varied. One of the strands we particularly wish to explore as context for this study is the relationship between tradition and innovation. In addition to written discussions (Ford, 1984; Greenwood & Wilson, 2006), there is a lineage of creative works extending from Te Kooti's experimentations in iconography in his meeting-house to Tuwhare's play *In the Wilderness without a Hat* that demonstrate how tradition is itself a living process and a continuing adaptation to a changing world.

Another body of writings seeks to establish appropriate terms of reference for critical analysis of Māori arts—terms that position Māori arts in relation to community rather than to canons and that avoid western constructions of difference. Jahnke (2006), for example, argues that 'art' is an essentialist western notion that leads to a differentiation between high art and low art, fine art and craft. Such a construction, he says, is neither particularly useful nor relevant to Māori. Jahnke also seeks to circumvent issues of appropriation, hybridity and essentialism because these undermine understanding of the role art takes in expressing a culture that is living, or, to borrow from Spivak's (cited in Jahnke 2006) words, is 'culture on the run'. Jahnke therefore prefers 'Māori visual culture' as a term 'that is a culturally empathetic substitute for "Māori art"' (p. 60).

In this reconceptualisation, Jahnke follows international reconsiderations of 'art' in relation to understandings of difference, and finds international substitutions of 'art' with 'visual culture' to be 'both relevant and timely' (p. 60). For instance, Jagodzinski (1999, p. 311) argues that 'art' itself is a concept that exists only in difference; it is a 'distinct object of enlightenment discourse', with and art history 'remain[ing] nationalistic and heroic'.

Jahnke (2006, p. 62), himself an art educator as well as a practising artist, proposes an analytic framework for Māori visual culture that includes indices such as 'whakapapa (genealogy), mātauranga (knowledge), āhua (appearance), waihanga (process), wahi (site) and ... tikanga (protocol)'. Such a framework, he suggests,

allows critical discussion without referring to non-useful concepts such as 'pure' or 'authentic'.

A sizeable body of writing examines the relationship of Māori arts to education. Particularly significant is *Ngā Toi i roto i te Marautanga o Aotearoa/The Arts in the New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2000), which presents Māori visual and performance culture as a strand of art separate from the mainstream strands. The curriculum document demonstrates this separateness in three ways: the invocation of the spirituality, ancestry and relationship as the source and energising force of the arts, the interdependence with te reo, and the interrelation of visual and performative modes to each other.

Translation of this curriculum into possible practice is represented by two resources books for primary schools: *He Papahuia toi Māori: Māori Visual Culture in Visual Arts Education, Years 1–6* (Chadwick, 2007) and *He Wakahuia toi Māori: Māori Visual Culture in Visual Arts Education, Years 7–10* (Chadwick & Hannah, 2004).

The project work of Māori artists serves to expand understandings of the uses of Māori art forms and art understandings in school and in community teaching and learning, and of how art making can serve as a catalyst for intrapersonal and interpersonal growth. For example, Arnold Wilson's *Te Mauri Pakeaka* project (Greenwood & Wilson, 2006) brought schools, arts and community onto marae to learn about Māori arts within a context where they are alive. Jim Moriarty's *Te Rakau* project (Scott, 2006) brings young people in trouble to theatre-devising projects on marae to learn art making in ways that allow them to connect with values that support their personal growth.

These projects lead into another important strand in the literature: the range of roles that the arts play in relation to society, as guardians and interpreters of history and culture, as a forum for debate, and as a platform within the marketplace. A number of works present images of art works together with discussion based on conversations with the artists. Valuable among these are

- *Māori artists of the South Pacific* (Mataira, 1984)
- *Seven Māori artists* (Nicholas & Kaa, 1986)
- *Mana Wāhine Māori: Selected Writings on Māori Women's Art, Culture and Politics* (Te Awakotuku, 1991)
- *Mataora: The Living Face: Contemporary Māori Art* (Adsett, Whiting, & Ihimaera, 1996)
- *Taiāwhio: Conversations with Contemporary Māori Artists* (Smith & Solomon, 2002)
- *Tūruki tūruki! Paneke paneke! When Māori Art became Contemporary* (Auckland Art Gallery/Toi o Tamaki, 2008).

In various ways, these artists explore the relationship of their art to their identity and to their engagement with community. They talk about the experience of living in two worlds, and of drawing on their legacies from both. They also use their experience to open debate about the roles of art, the branding of indigeneity, and what it means to be Māori today.

A third significant strand is the legacy of work from an ever-growing number of contemporary Māori artists that informs the evolving conceptual framework of art educators. Among these artists are Selwyn Muru, Arnold Wilson, Cliff Whiting, Fred Graham, Para Matchitt, Ralph Hotere, Kura Te Waru Rewiri, Rangimarie Hetet, Emily Karaka, Robyn Kahukiwa, Kura Te Waru Rewiti, Derek Lardelli, Ross Hemara, Bob Jahnke, Steve Gibbs, and Shane Cotton. This legacy includes the art works themselves as well as published catalogues of their works, such as *Kohia ko*

Taikaka Anake: Artists Construct New Directions (Matchitt, Adsett, & Walker, 1993) and *Te Puawai o Ngāi Tahu: Twelve Contemporary Ngāi Tahu Artists* (Rogers, 2003). This strand of writings also involves reviews and critical analyses of such works. Examples include an interview with Kura Te Waru Rewiri in *Takahe* (Fusco, 2001) and review examining the work of Shane Cotton in *Metro* magazine (Hansen, 2004).

Language learning and revitalisation

A number of strands in the literature of this field are significant to our study.

The Waitangi Tribunal's report on the te reo Māori claim (1986) contains the submissions of numerous Māori scholars about the interdependence of language, educational success and wellbeing.

Among the oral libraries of advocacy, contextualisation and methodology are the kōrero and work of John Rangihau, Timoti Karetu, and Huirangi Waikerepuru. In their footsteps comes a broad range of theorisations and methodological contributions. These include accounts of language-teaching strategies, examinations of the interrelation of language, culture and wellbeing and models of iwi language revitalisation.

Te reo Māori language revitalisation developed in two significant waves d the past 30 years. While there were attempts in the 1970s to arrest the decline of te reo Māori, as well as demands by young Māori leaders, Ngā Tamatoa, that Māori be taught at secondary schools, this issue was not brought to the serious attention of Māori until the early 1980s by Benton (1981). Benton studied the demise (both past and ongoing) of the language in the 20th and 21st centuries. He estimated at the time of writing that less than 25% of Māori were fluent in their own language. Benton's call for action was followed by a series of pan-iwi 'grassroots' Māori attempts to revitalise te reo through initiatives such as kōhanga reo (Reedy, 2000). These spurred Māori participation in Māori immersion education on into kura kaupapa Māori at the primary school level and wharekura at secondary levels during the 1980s through to the late 1990s (Smith, 2003).

The government's strongest commitment to te reo Māori came in 1987 through the Māori Language Act, which recognised Māori as an official language of New Zealand. The act also established the Māori Language Commission/Te Taura Whiri to promote the use of Māori as a living language and as an ordinary means of communication. The commission's goal is 'Kia ora ai te reo Māori hei reo kōrero mō Aotearoa/Māori language is a living national taonga for all New Zealanders' (www.tetaurawhiri.govt.nz).

In more recent years, the commission developed a Māori language strategy for Crown agencies, proficiency tests for adult speakers of te reo and (financed through a contestable fund) te reo initiatives throughout the country. The Ministry of Education is the other key provider of te reo funding in education settings from early childhood through to adult learners; the ministry has its own Māori language strategy (www.minedu.govt.nz).

The second wave of language revitalisation has involved initiatives led by specific tribal groups and sometimes overlapping with pan-iwi initiatives. These, however, have had a stronger focus on language revitalisation underpinned by the notion of rebuilding tribal cultural capacity and leadership. Ngāti Raukawa led this second wave, and in 1981 launched their Tau Rua Mano vision to increase the numbers of fluent speakers in their iwi under 40 years of age by the year 2000. However, it was not until nearly 20 years later that other tribal groups, including Ngāi Tahu, seriously

followed the Raukawa example. In the last 10 years, several iwi and tribal authorities have developed education and te reo strategies; these are at various stages of implementation. The focus of these strategies is intergenerational transfer of language and cultural practice. In Ngāi Tahu's case, the focus is on the home and developing support-based resources for families (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2002).

Iwi, along with government agencies and tertiary institutions, have focussed on developing language programmes that accelerate te reo language acquisition in both mainstream and kaupapa Māori settings. The rakau method using cuisenaire rods, known as Ataarangi, focuses on oral fluency with no written words and was pioneered for the Māori language by Katarina Mataira (Mataira, 1980) nearly 30 years ago. The one-week language immersion courses known as kura reo were funded until recently by Te Taura Whiri, the Māori Language Commission (www.taurawhiri.govt.nz). Also available are the standard tertiary offerings of face-to-face weekly classes (Walker, 1999, Karetu, 1989), and Te Wānanga o Aotearoa language programmes, Te Ara Reo, which have attracted large numbers of Māori learners into te reo classrooms.

Nock (2005) compared learning te reo Māori at Waikato University in an intensive fast-track immersion programme to a gradual progressive-exposure language programme. She found that, 'overall in terms of course grades at level three, students following the intensive, fast track, language immersion pathway out-perform other students in te reo Māori course assessments' (p60). Timms (2007) compared learning te reo in a mainstream initiative in a university with learning te reo in a kaupapa Māori setting in a wānanga. She found:

... the greatest similarity they share is their commitment to the survival of te reo Māori. Their strengths in achieving this is that they both offer a tertiary education environment that provides a platform for language revival to occur, and their relative environments allow potential students to engage in this revival while choosing the best atmosphere to meet their needs and aspirations. (p. 10)

Some reo learning campaigns, such as Kōrero Māori and Generation Reo (Ngāi Tahu, 2007), use information technology. The adaptation of a successful tertiary language teaching programme, the 'Whanake' series, to an online programme (Kā'ai, McDonald, & Moorefield, 2006) and to te reo podcasts (Toia, 2008) have revolutionised language learning. As Rewi (2007, p. 9) states, 'Few would argue against the fail proof effectiveness of Māori language immersion and human socialisation as the preferred means of Māori language acquisition. IT based resources provide an avenue for learning Māori, at least in the interim and albeit at introductory levels for affirmation and maintenance of basic Māori language.' Yet, as the 2006 census highlights, only 4% of Māori are fluent in te reo; 25% have a communicative ability (www.stats.govt.nz/census).

Language enrolments in tertiary programmes reached a high in 2003 when around 40,000 students took some kind of te reo course in a tertiary institution (Harris, 2007). A study of te reo learners in tertiary settings in 2007 also found that 'tertiary courses are not sufficient on their own to build conversational proficiency in te reo Māori. Students also need to be able to access a range of environments where the language is used and supported ... Students enrolled in te reo programmes are more likely to be Māori female and aged between 30 and 50' (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 5).

A wide gap, however, still exists between bilingual teacher supply and bilingual teacher demand. Nearly 30 years ago, visiting international language expert Bernard Spolsky (1987) signalled the lack of fluent speakers to teach in Māori medium programmes when he recommended training 1,000 teachers to meet the demand for

bilingual education at the time. The government introduced some strategic interventions in the form of Whakapiki Reo in 1996. These language proficiency-building programmes for teachers have improved teachers' fluency 'not only as a result of direct teaching of the language in these programmes, but also as a result of immersion in the language throughout the programme and of [teachers] familiarising themselves with strategies for teaching te reo Māori and for correcting errors' (Te Kanawa & Whaanga, 2005, p. 37). Other models of teacher in-service programmes have since been attempted and implemented, but these relate mainly to mainstream teachers at the beginner level.

Social work

The influential discussions that inform Māori perspectives in social work are both written and oral.

Among the seminal writings are *Puao Te Ata Tu* (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1988), the report that placed Māori expectations squarely into a previously monocultural arena; Judge Mick Brown's so-called *Blueprint Report* (Brown, 2000) that highlighted the disproportion of Māori whānau accessing social services relative to the dominance of non-Māori social workers; and the Child, Youth and Family Services' Māori policy, *Te Pounamu* (2002), which stresses the importance of building the capacity of Māori within welfare institutions.

Among the 'oral libraries' are models of wellbeing that have become part of Māori conceptualisations of social work. These include:

- *Te whare tapa wha*, which draws on and expands Durie's (1982) positioning of taha tinana, taha wairua, taha whānau and taha hinengaro as the four walls of the house of Māori wellness;
- *Te wheke*, which uses Rose Pere's (1991) conceptualisation of Māori health as a body with limbs of wairuatanga, hinengaro, taha tinana, whanaungatanga, te whānau, waioara, mauri, hā ā koro mā, a kui mā, whatumanawa, and mana ake; and, more recently,
- *Te pae mahutonga*, which uses Durie's (1999) likening of Māori health to the southern cross, with the star positions denoting autonomy, community leadership, physical environment, cultural identity, healthy lifestyles and participation in society.

Also part of the oral library are the debates that shape policy and action in the field. Among them is the view which argues the respective merits of a client-based perspective of social work that finds its expression in case work, and the community development view which focuses on building community capacity to provide contexts that lead to wellbeing.

Tait-Rolleston, Cairns, Fulcher, Kereopa, and Nia Nia (1997) discuss the principles that need to underpin the education and training in tertiary institutes of social workers for practice in Aotearoa. These authors place 'the oral accounts of Māori people, together with the cultural templates and indigeneous metaphors for learning of iwi, hapu, and most of all whānau' as fundamental to any training. They also discuss four important types of partnership in such work: that of men and women and their complementary roles, that of intergenerational partnerships, that between iwi and tertiary institutions, and that between 'come from away' experts and particular tribes of indigenous peoples. They conclude that 'there is a lot more to be learned about partnerships between indigenous peoples and the institutional structures of tertiary education in Aotearoa/New Zealand' (p. 35).

Ruwhiu (1997) notes that the Māori attrition rate from tertiary programmes for social workers is markedly high, and argues that Māori need to 'name [their] ... space as indigenous practitioners within the social services terrain of Aotearoa' (p. 33). An important component in that naming is understanding the historical emergence of social support for whānau, hapu and iwi Māori. Ruwhiu also affirms the importance of whakawhanaungatanga on the part of Māori social workers, together and when in contact with their communities, thereby forging a whānau within their profession to promote Māori wellbeing, identity, self-management, development and generosity.

Nash and Mumford (2001) relate what Britain terms as 'anti-racist social work practice' to being able to work appropriately as a treaty partner in New Zealand. They examine the process of iwi agencies rejecting others dictating their core business to them. They also highlight the importance of having 'the Department of Social Welfare purchase from them the kinds of services that they, as Māori, have devised and want to offer their own people without losing their autonomy' (p. 29), and that will allow them to 'offer their people social services compatible with their culture' (p. 32).

Walsh-Tapiata (2000) quotes Mira Szazy's statement that 'what we need is a new Māori humanism, that is, a humanism based on ancient values but versed in contemporary idiom' (p. 9). They note the importance in the future of both pan-Māori and iwi social service organisations. They also observe that all social workers, whatever their cultural background, work with Māori at some time.

Goldson and Fletcher (2003, p. 20) argue that Māori and Pākehā social workers need not 'sit in an anguish of irreconcilable difference', nor should they be silent or avoid the search for elusive answers. They argue that 'it is incumbent on us, both social work practitioners and social work educators, to find a path which creates the conditions conducive to the mediation of difference'. They state that anything else would be undemocratic, and that such a search resonates with 'the search for bicultural perspectives in social work theory, in institutional education practice and the very essence of the work we do with families.'

Ward (2006) writes from the position of a fieldwork educator at NorthTec. She examines the place of Māori cultural templates in her own practice, and notes that questions of cultural integrity constantly frame social work practice and theory in Aotearoa New Zealand. She proposes a model including ao Māori, whānau, whakapapa, te reo, tikanga, wairua, ako, aroha, awhi, tika and mana as elements of good supervisory practice.

e-learning

The published literature about e-learning is very much an emergent body of work. Key international theorisations include those by Jonassen (2000) and Salmon (2002), who explore the potential of engaging critical thinking and active learning through technology. Among the large number of studies of current practice, we can also include Morrow's in-depth case study (2007) of a particular class's learning online.

A report on teaching and learning practices for e-learning in tertiary education, *Critical Success Factors and Effective Pedagogy for e-learning in Tertiary Education* (New Zealand Council for Educational Research/NZCER, 2004), looked particularly at factors that might enhance learning outcomes for Māori e-learners. Among the trends emerging from the data analysis were the following: 63% of Māori students are enrolled in courses that have no web access, most wānanga courses have no web access, and only 5% of polytechnic students are in programmes involving significant web use (p. v). The council suggests that 'in order to increase Māori involvement in e-learning, the main focus needs to be on increasing e-learning in

wānanga and polytechnics ... and to use [this focus] ... in courses where Māori can study part-time while remaining in their current locations (and employment)' (p. 1). The council points out the need for e-learning experiences to be carefully scaffolded, grounded in understandings of how students learn, and be meaningful to students.

The council also acknowledges in its report the relative lack of research in the field of e-learning and indigenous learners. It cites an Australian study (p. 56) that not only suggests that distance e-learning can be alienating unless some onsite teaching is built into the programme but also affirms that the inability of educators to adjust their teaching delivery to meet the personal and cultural needs of their students is as likely to apply in e-learning as in the conventional classroom. In discussing Māori and e-learning, the council looks at several tertiary programmes (but not those in Te Wānanga o Raukawa), and concludes that 'e-learning is not, as yet, an attractive option for many Māori' (p. 63), perhaps because of affordability issues and because of Māori preference for face-to-face interactions.

A hui in Porirua (Wenmouth, 2004) followed up some of these themes. One workshop particularly addressed the question of 'What is Māori about e-learning for Māori?' (Wenmouth & Irwin, 2004). Two significant themes arose: first, in e-ako the positioning of the teacher in relation to the learner is pivotal; second, e-wānanga deals with a whole environment whereas e-learning is just a tool. The workshop attendees saw use of Māori language as pivotal, and acknowledged the need for caution. Attendees also affirmed that Māori platforms for measurement, individuals, hapū, iwi, and institutions cannot be divorced from e-learning, and that existing concepts of learner-centred are not necessarily appropriate for Māori.

Neal and Collier (2006), Porima (2005), and Zepke and Leach (2002) also discuss the assertion by Māori of the need to develop ways of e-learning appropriate to the needs of Māori. Selby (2006) describes a project developed at Raukawa to use technology to overcome students' sense of whakamā as they develop and learn to deliver a mihi. She concludes that there is potential for e-learning to make a significant revival to te reo Māori if programmes are well researched and designed, if a general level of technology competence is required before students embark on specific e-learning packages, and if any needed e-support systems are easily accessible.



METHODOLOGY/ TIKANGA RANGAHAU

General Approach

This research addresses the question: What characterises programmes that have successful learning outcomes for Māori students? The quantification of 'success' in terms of enrolment, retention and completion is already addressed in each institution's reporting documents, annual report, profile and strategic plan, and so is outside the scope of this project, although we do draw on the reported numbers in this report as a platform for our discussion.

Our approach here was a qualitative one. We sought to understand the complex attitudes, policies and practices that operate to bring about success. In broad terms, this project consists of a series of case studies, detailed below. We can also describe the project in terms of participatory research and capacity building. Implicit throughout the design is recognition of the values that underpin Māori approaches to community, to knowledge and to learning and teaching.

Accordingly, the data produced are situation specific (Skate 2003), with 'thick descriptions' (Geertz, 1988). While it would be inappropriate to draw generalising conclusions from the individual cases studies, themes emerged that suggest key dimensions of successful learning and teaching. Some of these themes are common to several of the case studies and some differ significantly from case to case; as much can be learned from the differences as from the commonalities.

We also took a strongly participatory approach, in keeping with Māori approaches to investigation, discussion and decision-making, described by Bishop and Glynn (1999) as a hui approach to data gathering, and by Smith (1999, p. 190) as 'a social project'. This approach acknowledges that the situations being investigated are neither static nor independent of the people involved and of the actions they take. The participatory approach involves the participants' voices in defining and in critically analysing the practices in which they engage.

We have accordingly expressed the project in terms of capacity building because the collaborative investigative process in itself allows participants to affirm and refine their practices and, following reflection, plan further developments. We envisaged that the investigation of educational practices that are successful for Māori in the tertiary sector would add to positive visioning by Māori and allow institutions, iwi and government to further refine their strategic plans.

The Case Studies

The value of case study as a research focus is that it provides in-depth qualitative data (Kvale, 1996). Each case has its own unique history and is a complex entity operating within a number of contexts (Skate, 2003). It is also an approach that is appropriate to our project because it acknowledges the locatedness of experience and of knowledge (tohungatanga) and the way each of the sites that we investigate has a particular identity that is created by the people involved (tuakiritanga ā-iwi, ā whānau, ā whare wānanga). Within the sites we selected were particular courses and groups of students that might have constituted case studies in their own right. We treated such cases as embedded case studies (Scholz & Tietje, 2002).

Where appropriate, we gathered quantitative data relating to the participants to support the qualitative data and the participants' evaluation of programmes. In particular, we examined institutional reports and statistical information about recruitment, selection, retention and completion.

Semi-structured and unstructured interviewing

We elicited initial data from each site through semi-structured and open-ended interviewing. As we requested in our initial negotiations, participants offered paper documentation as well as verbal accounts.

An initial face-to-face approach to interviewing, *kanohi ki te kanohi*, proved to be essential, as it allowed participants to assess the extent to which they could trust us, the researchers, and to assert dimensions to the research that they considered important. This approach thus formed the interpersonal basis for further information sharing and for co-construction of narratives that took place by email, an online site, or phone.

During the interviews, we combined a skeletal structure, which we had planned earlier, with open-ended conversations that allowed participants to elaborate freely on areas important to them. We used semi-structured processes to set up the initial directions of the inquiry, with, for instance, specific questions about the content of policies, the nature of teaching strategies, and the processes of evaluation.

In our design, we saw the open-ended aspect of the interviews as particularly important because it avoids objectifying people (Fontana & Frey, 1994). It also allows participants to express themselves more freely (Douglas, 1985), so allowing them to address their own concerns and to digress and elaborate in ways they consider are important (Fine, 1984). Such an approach is consistent with concern for *mana* and for the way in which development is reciprocal (*tau-utu-utu*). In Māori terms, the historic traditions of oral transmission and narratives are integral to the development of accounts of indigenous practice (Royal, 1992).

As our project progressed, we found that such an approach did indeed facilitate an open flow of information. Perhaps even more significantly, the Māori leadership of several of the programmes we studied told us that the description of this approach in the written material we sent them was a key reason for their agreeing to participate.

The participants in the interviews we held included institutional managers, lecturers, students (current and past), and *iwi*. Across the four sites, we interviewed just over 100 people.

Co-construction of accounts

An open-ended approach to the interviewing process was the first step towards a collaborative construction of what was happening in each of the educational practices we investigated and are now reporting.

After each interview, we wrote an account of the practice and returned it to the participants for feedback, refinement and, where they wished, further elaboration. We planned that this next interaction should take place online, and that it would be a significant step in the co-construction. Thus, once the accounts were completed to the satisfaction of researchers and participants, they were placed on an online site where all participants in the research could read this material, comment further, and ask questions.

However, we learned from our site visits that while all students and staff had access to the internet, many were reluctant to use it for more than mandated course work.

Some kaumātua were also reluctant to use it. We therefore also sent out copies of our accounts in print and by email. We did receive a number of minor corrections to the material we sent out, and one or two queries about the validity of comments made by others, but most of the feedback we received was endorsement of what we had written.

In retrospect, we consider that the degree to which we were open-ended in our interviewing and accurate in our initial writing of accounts were determining factors in creating a co-constructed narrative. The posting online (and through mail) was important because it assured further opportunity for discussion and review. It was a safety net that ultimately was not actively used; its value came instead from its availability.

The collaborative process proved to be significant because it did yield rich, detailed information, that was as free as possible from errors in perception on the part of researchers, and because it overtly addressed the issue of whose interests the research serves and who controls its content (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Smith, 1999).

The sequential interactions that generate co-constructed narratives have a parallel with the spiralling cycles of action research, in which intentions as well as action incrementally develop. The iterations also parallel the marae process of hui, where the community debates issues that concern its wellbeing and its future action. This process involves cycles of action, reflection and re-conceptualisation, and eventual consensus (Wilson & Greenwood, 2004).

Interactive online site: Interact: Te whare kōrero

A site is available on the University of Canterbury College of Education *Interact* website to accommodate the dialogues and the final report.

In the first instance, we posted the accounts in a way that allowed only those to whom the practice belongs and the researchers to access the discussion. (The Interact site allows for tracking of discussion and, where needed, mentoring to facilitate further development of the accounts—tuakana-teina.) We then placed the co-authored accounts in an area of the site open to all the participants in the project for further discussion. As we explained above, the extent to which participants availed themselves of access varied considerably and was generally less than we planned.

Nevertheless, we believe that opportunity for access was important. It assured our participants of our commitment to transparency. In addition, access, in print and email as well as on the site, to all the accounts of effective practice and to the discussion of teaching intentions, learning strategies and the developmental aspirations that grow out of the shared accounts provided an active contribution to the capacity building potential of the institutions and iwi involved.

We are now placing the finished project on an open-access public site.

Capacity building

Building capacity for increasing good practice was a primary aim of this research project. Collaborative construction of accounts and the open sharing of the examples of good practice were processes within the research design that actively contributed to the development of capacity of tertiary institutions and iwi for creating better educational outcomes for Māori students.

Capacity building often is linked conceptually with participatory action research processes, in which investigation, action and reflection are integrated in a cyclic pattern (Cardno, 2003; Kemmis & Wilkinson, 1998; Stringer, 2003). Capacity building

is a process in which a community develops skills, knowledge and resources so that it can determine its wellbeing. Capacity building is based on an integrative approach that allows people to investigate their reality at the same time as they effect change. The collectivist nature of the process and the growing understandings of the participants give rise to the emancipatory potential (Durie, 2001; Wadsworth, 1998; Zuber-Skerritt, 1996).

Māori conceptualisation and values

Māori conceptualisations and Māori values underpinned our approach to this project. Several researchers address how such an approach differs from that of the academic mainstream. Smith (1999, p. 191) explains that in kaupapa Māori approaches to research, investigations are selected because they are sites of struggle and because they have strategic importance for Māori. Macfarlane (2003) writes of the importance of listening to culture. Wilson and Greenwood (2004) emphasise the need to seek out a holistic framework and to value the emotionally charged subjective voice.

We considered this approach important from the outset of the project because of our intention to investigate Māori education. For us, doing all we could to ensure the investigation would be consistent with Māori values and Māori approaches to knowledge and to learning was an essential. We also considered this approach important because we knew it would add not only to the research perspectives and the research strategies more commonly used in mainstream academic research but also to our greater knowledge and understanding of learning and teaching.

Many commentators have observed that educational strategies that benefit Māori students benefit all New Zealand students. Such, for instance, was the response to Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, and Richardson's (2003) research about ways to increase outcomes for Māori students. We hope, therefore, that the findings of this project will add to the potential to improve educational outcomes not only for Māori but for all.

Dealing with contradictions and conflicting results

At the outset of our project, we expected that potential contradictions or conflicting results might arise in a number of ways, and this was the case.

Quite often, differences arose in how various participants perceived conceptual underpinnings and practices. For example, a number of times members of one iwi or another perceived the value of certain practices differently from how the institution perceived that value. Also, there were times when some members of group saw a particular approach as appropriate and effective, whereas others saw it as too Māori in its orientation, and others again considered it not Māori enough. There were instances of significantly different approaches to course development on the part of institutional leaders and course leaders. There were different perceptions of what consultation meant. There was also the possibility that we, as researchers, might interpret the practices undergoing research differently from how those who owned them interpreted them.

We saw the first kind of contestations—those of different perception—as part of the richness of the data we had collected. As such, we did not seek to resolve these contestations but rather to preserve them in the layering of the accounts of different participants. We were interested to find that when we returned the accounts of each site to the participants, they made only a few comments about the differences of opinion expressed. It seems to us that the participants were operating in contexts where such differences were recognised and, to varying extents, accepted. As we

show in our later discussion, we consider some of these differences of perception as significant factors affecting the success of Māori students. However, we did endeavour to resolve, through the process of co-construction of narratives described above, any contradictions arising between our understandings as researchers and those of the participants.

The process of checking back with participants and of allowing them to read and comment on one another's narratives has strong parallels with the process of triangulation (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Richardson (1994) describes the process of recording and critically reflecting on conflicting results as crystallisation, which involves discovering the complexity of topics and acknowledging the inherently partial understandings we gain of them.

Selection of sites and participants

In selecting the sites for our case studies, we applied a number of criteria:

1. We wanted cases reported as successful for Māori students, both by their institution's formal reporting and in the feedback, formal and informal, received from iwi.
2. We looked for cases where there was a strong engagement with iwi, recognising as we did so that in regions with more than one iwi group, such consultation might be more complex.
3. We looked for cases in which the programme was consistent with iwi educational strategic priorities, in which Māori knowledge and pedagogy were overtly valued, and in which the teachers were committed to working from cultural strengths rather than from a deficit model.
4. We were also particularly interested in cases where there was iwi involvement in design and delivery. However, because we wanted a range of different kinds of sites, including one not marked as specifically for Māori, we recognised that the extent of such input would vary.
5. We deliberately chose a spread of sites across the country and across a range of types of tertiary institutions: universities, polytechnics, wānanga, and former colleges of education. We also wanted a spread of disciplinary fields because we considered having this would offer us richer insights into the complex topography of tertiary education for Māori.

We finally selected a language revitalisation programme, an art programme, an e-learning programme, and a mainstream vocational degree programme. A fuller description of each of the four sites we finally selected follows in the next section.

The limits imposed by our timeframe and our funding largely determined the number of our case studies. Nevertheless, we did at times debate whether four would be enough. As we progressed through our third and fourth case studies, we found a considerable number of themes and contestations beginning to recur. Although we acknowledge that further sites would each bring new details of the overall features of the topography of Māori tertiary success, it is our opinion, as researchers, that we arrived at a recognisable saturation of data, and we are therefore confident to present this collection of case studies as indicative of the overall terrain.

Researcher as insider and outsider

One of our sites is the University of Canterbury College of Education programme, Hōaka Pounamu. One of us, Lynne-Harata Te Aika, is closely involved in that programme. We had initially planned this programme to be the focus of our pilot study, and we saw Lynne's engagement as a possible asset because it would

guarantee us entry and because we could use insider knowledge to refine our research processes and become more aware of emergent themes.

As it turned out, there was a significant time gap between our original proposal and confirmation of project funding. One of the impacts of the gap was that both of us acquired other responsibilities that affected the times we could go out into the field. In addition, each of the sites we selected had time pressures of their own that we needed to accommodate. So it was that Hōaka Pounamu became one of the last two sites that we investigated.

This shift allowed us to take a different approach to the issue of the researcher being an insider. Because we had already trialled our overall investigative approach on two sites, Lynne was able to step out of the investigative team for Hōaka Pounamu and Janinka Greenwood conducted those interviews alone. Perhaps, more importantly, we found that our co-constructive methodology had changed the dynamics of insider–outsider. The better we became at allowing an open flow of dialogue during our interviews and sharing our draft accounts, the more all our participants, who were insiders to the respective programme sites, became collaborators in the research.

The concept of insider–outsider can also be considered in terms of our ethnicity and iwi affiliation. Lynne is Māori—Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Awa, and Te Whānau Āpanui. Janinka is a Czech immigrant who could, for the sake of simplicity, be described as Pākehā. This combination of perspectives allowed us to consciously engage with both Māori and western values and approaches to knowledge, and to consciously claim accountability to both those worlds. It also allowed us to put into practice a belief in the accountability of both Māori and Pākehā for the wellbeing of Māori in Aotearoa today. Bishop (2005, p. 110) discusses how educational researchers have often been slow to acknowledge cultural difference, and how, ‘as a result, key research issues such as power relations, initiation, benefits, representation, legitimisation, and accountability continue to be addressed in terms of the researchers’ own cultural agendas, concerns, and interests.’ He suggests ‘such domination can be addressed by both Māori and non-Māori educational researchers through their conscious participation within the cultural aspirations, preferences, and practices of the research participants.’

Ethical approval

We gained ethical approval through the formal processes of the University of Canterbury. Key to this approval is the responsibility of gaining informed consent from all participants. We did this by speaking to all the participants as well as giving them written information letters and consent forms. Although a common western convention is for research participants to have their anonymity guaranteed, this convention is not always compatible with a co-constructive approach. When accounts are co-constructed, participants often prefer to overtly own the narrative. We resolved this tension by allowing participants to choose whether they preferred to be referred to by their own name or to use a pseudonym. Perhaps not surprisingly in terms of our design, all allowed use of their own name in preference to pseudonyms.

Entry into the field

Our research approach required a significant degree of trust between researchers and participants, which is why we chose sites where we were known or to which we had some connection. These initial connections and the detailed account of our intentions and process that we sent before our arrival allowed each institution to decide whether or not they would participate and how open they would be with us. As

noted previously, institutions told us that our co-constructive approach was the reason they agreed to participate.

In the three sites outside our own institution, we were welcomed in a pōwhiri or whakatau. Our entry into the site was thus configured by the participants in Māori terms of manuhiri and the reciprocal obligations that go with the role. One site asked us to present our kaupapa, our project intentions, to a large audience consisting of staff, students, and community elders. The other sites expected similar presentations, but on a smaller scale. It was through these presentations that our researcher–participant relationships were negotiated.

Analysis

To an extent, we ended up collapsing our information gathering and analysis through the collaborative process of constructing accounts of practice. This situation is in keeping with kaupapa Māori approaches to research (Bishop & Glynn, 1999) and with understandings of case study which recognise that the case's *own story* is decided not only by the empirical content but also by the perspectives of the researcher/writer (Skate, 2003). In the case of co-construction, the participants share aspects of the role of researcher and so become agents in the analysis and representation.

In the first instance, our research questions formed the framework for an initial analysis of the information gathered. However, the criteria for selection of what represented the case most fully were developed and refined throughout the interview, in the negotiation after the account was first posted in the restricted access site or shared by mail, and through all stages of the discussion. These shifts in analytic frame represent shifts in understanding and so are important elements of what each case contributes to the development of better learning outcomes.

Reporting

As we have explained earlier, we reported our investigation in stages. During the initial stages, we presented the words of the participants, arranging them in terms of broad themes and without narrative or commentary on our part. Later, we offered participants copies of our analytic discussion, resulting in co-constructed accounts. We are still in the final stages of that co-construction, which needs to be completed before publication can take place. However, we are comfortable that we are at a stage where we can present this report.

We have organised the remainder of this report to reflect the co-construction of inquiry and narratives. We initially report our findings using the broad categories of the case studies. To avoid any suggestion of evaluating one site over another, we start in the north and go south. As much as possible we retain the voices of the participants. In the following section, we draw together and summarise key themes, and identify new and extended conceptualisations that emerge from the findings.

Finally, we note here that, with the permission of participants, we have named institutions and institutional and community leaders but have referred to others with partial anonymity, using the terms student, tutor and so on.



THE FOUR SITES / NGĀ WĀHI E WHĀ

1. NorthTec: Social Services

The region of Tai Tokerau

The region of Tai Tokerau Northland has a variously described southern boundary: some claim it begins with the Auckland harbour bridge, others measure it as north of the Brynderwyns. In terms of tertiary education, the best conception of the region is probably the region that is beyond easy driving access to the universities and polytechnics of Auckland city. As such, it reaches from about Warkworth to the remote north of the land strip leading to Te Rerenga Wairua or North Cape. Te Puni Kokiri identifies its own administration of Tai Tokerau as extending from Te Rerenga Wairua to the Topuni River. Thus, in Te Puni Kokiri terms, the region comprises a 'total land area [of] ... 13,941 square kilometres, making Northland the most rural region in New Zealand' (www.tpk.govt.nz).

The 2006 census (<http://www.stats.govt.nz/census/2006-census-data/>) gives a population for Northland of 148,470 (Census 2006). However, since NorthTec services an area that reaches closer to Auckland than the census boundaries it cites the population base of approximately 160,000.

The 2006 census also cites Northland as one of the three lowest median income areas in New Zealand. Although the region's unemployment figures fell in the interval between the 2001 and 2006 censuses, they were still, at the time of the 2006 census, amongst the highest in the country.

Māori comprise approximately one third of the population across the total region, but in certain areas, the proportion is much higher, comprising about 80%. The iwi of Tai Tokerau often identify as Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu, highlighting their whakapapa connections and collaborative cohabitation. However, there are a number of historically separate iwi, particularly Ngāpuhi, Te Rarawa, Te Aupouri, Ngāti Kahu, and Ngāti Whatua. In addition, Ngāti Hine, Ngāti Kuri, Te Uri o Hau, Ngāi Takoto, Ngāti Wai, and Te Raroa, while affiliating with the one or more of the larger iwi groups, have established their own strong iwi organisations.

NorthTec Polytechnic

NorthTec describes itself as 'the only Northland-based tertiary education institute that provides programmes from foundation to degree level' (NorthTec, 2007). The polytechnic was established as a community college in 1978 with 10 trades-based tutors. As has been the case with other regional community colleges, the college developed into a considerably larger centre for learning for the wider Northland community, with courses that took place not only on its campuses in Whangarei, Kaitaia, Kaikohe, Rawene, and Kerikeri, but also on marae and community rooms throughout the region. In 1987, and again in line with other regional institutes, the college became a polytechnic, with a corresponding shift to providing courses affiliated to the New Zealand Qualifications Framework (NQF), rather than simply responding to the immediate needs of its communities. The college changed its name to NorthTec in 2006.

In common with other regional polytechnics, NorthTec's history has experienced a number of highs and lows. In particular, a few years ago, a serious financial deficit

led to close auditing by the Tertiary Advisory Monitoring Unit (TAMU). A major goal for NorthTec's CEO has been the restoration of a sound financial platform and the renegotiation of trust with the community.

NorthTec's largest campus is in Raumanga, Whangarei, with several other learning centres within the city. There is a regional campus in Kerikeri, with learning centres at Rawene, Dargaville, Kaikohe, and Kaitaia. Through its flexible and distance programmes, the institute also offers programmes in smaller more isolated areas. NorthTec currently offers a range of programmes in health, science, business, technology, tourism, education, Māori studies, and the arts. The programmes are at NQF Levels 1–7.

The polytechnic's vision statement expresses a determination to 'be recognised for relevant, accessible, innovative tertiary education which transforms lives and builds communities.' It states its mission as 'developing the North and Te Tai Tokerau and their people through tertiary education.' The goals adopted in its charter and 2005–2007 profile (Northland Polytechnic website, 2005) are for the institute

- To be an outstanding provider of tertiary education
- To be a leading facilitator of tertiary pathways
- To have strong connections with external stakeholders and partners
- To maintain a commitment to the institution's vision, goals and values
- To be a financially strong and sustainable institution.

The institute's 2005 annual report detailed 22,433 student enrolments, constituting 4,130 equivalent full-time students (EFTS). The report notes that the enrolment of Māori students increased from 4,578 in 2004 to 5,276 in 2005.

Social work in Tai Tokerau

The generally low socioeconomic status and remoteness of the communities of Northland have created a high need for social services of various kinds, a need discussed by many of the participants in this project. As they pointed out, the high proportion of Māori in the region means a need for services that are relevant, accessible and safe for Māori.

The Social Worker Registration Act 2003 introduced the requirement that social workers seeking registration have an appropriate degree in social work. From 1 January 2006, all new students to social work programmes entered knowing they would have to achieve a Bachelor's degree before they could apply for registration. This occurrence has had implications not only for those wanting to enter social work, but also for those already in the field needing to upgrade their qualifications.

Social work programmes

NorthTec offers a cluster of programmes in the field of social work. The Bachelor of Applied Social Service with majors in social work, counselling, and community development was introduced in 2006 as the key degree, and at the time of our research was in its second year. In addition to the programme cohorts at Whangarei and Kaitaia, there is a transition programme for people with a prior diploma or Level 6 qualification in social work. Whangarei and Kaitaia also provide a Level 4 Certificate in Mental Health. This qualification is offered as a stand-alone qualification, and as a staircasing option into a future degree. The institute's 2005 annual report showed enrolment of 148 EFTS in social work programmes. It further reported Māori participation at 66% of the cohort, and Māori success at 78%.

2. Tairāwhiti Polytechnic: Contemporary Māori Art

The region of Tai Rāwhiti

The Tai Rāwhiti region occupies the east coast of the North Island of New Zealand. It is isolated by distance, limited roading and separation from major commercial centres. The 2006 census gives a population for the region of 44,500 (<http://www.stats.govt.nz/census/2006-census-data/>), with about half the total population being Māori. However, in large areas, the Māori percentage of the population is much higher.

The proportion of children in the region under 15 is one of the highest in the country, as is the proportion of those over 65. The region also has the highest proportion of land use devoted to farming, and is one of the three regions with the lowest median annual personal income in New Zealand. Traditionally a large section of the population, for financial or family reasons, has been unable to leave the region to pursue higher-level degree programmes.

The iwi of Tai Rāwhiti are Ngāti Porou, Tūranganui a Kiwa, Te Aitanga-ā Māhaki, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, Rongowhakaata, and Kahungunu ki te Wairoa. In terms of the art world, Tai Rāwhiti is traditionally renowned for its carvers, weavers, orators, mōteatea, waiata, tā moko, and kapa haka.

Tairāwhiti Polytechnic

Tairāwhiti Polytechnic defines its distinctive character as being 'in part at least, derived from the distinctive features and characteristics of the Tairāwhiti region.' The polytechnic's draft charter (<http://www.tairāwhiti.ac.nz/media/charter>) records Tairāwhiti Polytechnic's vision as being 'part of a strong network of provision in our region and nationally ... [and being] an agent for change and instrumental in transforming our community both socially and economically. ... Our aim is to provide a learning environment that is accessible, learner-centred, relevant and interwoven with the partnership principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.' The charter document also notes the polytechnic's 'formal Memorandums of Understanding with Iwi and more importantly, close links with Iwi Hapū and Whānau to ensure that Māori tertiary education aspirations are being met.'

Māori students make up about two-thirds of the polytechnic's total full-time student population. The polytechnic prides itself on the high proportion of Māori on its staff and the high representation of Māori on its council. In recognition of the region's below-average socioeconomic profile, the polytechnic is committed to second chance adult education opportunities. It also seeks to help students maintain whānau links and to encourage community education programmes.

A number of other tertiary providers, for instance the University of Waikato, Te Wānanga o Raukawa, and Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, offer courses (mainly distance) in the region. In its strategic plan, Tairāwhiti prioritises collaborative relationships. The polytechnic identifies Toihoukura as one of its flagship programmes.

Contemporary Māori art across New Zealand

Over the last quarter century, Māori artists working in contemporary media have created a significant presence in New Zealand and internationally. There is a substantial and growing market for contemporary Māori art works, and such works feature frequently in New Zealand's tourism promotions and in overseas exhibitions and conventions.

A large number of tertiary institutions now offer some kind of contemporary Māori art and design courses, and a range of funding, support and administrative associations have developed. These focus on contemporary Māori arts and include Te Puna Waihanga and Creative New Zealand's Waka Toi. The range of visual and performing arts is widely regarded as providing not only bridges to development of identity and pride but also, at times, pathways to other learning.

Media profile

Before our arrival in Gisborne, we received an impressive compilation of media articles about Toi Houkura and its successes. The compilation featured significant works in public buildings, marae, community spaces, and galleries, as well as on skin.

Here are two examples from the compilation. 'Toi Houkura art a hit at Olympic Village,' says the first headline; the article discusses the range of Toi Houkura art works commissioned by the Olympic Games Committee and on display in the Olympic Village in Athens. 'From Gisborne to Gallipoli,' says the second headline, with the article going on to describe Derek Lardelli's art-in-residency at Gallopoli—a New Zealand first.

Other articles describe exhibitions of students' work throughout New Zealand and around the world. As we moved around New Zealand during the course of our other case studies, we constantly came across graduates from the school and heard it applauded as the premier contemporary Māori art school in New Zealand.

The arts programme

Toi Houkura began in 1988 as a 20-week course; by 1994, it had evolved into a three-year diploma in visual art and design. The school now offers a cluster of programmes in the field of contemporary Māori arts.

Initial offerings included a Studio Workshop Certificate (Level Three), a Diploma in Visual Art and Design (Māori), and an Advanced Diploma in Visual Art and Design (Māori). In 2007, the school introduced a degree—the Bachelor of Māori Visual Arts. The 2007 prospectus offers a model that staircases the qualifications of certificate diploma, and degree and shows how each can be an endpoint in itself or credited towards the next qualification stage.

A number of practical disciplines are offered: whakairo (carving), raranga (fibre arts), waituhi (painting), cku (clay), tā moko, and multimedia studies. Students can also take courses in exhibition and curatorial studies and small business management.

The programme takes place in a cluster of studio spaces in Gisborne. However, students frequently go out into the community to work on projects. The programme draws students from all over New Zealand so it has a national as well as regional significance.

A 2006 internal review of the programme (Te Rore, Chapma, & Tangihaere, 2006) reported enrolment of 48 and 51 EFTS in 2003 and 2004 respectively. The review also reported retention in the Toi Houkura programmes as 100% in 2003 and 2004 respectively, and completion as 82% and 87%, and noted these as the highest rates in the polytechnic. The proportion of students identifying as Māori was given as 66%; of these students, 78% gained their qualifications.

3. Te Wānanga o Raukawa: e-learning

Te Wānanga o Raukawa

E kore au e ngaro he kākano i ruia mai i Rangīātea / I will never be lost, the seed which was sown in Rangīātea

This whakataukī, or proverb, underpins a key philosophy of Te Wānanga o Raukawa, which is to assist students to see the world through Māori eyes and to encourage them to behave accordingly (Winiata, 2001). Rangīātea refers to the ancestral home of Māori and the place where the unique identity of Māori was created. Unlike the other three sites in this study, Te Wānanga o Raukawa is defined not by its region but by the iwi whose development it serves.

In August 1975, the Raukawa Marae trustees began their 25-year tribal development experiment known as Whakatipuranga Rua Mano-Generation 2000. The trustees' guiding principles are:

The people are our wealth, develop and retain.
The reo is a taonga, halt the decline and revive.
The marae is our principal home, maintain and respect.
Self determination — discovering opportunities to advance our aspirations. (Winiata, 2008)

The Raukawa Marae trustees resolved to establish Te Wānanga o Raukawa in April 1981.

Te Wānanga o Raukawa now offers over 49 courses, ranging from certificate to doctorate level, and includes areas such as environmental studies, animation, health, teaching, accounting, and entrepreneurship. All programmes of study have three core components—te reo, iwi and hapū studies, and rorohiko (computer studies)—as well as the subject specialism. Te reo Māori and iwi and hapū studies are compulsory components of qualifications, as is rorohiko.

For all Te Wānanga o Raukawa students, completion of their tohu (qualification) ensures they know themselves better as Māori: 'Te Kākano i ruia mai i Rangīātea' (www.twor.ac.nz). The wānanga also bases its kawa, or 'protocol of teaching, learning and research', on 10 cultural tenets that uphold the Māori world-view and have expression in staff, student and community (iwi, hapū and whānau) interaction. They are manaakitanga, rangatiratanga, whanaungatanga, kotahitanga, wairuatanga, ūkaipōtanga, pūkengatanga, kaitiakitanga, whakapapa, and te reo. These cultural tenets cross the physical and spiritual realms.

Ngāti Raukawa, Te Ati Awa and Ngāti Toa Rangatira (the ART Confederation)

Te Wānanga o Raukawa arose from a joint effort of three main iwi groups—Te Ati Awa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa Rangatira—which together are known as the ART Confederation. The confederation was based on a series of joint ventures and some examples of post-European arrival initiatives dating back to the 19th century. These included the building of the Rangīātea church in the late 1840s, establishing Ōtaki Māori College in the early 1900s, and the building the marae matua (parent marae) named Raukawa in 1936 (www.twor.ac.nz).

The confederation of tribes is mainly located in the bottom half of the North Island and has a population of about 40,000. The iwi and 25 hapū that make up the confederation spread from Bulls, Tokorangi, Halcombe and Fielding in the north, to

Himatangai Foxton and Shannon in the south, further south to Levin and Ohau, and then to the bottom of the North Island (Waikanae, Porirua and Wellington) and across Cook Strait (Te Moana o Raukawa) to Nelson and Blenheim.

The average age of Te Wananga o Raukawa students is 41%. About 20% of the students have tribal affiliations to the ART confederation.

Wānanga

Wānanga were officially recognised in the Education Act in 1989 as tertiary institutions, although some had already been offering academic programmes before this date. All wānanga provide learning in Māori cultural contexts to varying degrees. Some specifically target Māori from within the tribal region; others target all Māori from across other tribal regions and also non-Māori. Wānanga were established at various times over the last 30 years. Te Wānanga o Raukawa was the first, in 1981, and now has around 1,800 student EFTS. On its website, Te Wānanga o Raukawa describes itself as 'a unique centre of higher learning devoted to the world of Māori knowledge (mātauranga Māori)' (<http://www.twor.ac.nz/>).

Te Wānanga o Aotearoa followed in 1984 and evolved as an institution from its original organisation, the Waipa Kokiri Centre in Te Awamutu. It now has eight campuses and 40,000 student EFTS. It has spread across both the North and South Islands of New Zealand. It aims to 'equip our people with knowledge of their heritage, their language, their culture so they can handle the world at large with confidence and self determination.'

Te Wānanga o Awanuiarangi is based in Whakatane but has regional campuses in Auckland and Wellington. It was the last of the three wānanga to be established in 1992 and currently has over 3,000 EFTS. It is 'committed to exploring and defining the depths of bicultural knowledge in Aotearoa to enable us to know who we are, to know where we come from and to claim our place in the millenium ahead' (www.wananga.ac.nz/).

All three wānanga began as specific tribal initiatives, but are now pan-tribal in their student composition. The inaugural founding iwi still have strong governance and staff profiles in their respective institutions.

Raukawa—e-learning and distance connections

Raukawa offers programmes on campus and marae-based studies across the North Island, from Kaikohe in the far north down to the Bay of Plenty, the East Coast and several central North Island locations, as well as throughout the main ART Confederation region.

Students complete courses by attending several residential wānanga or noho marae each year. In between these intensive face-to-face wānanga-style classes, students complete further work through assignments and self-directed study and research. On enrolling, each student must purchase a laptop and printer and have an internet connection at home. Te Wānanga o Raukawa has negotiated bulk computer, internet and software suppliers for their students to enable them to access quality equipment at cost price. This initiative is based on the premise that 'our people could be big contributors to the identity of Aotearoa New Zealand in the global knowledge society, and so we must be able to manage and access knowledge and information on innovative activity. It will be necessary [for our people] to be familiar with information technology' (Rorohiko studies, [twor.ac.nz](http://www.twor.ac.nz/) 2008).

The e-learning programme

The Poupou Mātauranga Rorohiko (computer studies) course is the compulsory Year 1 course for all students across all programmes and qualifications. The course, offered as a residential course, extends over five days, usually at the beginning of each year. It runs from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. for four days and until 4 p.m. on the final day. The course consists of nine 5-credit modules: introduction to technology; introduction to computers; set up and care of computers; word processing; introduction to email; internet use and online training.

The unique feature of the programme is that, unlike the situation in other tertiary institution in the country, the programme is compulsory across all other Te Wānanga o Raukawa programmes and qualifications. The computer in the home technology feature of the programme enhances students and their families to access technology and (from there) knowledge.

The programme has been operating successfully for six years. Also in place is a second- year compulsory course, which introduces students to desktop publishing, business communications, spread-sheeting, PowerPoint presentations, and online training. Students must apply this new knowledge in assignments and class presentations.

4. University of Canterbury: Language Revitalisation

Ngāi Tahu

The Ngāi Tahu region encompasses almost 80% of the South Island. It includes Kaikōura, Canterbury, Otago, Southland, Fiordland and the West Coast. Ngāi Tahu are the iwi comprised of Ngāi Tahu whānui; that is, the collective of the individuals who descend from the five primary hapū of Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Mamoe, and Waitaha, namely, Kāti Kurī, Ngāti Irakehu, Kāti Huirapa, Ngāi Tūāhuriri, and Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki.

Ngāi Tahu settled their Treaty of Waitangi claim with the Crown in 1996. Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu was established under Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Act 1996. Their mission is to work on behalf of the iwi to manage the assets of Ngāi Tahu whānui and to promote and ensure the interest and aspirations of Ngāi Tahu whānui, 'mō tātou, ā, mō kā uri ā muri ake nei; for us and the generations to follow' (www.ngaitahu.iwi.nz). Post-settlement, Ngāi Tahu developed a number of tribal strategies visioning for 2025 and including education and te reo. Ngāi Tahu is also engaged in strategic partnerships in education with the Ministry of Education and other education agencies.

The 2006 census ranks Ngāi Tahu as the fourth largest iwi, and the total Māori population in the Ngāi Tahu rohe as somewhat in excess of 64,000 Māori, of whom about 40% are Ngāi Tahu. Other Māori living in the Ngāi Tahu rohe are from Ngā Mātā Waka-other tribal groups, and some have lived in the region for between one and three generations. The in-migration of Māori from other tribal groups was mainly a result of urban drift post-World War Two and trade training schemes in the 1960s to late 1980s, which saw a number of young Māori from mātā waka settling in the South Island and in Canterbury in particular. Income levels, according to the 2006 census, for Māori in Canterbury paralleled national levels, with the median around \$20,900, and with Māori men at \$25,900 and Māori women at \$17,800.

University of Canterbury College of Education

The University of Canterbury is one of three universities in the South Island. In 2007, it had 14,728 domestic EFTS, of whom 797 were Māori (5.4% of the total student body) (University of Canterbury, 2007). Forty percent of the Māori student EFTS comprised students based in the College of Education; another 40% were studying in the College of Arts. The remaining 20% were dispersed across the other university colleges of science, business, engineering and law. The university's purpose is to 'advance knowledge by research: to maintain and disseminate this knowledge through teaching, publications and critical debate', and its vision is 'people prepared to make a difference' (University of Canterbury, 2007).

In 1998, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu established a tertiary partnership company, Te Tapuāe o Rehua, with five South Island tertiary providers, including the University of Canterbury and the Christchurch College of Education. The role of this company is to increase Māori participation in tertiary education and to ensure high-quality course content for Māori tertiary students (www.tetapuae.co.nz).

Ngāi Tahu and language revitalisation

While individual Ngāi Tahu tribal members had been involved in some of the pan-tribal te reo efforts in the 1980s and 1990s, Ngāi Tahu did not give their focused attention to education and te reo until they had settled their Waitangi tribunal claim with the Crown in 1996. In the late 1990s, after a series of 40 consultation hui with tribal members, Ngāi Tahu prioritised culture and identity, and te reo specifically, as key targets for tribal development.

Ngāi Tahu's te reo strategy, *Kotahi Mano Kaika* 2001, was developed post-settlement by a Ngāi Tahu language planning advisory committee (Te Karaka, 2000). The strategy *Kotahi Mano Kāika*, *Kotahi Mano Wawata* (A Thousand Homes Achieving a Thousand Aspirations) encapsulated the Ngāi Tahu vision of focussing their revitalisation initiatives on intergenerational transfer of the language in the home. This was perceived as an ambitious task for a tribe with less than one percent of its people fluent in te reo (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2000).

The KMK strategy had a number of key priorities. One of these was to increase the number of Ngāi Tahu fluent in te reo by 2025 through such initiatives as increasing the number of pūkorero and kaikaranga so that the iwi would have a self-sustaining pool of human resource able to fulfil the cultural roles associated with marae and all tikanaga protocols. While the strategy focused tribal efforts in the homes and the marae, Ngāi Tahu also wanted to influence the provision of Te Reo Māori in early childhood and compulsory schooling. A te reo environment scan in 2000 had identified the lack of Māori-medium teacher education provision in the South Island. Ngāi Tahu accordingly set a goal of increasing the number of Ngāi Tahu teachers fluent in te reo and of influencing Māori-medium teacher provision in the South Island.

The Programme

The Christchurch College of Education in association with Te Tapuāe o Rehua and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu offered the Whakapiki Reo and Hōaka Pounamu programmes for the first time at the College of Education in 2001. Since the merger of the college with the University of Canterbury in 2007, the programmes have sat under the umbrella of the School of Māori, Social and Cultural Studies in Education at the University of Canterbury, College of Education. Ngāi Tahu developed the programmes externally by in 2000, and then offered them to its tertiary partners to host. Subsequent to academic approval, the programmes began in 2001.

After having experienced a recruitment and selection process, registered teachers are released on full salary for a year to study on the Whakapiki Reo and Hōaka Pounamu programmes. The Whakapiki Reo course is a 10-week proficiency course taught in Term 1 of each year to build teachers' language proficiency. The Hōaka Pounamu course leads to a Graduate Diploma in Bilingual and Immersion Teaching (Grad DipHP), taught during Terms 2, 3 and 4 of each year. The diploma consists of six papers: language revitalisation; second language teaching methodologies; curriculum development; mātauranga Māori; leadership in Māori-medium settings; and genres of the classic and the contemporary language.

The intake of students is around 15 teachers each year and corresponds with the number of bilingual teacher study awards available from a pool of Ministry of Education study awards. It is a stand-alone qualification, and it is the only full immersion teacher-education programme—pre-service or in-service—offered in the South Island. Approximately 115 teachers from a number of tribal affiliations, including non-Māori, completed the courses over the 2001 to 2007 academic years.



INSTITUTIONAL AND IWI SUPPORT/TE TOKO Ā WĀNANGA, Ā IWI

Each of the four sites we investigated offered testimony to a marked degree of either iwi support or institutional commitment to collaboration with iwi. How this commitment was expressed and realised at each site varied according to the history and positionality of their respective programmes.

Social Services at NorthTec

NorthTec initiated its social work courses in response to its understanding of community needs. A key factor relative to this response has been recognition of the size and importance of the Māori community and the need for genuine consultation. 'We have tried to alter the way we were connecting with iwi and communities,' the CEO, Terry Barnett, told us.

The polytechnic already had a kaumātua on the senior management team. In addition, the polytechnic brought Taipari Munro, who had been programme manager in Te Puna, the cluster of Māori studies based around the polytechnic's marae, and an active voice in the community, into the team as advisor Māori. So now there are two Māori voices in senior management, and two sources of connection with iwi. 'Each year we hold a hui,' Taipari told us. 'Because our people are dispersed, it means that we have to create opportunities for communication and contact with them. So we hold the hui not here in the city but in the regions. We also attend tribal hui and Tai Tokerau District Council hui so that we are advancing in all those areas as we are moving along.'

'It's still patchy,' explained CEO Terry Barnett, 'but I got the feeling by the end of last year that we're beginning to build strong relationships with specific iwi and the basis for assisting in very strong long-term iwi development.' Taipari Monroe confirmed the importance of the refocusing: 'One of the important things that had to be recognized here was the high population of Māori within Tai Tokerau, which is obviously going to be reflected in the polytechnic. That meant a lot of change had to take place.'

As we noted above, a number of iwi identify as Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu, but most operate as independent iwi authorities. The polytechnic thus needs to develop a wider range of relationships. 'We have a memorandum of understanding partnership agreement with Te Rarawa,' Terry told us, 'and a more limited one based around technology support for the work that's happening on marae with Ngāti Wai.' There is also a draft agreement on paper with Ngāti Whatua: 'We haven't reached the point of having both parties comfortable enough to sign, but we've at least got words on paper that we're talking around,' the CEO explained. He continued: 'Ngāpuhi are supportive at programme level, but we have not managed to connect in terms of iwi development.' Nevertheless, he considered that the tone of discussions at the hui-ā-iwi had changed remarkably over the last three years. Moreover, in the last year, iwi have spoken out very strongly in support of the institution's endeavours to connect whatever it does do to the development aspirations of particular iwi.

Consultation with iwi carries the implications of significant cultural change within the institution. 'We had to get some cultural change happening within the institute,' advisor Māori Taipari stated. 'That's not only cultural change in terms of liaison between Māori and Pākehā, but it was also about how people thought. Whangarei is

quite redneck.’ Many of the members of Māori communities we spoke with recognised the polytechnic’s commitment to identifying and addressing Māori aspirations. However, a senior member of one iwi social services agency told us that the programme was to be more reflective of the needs of Māori, ‘the institution itself would have to change’.

The development of a relationship of trust between the polytechnic and iwi was widely identified as an important issue. The advisor Māori affirmed that ‘one of the biggest things for us is to try and regain the trust and the confidence of the Māori community. One thing with Māori is that we are forgiving people but we don’t forget. Past disappointments make us cautious about how we work with people again.’ The CEO spoke similarly about the need to win and retain trust: ‘If you are going to connect with a community, the heart of it is trust, and it is quite difficult to build trust if you’re operating like the sea: the tide comes in and the tide goes out. It had to be an institutional commitment, not just the commitment of one programme.’

NorthTec identified its social work courses as a particularly important element in building the relationship with Māori communities. For example, Terry told us the students attending the programme operating in Kaitaia come from the active workforce, with the support and sponsorship of Te Rarawa. The programme leader of the courses described the consultation on the programme that took place with Māori communities. She noted, in particular, that the teaching team had used the individual contacts they had developed as professionals working within the industry: ‘We’ve worked with organisations like Te Rarawa, Ngāti Kahu, and Amokura [a consortium of seven iwi groups who look at family violence projects], the Arataki ministry, and mental health providers.’

She went on to tell us that the key messages given at the set-up of the programme were the need to employ Māori staff for delivering programme content and of establishing kaupapa Māori theory in shaping the conceptual framework and the strategies for delivery. When we questioned further, the programme replied that while kaupapa Māori is one of the theoretical paradigms within every course, the team as a whole recognises that they are still working towards developing a framework in which Māori and western paradigms operate on equal status.

At the time of our visit, there were two Māori representatives on the programme advisory committee of five. One was an iwi representative, and the other was from elsewhere. The Māori advisory member we spoke with affirmed the consultative intentions of the programme and her own role in facilitating a Māori perspective, but said she would like to be able to know more about what happens at the operational level, as the committee meets twice yearly. She also spoke about the desirability of developing a Māori staff collective group, with staff from across all programmes, not just those in Māori studies. She talked of the need she perceived to share Māori staff across programmes, and to have more input from Māori communities. One of the iwi agencies we talked with told us about their willingness to train their own social workers in the future if NorthTec does not fully meet its needs.

Overall, those we talked with affirmed that the institution is at a time of re-evaluation and change, with positive initiatives taking place to ensure effective consultation with iwi. As such, further work is needed.

The programme at Toihoukura grew out of a New Zealand-wide movement in Māori art and in local community aspirations and initiatives. Api Mahuika, Ngāti Porou leader and kaumātua to the programme, described for us the connections between iwi and the programme. He told us how the Māori renaissance in Tai Rāwhiti began with Ngata's revival of tikanga, culture and arts, followed by kura kaupapa Māori and kōhanga reo. The development of an art school came as part of the iwi putting together its infrastructure as part of the renaissance movement. The emergence and development of the school, he said, 'has to go hand in hand with renaissance. It's happening at iwi level rather than on the level of Māori. For this reason, you go to different schools and get different emphases.' Toihoukura is a school that emphasises the values and visions of Ngāti Porou.

The programme not only has grown out of Ngāti Porou aspirations but also has provided a means of developing Ngāti Porou's capacity to realise its aspirations. Api also emphasised the role of the lead teachers of the school—Derek Lardelli and Steve Gibbs—as trusted and active members of the community, and attributed much of the community involvement in the programme to their role. 'Involvement has always been strong,' Api said, 'because Derek and Steve are community people. They are wound up in their community and it is an advantage of Toihoukura.' We were also told, by a member of the advisory team, that 'Derek came with the mana in the community,' and therefore could actively increase the exposure of the programme within the community and move easily within it. We were also told that Derek respected the community's wishes and strategically accommodated its developmental needs within the practical activities of the programme. The leaders of the programme, rather than the leaders of the institution, were thus the immediate and focal point of community engagement.

Within the programme itself, there is a primary emphasis on community engagement that translates into contemporary terms the traditional Māori artist's (carver, weaver, painter, orator) role of recording the people's connections with one another, with their history, and with their marae. Api emphasised that, in Toihoukura, 'A lot of the training, a lot of the kōrero, is about community involvement in the school and participation of the school in the community.' The impact of the community involvement, he told us, is expressed directly and indirectly by the way in which the school empowers its students by way of Māori art.

The direct expression is evident in the students' involvement in community projects. As Ngāti Porou kuia, Keri Kaa, observed, 'When the community yells help, Derek Lardelli turns up with a team of students. In similar vein, Api recounted the story of Ngāti Porou asking the school to make sculptures for Mt Hikurangi that told the story of the tribe. 'Toihoukura responded to that,' Api said. 'It's a massive creation on the shoulder of the maunga. Tourists and manuhiri come to visit and see. What it is doing is translating into pictorial form the history that our people have always known.' The indirect expression of the impact occurs through the aesthetics of the artwork created and the teaching methods, which are based, as Api stressed, on a 'Māori method of transformation of knowledge'.

The elders we spoke with repeatedly emphasised the difference they perceived between a contemporary Māori art programme directed by its community and one predominantly controlled by the institution. They considered that if the latter were to occur, the essential goals and teaching approaches would change, and art would not be seen as a living thing, expressive of its community and empowering of its development. The elders also expressed doubts about the institution's attitudes to growth and development. Keri told us very bluntly, 'The Pākehā institution is all about control and power. Until these institutions learn to share power, forget it!'

The acting CEO of the polytechnic, Tracey Tangihaere, acknowledged that the innovative development and high reputation of Toihoukura could not be attributed to institutional action. The heart of what happens in the school, she said, is not within the strategic plan or degree documentation. Rather, much of what was generating the teaching and outcomes were informal processes, and ones that were developed reciprocally between the school and the community. 'We don't pay for that,' she went on. 'These things are evolutionary, and a koha: a koha of knowledge comes out from the school to the community and a koha of knowledge comes back in.'

Another member of the wider polytechnic's staff spoke to us about the role the institution needs to play in developing a community that is 'healthy, safe and where people want to live and bring up their kids and have a good life.' When discussing the review of the institution that was taking place when we were there, he said, 'The old system has been the competitive model and it has been to the detriment of our region, students and older people. The aim is to get through this year and come out with a more regionally focussed polytech.'

e-learning at Raukawa

The e-learning programme at Raukawa is one of a number of programmes offered by Te Wānanga o Raukawa as a result of a strategic initiative begun in 1975 by the three founding iwi—Te Ati Awa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa. According to one of the trustees, these iwi 'already had an historical relationship' based on a series of joint ventures dating back to the 19th century and creating an embedded layer of partnership and reciprocity.

The current CEO, Mereana Selby, appointed in July 2007, told us: 'In terms of iwi, they have strong representation. We have three or four kaiwhakahere [managers] from each of the three founding iwi; we also report back to the three iwi annually. We go to their rūnanga meetings and present the annual report. We have iwi representation on every committee we have here. However,' she continued, 'I think it is worthwhile to note that this place wouldn't be here if it weren't for the contribution of other iwi ... we did not have that skill base at the time, and people from other iwi gave their time voluntarily. They helped build the foundation of this place. Some of them have passed on, but there are still some who make a significant contribution to the wānanga.'

According to Mereana, the e-learning programme in particular in 2000, was 'futuristic in its thinking.' She clarified this comment by explaining that 'the philosophy or kaupapa behind the programme 'was about moving Māori more into the global college economy—not just as students but their whole families. ... We're very clear about who we are here for; [we are here] for Māori by Māori of Māori, as is espoused in the tribal whakatuikī: *E kore au e ngaro he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiatea/I will never be lost, the seed which was sown in Rangiatea.*'

The staff of Raukawa are also fully aware of their contribution to advancing Māori, as a tutor in the rorohiko programme told us. 'It is something we have to ask ourselves. And of course you'll know that this place is about understanding how we can contribute to the viability of Māori.' Staff also have an ongoing commitment to develop iwi, so that its members can participate at various levels of the wānanga infrastructure. As Mereana explained: 'We have a lot of staff who have started here as cooks and kitchen hands, and now are our administrators or doing work like in the

photocopying area or down in the design and art area or something like that, so there is vertical as well as horizontal movement.’

Mereana furthermore commented on her accessibility to iwi as a CEO: ‘I know people well in the confederation, and people know me well, so people don’t hold back in letting me know that they don’t think something is done quite well enough or there needs to be some consideration given to something because of that kind of relationship ... I see that as a strength — that people feel very confident to go to my office at the time and share that sort of stuff with me. I think there are many other CEOs who find that very difficult, but I get a lot of people that do that to me—from kaumātua to secondary students ... I know them on a personal basis or have some personal relationship as well.’

We noted that pan-tribal support and validation of the wānanga was highly visible in terms of the numerous iwi offering their marae or schools as venues to host programmes run by the wānanga. Mereana Selby explained how this development had influenced student demographics: ‘Well, we are down to 20 something percent ... of the three [founding] iwi, so that has dramatically changed, and I think [it] is a function of the fact [that] most of our students are now on marae whereas most of our students used to be campus based.’

Thus, today, Te Wānanga o Raukawa offers programmes on campus as well as marae-based studies right across the areas of its reach (see earlier description of the wānanga), a development that confers, as one of the tutors stated, particular benefits: ‘All students study an iwi and hapū component in their qualifications. This contributes to their own understanding of who they are as Māori and who they are as a member of their own hapū and iwi. It builds and strengthens their own iwi identity and also contributes back to their iwi.’

A visiting educationalist from another iwi commented on her experience at Te Wānanga o Raukawa and the impact on her as a student: ‘I was privileged to be invited to an immersion hui when Te Wānanga first opened up their doors to other iwi in the 1980s, and I have been there on and off ever since. I was aware I was from another iwi other than the confederation, but I am so grateful for the experience I had. Their kaumātua willingly shared their knowledge and skills. It helped me set up initiatives in my own tribe and tribal region. I learned to speak communicative Māori through their immersion te reo courses. Before that, it was from a textbook. We were all Māori students at Pākehā universities at the time, and now many of us are now twenty years later tribal leaders or leaders in education. The Raukawa experience inspired us to do the same for our own iwi.’

Hōaka Pounamu at University of Canterbury

The Hōaka Pounamu programme grew out of initiatives by both Ngāi Tahu and the former Christchurch College of Education. From the institutional side, that initiative was over to the University of Canterbury after the merger between the college and the university.

Ngāi Tahu supports the programme as an important strategic tool in its tribal goal of language revitalisation, and has therefore evolved a partnership with the Ministry of Education. The ministry funds programme delivery and the teachers’ release from their schools; the College of Education is where the qualification is accredited and programme delivery takes place.

The college's appointment of a strong Ngāi Tahu educator, Lynne-Harata Te Aika, as kaiwhakahaere Māori (now re-titled as kaiārahi Māori), provided a conduit for consultation with iwi and a catalyst for the institutional changes needed to make the college more responsive to Māori. 'The college was keen obviously to work in partnership with iwi,' Lynne recalled, 'and I think that has been one of the essential distinguishing features of the programme and perhaps why it has been successful. It had collaboration with iwi right from the start. In fact, it was iwi-driven and led.'

The implications of the partnership are twofold. First, there is collaboration between iwi and institution over the programme. Second, the institution recognises the importance of Māori authority over Māori programmes. As Lynn stated, 'I think it is important that programmes that are Māori-led are also ultimately under the responsibility of the Māori people.'

Over the seven years that the programme has run, iwi support has continued in terms of developmental feedback, supply of expertise and welcome to its marae for blocks of teaching. 'We have been to about twelve of our marae over the years,' we were told. 'Some we have been to twice. We usually go to a local marae at the beginning of the year, and another of the eighteen papatipu marae later in the year. So we have developed relationships with a number of the tribal runanga: we have been to their marae, we have worked with the local people there, we've worked on projects they've helped to determine, and we have provided educational resources.'

The college's pro vice chancellor, Gail Gillon, affirmed the college's commitment to collaboration with the iwi. 'I see our role as a College of Education as critical in developing education that is not only meeting Māori aspirations but also advancing Māori achievement,' she told us. 'Very clearly, one of our aspirations for Māori, and an aspiration we've identified as a country, is to enhance the role of te reo Māori, to develop the language capacity, and to develop the research and leadership within the language. As an educational institution, we should be playing a major role in working with both iwi and Māori communities.' Language revitalisation is a project, she reminded us, that demands 'a combined effort right across the country to really make a significant difference in the use and advancement of the language, so that it's a growing language that's maturing rather than a historic language.'

Several lecturers (current and former) in the programme with whom we spoke affirmed the importance of support from iwi. 'Without buy-in from the iwi, I don't think the course would have got going,' one of the lecturers said. 'It needs a partnership between the iwi and the ministry and the institute. In terms of support, we get a lot of community support.'



CONTENT DEVELOPMENT, STAIR-CASING AND STANDARDS / TE WHĀNAKE KAUPAPA, HUARAHIURU, NGĀ TAUMATA

Social Services at NorthTec

The degree in social work at NorthTec is a new one. The first graduates, all students on a transition programme, were expected in March 2008, still a year away at the time of our field visit. The third year of the degree itself had yet to be rolled out, and the polytechnic was still making final decisions about the specialisations within that year. also further development plans for a new diploma the of which would encompass mental health, disability, alcohol and drug problems—all, in the words of the programme leader, ‘social drivers for us’.

NorthTec offers the degree in Whangarei and Kaitaia. In terms of numbers of enrolments, the Whangarei course subsidises the Kaitaia campus. As the programme manager explained, ‘Kaitaia has a history where people have promised and not delivered. So we were really determined to ensure that we offered the degree there.’ The degree is adapted from one in Waikato and was developed in consultation with the industry and with the community through the networks of the teaching staff.

We were told that the community had wanted Ngāpuhi kaupapa in the Māori component—staff who had industry experience, particular content, and involvement through a local advisory group. ‘So we just took lots and lots of notes and then fed that back,’ the programme leader told us. ‘We made sure we had all that information right, ensured that the degree covered all that. We drafted up an outline of the degree, and then we went back, said, “How’s that looking?” They said, “It’s looking good”.’

The possibilities for stair-casing the degree are integral to the design of the programme. Students enter with a range of academic backgrounds and career expectations, but these often change over time. As the programme leader explained, ‘People can be a support worker and get a Level Four. If they want to then go on to team social services, they can come and get a Level Six. And so on, till they get a degree.’

In 2007, 35 students enrolled in the programme. All had been working within the social work industry and all were engaged in the transition course that would allow them to upgrade their qualifications from diploma to degree. The satisfaction these students reported was proving very important to the teachers of the programme because, as one teacher put it, ‘they work in the industry and a large number of them are managers of services’. When we talked with an iwi social service provider, he confirmed that of their workers engaged in the transition course, ‘the majority [have] enjoyed the training and they have found it useful.’

We were told of the importance the programme at NorthTec attaches to standards. In order for them to stand behind their graduates, they needed to set standards and ‘prepared to fail people’. In the past, we were told, a Northland course in social work used to be ‘a soft option’, with most of the students gaining A grades, which ‘just isn’t possible when you know the demographics of our students.’ Today, the programme emphasises both content knowledge and academic rigour. ‘We make no apology for the academic aspects,’ the programme leader told us. While collaboration in study is encouraged, she emphasised the importance of ‘tough marking and individual assignments. I say to the students, “You’re not going to be with a team when you’re

with a family, and you're going to have to make some decisions on your own. They can be informed by group learning, but you have to have the capacity to make a decision with a family right there in front of you.'

However, the staff of the programme, we were told, put supports in place to ensure that students can meet academic expectations. Some of these supports came through institutional study support services; others related to tutors' willingness to work through personal as well as academic issues. The content of the courses often brought to the surface students' own problems in their relationships, and challenged concepts they had previously taken for granted. One tutor gave an example relating to learning about a kaupapa Māori approach to social service delivery. 'You've got students who are having to go through a journey about colonisation, alienation,' she said. 'All those negative discriminatory things. That surfaces issues for some of the students who are Māori who've got their own very real experiences. Then you've got Pākehā students having to cope with the idea of the colonisers, and how they fit with that. So it's not just delivering information; you've got to deal with the impact.' Because tutors needed (wanted) needed to role-model the personal care commitment of the social worker, their workload extended well beyond their academic obligations.

A student working in an iwi agency affirmed the need for social workers to learn to be concerned with the whole person. 'You can work from an organisational point of view but if you haven't got the workers who have got the heart for it, it's a waste of time,' she said. Another student, a social worker in the field said, 'I think as Māori, social workers we need to be flexible, to be adaptable. We can go into a boardroom, may not have all the words that everyone else has, but we will be in there. From there, we can go out and sit in a gang headquarters to talk to one of the big men. Or go down to the local bridge-top [and] have a talk to the kids who live under the bridge.'

Art at Tai Rāwhiti: Toihoukura

The Art School has developed over time. Many of the changes, we were told, had come at the request of students, particularly the development of a degree qualification. The school administrator explained to us that the advanced diploma was already at the level of a degree in terms of its studio work; the introduction of the degree provided additional contextual studies, business studies, and academic writing. 'A lot of students waited to move from the diploma to the degree structure,' the kaumātua went on. 'They wanted a higher level so they could later move forward to Masters, then PhDs. That's going to add to the level of educational advantages that this school can provide.'

The intention of Toihoukura is to meet the needs of a range of different students, who enter the programme with varying levels of knowledge and academic interest but with a common drive to make art. The school has developed a structure of pathways from certificate to degree level—a structure that includes workshop activities, community engagement and academic courses. The aim has been to provide overlap to meet students' individual stages of development.

In this, the school has sometimes found themselves at odds with the academic planners of the polytechnic. Initially, the polytechnic conceived the school as a practice-based arts course, but two years after the school began, the institution asked staff to put the course into a New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) format. The school's first response was one of rejection: 'We said we don't need your rating, we have our own rating,' was how one of our participants described the

school's feelings on the matter. The following year, the institution came back with a framework structure that accommodated things Māori, such as the kōhanga reo movement. The school complied. However, its leadership remains very cautious about 'being trapped' in other people's play. The administrator expressed the concern this way: 'It is all about them wanting to tick boxes.'

Nevertheless, the school drew on the expertise of the art academics who had been associated with the school over time and constructed a degree that gained accreditation. The school's approach to its programme is still at some variance with the expectations of the quality assurance manager. She expressed her disappointment that the school had 'failed to get the synergies from the work that has already been achieved at Aotearoa, Raukawa and Awanui-ā-rangi. I see it as a potential disadvantage in the team here not being able to platform off some of the work others have done.' The school, she considered, should have been able to pick up elements of the 'Māori degree concept' developed by the other institutions.

The administrator also saw problems in the lack of clear distinction between courses: 'There will be diploma Years 1, 2 and 3, advanced diploma, and degree students all in the same wānanga. That is fine, but someone has to take account of different goals that each person has to aspire to and achieve. So the diploma students shouldn't feel that they are being sidetracked with theory. The degree students shouldn't feel that they are not getting exposure to the theoretical [information] that they need.'

Conversely, such integration is part of the vision that the school and the elders who advise it holds for the programme. A senior student told us: 'I like the Toihoukura structure. I went straight from diploma to degree.' One of the community advisors put the situation this way: 'It is outside the box stuff. Like language learning, it is creating explicit situations to create some implicit learning. It might be called a wānanga mode of delivery—that is, simply exposure to a certain way of learning. How the students learn is quite fluid. There are intense times and not-so-intense times and times when things fall to pieces and then come together again. The results are not the end in themselves. The pieces, the exhibition, the assessable items required by the system are not the ends.'

This kaumātua also emphasised the complex and ongoing learning that the school seeks to foster: 'Learning is not just learning how to do art and when you finish the programme you leave. You have to learn how to follow the pathways in art in the real world. It's interesting that more and more artists in New Zealand are indigenous artists.' Keri Kaa, nationally recognised educator and local elder, emphasised the importance of learning for real-life contexts: 'If you try to examine a woman in karanga techniques, the only true exam is at a hui, where it is a living situation and where it is for real. You say, I want three kaikaranga. On your feet. You stay there all day. You stay there until the sun goes down. That is the real test. But, hey, there is a piece of paper you have to have filled in, saying you have fulfilled your obligations: that is an artificially created learning situation.'

The leadership of the school had mixed feelings about the demands and consequences of accreditation: 'The people from Wellington said, "You need us. You need to have your course recognised." We said, "Not by you, but by our iwi. We need to have our course recognised so they will attend, not whether it is Level three, four or five."'

Toihoukura is an art school that is based on the study of art as an expression of community as well as of design. As one of the school's administrators told us, 'A lot

of students are part of the marae and restoration. They take those things from here back to their people. Marae committees ring here for advice, and they get referred to the staff. Everyone is involved here and in the community.’ A member of the community provided us with an example—the practice of tā moko. ‘Mark was invited to moko kuia at Tūrangawaewae two months ago,’ she began. ‘So all our moko kauāe women went to support Mark and Derek. Derek was not involved in the work, but it was Mark and a couple of his people and a Tūwharetoa person. They done fourteen women, kuia. That was their tohu aroha ki a Tainui and mihi to Tuheitia. So that’s all about relationship building and strengthening those ties that were not new. The kaupapa itself is far more than art, and you could appreciate that.’

Another participant summed up the situation: ‘The art supports a kaupapa. The kaupapa supports our development.’

e-learning at Raukawa

Raukawa’s emphasis on computer competence and e-learning developed as a consequence of its founder wanting to find a way for Māori to be part of the current knowledge revolution. Staff told us the story of Whatarangi Winiata needing to urgently contact the wānanga while he was abroad. When he could not get an international phone connection, he was taken to an internet café and logged in. He realised at that point that Māori had missed out on a number of evolutions/revolutions, and that they might be missing out on another.

The outcome was an internet and computer project developed as a basis for student communication and research, with the goal of bringing information and communications technology (ICT) to 500 Māori homes a year. A basic philosophy is that such technology will empower not only the students but the whole whānau. We were given the following account as an example. A kuia studying at Raukawa might not ordinarily be in a position to buy a computer, but under the wānanga’s e-learning project, she could have one in her home, and it would be used not only for her own studies but also by her mokopuna for their school-work. Thus, e-learning at Raukawa is seen as both an individual learning project and as a project for capacity building within the iwi as a whole.

The programme was developed initially for delivery from the Ōtaki campus. However, when the students went home with the content that the teachers had developed, home communities within first the tribal district and then in affiliated iwi asked if they could access the teaching materials. One of our participants took up the story for us: ‘There was the cry from the community: would you please, please support us in our home. We know you have a help desk, but we want people support here in the community. And we’d like those people to be up to date and that every year we want them to come back for training.’ The wānanga accordingly developed a programme for teaching basic computer skills. It delivers this on campus and in block courses for distance students, and offers as well a training programme for trainers in its distance locations.

Constantly underlying the developments is the kaupapa of ‘How can we contribute to the viability of Māori?’ The challenge with computer technology is that it potentially opens an area that has no boundaries, which leads the wānanga team to ask itself: ‘How, in this media, can we make our symbols and language recognizable? They are what make us distinct as a people.’

The course we looked at for our case study is a foundation course that lays the basis for further academic study. The school designed it in a way that would ensure students gain the same outcomes as those positioned on the NQF. However, the course has the important addition of each task including an iwi research focus, so that students simultaneously learn the technology and explore its potential for their communities. In addition, each of the teaching books has been developed by the wānanga, which has also reworked the original Microsoft Word and Outlook booklets to include a gradual introduction of Māori terminology and Māori perspectives.

Language revitalisation at Canterbury University: Hōaka Pounamu

Hōaka Pounamu arose out of a Ministry of Education invitation to develop a graduate diploma in bilingual education for teachers who are already in-service. ‘Our goal was to increase the supply in our region of Ngāi Tahu and Māori teachers proficient in te reo,’ said the kaiārahi. ‘By the end of 2008, we will have graduated 115 students. I was at an education hui recently, and I looked around the room, and I counted the people. There were about 60 there, and about 40 of them were people that completed our course. Just this year alone, we went to two new bilingual programmes that have been established by our graduates.’

The pro vice chancellor of the college spoke of the pivotal role the graduates from Hōaka Pounamu have in changing the educational landscape of the South Island. ‘The teachers who have graduated from the course will be leaders back within their school sectors to help advance the teaching of the language and inspire other teachers around them to integrate te reo into the classroom and into curriculum and start seeing it as a natural part of the teaching that we have in schools.’

Initially, the programme was placed in a mainstream department and came under the overall responsibility of the director of advanced education. Later, it was strategically placed under the leadership of the college’s Kaiwhakahaere Māori (now re-designated as kaiārahi Māori in the merged college/university). As is the case with the other programmes described here, the programme has developed over the years, gaining from the expertise of successive staff members and refining its teaching strategies.

Although the programme is designed for full immersion teaching, a significant number of students come to it without the necessary language proficiency. Preparatory programmes were therefore put in place. The first is Whakapiki Reo, a 12-week language-learning programme designed to equip students with the vocabulary and grammatical structures to begin immersion. The second—and more recent—is a summer school that provides a bridging course for students with very little or no Māori language.

Discussion about the ideal academic levels for components of the programme is ongoing. The kaiārahi would like to see ‘a pre-service program which is bilingual, which builds Māori proficiency, maybe as a fourth year in the degree.’ According to one of the college lecturers claimed that a pre-service model is what schools need. ‘I think we should be trying to grow our teachers before they are actually out there, in the schools. This course is sort of the ambulance at the bottom of the cliff. If we could be the fence at the top, that would be really good. But there is place for the in-service model of Whakapiki as well.’

Both the pro vice chancellor and the kaiārahi spoke of upgrading the status of Hōaka Pounamu to Master’s level. They and other participants we spoke to made evident

ongoing discussions about the need for further follow-up courses. As one lecturer said, 'When some of our students go back to their schools, they go back to the same old routines. If there was a follow-up program, we could keep them focused on good practice.' A number of students also confirmed the desirability of either follow-up courses and/or further Māori language possibilities at Master's and even doctoral levels. Another matter open for discussion was the possibility of regional delivery. However, the kaiārahi said, this development depended on securing appropriate staff for face-to-face teaching. 'Even with enhanced technology,' she explained, 'you really need to be face-to-face learning because of the language component.'

Academic expectations are a significant component of the programme. 'High standards are important,' a former lecturer in the programme told us. 'This is because they are teachers, and you can't have them going back teaching unless they've reached a high standard.' She noted that when she started with the programme, 'There wasn't a lot of assessment. So [my colleague] and I added a lot of written, spoken, listening, reading assessment.' Sometimes the result was, she said, 'temporary failure', whereby students were not passed because they did not meet the requirements. Current staff also stressed the importance of high standards: 'It's no different to what they expect in their own school. Exactly the same rules apply to them as to any other student in the university. There is a process for late assignments and extensions. There is a process for having their work re-marked, re-submitted. There are all these processes put in place that all students have to follow.'

One current lecturer spoke to us of the role of collaboration between students and kaiako', with both 'working to get there, looking at all the groups' needs, and helping each other to achieve their goals'. She also stressed that the learning that took place within the course was only the beginning of a longer commitment to language and cultural learning. 'We need to be explicit with them about the fact that we can only take them so far,' she said. 'For those who are just beginning, for instance, they can't think that by the end of the year they are going to be matatau. This is their starting point.'



TIKANGA MĀORI

Emphasis on kaupapa Māori and tikanga Māori was a significant feature of all four case studies. The degree to which these were evident in the content of each programme and in its daily running varied according to the kind of institution each was in and the degree of responsibility Māori had for its administration and design.

Social Services at NorthTec

We selected the social services courses at NorthTec as a case study because the courses are mainstream ones and so provide contrast to courses primarily designed by Māori for Māori. Nevertheless, everyone involved in the administration and teaching of the social work courses spoke to us of the importance of tikanga Māori. This focus reflects the percentage of Māori students enrolled in the courses, the demographic significance of Māori among the client group for social services, and the stated commitment of programme staff and institutional leadership to the Treaty of Waitangi.

The programme leader told us that all courses have a component of kaupapa Māori; the aim is ‘to increase the exposure of kaupapa Māori paradigms’. The Māori students we spoke with told us they valued being welcomed according to tikanga Māori and being taught Māori perspectives. ‘Māori at the start of the programme gave the course a unique beginning,’ a first-year student said. Transition students and graduates currently working within an iwi social service agency affirmed the importance to them of Māori perspectives within their training. As one told us, ‘This is a very rural Māori region, so we should be able to provide the kaupapa Māori perspective here.’ The kuia who was one of the tutors said that the tikanga was that of Tai Tokerau, reflecting a deliberate commitment to the people and history of region. Comments from other tutors gave emphasis to what she said.

The academic approach to Māori perspectives was a cause of concern to some students we spoke with. One transition student in the far north discussed the gap between the Māori theoretical models presented in the readings and the grassroots experience of working with families. ‘Many families,’ she told us, ‘don’t know tikanga in that form, even though they have been doing it all of their lives. Sometimes I find a huge gap between where we work and practice and what we learn through our diplomas and our Bachelors.’

A practising social worker told us that simplistic simplistic approach to tikanga is not useful: ‘There are many tikanga, and they differ. Working with a whānau around marijuana, for instance, depends on how long that use has been within that whānau, how they view the world. The care of their children differs from perhaps how we live. You have to remember that ninety-five percent know nothing about their tikanga Māori, about who they are and where they are from.’ Part of the work of the Māori social worker, therefore, he explained, is developing the community—‘taking it back to our marae, bringing those who are alienated from our marae back to their tikanga, and growing from there.’

Another student working at the iwi agency emphasised the importance of concepts of whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, and aroha. These were what she thought was most important to know as a Māori social worker. In her opinion, ‘some of the modules at NorthTec briefly covered that, but didn’t go into the application of it and the balancing of that within the mainstream curriculum. How do you gel the two together? That was

really left to us to figure out. Having said that, though, I found my experience there very good.’

We also heard about some lacks of congruency relative to tikanga. For example, the students were pleased that they had been allocated the new lecture theatres for their classes, but unhappy that they were not allowed to bring food into the new building, given that the sharing of food is a Māori way of building community and welcoming visitors. Similarly, many were disappointed that they were so separate from the activities of the polytechnic marae, which was a home base for another group of students, and therefore often timetabled out.

Most of the non-Māori students we spoke with were very appreciative of the Māori perspectives in the courses, but one Pākehā student was critical: ‘I’m concerned about the Māori content only being about Ngāpuhi and not all of New Zealand. It is a nationally recognised qualification.’ The programme leader confirmed that some of the ‘Pākehā students would say that there’s too much [Māori perspective in the courses].’ However, the Māori students were comfortable with the use of Tai Tokerau tikanga. ‘If someone was to come from Ngāi Tahu, they would have to learn our ways,’ a first-year student said. ‘At the end of the day, we are the same: all Māori think the same, across the board. Aroha and values like that are all the same—doesn’t matter what iwi.’

There was wide agreement that there was room, and need, for further development. A Māori member of the advisory committee shared the following views: ‘Just in terms of Māori pedagogy, there are some ways the polytech could grow. We have a noho marae for the students, which is, for some of them, their only experience of that kind. But that could be built on. Some of our iwi workers who are really experienced may not have the desired qualifications, but certainly have the knowledge. And I think it would be important to weave their knowledge through more, not just to bring them in as a one-off guest speaker.’

She continued: ‘My vision is to have an advisory group of Māori. Some would be asked because of their knowledge and experience with tikanga Māori, others because of their long work history in iwi development and whānau work, and some [would be] professional Māori social workers. Such a group would assist with curriculum development overview, and [offer] ideas in terms of delivery that would suit Māori students. Māori content needs to flow through all of the strands of the papers, not just sit in the Māori-specific parts. I think some papers it happens more than [with] others, and I think that is partially to do with the knowledge and confidence of the tutor, especially if they are not Māori. So the other way of them trying to include the content is to get a guest speaker, but often the guest speaker is often out of sync with the programme.’

Art at Tai Rāwhiti: Toihoukura

Toihoukura operates within a Māori framework. Elements that were identified for us by those we spoke with were:

- Flexible times for work and openness of work spaces;
- A whānau environment ‘where everyone looks after each other and supports the kaupapa’;
- ‘The manaaki of the students and the tutors and the reciprocity of relationships’;
- The participation of kaumātua, kuia and community;
- The social skills of students and their readiness to look after visitors;

- The sense of responsibility to the school as well as to one another; and
- The ease of ‘just being Māori all the time’.

‘The school creates a thinking in students that ensures they see kaupapa Māori as a means of developing themselves,’ a community advisor told us. ‘They can express themselves in art and talk kaupapa Māori in art.’ Api Mahuika, the kaumātua, told us how traditional knowledge is valued: ‘When they [the students] learn to weave, to make a korowai, they go right back to doing the muka.’ A second-year student emphasised the importance of understanding the histories and values that underlie design: ‘A lot of people say to me, “Do you just go there and get a moko?” And I say, “Oooh no! You have to learn the whakapapa of the design.”’

The kaumātua also spoke to us of the role the school takes in developing Māori art as part of the Māori renaissance. ‘You have places like Toihoukura coming in and taking the art and craft much further. So it is given, in Māori pedagogy, [as] the place to stand in its own right, as part of the renaissance. I think it contributes globally to the whole concept of indigenous people and to the projection of indigenous not only nationally but locally. This is one of the institutions that is on the global stage that is reflecting and projecting what our people can do for themselves. I think places like this have a great opportunity in terms of the total renaissance and growth and development amongst its people.’

Integration of art and tikanga is fundamental to the school’s vision. A student told us how he saw it: ‘For me, the main reason and drawcard was tā moko. This is the place in New Zealand and world to come to. There is a spiritual side to it too. That’s a factor that I don’t think other people are teaching, but they emphasise it here. Study from basics, not so much the glamorous parts of it, but what makes you different from that person over there. Tā moko—we can learn it properly and correctly.’

Keri Kaa, the kuia, reinforced the importance of tikanga as well as design: ‘There is responsibility that goes with the moko kauāe. The responsibility is to “tika” te marae.’ The acting CEO discussed the value of the school to the community as a whole: ‘It is the wānanga learning approach that passes on knowledge that may otherwise have been lost to this community and to many others.’ For the school’s administrator, the importance of the school lay in helping students take their knowledge home to their own marae. A student confirmed this view, when she told us, ‘I came here because I had a little bit of Māori in me. I couldn’t speak Māori, even though I am Māori. I came here, and I was nothing, and I have learnt so much.’

Māori content is situational and contextual: it is wānanga based. As such, the knowledge and the tikanga belong to the Tai Rāwhiti region. Māori content ‘reinforces a certain tikanga and kaupapa Māori that are dear to us, the people of Tai Rāwhiti,’ a community advisor explained. A kaumātua stated the relationship strongly: ‘Toihoukura is the type of school that belongs to the tribes of Te Tai Rāwhiti. For them to have the sense of belonging, it needs to be free so they can interact freely and become proactive freely, rather than set on a course that runs from January to December. Doing it that way, there is too much inflexibility. It does not allow the school to react in a positive way to things happening in their community. You don’t know when marae will call and say we need you over here, and they [staff and students] have to have a sense of responsibility and freedom to do that.’

The role of kaumātua within the school is crucial. They give the school its mandate to use iwi history, whakapapa and tikanga. They also give a mandate for a community-based school such as Toihoukura to operate within the institutional framework of the polytechnic. Moreover, as the kaumātua told us, if the institution stopped valuing the

school in the way it should, the community would take it back as a community-based wānanga.

As we discussed earlier, the fit between institutional perspectives and school perspectives, and in fact those of the wider Māori community, is not always comfortable. The acting CEO of the polytechnic told us: ‘I don’t think the rest of the organisation have got their head around who we are, what we are, what our community make-up is and our growth in the market is. It is kind of brown looking. We haven’t changed our consciousness to deal with the changing demographics. As an institution, we can’t stay this way.’

Nevertheless, we were told repeatedly about the potential value of drawing on dual pedagogies. The kaumātua explained the matter this way: ‘In the past, we have talked about the myth of biculture. This school is saying the road to biculturalism is not a myth. Here, we are bringing our students through the paper academic qualifications that institutions are wanting to develop. This school provides inclusive art and oral literature, marae restoration, leadership, a stairway to higher qualifications in art or to other schools.’ The leader of the school said, ‘We deal in two languages and keep on doing what we are doing, because we know what we are doing works.’ A second-year student reported on the degree accreditation visit the previous year: ‘We were asked whether we thought the Māori component was overshadowing or overpowering the course. My response then and my response now is that it actually enhances the course for me.’

We found the emphasis on East Coast tikanga was not excluding of other students and their heritages. Students from other iwi and Pākehā students were encouraged to explore their own whakapapa and histories. A graduate now working in the north told us: ‘Students were coming from the north; students were coming from Ngāi Tahu. Everybody knew if you wanted to study contemporary Māori art, then the best place for you was Gisborne. So there was not only the Ngātis there—there were all sorts of iwi philosophies, different personalities and everything that was converging on Toi Hou.’

e-learning at Raukawa

Te Wānanga o Raukawa is the country’s first-established tertiary wānanga. Its founding principles were the development of wellbeing among iwi and operation as a Māori institution. So, within the institution itself, the wānanga does not encounter the tensions in its adherence to tikanga that were variously experienced by NorthTec and Tai Rāwhiti.

Various members of the teaching staff told us that ‘tikanga Māori morals are operating absolutely within the wānanga’. For example, a student is not only a student in academic terms but also a manuhiri in terms of Māori protocol and therefore is ‘absolutely looked after’. In addition, if the student is representative of either Raukawa iwi or of another iwi that the wānanga and the Raukawa iwi have an alliance with, care for the student is a way of ‘maintaining the relationship with those parties’.

The wānanga’s choice of whether or not to respond to requests from marae outside its area to mount e-learning courses is determined on Māori values of reciprocity. The first and overarching goal of the wānanga is the betterment of its iwi; it will work with other marae if they can show connections by whakapapa or alliance.

The conduct of daily business is in Māori terms. We were given as an example the manner in which the IT help desk operator work. ‘The first IT help desk we developed was along western lines, but Uncle Whata advised us to get whakapapa and reo and to support the whole process. We found that by the time our students rang our help desk, they had an issue; they have been trying to deal with it themselves, and we are the last port of call. By the time they ring us, the problem is quite full on, and they are not thinking right. We’ve found that if we talk to them in te reo, ninety-nine point nine percent of the time it works to calm them down when they are agitated. Craig had the longest call—three hours. The issue was actually sorted in the first five minutes ... [The caller] was an old kuia. That’s about being Māori, and that relationship thing.’

The project of leasing computers to students is also based on kaupapa Māori principles. There are three signatories to the lease: the student, the wānanga, and a co-signatory. The co-signatory has to be someone who is not affiliated to the wānanga but who can give guidance with kaupapa Māori and Māoritanga. ‘These people,’ one participant explained to us, ‘are kind of their guarantors under kaupapa Māori. And we were fairly confident at the outset that that was going to be more effective than holding them solely responsible or sending debt collectors out to them.’

Although the primacy of tikanga Māori is undisputed within the institution, it is not always so readily recognised or valued by funding and accreditation agencies outside Raukawa. We were told by Mereana Selby, the new CEO, of the ongoing tensions existing between the wānanga’s educational philosophy and the operational procedures of the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) and NZQA. She particularly deplored what seemed to be an unconscious tendency to construe tertiary Māori education in terms of deficit. For example, the concept of ‘second chance education’ tends to position Māori in terms of a group who has not used their first chance as well as may have been hoped for. Instead, the wānanga construed its learners as part of a dynamic and complex community in which their learning may have been affected not only by negative influences, such as economic hardship and monocultural initial schooling, but also by the performance of important roles, such as childrearing, care for elderly or sick relatives, and by a range of personal developmental priorities.

Language re-vitalisation at Canterbury University: Hōaka Pounamu

Hōaka Pounamu is a programme designed and delivered by Māori for Māori within a wider mainstream institutional context. Because of the special and separate funding it receives from the Ministry of Education, it has been possible for the kaiārahi to develop the programme, its staff and its students as a semi-autonomous unit within the larger College of Education.

The agency of iwi in developing a practical partnership with the ministry has also influenced the character of the course. ‘It came in with an iwi sanction and backing,’ said the kaiārahi. ‘That was the essential difference from just setting up a Māori course, or a course that had Māori content.’ Thus, the programme is characterised by a Māoriness that is not evident in other shorter Māori language courses that are part of the college’s pre-service programmes.

Although the primary aim of the programme is to develop teachers who can then, in each of their schools, assist with the project of language revitalisation, those involved with the programme generally recognise that language is a living process and is interdependent with values and ways of being in the world. As a former student told us, ‘The course isn’t just to teach te reo and stuff like that, it’s actually about all the mātauranga, the whakaaro and the research and all of that within the papers.’ The

development of a space that is characterised by Māori values is therefore fundamental to the efficacy of the programme. 'We actually practise what we preach,' a lecturer said. 'We teach our students that manaakitanga is tikanga Māori, so that philosophy also exists in the programme and in our calls space.'

Because there is no dedicated marae space on the College of Education site, the programme has had to adapt existing college spaces. One classroom is set aside as a 'reo Māori' only room, regardless of whether programme students or other groups use it. As is understood within a Māori perspective, the walls carry witness to what happens in the space, and the unbroken use of te reo Māori builds mana and ethos within the space.

The school's classrooms and tearoom also have been adapted as a manaaki manuhiri space — a place to welcome and accommodate visitors. 'When we set up the programme,' the kaiārahi Māori said, we looked for the best teaching spaces and facilities, following the Te Tapuāe o Rehua (2003) guidelines. We wanted to establish an environment that was culturally appropriate and welcoming. We didn't have a marae as such, but wanted facilities where major rituals of pōwhiri, whakatau and sharing kai could be carried out.'

In addition, the need to permeate the programme with Māori perspectives takes the students and staff out of the classroom to the various marae of Ngāi Tahu. The kaiārahi gives an example. 'Just ... recently, we took twenty-five staff and students to the Ngāi Tahu language hui earlier in the year, looking at the crisis of te reo Māori.'

Tikanga Māori permeates programme delivery. Mornings start as on a marae with karakia and mihi. A former student recalled the mixture of reactions from the group: 'I really enjoyed the mornings. I know some people used to be hōhā, but I liked how we put into practice the role of karakia, of taking your turn to be the first to stand and mihi, of finding the whakataukī for the day.'



STAFFING AND LEADERSHIP/NGĀ KAIMAHI, NGĀ KAIWHAKAHAERE

At every site, we heard from those involved in the programmes and from people in the wider community of the significance of the people who teach the programmes. A number of key factors emerged: the need for staff with professional experience as well as qualifications; the importance of being able to relate well to the students; and the role of Māori as role models and as bridges to the wider Māori community.

Social Services at NorthTec

The programme leader at NorthTec clearly defined what counted as qualified staff in their degree programme: ‘You do have to have the formal qualifications as well as the industry experience. If we look at the staff make-up now, you’ll see we’ve got a highly qualified staff from a social service perspective who have got extensive social service industry experience and have worked in the Northland social service industry.’

The students we spoke with at every year level and around the region affirmed the difference made by who the tutor was, how he or she presented the programme and how he or she related to the class. The programme leader also stressed the importance of hiring staff with a good reputation in their field. ‘I think we attract students because of our staff,’ she said. ‘We employ people who are known and respected in the industry, who are local.’

Repeatedly we were told about the importance—and the difficulty—of recruiting Māori tutors. As one second-year student put it, ‘Māori tutors seem to come from where my head is at and make me learn. Māori have a different teaching style.’ Being Māori, we heard, meant that the tutor probably came with a philosophy and an attitude to interpersonal relationships that Māori students found supportive and enabling. A Māori tutor on the staff told us, ‘Everything I give is based around the philosophies and the thoughts that come from my Māori upbringing.’

We were frequently reminded that, in this context, the talk was about more than skin colour or ethnicity. As one of the social workers at an iwi social service said, ‘We talk about how we, as Māori, make a difference. It’s not just about the colour of your skin and the fact that you are Māori, but it’s how you put that into practice and how we are able to monitor and evaluate that you are truly working kaupapa Māori.’ We also heard about the importance of teachers with iwi knowledge. A number of lecturers spoke of the impact of a kuia who taught on the programme. ‘Her tikanga,’ said one of them, ‘is Ngāpuhi. So, in the Te Ao Māori course, the material that came through was unique to Ngāpuhi. To have someone with her knowledge aided us in teachings things that are specifically Ngāpuhi.’

The Māori member of the advisory committee with whom we spoke commented on the quality of Māori staff teaching in the programme. ‘I think the delivery of the Māori content by the Māori tutors has been good in terms of the number of Māori tutors, which is disproportional. I think the Māori tutors have done fairly well in trying to deliver as much as they can and also being expected to deliver Māori content and non-Māori content.’

NorthTec’s commitment to actively recruiting Māori teachers, and the difficulty in doing so, was a topic that came up time after time. One tutor explained, ‘Sadly

there's a limited pool of skilled Māori with the qualifications. Part of it is that you need a Master's to be able to teach, so it's about finding those people. Hence, we are trying to get more Māori to upskill so they can work in the area. It's no good moaning, "How come we've got no Māori tutors?" Instead, we need to support those we see can get through the challenge of the academic.'

At the time of our visit, appointment of a new Māori staff member was underway. The programme leader described the appointee: 'He's come from the community development field, and an intensive abusive risk counselling programme. And he's local, coming home. We do have people in their forties and fifties coming home. He's in Auckland currently.' The advisor Māori told us of the polytechnic's need to be proactive, 'to try and identify our people from the north who have got the qualifications, and the experience, to discover the young people who have left the region that we can pull back this way. It's about places like this making themselves attractive enough for people to want to come back here.'

A Māori tutor shared with us the significance of coming home to pass on knowledge to one's own community: 'Initially, I wanted to do law to keep Māori out of jail. I ended up moving to Palmerston North and then enrolled in a social work programme and finished my degree there. Part of my reason for doing it was to one day come back and help my people because I'm from up here, from Kaikohe. I suppose the key for me at the moment is that the students that come through here come from the community. And because I've come from the community, this community, I have an understanding of where the people are at, and so I'm able to adapt the way I teach and my lessons to meet those needs.'

Those we spoke with also talked of the difficulty of retaining Māori staff. Several former tutors had left after being headhunted by iwi agencies or having decided to go into consultancy. In the previous year, we were told, there had been about five or six Māori staff; at present, there were currently only two. 'They've all gone on to private practice,' a Māori tutor told us. 'So once you get the qualifications and the skills, you just get headhunted.' The programme leader agreed: 'I would say that if you aim to employ the best people in the field, then the best people are always going to be headhunted, and the staff that have left here have left to head or manage a runanga or an iwi social service.' However, a leader in an iwi social service gave a different explanation: 'They have not lasted because it has not been a safe environment to work in.'

We did hear from Māori staff that working in a mainstream environment can be taxing because of the burden of carrying responsibility for a kaupapa that is often not well understood or appreciated within an institution. But we also heard about the support Māori tutors felt they received from the programme leader and within the programme. 'I teach the Certificate of Mental Health,' one told us. 'I do the Treaty of Waitangi, supporting mental health, supporting the consumer, drug and alcohol issues, professional review, rights and responsibility, whānau support. The good thing here is that they try and cater for your interests, and mine are rangatahi and tamariki, working alongside them, and whānau.'

At the same time, we heard a lot about the importance of well-informed and culturally aware Pākehā tutors. As the programme leader said, 'It's good to have a good well-qualified Pākehā who's worked across the range of industries, and I think it is one of our challenges in the team work that we don't get Māori workers only to talk about Māori theories. Māori theories are in the same playing field as western theories, and you should be competent to deliver both. You'll even get really staunch radicals who hold the flag at Waitangi Day to say in whakawātea that they've learned more about

themselves from some of their Pākehā teachers. We've got two Pākehā staff who would be in the hearts of lots of students because their teaching styles match up with the students. So even though we would always strive to employ Māori staff if we can, there is a strong role for well-qualified and competent tauwiwi workers.'

The Māori member of the advisory committee confirmed that a number of Pakeha tutors were confident relative to bicultural practice. 'One of them in particular I know because she sat with me and others and told us she was going to try a particular exercise and asked us what we thought. She feels like she is putting herself out on the line and getting the confidence to give it a go, see how the students react, see how it comes across.'

According to a Pākehā lecturer, 'We are all very aware of including a bicultural perspective on all of our subjects, and for me, as the Pākehā within the organisation, I consult a lot with colleagues, and bring in outside speakers to cover that side of things, particularly perspectives. I think, for me, I learn from the students as well, because a lot of our students have their own knowledge that they can share in class, and it's about me providing an environment where they feel comfortable to be able to share that.'

A second-year degree student talked to us about one of her lecturers. 'Our lecturer takes Aotearoa, New Zealand. The way she lectures, the way she is able to look at the Treaty of Waitangi, to look at colonisation, is done in such a way that those who are not aware of it, or have come in with other ways of looking at the world or at other people, before they know it, it has hit them. I think that is an amazing skill, to be able to teach like that, and she's English. It actually gets through to people. It's the way she delivers; it's her style: she attracts students, she makes them sit up and listen.'

Several staff talked to us about the effect of current programme leadership. One important leadership role, we learned, was acting as a buffer between institutional demands and the grounded work of course teaching. 'My immediate manager is extremely supportive,' a tutor told us. 'On the institutional level, I am not so exposed to institutional demands and difficulties because our manager does all of that for us. She takes the brunt, and so we can just speak to her about things, and she is the barrier between us and the institution. I think that works really positively for us as tutors and the students.' Another student told us: 'She is very supportive. She's very open to things. I was living in Kaikohe, and I was travelling down, so I approached her, and I said, "Are you open to me taking my work home so that I can only come down three days a week?" And she said, "Yeah."'

Art at Tai Rāwhiti: Toihoukura

Earlier, we discussed the importance of community engagement to the Toihoukura programme. For that engagement to be effective, the teaching staff need to recognised artists in their own right, and to be seen as part of the community. In order to deliver a degree, they also need to have academic qualifications. Being Māori is an implicit in the subject matter of the programme.

In the first instance, the teachers in the programme are outstanding artists. The scrapbook the school keeps has page upon page of newspaper stories recording national and international exhibitions, celebratory reviews, and awards. The teachers are among the leaders of the contemporary Māori art movement that is a defining commercial and cultural force in New Zealand art. Students come to the programme expecting to work with the top practitioners in the field, to be introduced, while they

are still students, to important galleries and art sponsors, and to be supported in their own initial career.

A second-year student said the reputation of the school drew him to apply: 'It's really starting to speak mountains, and you get people whispering. It amps you up. I was whispering before I came here: Oooh, what's my mate doing on TV? It's good, it's something.' The leader of the programme confirmed the strong positioning of the school: 'We have a strong local and national network to feed and nourish us. We also have an international network.'

Keri Kaa told us of a korowai made by a student. The story speaks of the networks through which the school promotes its students as well as of the skill of the apprentice weaver. 'We had presented the korowai to the director of UNESCO, who was wearing it. He looked stunning in the cape, and all the weavers' eyes went on to the cape. They followed the cloak, not the man, all around the town hall. "What master weaver made this?" they asked. I said, "It was made by an apprentice; she has been weaving for three years".'

In addition to the full-time tutors, Toihouhura brings in other leading artists as visiting specialists. 'The other experts that come into the programme for a one-week wānanga contribute knowledge,' the administrator told us. 'They come from all over New Zealand. If we ask for someone like Manos Nathan, Wi Taiapa, Bay Lardel, Mark Kopua, they come.'

People told us many times that passion, for both art and community, were the motivating factors for staff. As the CEO of the polytechnic said, 'People work here because they are passionate, not because they want a flash income or they want all the bells and whistles. They are passionate about their part and role.'

The school identifies promising tutors among its own students, and develops them. Sometimes, they struggle, at first, one person told us, 'because it is a wee bit different when you have to tutor, because it is demanding and twenty-four/seven. We don't close the door after hours here. That's the whole thing about iwi.'

Both staff and outsiders spoke to us repeatedly and enthusiastically about the importance of the direction given by the leadership. On graduate said, 'Derek is a different kettle of fish altogether. He's really Ngāti Porou, and if you're down there, he's awesome with the kapahaka. He's awesome with the teaching and the mōteatea, and the meanings of it. So you have got all these things somebody is telling you which feeds the visual images in your own head, which goes into the work.'

Toihoukura regards professional development of staff as an important responsibility. Some development is an integral facet of the school environment. 'Every person that comes here learns more, because we learn from each other,' the administrator explained. 'The development is huge, even if the lessons are not formal.' The school also has specific strategies in place to help staff members. For example, the administrator, went on, 'We have one staff member we have identified as someone that we really want to manaaki and awahi through. He has got the skills that we want to recognise. We are helping him through the processes that the mainstream recognises, particularly teachers' college qualifications.'

Toihoukura has worked actively to help its staff and students become qualified teachers of art. For example, it has negotiated an arrangement whereby a college of education ran a regional graduate diploma programme in Gisborne for a cohort of the

school's graduates (as well as graduates in other subjects). The school offered these students ongoing support throughout their college-based studies. For Toihoukura, the aim is not only to look after graduates but also to bring the values, aesthetics and learning styles of Toihoukura into New Zealand schools.

Derek Lardelli, the programme leader, spoke with us of the different attitudes to management manifested by artists and by institutional administrators. 'There is a gap between administration within the institution and the whole of Māori arts and performing arts,' he said. 'The art form has grown quickly nationally and internationally, but administration has not caught up to help the development. It has stifled it really.' He told the story of the need for a light room in the school. The polytechnic identified obstacles. 'We had to wait for three quotes, approvals, submission to a committee. So the boys did it themselves. We would have still been waiting for our walls to get knocked down, if we waited for them.' He added, 'At the end of the day, we may take a different road to Point B, but we make it to Point B and often on to Point C, while others are at still at Point A.'

Various people talked to us about the role of women in the art school. Within the school's work-spaces, no media are tapu, so tutors encourage women to be involved in all art forms. On arrival, we, two women, were invited to speak. Students showed us examples of their work in a range of art forms that overrode traditional gender boundaries. Derek told us, 'It goes back to the tūrangā wahine. The power of tama wahine in Tai Rāwhiti stands out. All those women figures are very strong. To deny that would destroy the art form.'

Nevertheless, one of the areas that was identified as needing further development was the recruitment of women to teach. Keri Kaa observed, 'You can't have men teaching wāhine stuff or women teaching about tāne stuff. In te ao Māori, it is gender specific.' She believes that 'a kura like this should have a permanent female elder here, to listen to women's problems.'

e-learning at Raukawa

The nature of a wānanga also creates an implicit expectation that teaching staff will ordinarily be Māori, and because Raukawa is a tribal wānanga, there is also an implicit expectation that they will have significant connections with iwi. It is not that others cannot be appointed, we were told. Rather, it was unlikely they would bring the necessary knowledge of tribal history and tikanga, and equally unlikely that they would want to work the long hours the wānanga expects at the pay rates it is able to offer. Of 270 current staff (teaching and other), four are non-Māori. 'We give preference to people from our own iwi,' one of our participants explained, 'and we don't hesitate with that either. One of our roles is to develop our own.'

The wānanga is engaged in a project of developing its staff and helping them to gain higher qualifications. 'We have developed a lot of staff over the years,' a current manager told us. 'There are a lot of staff who now hold Masters, and their development is necessary to our academic survival. We also have a group of people who are working towards doctoral studies.' The wānanga currently has half a dozen Master's programmes; it needs to develop staff with higher qualifications in order to sustain the programmes and to provide further opportunities for the evolution of iwi studies. Staff spoke with pride of being part of a tribal wānanga enterprise. One expressed this feeling accordingly: 'You know it's really exciting to go to conferences and feel so proud that you belong to this institution, and that pride is born by the fact

that you can put your hand on your heart and know you believe in the kaupapa that this place is spouting. It's put so many other things aside. It's actually a really good feeling.'

The wānanga, we were told, places strong emphasis on staff's engagement in creative activities (rather than exclusively in formal study) that will contribute to the development of the institution and the iwi. 'Everybody here,' said one staff member, 'regardless of who they are — if they cut the lawn, make the food, are admin or academic staff — is required to get on what we call our creative activities register. We don't call it research. We say everybody should be involved in creative activities that will contribute to our survival as a people.'

We learned that staffing did not operate along the same hierarchical discrete lines as in other institutions. Staff who came from organisations where they had earned promotion step by step tended to be surprised on coming into 'this very flat kind of organisation where our cooks are treated with the same respect as our senior academics and vice versa.' Our conversations with people made apparent to us that manaaki and respect are two primary aspects of the 'flat structure'. For example, the school generally identifies student mentors (kaiawhina) as potential teachers (kaiako) through manaakitanga. From there, the school strives to mentor and support the students throughout the study they need to complete to fit that new role. Such processes, we were told, could be threatened if the wānanga moved to mainstream endorsement.

Language revitalisation at Canterbury University: Hoaka Pounamu

Hoaka Pounamu is another programme implicitly predicated on Maori staff. In this case, staff need to have a high level of proficiency in te reo Maori and in language pedagogy. They also need to know schools well, both Maori kaupapa and mainstream, and the expectations of teachers within them. And, as with the others sites we studied, they need to be able to relate to their students' needs, and to relate to iwi and community.

Staff had been presented with particular challenges and opportunities because of the merger between the Christchurch College of Education and the University of Canterbury. One of the challenges has been the pressure placed on all staff to upgrade their qualifications to Master's and doctoral levels. With this pressure, however, has come a chance for staff to use their personal study to further explore pedagogies and cultural frameworks. Several staff reported that their own study had increased their understanding of what their students do. A former lecturer described the parallel journeys undertaken by lecturers and students: 'Most of the lecturers were second language learners, and we knew what it was like not to have our language, to be embarrassed. We knew the journey that the students would be taking and recognised our younger selves.'

Another opportunity came with the setting up of new schools within the college after the merger, and the chance to group all Māori staff together, whereas before they had been separated into primary, secondary and professional development departments. The kaiārahi explained that nowadays, 'We all group together as Māori staff. That is useful because we were scattered across different programmes, and now we are all physically located together, which is really important. It gets that sense of community and sense of whānau. That helps sometimes in a tertiary institution. It's been really hugely important.' A former lecturer in the programme also spoke of her and other staff's sense of isolation prior to the establishment of the

schools. She said that she and her colleague had 'lived in a cocoon on this floor. We did not mix a lot with other staff. I'm sure the support was out there, but I didn't feel like I had a lot.'

The pro vice chancellor of the college spoke of the importance of building a cohesive and well-qualified group of Māori staff within the college. 'If we want to attract Māori,' she said, 'we must be very proactive in developing our own talent, and there's a lot of talent here in the college that needs to come through to the PhD level. I see that as a real priority for us as a college in supporting our own talent.' The pro vice chancellor identified effective tertiary pathways for Māori as an important goal of the college. 'I think we should be doing whatever we possibly can to support Māori talent coming through, because at this time Māori teachers are such a scarce resource, and therefore they do need more support, more investment in developing. I've seen that elsewhere; we say it's a priority, but in reality, when we have an opportunity to develop young Māori, they're overlooked.'



TEACHING STRATEGIES / RAUTAKI WHAKAAKO

A number of key (and recurring) themes emerged from our discussions with teaching staff and students about teaching strategies. These themes included relationships, co-learning, recognition of different learning styles, a holistic focus, professional focus, directed challenges, flexibility in delivery, ease of access, and involvement of the profession in the teaching.

Social Services at NorthTec

The development and value of safe and facilitative relationships with students was a frequent topic of discussion amongst the people we spoke to at NorthTec.

For example, the kuia who was a part-time tutor in the programme described her role as creating an environment in which the students come to see themselves as part of her extended family. 'They call me whāea,' she said, 'and it's what I am to them.' Another lecturer told us of the high value placed on supportive relationships: 'The most important thing is the support and the relationships we develop with our students. I know when I was studying, we had to make appointments to see tutors. I personally, and a lot of the other staff, have an open door policy to all students. We see them in the community because the community is very small up here. I work out of Hauora, and some of the people who work out of there are also my students, so I see them out there, and we might talk about study. It's more of a supportive, inclusive type atmosphere.'

The lecturers we talked to all discussed their desire to create an inclusive classroom environment and to be approachable and available to their students. 'I see us as very accessible to our students,' said one, 'and I think that's what makes a difference: that we are just there for them.'

Students told us how they valued an open environment in the classroom, where debate was encouraged. Several students told us that they considered that openness of communication a part of kaupapa Māori. 'That's the kaupapa we talk about,' one said, 'the openness of Māori to communicate. And if you communicate openly and honestly, nothing is hidden.' Students told us time and again of several tutors who encouraged this form of debate. These tutors, the students said, were the tutors they learned the most from.

A feature of an open, effective relationship that many tutors commented on was the willingness to be a co-learner. Pākehā lecturers talked about this in terms of cultural perspectives. As one said, 'So, for me as a Pākehā, it's about acknowledging what the students can teach me as well as what I can teach them. However, she also gave a wider application of this notion: 'It's that collaborative stuff, and just being accessible to it.'

Both tutors and students stressed the importance of recognising different learning styles and spoke of students preferring certain modes of teaching. A group of first-year students, for example, discussed the teaching styles of the tutors they had worked with so far. Some liked the open forum for discussion offered within their current module. Others preferred the structured process of their first module. 'She used a step- by-step model,' said one student, 'and that helped us learn off her. I

think all of us got quite a lot out of step-by-step learning.’ The programme leader told us how it was a policy of the teaching team to bring a range of strategies and illustrations into play. ‘So there’s not just one thing that happens,’ she explained. ‘It’s a range — a whole group of people working together to make something work, and reviewing, and talking about how you can do it better.’

A number of the members of the teaching team spoke of the need to align class teaching to the values of the professional world of the social worker. ‘We will feel we are successful,’ said the programme leader, ‘if we have graduates who can say the degree’s not just a piece of paper. They’ve come into this programme wanting to make a difference, and we want to make them able to change their part of the world, their family.’

For staff, helping students operate as social workers often involved modelling for them the whole person focus of the profession. Several staff told us they needed to be both teacher and social worker within the context of their class. We gained a better understanding of what they meant when they told us of the crises that can arise for students. Said one staff member: ‘There are always a number of separations in the first year. We’ll hear of a student who’s left a long-term marriage because there’s an opportunity to look at structures and look at power dynamics. We might get students who are diagnosed with cancer, who have elderly dependent parents, or work in a runanga or marae. There are those who had bad experiences in the secondary education system, being called dumb and thick, and all those things.’

Staff commented that they and their classes together needed to acknowledge such personal issues as well as the mindsets that they often bring to the study. Mature students who had been failures at school, we were told, often change after they have done their first assessment, realising they can achieve and that they have something valuable to say. ‘We need to give them parallel experiences of being successful tertiary students as well as social service ones,’ said the programme leader.

Most of the students, we were told, do not enter the polytechnic tuned into learning. Many come into the certificate programmes or even the diploma because they have been sent by their employer, and ‘they’re saying we’re here because we have to be’, as one student put it. The respective programmes therefore have to win the students’ trust as to the value of academic study, and provide scaffolds and supports to help them meet its demands. However, tutors also told us of their awareness that they need to challenge as well as empathise. ‘Some of them, when they don’t understand, they shut off, because it’s different or it’s challenging,’ a Māori staff member told us. ‘Their own previous ideas come to the fore, and sometimes they switch off. We have to find ways to connect with those thoughts.’

The case study participants identified degree of flexibility of delivery as another important way of making the programme user friendly. A regional student transitioning into the degree said how much she valued being able to negotiate: ‘Because of the respect we have with tutors and co-students, we are able to negotiate start and finish times, and break times, and to negotiate the dates when assignments are due.’ She offered an example: ‘Here in Kaitaia, we have until the Monday, but in Northland their due date is always the Friday. Negotiation,’ she added, ‘makes for good relationships.’ A certificate student told us that the same programme is run in Kaitaia on Fridays and in Whangarei on Mondays, ‘so you have that option if you need to miss class here because of family reasons’.

A number of students wanted more flexibility. ‘What doesn’t work for us,’ said a degree student, ‘is that, under the policy for NorthTec, we’ve only got three weeks

between assignments. There is no way a tutor can expect us to hand in assignments within that time frame.’ A lecturer spoke of the tension between the pressures of students’ outside lives and the pressure of course work: ‘A lot of our students come with family responsibilities, and that can become a barrier, especially if they are also working full time. So it’s about trying to fit things around that, whether it’s night courses or whatever. I would like us to have more options for our students.’ The polytechnic’s advisor Māori talked discussed with us the need for the institution to develop more transferability across its courses. ‘We have been talking for some time about programmes being able to pick up papers in different areas,’ he said. ‘So that sort of discussion is happening, but at present we are still sitting in our own areas.’

We frequently were told of the need for teachers to stay connected with the community and the profession, by continuing their own work in the community and by bringing in people from the field. According to one tutor, ‘It’s important to keep in touch with the industry. I do advocacy work fortnightly, and I do volunteer work with the support trust. It’s working with Hauora there, understanding what they want. Particularly as mental health has got a big drive to consumer delivery.’ For tutors, a perceived benefit of continuing work in the community was being able call on community colleagues for advice and as guest tutors. ‘The good thing about those relationships,’ one tutor said, ‘is the people are very open for any discussion, so if I have a problem, I have no hesitation to ring them.’

Another tutor told us about the need for tutors to keep time free from formal teaching to maintain industry networks: ‘With workload, it’s very easy to say this is my paid job and let myself get swamped by it. It’s about having more time to get out into the industry and find out what’s going on out there, so that you don’t lose touch with what’s going on. So I think a lot of us make a conscious effort around that, but it’s really difficult when you are juggling this job and everything else.’

It was obvious to us that the staff recognised the need to bring current industry knowledge and experience into the programmes. Participation by tutors within the community and the industry was recognised as a way of accessing those with the currency. One tutor explained this recognition in terms of her own experience. ‘I bring [in] those people I know so the students get the real view of someone actually working in the community, because as tutors you lose that contact. It’s been two years since I’ve been out there, and things change.’ Another said, ‘The way things work up here is the networking, the hook-ups. If I need someone, I know who I can ring, and if they can’t do it, somebody else can. What we call credit. Quite often I ring someone and say I need this, and they will ring me in six months and say, I’ve got credit with you, hook me up with this. It’s all about relationships, and I see that as really key, particularly in social services.’

Art at Tai Rāwhiti: Toihoukura

Toihoukura construes itself as a part of a living community, and so places relationship at the heart of its work. This stance includes an emphasis on nurturing and forming productive relationships with its students. The polytechnic manager for IT services, who had an ongoing functional relationship with the programme, clarified for us this emphasis on relationship. ‘It is about relationships of a lot of different kinds, and about the ability of the people who run the programme to establish a rapport with the students, and it is not a normal “teacher/student” relationship. It is about establishing a relationship with your student and showing the student you want to know their whakapapa, connecting with their whānau, and sharing your

whakapapa with them. It shows you want to know the person, and students often gravitate to those teachers in times of trouble as well.'

Derek Lardelli spoke of the sense he and the others in his team had of accountability—not only to individual students but also to their families and the community. He recalled a discussion with a colleague from another part of the polytechnic about what to do if a student did not turn up for five weeks. Derek had said: 'It wouldn't be five weeks, it would be one week, and I would get that person because they are paid to be here. They are probably my relation, and we need to do that. The comment was, "That's not your job. Your job is to tutor." My way of thinking is: "That's not your whanaunga, it's mine!"' A consequence of this environment of close relationship is the development of trust. 'There is an enormous amount of trust here,' Keri Kaa told us. 'People are happy because they are appreciated and treated with respect.'

While the gaining of an academically recognised qualification is required, the approach to helping students achieve that is one that recognises a range of learning styles. It also recognises that artists process their conceptualisations through their work. The kaumātua emphasised that although the school provide a strong academic framework, 'it also provides opportunities for those that are less academic to give expression to the things that have always been in their heart.' The administrator also stressed that the school is 'a wānanga environment. A lot cannot sit in front of a blackboard and work to specified times.'

Also important is recognising how an artist develops and grows. Staff and students told us how important a deeper understanding of Māoritanga was to their ability to conceptualise their art. Art, we were told, is an expression of relationships to self, to people, to environment, to history. The teaching philosophy of the school is to enable students to access and experience a full range of forms of Māori knowledge and communication as well as contemporary legacies of design and technique so that their art has depth and meaning as well as technical competence.

We repeatedly heard how individual students grew when they found something that crystallised their understandings. For example, Keri Kaa spoke of a young weaver: 'She has gone in search of her Māoritanga, picked up flax and discovered she could do stuff with it. She is on her way to becoming the top student here.' A whole person focus was another strong emphasis. Derek said that staff often help students at a personal level as well as at an academic one: 'At times, you need to get in there; you need to go into their homes. The non-Māori way of thinking that we see coming through on reports is that we confuse our roles, that we don't have enough clarity between our professional and pastoral roles. But that is manaaki. It is ridiculous; the only people confused are them.'

For the staff in the school, teaching involves the practice of whanaungataga and manaakitanga. In practice, this means dealing with disciplinary issues face to face, rather than through documented reporting procedures. 'We tell them off, kanohi-kite-kanohi. We don't go through paper trails, writing out complaint forms; we deal with things face to face. The students know they have the right. That's a thing with Māori. If you have a problem, you speak, and nine [times] out of ten the problem is solved. It does not have to go through mediation or things like that.'

We heard several times about the divergent attitudes to teaching held by the polytechnic administration and by the staff of the school. Sometimes, we learned, this divergence led to conflicting agendas and overt disagreements. As a member of the school leadership explained, 'To us, the outcomes for the students are the most

important, not the system. So we work that way to stay true to our community. If we didn't have our community, we wouldn't have our programme. It is the x factor.' The acting CEO acknowledged that disagreements did take place, usually between the school and the administrative sections of the institution rather than between the school and the overall institutional goal. She said to us, 'Community relationships are a big issue here, and they are well done here.'

The students gave corresponding accounts of the school's practice: 'The manaaki is important,' one senior student explained. 'They keep us as a group, and it is like a marae.' Another said, 'There ain't much negative stuff here. Everyone helps each other, bring everyone through, whatever. Stuff that happens outside the place too. It's family orientated, not just art stuff.'

Various participants acknowledged that a holistic approach within an institution that does not have sufficient staff to support it takes its toll on staff. The IT services manager, for example, spoke to us of the impact of such practices on all Māori staff in the institution, not just in Toi Houkura. He said: 'Of course it puts a hell of a strain on schools with Māori staff schools because non-Māori staff believe Māori students should see a Māori staff member for sorting their issues out. Often, Māori staff leave the system because of that strain. It means they have to do more and more and more and more,' he added. 'I am very aware that at some point it will be the last straw on the back of a camel.'

Throughout the school is a focus on the professional practice of being an artist. This focus is not only on the conceptual framework described above but also on challenges at the art level and opportunities to work with and exhibit with professional artists. Students talked very positively to us of how tutors challenge as well as encourage their work. One gave us this example: '[A particular tutor] will critique negative and positive aspects of my work and measures that against what I was doing at the start of the year. He told me to come back to my painting that I had been doing over the past year and told me to 3-D or sculpt what I had done. He takes me back to where I should be and pushes me forward to where I can be.' Another student said: 'It is good to get ideas toward what you are thinking, and to put it into action. The tutors are supportive in that field. They actually invite us to go outside the square sometimes, think of other avenues, and that has been awesome. The input is absolutely positive.'

Informal input by tutors sometimes brought challenges for students used to the summative assessments they had received at school. As one explained, 'You can have several tutors working on the same thing. Sometimes it's good, and sometimes it's not good. You get different feedback and input. It can be confusing. But it makes you think.' Another student also said the teaching approach of the school made students evolve their own understandings: 'There is a lot of self development, and you have to keep track of that yourself.'

Students were willing to make statements about various tutors' style of critique and advice, and to assess how they wanted to fit in with it. A second year student, for example, said one of her tutors 'likes to plan rather than start something big, get half way through it and realise it is not going to work. She encourages us to do a lot of drawing to troubleshoot any possible problems. We have a tendency to just jump in. You learn that it does work by doing it that way.'

Toi Houkura runs open access to studios and facilities. Tutors often stay late and come in during weekends, working on their own projects and supporting students. 'They have twenty-four/seven access,' the school administrator told us. 'It is not a

nine to five programme. They have families and need to juggle this. You will find when the polytech shuts down, all the lights are still on at Toihoukura. Once they are being creative, you cannot stop it. It is not confined. They tend to get a lot done in the late hours. It's about freedom to work.' We came to the school during a polytechnic-designated holiday period. However, as Derek Lardelli told us, 'We don't have holiday times. Call it what you like, but the lights are on. The building is accessible twenty-four hours per day if they want to work.' Students told us they valued the free access. As one first year student put it, 'We get heaps of one-on-one time with the tutors.'

The school fosters professional focus by bringing in a range of practitioners. The art community, national as well as local, is brought in to teach. As Derek Lardelli explained, 'We have a strong local and national network to feed and nourish us. We also have an international network.' He stressed the interdependence of the participation: 'We can call on them, and they will come running. And, likewise, if they need something, we go to them to help. That is our strength.' A kuia told us of her experience when she joined a korowai class: 'Well, I did the korowai class too. I bought my korowai in here to do it. We all share. We share with the young ones, how to do the muka and it's really awesome. They work in with us and we work in with them—younger and older.'

Derek Lardelli emphasised the importance of the community connection to the development of Toihoukura's philosophy and practical approach to art making. 'The main thing for Toihou was to recognise the wealth of talent in our community—to use it positively,' he said. 'Performing, visual, and all sorts of arts—from the same talent pools. There are talent pools all around the motu that you can tap into. It was where the talent came from. It was up to us to find how to strengthen the people that were using the talent so they could use their talent for their community. We say, this is your whare, your marae; develop yourself using your skills. So art became the visual communicator for our people.' Tutors in the school recognised that bringing in expertise enriches them as well as the students. One said, 'When skilled tutors are brought onboard to wānanga with us, that's education for a lot of us.'

The students we talked with greatly valued the professional interface. They described how much they appreciated working with Māori artists from around New Zealand, not only to learn their practical art skills but also to have a chance to talk to them about how they manage their work and develop their careers. The students also told us they particularly valued the opportunities that the school's professional connections gave them. A first-year student said how impressed she was by the gateways available: '[It's] like going away on trips to exhibitions and all around the country, even sometimes overseas, and those doors are all opened.' A second-year student affirmed the entries the programme had allowed her: 'This place will open your world. I have been overseas twice in my life, and both times were with Toihoukura. [I went] to Turkey and Brisbane. It's a chance to meet international artists and broaden my horizons. I am pretty sure there are no other art schools that can open up your world like that, unless you go for individual residencies.'

Keri Kaa told us of a student she thinks may become the next Shane Cotton. The important factor in her formation as an artist, Keri said, 'is that she is being nurtured here and allowed to be free.'

e-learning at Raukawa

The e-learning course at Raukawa is a foundation course for a range of studies. Those associated with the course saw development of a safe and nurturing

relationship with students as particularly important because for many the school is their first experience of tertiary study, and a place that provides them with opportunity to counter previous unhappy experiences of school and to build a platform of skills for future work.

A key ingredient in developing and retaining a relationship of trust, we were told, is to ensure that the technology supporting the learning is operational. 'If the service fails,' the course co-ordinator said, 'you have this terrible relationship problem.' Because many students work in an e-environment for some or all of their courses, the development of relationship and trust depends not only on respectful interpersonal interactions but also on dependable technology and technological help. The accessibility of human technological support is vital, we were told.

We also had stressed to us the importance for students of classroom experience matching home experience as much as possible. Many homes, we learned, only have internet access through a telephone jack, so the training sessions have a similar set-up. These training courses tend to be held at the Ōtaki racecourse, which is tribally owned. Equipment is brought in trucks. We were asked to imagine 'the racecourse set up into three or four classrooms each, with about twenty telephone jacks hanging from the ceiling.' Setting up the racecourse as a classroom is a major undertaking in itself. As one person explained, the process involves a 'horrendous amount of preparation' involving 'tons of gear'.

The staff stressed the importance of quality—quality of equipment, quality of support, quality of training about support, and quality of learning experience. 'We know we have to have these in place,' a tutor told us. 'That is the same with everything. This place is about understanding how we can contribute to the viability of Māori.' Teaching staff consider working with the particular learning preferences of the students as a particularly important facet of teaching and learning. For example, a significant number of the wānanga's students are kuia and kaumātua. 'Our kaumātua would be squinting up at the computer screen and saying we can't see a thing,' the course co-ordinator told us. 'However, they were quite happy if they had something in a book beside them. So now in our intensives, we have a book and a full wall screen that's up for everyone to see that's got the same information as is in the book. The books are done in a larger font for those kaumātua who have reading difficulties, and we use the kupu for parts of the computer throughout the whole training session.' The incremental use of Māori terms for computer parts and process is an important strategy for making e-learning and technology part of a Māori kaupapa rather than something alien.

We learned that the different learning style of kaumātua influences decisions about grouping. Initially, the wānanga spread kaumātua throughout the groups because intergenerational learning is part of the natural style of the marae. But experience showed that the attitudes of the kaumātua group to technology generally differed to the attitudes held by the young people and so each grouping needed to approach technology in their own way. 'If you mix the age groups,' one of the tutors explained, 'it does not work. The young people can be very casual in their approach and like to joke around with each other, especially when they make mistakes, and a kaumātua does not expect that kind of behaviour and the lack of respect that is shown. Even in the kaumātua group, you have got people that are faster with technology and some who need to go over everything a number of times, but what you do have is an acceptance and a respect for each other. Those who are really quick at it are quite happy with some kaumātua stumbling along. It works.'

Checking the pace and understanding of all students also was described as important. However, tutors cautioned that not all the indicators are obvious, and that they need to know how to read what is happening. ‘We watch out for signs of stress. We have students that, you know, sit quietly, don’t want to say too much, yet they are struggling. So we are watching out for all of that. Ensuring that they’re feeling a part of the class and feeling a part of what’s being taught at that particular time.’

The various needs of distance students often required ingenuity on the part of the wānanga. For example, those we spoke with discussed the difficulty of connecting remote rural students. One tutor explained, ‘It was about trying to get mobile connections to those outlying areas, those in rural Northland or on the East Cape. There are patches where there is no reception. Telecom and Vodafone don’t have pops in those areas.’ While the school always takes the needs of students seriously, staff cautioned this approach needs to be balanced against the needs of the kaupapa of the wānanga as a whole: ‘Everything that we do here—everything, administratively, academically—it needs to be contributing to our survival, as Māori,’ said one.

This focus determines how hard decisions are made. A member of staff described a situation in which the wānanga had to decide whether to continue a course on the site of a local school. Delivering Māori kaupapa in a Pākehā space had proved difficult. There were reports of drinking and other breaches of tikanga and kawa. Dealing with the issues appropriately in the school context would be tricky, but bringing the course back to the wānanga site in Ōtaki would be financially and logistically complex, given the whole site was already in use. However, Whatarangi, the founding CEO of the wānanga, ‘decided that our kaupapa was much more important, and we pulled out, and at the end of the week the whole course was packed up and moved back.’

The same focus informs the wānanga’s approach to research. The acting CEO explained that the wānanga had not participated in the most recent Performance Based Research Fund (PBRF round). The judgments about research and its outcomes underpinning the PBRF process would not have readily aligned, it was feared, with the focus of the wānanga on iwi development. The wānanga does actively participate in research, the CEO told us, but ‘our research here is measured against how much does this contribute or not to our survival as a people.’ The acting CEO went on to further explain the reasoning behind the decision: ‘Our kaupapa is Māori, it’s indigenous. When you get caught up into global criteria, you kind of generalise everything, and we don’t want to. We want to be very specific about where we’re at. One of the big issues for us is in our capacity building.’

Building its number of EFTS is not a driver for the wānanga. Providing access for the iwi is. Therefore, deciding whether or not to take the e-learning course and other foundation marae studies to marae around the country is determined not by a desire to grow the institution but by the degree to which each application aligns with the kaupapa of the wānanga. As we noted earlier, issues of reciprocity and whakapapa connections are the basis on which the wānanga makes its decisions.

The acting CEO explained. ‘We have twenty-six marae that we deliver from. With each marae, we require them to deal with our kōmiti mātauranga, an education committee, and that that group negotiates a mutual recognition agreement, so we have a document that says this is how it is going to run—this is our role, this is your role, this is how we think we are going to manage it. And they get signed off. But while that administrative side is very important, the maintaining of good relationships is the huge challenge, and our whanaungatanga kaupapa has to guide that.’

Language revitalisation at Canterbury University: Hōaka Pounamu

In many ways, Hōaka Pounamu is a more formally structured programme than are those in the last two sites we have described. However, the development of supportive relationships, of whanaungataga, is an important feature. The students spoke of the value of the relationships that characterised the programme. One said: 'There have been high points of working in a whānau group and then within the system as a whānau group. We don't work well alone and we need others to tautoko. That is important, and it is important to work as a whānau and take that back to our kura.' Many of the students agreed, saying that taking back to their schools what they had learned about developing a sense of whānau and working together was highly important.

Another student we spoke with said that the sense of support and whānau she and her student peers had experienced during their study had sustained them all through the challenges of learning their own language in adulthood. 'I know fourteen others [the full number in the course], she said, 'that have had the same year as I, with the highs and lows. I am a visual person, so I have likened it to being dropped in a trench off the Kaikōura coast. Everyone is paddling towards the shore. The waves are high, and we can't always see each other, but we hear each other and know we are all there for each other. When we get to the beach, to graduation, I know some people will sit for a while; others will start to climb the next mountain. I have done a lot of dog paddling this year, and I will have sand in my shoes. We will all move on.'

Despite the relatively small size of the programme, those delivering it had decided several years earlier to ensure teaching involved full-time staff. The lecturers in the course we spoke with also talked about the importance of a whānau approach. 'We taught in a team and had each other,' a former lecturer said. She continued by saying she and a colleague had 'worked well together because I believe she would teach at the pace of the slowest and I taught at the pace of the quickest. So it was a nice balance.' Her colleague also talked about the value of a team approach to teaching: 'When assignments came in, I learnt that she was a real "toughy" and I'm a bit of a "Oh, yeah, I'll give you that." And I had to sit back and think, "Why did I do that?" It was good having her to talk to and say this is what I think and why I think it. I hadn't had that sort of discussion before, so we were able to work through that. I like it that she was always planned and ready.'

The kaiārahi said that the sense of whānau evident within Hōaka Pounamu extends beyond the immediate classroom to the wider group of Māori staff and students in the College of Education. 'When we have pōwhiri or special events,' she said, 'our Hōaka students are there to support, from perhaps just one person going in to support someone who is giving their oral defence of their doctorate, to the whole group supporting a pōwhiri, or supporting other events.'

Many of the people we spoke to during the course of this case study identified the whare on the campus (along with the support offered by the kaiāwhina to the students coming to it) as a significant factor in providing students with a place where they could help one another and where lecturers could talk informally with students. A former lecturer said: 'It was during those informal chat sessions that I realised when we hadn't got there, and we'd need to go back over that again.'

A current lecturer described the contrast she perceived between the programme's relationship with students and college's (as a whole) relationship with students. 'I feel we are more welcoming,' she said. 'We have more of an open door policy. I think it exists more with us, because students don't have a problem with coming in, knocking, and talking, and sitting down, and just speaking their mind to us, and because they are not on guard, because we do not put up those barriers.'

Staff in the programme talked of the need to combine high expectations with encouragement and frequent and informal formative feedback. A former lecturer told us of her perceptions of the feedback process: 'I tried to create measures to find whether things were working through assessments, evaluation, and feedback. I felt [we] were very open to the students about us and that was important. [We had] some written evaluations, weekly one to one, and group discussions, with the students telling us where they were at. Honest and open. I was into receiving all types of feedback.' She also described staff helping students develop their assessed presentation: 'They [the students] were not left on their own to come up with kauhau. They knew it was about learning the process, not the result.' This lecturer spoke, too, of how she had risen to and enjoyed the challenge of being a constant learner herself: 'A student, a Pākehā science teacher, always wanted to know why this, why that. It meant I had to say I didn't know, and then I would go away and find out. That really helped me too. They knew we didn't know everything as well. We would go through three or five grammar books to find, not the answer, but what three or five people were saying.'

Both staff and students said the programme recognised different personal styles of learning and particular approaches to language learning. A student described the signing strategies taught by one of her lecturers. '[She] taught us sign languages for the sentence structures, and I still use those to communicate with others. They assist with my reo. It helped me lots, and I could see the actions and remember the structures.' Another student said she valued the range of strategies: 'There was not just the kinaesthetic — there were a range of different ways of getting across things. We had the language advisors come in to talk. They went over some of the similar activities, visual and listening. We had a range of different activities used in whakapiki that we then used in our lessons at schools. It helped with teaching.' One student said that she 'actually learnt to speak Māori using sign language, because I required muscle memory to make it stick in my head.'

Being Māori and learning/re-learning one's own language as an adult requires more than specific language learning strategies. The process touches on areas of extreme personal vulnerability and thereby calls for understanding and support strategies. One lecturer described her impression of the impact of this process on students as follows: 'They entered a space where they were fully exposed. A space where others could see them for what they were, peeling back the layers and being honest about what they knew and what they didn't know. The quicker they acknowledged what they didn't know, the quicker they developed. Those that maintained a "front" developed slower and were less likely to make as much progress. So students that admitted they were beginners and had little or no reo Māori put their hands up and were fine.'

Another lecturer said she has learned to listen with her eyes to the school-teachers engaged in the programme. Listening with your eyes, she said, 'means you see the pain, the struggle, and understand that is only the top layer. A lot of confidential things that happened in our office were layers that were being stripped back. Many of the Māori teachers had layers that had never been addressed.' Students talked to us about both the pain and the privilege of reviving the language. One said: 'It is a big

feeling that we are not the only ones who are struggling to revive our language, and just understanding that people lose their languages. It can be hard.’ Teaching staff, too, spoke of the language pressure. One lecturer, who is herself a second language learner of Māori, said, “All you’re planning and teaching is in another language, so your work is doubled. I loved it, but it did wear me out.’

Staff and students said setting up an immersion environment is itself a challenge. ‘One of the things we struggled with,’ a former lecturer reported, ‘was consistently monitoring the immersion. Outside the classroom, everyone was speaking English, and it was not the students’ fault. It did help that the neighbouring offices held Māori staff, and the floor had a Māori atmosphere. When [a new colleague] came who had a similar teaching approach, we put a rāhui on the classroom so that there could be no hiring of the classroom for English. But the confinement to that floor also supported the opportunity to do that. We knew we could maintain that, and anywhere else in the college it would have been difficult to maintain.’ The classroom has since shifted to the ground floor, and the rāhui remains in force. ‘It is important to have that room because it creates the environment where the students have to speak te reo Māori,’ explained a current member of staff.

Several students we spoke with provided us with understanding of how learners with initially minimal language skills tend to experience immersion. One said that she ‘came in knowing very little Māori. I knew basic words, and that was about it. We went to kura raumati for two weeks, and that was awesome. We got resources and learnt a lot of basics. When we started whakapiki, we could get through because we had the basics. Immersion has been great for me, just having lots of practice and being thrown in the deep end and quickly learning how to communicate and listen. First term, a lot of it went over my head. Slowly I started to realise I was learning and picking up a lot more confidence.’ For a fellow student, ‘Coming into full immersion works a lot better for me than bilingual.’ Another, who came in as ‘a fairly fluent student, found that immersion was how she preferred to learn. ‘Now I am much more confident than I used to be.’

For lecturers, high standards were an imperative. ‘The biggest thing I learnt,’ said one, was to keep high expectations and high professional standards.’ Another amplified on her colleague’s statement by saying, ‘I wanted it to be professional, to be ready on time, to have course readings ready so they had all the information they needed, and knew exactly what was happening. So that there were high expectations.’ The expertise within the iwi and community contributes significantly to the achievement of high standards, we were told. One lecturer explained that ‘marae offer themselves as places for our students to go stay and experience te reo and tikanga Māori and we, in turn, base our assignments around the marae and their needs.’

The kaiarahi also emphasised the importance of expertise exchange: ‘We have lots of iwi speakers coming into the programme, and our staff, including myself, attend tribal meetings, so we know what is happening. So we have an ongoing kind of partnership relationship that is a really successful component. A lot of iwi people are fed into our various courses over the year, whether they come and give guest lectures or whether we go to the marae. We go to marae once or twice a year, at the beginning of the year and at the end of the year.’

A current lecturer talked to us about the value of bringing in iwi expertise: 'We can have a focus on Kāi Tahu because we are able to access experts out in the community to come in to facilitate stories around Kāi Tahu, this rohe, things like waiata, Kāi Tahu waiata.' For a former student, considerable value lay in building connections with particular marae: 'I think that was really valuable to get to know your whānau. We would go a particular Ngāi Tahu papatipu marae and be able to design a resource based on their rohe, [and] then you present it back. I thought that was real awesome. Then, the following year, I had a trip with our kids in my school, and we were able to go back, and we had this whole unit on their kaupap.'



STUDENT LEARNING APPROACHES / RAUTAKI AKO Ā NGĀ ĀKONGA

Social Services at NorthTec

For many students, the prime motivation for participating in the programme related to employment and career goals. 'Sometimes I wonder, why am I doing this? Why am I putting myself through this agony of learning? It's good learning, but it's hard. I'm doing it so I can stay in employment; it is a contractual requirement,' said a community worker employed by an iwi agency.

For a mature student, economic viability provided the impetus to enter the programme: 'I had a discussion with my husband in the late 1990s,' she said, 'because he is sixteen years my senior. I asked him if he felt I could survive as a female should he pre-decease me. I believed I couldn't, because I didn't have a qualification so that I could command a decent living wage. So that's what made me take up social work. I am a volunteer for our social service organisation. I am also on their management committee. The main reason was to see whether I could be employable and have the skills behind me.'

Several students commented on the usefulness of the programme qualifications and their status. 'I came into the programme to gain academic qualifications to support my years of experience,' said a first-year student. Another beginning student said the wider community were very affirming of his participation: 'Yes, it is valued in the field I work in. Their eyes light up when you say you are studying for a degree.' Students also told us of their determination to pursue their particular study pathways. 'A lot of people don't know what they are going to do after the course, but I do,' said one. 'This is a stepping stone to what I am going to be doing.' Another student working in mental health commented on her overall initial reluctance to enrol in the programme. 'Just put it this way: the reason I'm doing this course is that I was told to do this course by the department that I work in,' she said. 'They've tried for three or four years to get me to do the course, but I turned it down. But since starting it, yeah, I find it a bit of a challenge, and I'm actually enjoying it.'

An important issue that had arisen for some students was the tension between western and indigenous paradigms. According to a student employed in an iwi agency, 'In order for us to obtain specific funding, we as workers must hold recognised mainstream academic *tohu*. I completed *Mauri Ora* prior to doing this, and I came out with the diploma under the indigenous framework, but it is not recognised as a *tohu*—not even inside an iwi-based circle—which is sad, but that's the reality. So we have got mainstream or we have got our own Māori who have got the same if not better knowledge, but we can't use it. It's not quite what people want to hear, but that's what we have always struggled with.'

A few students openly expressed their regret that they could not do a Māori-led programme. 'I never wanted to go to NorthTec,' said one. 'My preference was Māori. NorthTec Social Services might have taught me the terms social workers need to use, but my passion has always been Māori—not a translation from Pākehā to Māori, but total Māori. For me, there was no balance. Māori took a back foot to non-Māori learning. Māori courses do not comply with NZQA and so you get no credit for doing them.'

A prime motivating factor for some students was the motivation to help others. 'I have been involved with my two nephews who are in mental health [care], being their

support person. It's a time in my life when I can give back to my whānau,' said one student. Another told us: 'I have a desire to educate myself and achieve positive outcomes so I can help others.' For a third student, a person working in the field, 'every social worker must have some passion for another human being to do what we do because it's not always a good job. We work with people no one else wants to work with, and we go into environments where we put our own lives at risk. Why? Because we are passionate, we are committed. We have got something to offer as a social worker to your whānau.'

Some students were motivated by the sheer joy and excitement of learning. 'For me, it's been wonderful,' said one. 'It's been a bridging between what I know from grassroots, from growing up, from my work within the community, from my work prior to even going into this kind of work. I think I have grown through having access to all this academic stuff. I love knowledge.' The second chance learning opportunity was also a draw-card for a number of mature students. One student spoke for most when she said, 'Well, I've been out of school for nearly forty years, and for years I have wanted to come, but I thought I couldn't do it. I thought I wasn't capable of doing it. I spoke to Trish. She told me about how they had had a lot of senior students and that with my life experiences I had a lot to offer.'

A number of students commented on the development of their own learning confidence through stair-casing into the degree programme. For a first-year student, 'Level 4 is a boost to come on and do stuff. Little courses have their value as well.' Another student supported this view when she observed, 'It is important to have stepping stones in programmes.'

The students themselves had established a range of support systems. One said that her class had 'excellent support systems. Whether that's because we are already in the field of social work and we have that empathy, that sharing ability, I don't know.' A group of students said their class had pooled their expertise: 'We all wrote out our contact details and photocopied it so that everybody had a copy. We asked everybody for their consent. That way we could support each other, and we held workshops.' Another student added, 'We share work. We have to contend with plagiarism, and I guess that's fair enough, but I will give my assignment out. But if anyone is going to use any of it, I will get them to put my name on it. They can look at some of my work, and I trust them to do the right thing.'

The students also told us that they drew on learning strategies offered by their classmates. 'We get together as a group,' said one student. 'It was the class that was teaching us,' said another, while a third mentioned the 'wonderful feedback in our class. We can be quite challenging, because we come from different streams, the tikanga stream and the department stream. It creates some good debates.' In related vein, students spoke of the different ways they learned and the different learning styles in their class. A first-year student gave us this example: 'They say I learn kinaesthetically. I hate writing. I don't know what I will do with assignments. But if you show me what to do, I can do it.' Another first-year student said she needed 'a mixture of visual, hearing and reading'. A transition student said, 'My knowledge comes through my hands. I have to interpret what I am feeling through my hands, whether it's spoken or unspoken. I actually apply that way of practising within my social work.' Several students told us they did not like role play. 'Role plays,' exclaimed one, 'is not my learning style; that's fake.' 'I guess ... [learning is] an individual thing,' said a transition student. 'Some people learn by hearing, some people learn by seeing, others learn by written work. I have a combination: I like written and visual. We have a lot of that, and if someone's not doing that, we are

open to be able to challenge. And they are always open. They are very accommodating.'

Several students told us they valued the polytechnic's learning support systems. Others told us about the difficulties they had experienced. According to a second-year student, 'Sometimes it's hard for people to go for the support because Māori look at it like not knowing. I struggled with it.' A first-year student said she 'used learning support, writing my essays with her help on the internet. People don't want to admit that they are not efficient in all areas, tend not to admit they need help.' One student who did ask for help said, 'She helped me get back into study mode; she is awesome.'

Another student told us she had timeframes. 'When it comes to the assignment writing, I have a huge amount of trouble trying to switch off my brain from Māori to English,' she said. 'I am bad at English, and so for support for writing assignments, they have a two-week course to get you into the structure here. But to actually write is completely different, and so I have had to do my own study. The tutors who were doing that introductory course said if you have trouble with assignments to email it to them, and they would check it through for grammar and punctuation. I thought this was a good idea, but the results were unsatisfactory. Often the assignment I sent them to check didn't get emailed back to me until after the due date, and so obviously this was no use.'

We also heard about the difficulty of balancing work, family and study. 'You work a forty-hour week or an eight-hour day, and you have your studies on top of that,' a transition student said. 'It can be really difficult. You have a lot of pressures on you. You have your family pressures, employers' pressures, the polytech pressures. And it all has a huge impact on you. ... I struggle with the block course, which is three days in a row. The juggle is that the mortgage still needs to be paid. So at the end of the day, it's no use getting the qualification, if you haven't got a roof over your head.'

A significant number of students reported bad earlier experiences of education. They spoke of being labelled useless or of finding the classroom boring. 'For a number of them, their journey through the education system has not been positive,' was one tutor's summation. Most of the students therefore enjoyed the chance to see themselves differently within this programme. Several Māori students also talked to us about how they saw their Pākehā fellow students. For example: 'Many [of the Pākehā students] are culturally sensitive about our theoretical models. If it was up to me to hire these people, I wouldn't hesitate because I know their practice. I know how they think and how they serve our people. In fact, some of them serve our people better than our own. We don't like to admit it sometimes, but it's healing.'

Art at Tai Rāwhiti: Toihoukura

Students gave a number of reasons for why they enrolled in the Toihoukura programme. Economic motivation was one incentive. As one third-year student put it, 'Obtaining the degree would put us on par with graduates from other BA [programmes], and we would be a level footing for jobs.' But more often we were told about the incentive of personal development and enjoyment of art. 'I am doing something I enjoy, and not only benefiting myself, but my whānau and co-workers,' said a second-year student. 'I love art,' said another senior student. 'I love doing it and learning from others and building my skills.'

Some students stressed the importance of family encouragement. 'It was my husband who made me come,' said a mature student. 'He said it was time for you to do something for you, because you are doing stuff for other people. That's why I came, and I just love it.' Role models in the immediate or extended family also influenced enrolment. 'My family have gone through Toihoukura straight from school,' another mature student said. 'My family have grown, and my grandchildren are racing around now, and it's time for me come to just explore what avenues I can add to my art.'

Second chance learning also featured strongly in comments by students and community people. 'Most of our students are Māori students, and they haven't had the greatest time at school, nor have their parents,' said a community advisor. 'I only went to school for my art,' a student told us. 'I bunked all my other classes.'

Students also spoke about their course-related motivation in terms of wanting to achieve the best results they could. A fourth-year student said he had come 'up here to get the highest tohu I can, and take it home. It's the guidelines to do my Master's down in Christchurch in Canterbury. There is nothing down there, down south. This style, this has succeeded with me. People like me that have difficulties in reading and writing find that there are other ways of succeeding.' Other students also saw the degree as an opportunity to stair-case into postgraduate study. Several said that their lecturers were completing higher degrees and their doing so provided motivation for them. 'I'd like to carry on and do my Master's,' one said. 'A lot of our teachers are going for their doctorates or doing their Masters.'

The supportive network created by students among themselves came up frequently in our conversations with the students. 'For a person that came from the south to a place I had never been in my life, the students made me want to stay here,' a student from Christchurch said. 'It's the students that keep me here, sharing knowledge.' A first-year student affirmed her comments when he described the student network as 'a really supportive network'.

Some students commented on their whakapapa ties with fellow students. A first-year student had found "Everything works for me, like getting to know different members, actually whānau members that I had never met before, because a lot of us are related to each other.' Sometimes students described the connection in terms of spiritual bonding. One said, 'All us artists think alike. We come here, and I think there are other people like me, a bit crazy thinking.'

Students were very vocal about the value of the artistic freedom in the school, and the freedom of the learning environment. 'The learning environment is awesome,' we were told. 'It's got structure in place, a programme in place, but they give you the freedom to express yourself, with the direction of tutors and our peers; and it's very supportive too. Everyone will support each other from the time you walk in the door.'

The students compared their present learning environments with past ones they had found too restrictive. 'I prefer to learn the way that we do here,' said one. 'Like, it lets you learn at your own pace. Because I find it hard learning in structured environments, like, fully militant. I can't. I just can't keep up.'

Another area of comment was peer support systems and strategies. According to one student, '[What goes on here is] a team building thing. You are only as strong as your weakest link. Show them how to do it an easier way by helping the weakest link.' They students said they supported one another in te reo and tikanga Māori. 'We help each other,' one explained. 'We correct, especially with [a classmate], with her pronunciation being very Australian, which sometimes we mock, but with love,

and we help her with pronunciation and tikanga.’ Others told us, ‘Someone is always there to awahi.’

Students talked, too, about learning from one another. We were told that opportunity to interact with peers, tuakana (senior students) and teina (newer students), produced a strong extended whānau atmosphere. As one student observed, ‘Being here, you get input from every student. It’s just a matter of approaching anyone with art works that interest you, and they explain how that concept was made.’ Another student focused on the value of having a ready-made network of critical friends: ‘We each cover our own skills to use inspiration. Our whānau is just a strategy we each put in place to develop ourselves and the path we were to look at—different areas and different mediums. We’ve got some fourth and fifth year students here who work with fibre, and I love fibre, and just looking at what they’re extending on from what I have been doing is absolutely awesome. Sometimes it might be, “How did you get this colour?” Just asking heaps of questions and getting feedback.’ Students also mentioned that their learning included taking responsibility for addressing their own needs and artistic aims. ‘We are doing multimedia,’ one said. ‘Alice’s forté is relief work and Simon’s is sculpting. We turn to the tutor with the strength, depending on what we are doing.’

One group of students discussed with us the difficulty of balancing work, family and study. ‘At times, the family makes it awkward,’ we were told. ‘It is just like anything in general; you have to learn how to juggle it, balance it and change it.’ Some students said they had had to separate from their families when they moved to Gisborne for the course. ‘I have to travel all the way to Tauranga because I have a baby up there,’ a young woman said. A mature student told us: ‘Yeah, I live here during the week. Then, usually Friday, I travel home for the weekend, because we have a business that we still run, and I do that on my weekends. It’s not only a commitment from me but from my husband and children because it is three years long that they’re by themselves basically.’

e-learning at Raukawa

Students who come to the e-learning programme are mostly new to tertiary study and are only together for a short time, as the course is an intensive block one. They therefore had less to say about their own learning strategies than did the students on the other sites, with their longer histories of being together and of study. Nonetheless, the Raukawa students shared some insights.

All the students we spoke with told us how much they valued the Māori learning style of the wānanga. ‘I love the wānanga style, as we are learning like our tīpuna in a traditional way,’ an older student said. ‘We study, eat and share together. It’s not a one-hour class and goodbye. It’s learning, whānau style.’

The students also recognised the variety of learning styles evident within their classes. They noted in particular those students who liked group work and those who preferred to be independent. ‘Some people have their different ways of learning. See, there are some that like to be on their own and study but there’s some that like to be in groups and have input from other people. I learn from other people,’ was how one student put it.

The students furthermore talked to us about the commitment they had made when they chose to study. 'It was a hurdle,' said an older student. 'But it was something that I had to do. It's hard for me to do this. It's a big commitment. I had to ask myself did I really want to do it, and the answer was yes, because I got my mokos coming through.'

Language revitalisation at Canterbury University: Hōaka Pounamu

Graduates from the programme, now mainly teaching in bilingual and immersion programmes in schools, spoke about their key experiences in the programme. Unlike the students attending the other programmes discussed here, the students who come into Hōaka Pounamu have already graduated from a previous tertiary programme and, gaining a nomination from their principal requires them to be successful professionally. Therefore, the types of learning they look for relate to increasing their proficiency in the language and to enhancing their professional development as Māori educators.

The students we conversed with spoke about the value of papers related specifically to Māori pedagogy and management and of the strategies they had developed for supporting one another through their study. 'The papers are designed to promote thinking about you personally and professionally,' one said. 'And it's good that you touch on the local and the global side of things of what is happening in terms of te reo Māori out in the world.'

A graduate of the course, currently in a deputy principal's role in a kura kaupapa, reflected on the usefulness and practical application of the programme. 'There's the one particular paper that I was actually grateful to do, the management one. Māori leadership, strategic planning, charter policies aligning with the Treaty of Waitangi, and all that. For me, it was helpful, because it identified and actually finished Hōaka Pounamu. I went into a management position, and being able to do that paper and actually look at how you create policies was extremely relevant.'

Others were particularly passionate about the immersion aspect of the programme. 'I went through school learning Japanese,' said one. 'I didn't know anything about te reo Māori. Although I studied Māori at university, it wasn't the same as rūmaki, immersion.' Another said: 'The reason I came on this course was because I had seen this group walking around campus talking Māori. I thought I want to be part of that group. I want to be a bilingual person and whakapiki te mana o te reo, raise the status of Māori. That is my driving focus.'

A highlight of the course for almost everyone we interviewed was the opportunity to network with other teachers. One said, 'After six years in the classroom, I definitely enjoyed coming out and having time to talk with other teachers who are in the same waka.' Another teacher, who transferred from a mainstream class to a bilingual class after completing the course, said she had been inspired by her colleagues. She had felt quite isolated being the sole teacher of te reo Māori in her school and so had relished 'the opportunity to meet other people who have that passion for our tamariki and the future of te reo in terms of what's going to happen with it for our tamariki'.

Current students told us of the support they had received from the members of their the group as they learned their language together. They said they wished they could find ways of maintaining that support into the future. 'I want to start a kura on the coast,' said one. 'I'll need people that are trained, and I have already spoken to students that are on the programme next year. At least one of the students has said

she will come back to Te Tai o Poutini and teach with us.’ Another asked us to ‘imagine if you had a school set up and took the fifteen Hōaka Pounamu graduates, depositing them in there as an extension of the Hōaka Pounamu programme. Then you could take your new knowledge, put it into practice for a year, then disperse out. Individuals would be so much stronger.’

The students commented on the ease with which they had created their own support systems within the class. For one student, ‘The great thing about having a whānau group was the first noho marae, before we got into it. We got to know each other really well and create a family base. So when you made mistakes, they were cheering you on and being supportive.’ Other students said they valued the camaraderie of the extended whānau environment. One explained: ‘Like we weave the threads of this kōrero, we weave to each other, so we can be a kupenga, a safety net, for each other as we go back out into the world.’

Several students said the class they were in practised a tuakana–teina learning strategy. One student stressed its cultural safety, noting that it prevented embarrassment for those who knew less, and prevented ‘those more matatau or knowledgeable all grouping together, which was not good for anyone’. Another student explained that the practice made experimentation and risk-taking easier. One graduate of the course recalled how another student in her class had supported his classmates. ‘He’s fluent, and he gave lots of support to those who don’t have much language. He showed other ways of saying things. Also other perspectives, because he had a very Māori way of seeing things. A teacher who had come to the course as a beginner commented: ‘The language flies around the class, and the more people try and attempt to use the language, the more others try too.’ For several students, the composition of the class influenced how they and their classmates interacted with one another during their work. ‘In my year,’ one recalled, ‘there was an older male and an older female who showed leadership, and that shaped how the rest of us followed.’

As with the students at the other case study sites, the Canterbury-based students found balancing work, family and study difficult. ‘I haven’t had to read so much in a long time,’ one said, ‘and finding a quiet place at home is difficult. I had to get up early to read between 5 a.m. and 7 a.m. while the family were still asleep. I learned that early morning was better than evening, as the family demanded so much of my time.’

Māori students spoke of the contribution of non-Māori students to the programme. (Although the programme specifically targets Māori, non-Māori have made up about 20% of the student intake over the seven years the programme has been running.) One explained: ‘It is imperative in the revitalisation of the language that as many people who want to and are able to get on board. Whether it is a few words to their children or whatever they can do, do. It is a huge, huge ongoing task, and so as many people as possible need to join the journey.’ A graduate agreed: ‘A course like this has no colour bar. We came on as a whānau, and we need people like [a Pākehā colleague] to do the job and be good at it. So that is what this course is about, doing the best for our tamariki and the tamariki of others that want to learn te reo Māori.’ Another student had this to say: ‘If someone saves you from drowning, you don’t ask their ethnicity first. There are not enough te reo teachers out there, and we need as many people on board as possible.’



INDUCTION AND GRADUATION / TE WHAKATAU, TE WHAKAPŌTAE

All four of the sites we studied had specific and well-developed processes for interview and selection, for welcome and induction, and for graduation.

Social services at NorthTec

Students spoke to us about the friendliness and supportiveness of the interview and selection process. 'The first interview was easy, very easy,' a first-year degree student told us. 'It felt supportive from the first phone call, to meeting the staff, to the beginning of the course,' another said, while a third 'liked the whānau atmosphere, the remembering names, the recognition of prior study.' A number of students talked about the welcoming attitude shown by the tutor who took their interview. '[She] showed a lot of enthusiasm,' said one. '[She] really encouraged me, said another.'

Many of the Māori students spoke about the good feeling it gave them to have a Māori course component right at the beginning of the programme. This comment was typical: 'It was good to have te ao Māori at the start.' The programme begins with a pōwhiri, which both the staff and the students described as very important to their sense of the course's relevance to the north and to the Māori communities that most of the students came from. Students were very positive about the pōwhiri. However, a few students and a Māori member of the advisory group expressed some regret that the pōwhiri did not take place on the polytechnic marae, which was already committed to other uses.

The advisor Māori also spoke to us about the need to draw together more all the separate sections of the polytechnic so that they could interact more cohesively with local iwi. 'Te Puna and I have been proactive in the last few years in getting the institution as well as the Māori region to be able to recognise where everyone fits into the big picture of things. We can't be isolated doing our own things,' he said.

Graduation, we found, was regarded not only as a celebration of the graduands' achievements but also as a very important way of interacting with the community. 'We've run to establishing pretty grand graduations as a way of celebrating,' the CEO told us. A Māori tutor within the programme emphasised for us the importance of bringing whānau: 'I tell the students how important it is to bring whānau, tamariki and mokopuna. Because you're role modelling. For some, it's the first time that any of the whānau have taken on the learning. I encourage them to create new cycles. Same for me. I was the first one of my family to go to university, and I just wanted them to send me my certificate. But then a mate of mine, Leyland Ruwhiu, said "It's not about you; why don't you bring your whānau and expose that stuff to them and encourage them?"'

The programme leader told us that the programme puts on buses to bring whānau to graduation. 'We're a really poor part of the country. We don't have a lot of money, so I don't want any barriers to people celebrating success,' she said. 'Graduation is sharing your success with your family, because it takes more than just the student. We know there's someone there picking up the kids, some colleague who's taking on a bit of extra work so that you can do your bit.'

Art at Tai Rāwhiti: Toihoukua

When the Tai Rāwhiti students talked to us about their application and selection experiences, some told us they had not really expected to be applying, or to be accepted, for tertiary study. 'I came here to a hui,' said one student. 'A friend brought me in and showed me the artwork. I put an application in, and it was the hardest thing I had done. But the art spoke to me straight away.'

Another told us: 'I was working at the YMCA and there was a big wall there. I asked one of the bosses if I could paint it, and he let me paint a mural. A wife of a tutor came in one day and asked who painted it. I said I did, and she encouraged me to go, but I said, "No, I couldn't do that." But I went along. I was really nervous, but I wanted a change in my life. I was shocked that I was accepted. I couldn't sleep the night of my first day. It was like my first day at school and an environment I wasn't used to. You just don't come here and paint. There is a lot more theory than just sitting and painting.'

Yet another student told us how the interviewers picked up a talent that was still latent: 'There was an enrolment form, and I had to provide a portfolio. But I didn't have one then because I wasn't a visual artist at the time; I was a recording artist. So I had a mock-up of some drawings I had done. I got short-listed and came in for an interview. They had seen something in my drawing, which I was glad they did.'

We also heard from many students how pleased they were to gain acceptance to what they saw as the best programme in the country in contemporary Māori art. 'Moving here was the hardest thing,' said a student, 'waiting to be accepted, moving all my stuff up from Christchurch, finding a place. This was the school I wanted to be at.'

Derek Lardelli told us that while talent is important, it is not the only criterion for selection: 'It is looking at the person and seeing if they will fit into the wānanga—if someone comes in and they have all the talent and all these other things to work in a whānau situation. When we have manuhiri, you must be able to welcome, feed and look after them. The basis is manaakitanga. He aha te mea nui o te ao, te tangata.' Willingness to connect with the community is important the kuia, Keri Kaa, told us, "but here they don't look at your whakapapa and who you are. You can be from anywhere. All they ask is that you have a passion with art.'

Toihoukua holds student completion ceremonies each year at the Toihoukura galleries. The ceremonies attract 300 to 400 people. These ceremonies are in addition to the May graduation ceremony, held the following year. Steve Gibbs, co-director of the school explained that 'the reason we do this is to celebrate, each student year, completion with the student and with their families. Some don't make the trip back for graduation, so it is an important time to reunite families with their students and publicly acknowledge the contribution the students have made and also acknowledge the family. ... We also acknowledge the students' work publicly in exhibitions during the year. Year 3 degree students and advanced diploma students have compulsory exhibitions and solo shows from September to November.'

Every other group in the school is likewise involved in group exhibitions. According to Steve, 'This year, 2008, we have three national exhibitions, including tā moko. The first took place in Taranaki at Womad, the second is currently being exhibited at Taupo in the museum, and the third will be in Wellington at either the Expressions Gallery in Upper Hutt or the Pātaka Gallery in Porirua. We also have two summer exhibitions—one at Tai Rāwhiti Museum and one at the two Toihoukura galleries.'

e-learning at Raukawa

Because the e-learning programme is a foundation study, many students come to Raukawa completely unfamiliar with computer technology and with course expectations and strategies for learning. As a lecturer explained, 'For a few of the students, it's the first time they have engaged in schooling for a long time, as well as getting used to the kaupapa at the same time.' Unfamiliarity with computers and even fear of technology are also often factors: 'Some [students] have never been in a classroom for years,' the tutor went on. 'Some of them have never touched a computer. We are still catching up on the gap between those ones which had it at high school and those that didn't. They have anxiety about coming here, as they don't know the people who are here and about the assignments.'

Some students, staff told us, come because they have family or friends who have studied. Some gain entry to the website and register interest. Some telephone into the wānanga. In every case, the wānanga makes sure they talk with a person. As one staff member put it: 'It is everybody's role to receive the students.' Many people interested in the course consequently come in for a chat with one or more members of staff. If they continue to be interested, a formal process ensues that involves talking to an academic, who advises them about course content, after which enrolment can take place. Raukawa requires iwi and hapū endorsement for anyone wanting to enrol at the wānanga in recognition of the support that students require to complete the iwi and hapū studies.

The Raukawa graduation ceremony has been held at the Ōtaki racecourse in recent years. However, in 2007, it returned to its original venue at Te Wānanga o Raukawa, where it was originally held. Over 2,000 people attended the ceremony. Busloads of people came from the far north, the East Coast and from the central North Island as well as the South Island to see their whānau, friends and mokopuna graduate from a number of certificate, diploma and degree programmes. 'They were welcomed with karanga whakaeke [calls of welcome by senior female elders] and karakia, and then we went straight into the graduation ceremony. It was a huge manaaki role for Te Wānanga, but everything went off really well,' said Mereana Selby, the chief executive of Raukawa.

Language Revitalisation at Canterbury University: Hōaka Pounamu

'I heard about the programme through a friend, and I knew this was exactly what I wanted to do. I knew the interview process would be tough, and I had to complete a bridging course and a summer school, but it was well worth it,' a current student told us. The teachers are selected after completing an interview process that requires an oral interview as well as written and oral assessments to gauge candidates' Māori language proficiency. The applicants must be registered teachers, so therefore have a teaching diploma and/or a degree, as well as at least two years of teaching experience. Those deemed to have adequate proficiency enter the programme directly. Those candidates that have some proficiency in te reo but not at an intermediate level to operate in a Māori-speaking classroom must participate in bridging courses or a summer school to build their proficiency. One such student said she was 'was grateful for the six-month lead in time, which gave me a chance to brush up on te reo and prepare myself. Otherwise, it would have been a struggle. I wouldn't have coped without doing the summer school.' Interviews are held in July and August each year to allow candidates adequate time to prepare for the following year's intake.

The college welcomes students and their whānau at the beginning of each year with a pōwhiri. A former student shared these memories of her first day: 'I was excited and nervous ... but I felt at ease at the pōwhiri, as I already knew several of the students from the summer school course, and as well as my whānau my school principal came to support me. Another former student commented on the induction programme: 'It was a fantastic way to start the year by going on a noho marae on the second day. We bonded together pretty quickly, and after two days together it felt like a whānau, with the tuakana helping the teina. I also enjoyed going to a local marae, and I have taken my school back to that marae. It helped me understand a bit more about the local papatipu marae as well.'

Other students also commented favourably on the two noho marae during the year. 'It was good to get out and learn more about the local Ngāi Tahu marae—both of the marae I had not been to before,' said one student. 'Although we travelled a long way to South Westland to get to one of our fellow student's marae, it was amazing to go to Mahitahi Bruce Bay. She and her whānau were fantastic hosts.'

Each year in December, the college holds a Māori graduation, with Hōaka Pounamu students making up a core group of those graduating. 'Graduation was both a happy and sad occasion,' said a 2007 graduate. 'Happy in that we were there with our whānau and friends celebrating our year's efforts, but sad to be all together for one more time only. I value the strong friendships and network of friends I have made on the course, and look forward to keeping n touch with them.'

The kaiārahi summed up the various feelings that people expressed in their conversations with us: 'This is such a powerful day for Māori students and their whānau. We normalise the wearing of academic regalia for Māori. Children see their parents, cousins, aunties and uncles graduating. They are their role models up there on stage, and we hope it encourages them to pursue tertiary education in the future. This is the best form of advertising the college could ever invest in—celebrating the success of Māori: hei tauira!'



INSTITUTION'S REDUCTION OF BARRIERS TO STUDY / TE WHAKAITI ARAI AKO

Social Services at NorthTec

The CEO told us that an important part of the polytechnic's strategic direction is to examine the inhibitors to student study and to reduce the barriers. 'What we did was to look at the inhibitors of why students were not studying with us,' he explained, 'and some of those inhibitors were distance, price, educational history through generational groups, and current achievement levels coming from schools.'

The delivery of programmes at regional campuses and the development of a technology network to connect students in the region to Whangarei are important components of the strategy. The CEO told us that the institution has put considerable effort and resources into developing an e-platform that supports not only teaching but also student queries and study needs. A transition student told us: 'We had open forum last year in one of our classes, and I think it was a wonderful tool. Although a couple of our students aren't yet computer literate, they embrace the fact that they were part of something bigger and that meant the Whangarei students as well.'

The polytechnic also identified the provision of student support services, which we discussed in an earlier section of this report, as a strategy to reduce barriers by helping bridge the gap between students' earlier education and the demands of their course work. We discussed the students' valuation of this service earlier. However, we also learned that currently there are no Māori members of the student support team. 'We did have one last year,' we were told, 'but due to restructuring and re-budgeting, her hours were reduced and so she had to leave. She was excellent.'

NorthTec's commitment to 'big graduations', which makes it possible for the wider whānau to participate, is also part of the polytechnic's strategy to enhance families' expectations for entering and achieving education.

Art at Tai Rāwhiti: Toihoukua

The acting CEO, who is local and Māori, spoke to us of the tension between the mainstream pressures on the polytechnic to be economically focused and accountable for quality in terms of NZQA and its role as the provider of education for the Māori population of the East Coast in terms that are compatible with their values and their vision for development. She identified this tension as one of the main barriers to tertiary study for Māori people. 'Currently, we have fairly Eurocentric systems of measurement,' she said. 'We value science or business knowledge. But we don't value cultural knowledge in a system like that.'

She also identified Toihoukura as a site where education is delivered in terms that are meaningful and useful to Māori: 'What Toihoukura does, is impart its knowledge to the community. The tutors have given a great deal more confidence to elders who have been through colonisation [and] where they have lost touch with their own knowledge. For me, the restoration of their confidence has come via this institution. They are giving our elders a connection to that knowledge base that has not belonged to us for the last fifty years.' She added: 'I have been involved in Treaty claims and the economic loss of one and a half million acres and the breakdown of

society, language and culture. This is the only place that can begin to restore that knowledge.’

The administrator told us that the school, with the support of the polytechnic, has worked to provide support to students, in the form of programme and writing support, and through funding. She told us that the school had experienced difficulty finding accommodation for students who had come from afar. ‘[The CEO] was able to secure some rooms at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa campus. They are set up with accommodation, and some students have connections to Tainui, and that’s Te Wānanga o Aotearoa’s base.’ She also told us that the school has its own provisions for dealing with financial hardship amongst the students: ‘We have provision for that—power bills, rent and food; counselling—a few have family problems. If we can’t deal with them, we move them on to a professional.’

Several students told us they had benefited from this support. ‘Financially, it’s not too much of a strain,’ a senior student told us. ‘When there are exhibitions out of town, they look after you with accommodation, food, etcetera. It is all covered while you are away. Materials are supplied, the basics.’ Another said, ‘They find us accommodation. They treat us like family. If someone is down, we all pick them up.’ The transition in this statement from being treated as family to treating others like family is interesting to note.

Toihoukura also provides transition to the hard ‘business’ of being an artist. ‘We have seen the difficulty they have had selling their artwork and understanding how that process works in terms of commission and GST,’ explained a staff member, ‘which is why the small business programme plays a huge part in answering some of those questions. Toihoukura provides the gallery—the space to exhibit their work—and we don’t take a commission. When they step out of Toihoukura, they realise they will have to take care of it all.’

Several staff told us that the school’s attitudes to selection do not fit particularly comfortably with the formal institutional notions of entry criteria. ‘Manaakitanga does not fit with the academic board’s entry criteria,’ the administrator said. ‘I have been doing all the paperwork to formalise the entry criteria to our courses. You need to be able to explain how cleaning, cooking and drawing relate, to explain he ngākau Māori to the board.’ Although the school assists the polytechnic to meet the needs of its Māori community, we heard some discussion about the degree to which inclusion in the polytechnic helps the school. ‘We work within a framework that does not suit us’ is what we heard more than once in different words.

The community itself debates whether the placement of what it sees as its school in the polytechnic is the best long-term situation. ‘The only problem with this place in my view is that it is hamstrung, coming under the Tai Rāwhiti Polytech,’ the kaumātua told us. ‘It’s an institution in my view that should stand alone. Because if it stands alone, it can be continually proactive to the needs of the community, which it is.’

e-learning at Raukawa

The development of an e-learning programme is itself a major component of the wānanga’s commitment to reducing barriers to study: it makes study possible from home.

From the start of the programme, its providers resolve to make available more than a computer that in some cases might stay in its packing box. This resolution led to the

establishment of the three-day intensive training sessions. The training is structured to get students up and running as quickly as possible, so email and Microsoft Word are taught first. Students can then start typing their assignments and communicating with their teachers.

The wānanga has negotiated an internet access deal with a provider. The student loan that students take covers about \$40 per month worth of internet service. The provider has agreed not to cap the access and not to bill the students for any excess. 'This year the limits ran pretty close,' we were told, 'but they agreed to accept the loss because they want the business.'

The wānanga recognises that many of its students come with family commitments, personal issues and bad previous experiences of education. We have described Raukawa's commitment to support and maanaki in these respects in previous sections. However, one of the ways the wānanga seeks to reduce barriers to e-based study is to make its materials user friendly and to develop a human and tikanga interface to its technology. We learned of plans to develop a karanga and mihi when students log in. We also were shown a picture of Whaea Manu, a cartoon of a kuia in a red dress who appears on screen during training sessions to greet students and to field their questions.

As with the other programmes that inform this report, the commitment of the wānanga to involve the whole community in graduation celebrations is another significant means whereby the programme makes tertiary study more visible and more welcoming to the community at large.

Language revitalisation at Canterbury University: Hōaka Pounamu

Hōaka Pounamu is a well-funded programme, in terms of its delivery and in terms of the paid release of students from their classrooms. Ministry funding thus removes three major barriers to study for the students: threat to income, loss of job security, and loss of teachers from their respective schools.

The institution has attended to other barriers. Learning te reo can be difficult in a large mainstream institution, as experience relative to pre-service classes in Māori shows. English is the surrounding language, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to create a niche space in which to practise speaking Māori. The establishment of a unit of Māori staff and students in one place and under the administrative leadership of a Māori manager has removed the barriers of isolation and assimilation and allowed a space wherein the language and tikanga can live.

The holding of a special Māori graduation ceremony in which there is space for whānau to celebrate is probably not a factor in influencing students to enter the course. However, the inclusion of extended family in the celebration is a significant factor in showing the wider community that success in tertiary study is possible and in showing that both study and success have meaning in Māori terms.



FACTORS THAT IMPACT ON SUCCESS / NGĀ PAEARU ANGITŪ

We begin this section by listing the key elements that those involved in the case studies saw as contributing to successful tertiary experience and outcomes for Māori students. Some of these elements apply particularly to success for Māori. Some apply more generally to success for everyone. We then examine implications arising from these elements for how we regard education. It is important to re-affirm that our intention when undertaking this project was not to provide an evaluative comparison of the four sites we visited. Each of the programmes we studied operates in a very different context.

Many of the factors we have identified interconnect with one another. From a Māori point of view, this is not surprising as wellbeing is a holistic concept, and student success is a component of wellbeing.

Success Factors

A high level of iwi support

We noted considerable variation in how the programmes were negotiating and utilising support from iwi. Variations related to the nature of the institution, the co-relationship between the subject field and Māori aspirations (tribal or pan-Māori), the status of programme co-ordinator and staff in the Māori community, and the liaison between the institution as a whole and Māori iwi.

A high level of iwi support of the programme impacts on:

- How Māori students perceived their programme;
- The extent to which Māori students and Māori staff described a sense of ease and safety;
- Access to Māori content and the ease with which it could be used;
- The ability of the various programmes to promote their courses and recruit students;
- Perceptions of future vocational success; and
- The ability of each institution and/or programme to contribute significantly to the capacity building of the whole community.

Firm level of institutional support

All the institutions expressed a high level of support for the programmes we studied. Despite this acknowledgement of value, we noted some mismatches between the expectations of the institution and programme in terms of criteria for quality, workloads, and provisions for student support.

We found that institutional support of the programme impacts on:

- The ability of each programme to create a cohesive physical context and a cohesive pedagogical context;
- The degree of ease or tension apparent in administrative relationships; and
- The power of programme staff to affirm support of what the Māori community values.

Active consultation with iwi

Obviously, it is easier to ensure consultation with iwi in a tribal wānanga than in a mainstream programme. The number of iwi involved also makes a difference. However, active consultation involves iwi in advisory roles to the institution and the programme, strong visibility of local iwi in staff profiles, iwi input into programme content, and observation of local iwi tikanga. These considerations impact on the degree to which iwi concerned with the programmes we studied:

- “Own” the programme and actively support it;
- Respect the institution that offers it,
- Provide resources; and
- Nurtured staff.

Clear professional or vocational focus

Three of the programmes have a strong professional focus. Although the fourth, e-learning at Raukawa, is a skills foundation course rather than one offering a professional preparation, it too had a clear service focus. This professional focus allows students to:

- Understand and own the goals;
- Find the motivation to work through difficulties; and
- Develop their role(s) within the community.

Accommodation of students’ varying level of entry and needs

Students enter programmes of study with different levels of knowledge and skills and with different learning needs. Accommodation to this variation is embodied in a range of provisions:

- staircasing,
- multiple entry levels,
- provisions for upgrading,
- individualised programmes.

The teachers in the sites we visited were using a range of strategies that they and their Māori students considered useful and would lead to successful outcomes. Students variously described their appreciation of modelling, lecturing, coaching, debate, step-by-step explanation, problem-solving, and space for individual exploration. What we heard counts is how teachers look for the impact of strategies on their learners and vary them accordingly. While these types of accommodation to differences in student needs can be regarded as important to the success of all tertiary students, we emphasise them here because they were not necessarily identified as a primary concern within all tertiary institutions.

Insistence on high standards

All the programmes in our study insisted on high standards, both academically and in provision of support services. The students we spoke with valued directed challenges and the drive towards excellence. This factor, too, is no doubt important to all students—not just Māori students. What our findings emphasise, however, is that high standards can and should co-exist with the other factors identified.

Recognition of students' emotional and spiritual needs alongside academic needs.

Staff in all four programmes expressed strong support of students' emotional and spiritual space. They were intent on bringing a holistic approach to their teaching—an approach that recognises the learning process involves and transforms the whole person. In general, across the programmes, we noted that the burden of such recognition rested with the teaching staff, who understood that it was the traditional academic frameworks that needed adapting, not the institution.

Affirmation of students' connection to the community

All the programmes recognised and affirmed, to a significant degree, the importance of students' connections to their community and iwi. The level of engagement with iwi, which we discussed above, influenced the degree to which these connections can be embodied in practice.

Creation of teaching spaces appropriate to the field of studies

Creation of teaching spaces appropriate not only to the field content but also to the practice of tikanga Māori plays an important part in students' learning outcomes. In some sites, the institutions' prescriptions of how the space should be used clashed with the needs of either tikanga or content, causing frustrations, such as those described earlier in this report.

Implementation of tikanga Māori and Māori values

All four institutions and their teaching staff saw observance of the tikanga of local iwi as highly important. Iwi also saw this observance as vital, as did the Māori students, who needed confidence that the programmes have cultural integrity. In short, tikanga needs to be lived and practised, and not just a theoretical construct.

The degree to which tikanga Māori was observed varied according to the nature of the institution. In the mainstream institutions, observance also depended on the extent to which the programme had relative independence within the institution, and on employing staff for whom tikanga comes naturally.

Tikanga Māori impacts on both content and interactions. Particularly significant is the degree to which those involved in each programme practically realised Māori values of manaakitanga and whanaungatanga, and the degree to which Māori constructs of knowledge were valued. Fundamental is involvement of Māori staff for whom tikanga is more than academic knowledge. Also fundamental is engagement of the community and local marae to uphold a real context for tikanga and to support it in the face of institutional expediency.

In the three mainstream sites, we found tikanga Māori inclusive of Pākehā. (We did not meet Pākehā in the wānanga programme.) Pākehā students received strong support from their Māori peers. The Pākehā staff who were teaching in the social services programme were valued particularly for their commitment to Māori perspectives and for their willingness to continue to learn.

Strong, clear-visioned, supportive leadership

Leadership plays an enormous role in creating an environment conducive to Māori success. The leader is shaper of the vision, encourager, facilitator, staff developer, and sometimes buffer or mediator between the institution and the programme. She or he also provides a significant bridge to the community. In the three programmes overtly marked as Māori programmes, Māori leadership was fundamental to their successful operation.

Significant Māori role models

If a tertiary programme is to be successful for Māori, it needs Māori staff who are strong in their cultural knowledge. Strong Māori role models are, in turn, draw-cards for their communities. Māori who have expertise in the disciplinary field as well as strength in the cultural field need to be sought out, brought into teaching, and nurtured. Active recruitment of such staff is therefore important, as is buffering them, where needed, from the institution as a whole. Professional development of Māori in both their cultural and academic leadership roles is imperative.

Teaching staff who are prepared to learn

At every site, we heard about the value inherent in teachers actively presenting themselves as ongoing learners, and continuing to meet the challenges of their field. Where there were Pākehā staff, they were valued for their willingness to continuously develop their ability to operate within a Māori context, and to be co-learners with their students.

Teaching staff who have professional credibility in their field

Both staff and students identified strong professional/industrial knowledge and 'currency' in the field as vital qualifications for teaching staff. The students we spoke with said having teachers who modelled the standards of the profession—even showing ways to extend the profession—extremely useful. Students also expected content to relate to the community and to community development.

Respectful and nurturing relationships with students

In all four sites, students and teaching staff stressed the importance of respectful and supportive relationships with students. Such relationships involved being accessible, being willing to be a co-learner, recognising that students have different preferences and needs, treating students as people who are making sense of their lives as well as acquiring qualifications, and using the power of the group. Although we believe that such relationships are important to the success of all learners, we note how strongly Māori students value them. We found that teaching staff in all the sites we studied put in far more hours than the stipulated 40 hours a week. While we have concerns about the pressure this puts on those staff, we note the value of committed relationships with students and with the profession.

Opportunities for students to redress previous unsatisfactory schooling experiences

A significant number of students had faced unsatisfactory schooling or tertiary experiences before they entered their respective tertiary programmes. They told us how much they valued the different environment they were in now, and that they

were pleased to be able to reconstruct themselves as successful learners. Students also reported a range of motivations for entering study. These included desire to further their career, passion for the discipline (particularly in the case of te reo Māori or their art), strong desire to help their family and their community, emerging love of learning (something that surprised some students), and appreciation of their personal growth.

Opportunities for students to develop effective learning strategies

What students bring to each programme is as important as what their teachers bring. In the three degree or graduate programmes, students described a range of strategies they had developed to make sense of their own learning and to support one another. Māori students, particularly in the programme not explicitly a Māori one, spoke of having to navigate tensions between western and indigenous paradigms. It was clear to us that their ability to do so was a key factor in the success of the programmes.

Tuakana–teina relationships between students

Repeatedly, students told us of bringing a tuakana–teina approach to their learning, of being willing to pool and share expertise, and to actively support one another. All had actively developed a network of critical friends and peer coaches. The students said they enjoyed working in a whānau environment that allowed them to learn from one another and to find their own level at their own pace.

A personalised and preferably iwi-based induction

The students who spoke with us said they valued and were affirmed by the strong human interface with their programmes at the time of application and entry. They stressed the importance of personal interviewing and of staff looking for something beyond test scores, in order to assess the potential of the whole person. Pōwhiri were seen as important because they demonstrate commitment of the programme to Māori values, provide connection with iwi and, from the point of view of Māori students, affirmed the importance of personal relationship. Students also considered live-in inductions, preferably in a marae context, important because these opportunities allowed them to get to know one another as more than academic classmates.

Graduation ceremonies that involves whānau and community

Graduation, we found, played a significant part in the success of the programmes. In all the sites we studied, graduation is a big event, involving extended whānau and community. It serves to celebrate graduands' success, promote courses to future students, and provide role models for others in the community. At Raukawa, in particular, a number of students explained they entered the programme because of another member of the family successfully completing it.

Strategic reduction of financial barriers to learning

Many students in the programmes we visited were mature students with families and so an ongoing issue for them was balancing family and study, and sometimes work,

family and study. Flexibility in timing and economic support aided success. Employer provision for the bridging students at NorthTec of paid time to attend courses and fully paid study leave for the Hōaka Pounamu students were undoubtedly a significant factor enabling these students to give priority to their study.

Overarching themes that characterise a Māori approach to tertiary education

A number of themes emerge relative to the above elements that highlight the difference between mainstream conceptualisations of educational effectiveness and Māori perspectives.

In Māori terms, education is valued as a communal good not just a personal one

At all of our sites, students and teaching staff talked of the importance of targeting their respective programmes to meet community needs. In their discussion, co-ordinators and teaching staff showed their acute awareness that they were working towards twofold goals: the success of individual students (academic, artistic, personal), and the development of the wellbeing of the community. With regard to the second goal, wellbeing was seen in terms of building the capacity of whānau in the particular area of each programme: language revitalisation, arts and community identity, appropriate social services, and technology in each. Students also told us that they were as motivated by what they hoped to be able to offer the community when they graduated as by their personal gains.

In Hōaka Pounamu students repeatedly shared with us their personal commitment to the revitalisation of te reo Māori and to sustaining and sharing the tikanga of Ngāi Tahu. Their focus was on the personal acquisition of skills and on their responsibility to improve the wellbeing of their communities.

Students studying towards the social services degree spoke again and again of the particular and complex mental-health and social-welfare needs of the Tai Tokerau community. Students also spoke of their desire to work with either their immediate whānau or their wider community as a major motivation for entering the programme. They furthermore stressed their awareness that community needs have to be met at 'grassroots' level, and so involve street and marae knowledge, as well as tikanga Māori perspectives and mainstream social-welfare knowledge.

The Toihoukura students we talked with were working on marae projects as well as on their own artwork: Toihoukura sees the two components as part of the same fabric of learning. Also stressed to us was that the wellbeing of the community is founded on the mana of the community as a whole as well as the personal development of its members.

In the e-learning programme at Raukawa, every innovation and change was being considered in terms of the overarching aim of the whare wānanga: the preservation and wellbeing of the iwi. We learned that the need to have iwi and hapū endorsement for studying at the wānanga is based on an understanding of the interdependence of iwi and personal success and on the expectation that the community will support each student just as each student is expected to develop their capabilities for the wellbeing of the community.

Across all four sites, Māori students constantly spoke of the importance to them of being able to study in a context where Māori perspectives and Māori priorities are

operational, because such priorities and perspectives indicate alignment with Māori communities. We found this fit very comfortable in the programmes more clearly run in close consultation with iwi, but more tenuous in the open-entry programme. However, here again, the commitment of the teaching staff to the needs and perspectives of the community was evident and highly valued. We noted, too, the importance to the success of all the programmes and their students of the institution, or the sector of it occupied by the programme, demonstrating its relevance to Māori aspirations and its commitment to furthering Māori wellbeing.

While mainstream goals for tertiary education encompass societal as well individual good (for instance, preparing people to contribute to “our knowledge society”), educational success is predominantly constructed as an individual accomplishment rather than as an interaction with the wider community.

Māori models of sustainability or kaitiakitanga involve not only conservation of resources but also guardianship of land, language, history and people

It was evident to us that the vision underpinning each of the programmes had to understand and be committed to a duty of kaitiakitanga or stewardship. In various ways, each of the programmes we studied is concerned with sustainability, in its human, spiritual and often environmental aspects.

In the case of Hōaka Pounamu, the revitalisation of the language is the primary focus of attention. Equally important is the development of a body of teachers who have the pedagogical as well as the linguistic knowledge to sustain the use and transmission of the language. The students and the course designers we spoke with emphasised that the language needs to be seen within the wider context of mātauranga Māori. Thus, field trips in various years to the West Coast and to Kaikōura involved exploration of conservation issues and of how bio-ecology interconnects with tribal histories and ontological understandings. Language revitalisation was seen to interrelate with understandings of the spiritual and physical connections between people and environment.

In the social services programme, we observed that the emphasis in this context is on the role of the social worker as kaitiaki within the very diverse range of those needing help within Tai Tokerau. Their clients are often ‘people no one else wants to work with’, as one participant said. Sustainability is articulated in terms of the continuing valuation of people, regardless of their current problems.

In the e-learning programme, it is the whānau and hapū who are the centre of focus. While specific computer skills were being taught, the practical application of these skills to whānau and hapū uses was a recurring theme in assignments. Students and staff articulated their commitment to ensure that iwi as a whole build their capacity to use technology and to thrive in an age where it dominates.

In Toihoukura, the conservation and carrying forward of cultural heritage is a strong imperative. Art is explicitly construed as a means of telling personal and collective stories. In addition, the renovation of marae, the preservation of tā moko, and the revitalisation of mōteatea are key activities associated with the programme. Māori art needs a living and vital Māori environment in which to flourish, and it, in turn takes a role as one of the kaitiaki for iwi taonga.

Whereas western approaches to sustainability in education tend to focus on conservation of threatened physical resources, and perhaps on the need for succession planning in staffing, people are the heart of Māori notions of sustainability. These notions are inseparably connected to wellbeing, and with them comes language, arts, culture, land, mōteatea, histories, whanaungatanga, and whakapapa.

The learner is a whole and connected person as well as a potential academic

The holistic approach that underlies the above concepts of sustainability also characterises the constructions of learner as a whole and connected person.

The need for a holistic approach to student learning made explicit in the Social Services programme where students learned as part of their course work to deconstruct the society in which they live, and so often found themselves also deconstructing their own lives. Similar processes were taking place for the students in Hoaka Pounamu, as they examined the contexts that had made them second language learners of their own language, and for the art students at NorthTec searching beneath the surface features of design. The processes were sometimes painful and needing of practical and emotional support.

Within a Māori approach to tertiary education the academic goals of the programme are not separated from the holistic development of the people who are to be its graduates.

In addition, each learner is a member of a wider family and of a community. The programmes we studied each encouraged students to develop strategies that enabled them to support one another—practice akin to that offered by the best of social workers. Recognition was given to the fact that students are people with multiple obligations and personal journeys of growth.

Tertiary institutions in New Zealand today, as the quality assurance manager at Toihoukura acknowledged, struggle to offer high-quality learning experience that is holistic and fully responsive to the complex needs of students. They are constrained by funding and by the perceived demands of their accreditation. Māori perspectives look for traditional academic expectations to be mediated by valuation of the learner as a whole person.

The development of space where Māori values operate becomes a ‘virtual marae’

Over the last couple of decades, the building of marae in schools and tertiary institutions has allowed Māori values and processes to operate on those institutional marae without too much interference from the rest of the institution. Various commentators claim that learning of things Māori can only be successful when that learning occurs on such marae.

None of the programmes we studied takes place on a marae, although most of them do interact closely with their local marae. In three of the sites, the students and staff we met were treating the classrooms and other facilities of the institution as if they were marae, welcoming and caring for their visitors, sharing food, and observing the interactional protocols of tikanga Māori. In spaces such as these, Māori values and

Māori scholarship have pre-eminence and tribal elders are regarded as part of the teaching team. Even in the mainstream programme, the mature Māori students carried the essence of marae within themselves and, to the extent that the programme encouraged them to do so, created elements of a marae space around them.

Our study suggests that the placement of courses for Māori in physical marae buildings is less important than in developing spaces where Māori values operate, where Māori knowledge is valued, where iwi are welcomed, and where Māori people can be at home.

There are tensions to be navigated between institution drivers and iwi goals

In all the sites, the institutional management strongly supported the programmes we studied. Nevertheless, in every case, we witnessed and heard of areas of tension between the external demands made on the institutions and the aspirations of iwi. Sometimes these involved knowledge systems, and the struggle to assert the validity of Māori models of pedagogy and scholarship alongside the accepted western ones. Sometimes they were between what iwi value and what quality management systems prioritise. There was evident pressure on the teachers in each programme to meet both sets of expectations.

In one case, the institutional leadership told us that the programme is considered a flagship for their institution, that the graduates are recognised nationally and internationally, and that the institution values the enormous iwi support that the programme has. However, we were told, difficulties existed in terms of reconciling the programme's style of delivery with perceived NZQA requirements.

In the wānanga context, the gap for this institution is not between its own goals and that of iwi, because iwi governs the institution. However, in this case, the institution sees itself as having a constant and difficult task of negotiation with governmental agencies to ensure that iwi priorities remain uncompromised by mainstream expectations of compliance.

At the conclusion of our study, it is our conviction that active planning for widespread success for Māori students at tertiary level will involve re-evaluation at national as well as institutional level of the drivers that shape institutional practice in terms of what Māori value.



FINAL WORD/KUPU WHAKAMUTUNGA

Our 'tauirā' or examples of tertiary success for Māori have been presented through case studies. We examined four different tertiary programmes with high Māori student enrolments across a variety of institutional, regional and tribal settings. We avoided comparing and contrasting one case study against another, as the context and resources of each are different. One size does not fit all, and tertiary success has a number of physical, academic and cultural manifestations for Māori. Each of the case studies stands on its own mana and individuality, and we have tried, wherever possible, to let the co-construction and narrative of the participants tell their stories.

We have explored in depth the key research questions outlined in the introduction. We have detailed the successful characteristics of programmes that have successful learning outcomes for Māori students: applied social services at NorthTec; Toihoukura at Tarawhiti Polytechnic; Whakawhiti Pārongo/e-learning at Raukawa; and Hōaka Pounamu and language revitalisation through teacher education at the College of Education, University of Canterbury. In the weaving metaphor of hei tauira, we chose the poutama pattern, which shows strands of colour all moving in an upward direction. The 'stairway to learning', or 'stairway to heaven' as it is also known, is a colourful, vibrant and vital symbol of progression and advancement of Māori. We hope these tauira of success for Māori are replicated in many diverse forms across Aotearoa.

As we complete this project, we are aware that a wide range of further questions will inevitably arise from what we have reported here. We look forward to further investigation and discussion.

Nō reira, ki ngā kaipānui, ki ngā tāngata i whakawhitiwhiti kōrero ki a māua, ki ngā ākonga me ngā kaimahi o ngā whare wānanga i tirohia, ko ēnei ngā mahi rāranga kōrero i whakakaotia e māua mā tātou, hei tauira, hei tauira, hei tauira.



GLOSSARY/ KUPU HŌU

ako	teach or learn
aroha	love, pity
āwhina	help
he ngākau Māori	with a Māori heart, supportive of Māori values
Hōaka Pounamu hui	sanded greenstone meeting, gathering
iwi	tribe, clan
kaiako	teacher
kaiārahi	leader, guide
kaiāwhina	helper, support person
kaikaranga	elderly, senior female who calls in the pōwhiri or other Māori ceremonies
kaitiaki	guardian, person who looks after another, trustee
kanoki ki te kanohi	face to face
kauhau	lecture, talk
kaumātua	respected elder
kaumātua	respected elders
kaupapa	topic, subject
kōmiti	committee
korowai	woven cloak
kuia	elderly female
kupenga	net
kupu	word
kura	school
kura kaupapa Māori	Māori immersion school
kura raumati	summer school
manaaki	care for, look after
manaakitanga	hospitality, care
Māori	indigenous New Zealander
marae	buildings that make a traditional home
matatau	fluent
mātauranga	education, knowledge
mihi	greeting
mokopuna	grandchild
motu	island
mōteatea	traditional waiata
muka	fibre
Ngāti Porou	people of the Ngāti Porou tribe
Ngā Puhi	people of the Ngā Puhi tribe
Ngāi Tahu	people of the Ngāi Tahu tribe
Pākehā	European

papatipu	traditional Ngāi Tahu settlements
rāhui	restriction
Raukawa	people of the Raukawa tribe
reo	language
rumaki	immersion
Tai Rāwhiti	East Coast of the North Island
Tai Tokerau	Northland
tamariki	children
tangata	person
tāngata	people
taonga	treasure, artefact, prized possession
tauīwi	European
tautoko	support
teina	younger sibling
Te Tai Poutini	West Coast of the South Island
Te Wai Pounamu	South Island
tikanga	custom, protocol
tohu	qualification
tohu aroha ki	as a sign of love/respect for
toi	arts
Toihoukura	name of visual arts programme at Gisborne Polytechnic
tuakana	older sibling
tuakiritanga-ā-iwi	tribal identity
tuakiritanga-ā-whanau	family identity
tuakiritanga-ā-whare wānanga	institutional identity
tūranga wahine	female standing place, female role
waka	canoe
wānanga	Māori name for traditional form of learning
whāea	mother, aunty
whakapapa	genealogy, family connections
whakapiki i te reo	increase proficiency in te reo Māori
whakapiki te mana o te reo	increase status of the language
whakataukī	proverb
whānau	family, extended family
whanaungatanga	relationships
whare	house, meeting house
whare kōrero	house of talk



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