CHAPTER SEVEN -
DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

> Having a degree isolates one from the Maori community in the sense that having succeeded they think I belong to the Pakeha community and that I am too good for them. I had much trouble convincing them that I am a Maori and (also) a normal human being (Barrington 1987:80).

> I never wanted to quit. I really enjoyed my time at varsity…In my eyes, I think I am successful, because I'm happy with my life. It's got nothing to do with varsity though (Tainui graduate).

Introduction

The experiences of the nine Tainui graduates who graduated from the University of Waikato between 1992 and 1997 appears not to be too dissimilar to any other group or individual who has struggled through university in pursuit of a higher education. Striking features of this group included strong parental and family support, and a reliance on peers (a notion of whanau) while at university to pull each other through. These graduates had a very strong sense of who they were, where they come from, and who they belong to. To them, success was a complex issue. For some, there was a sense of collective achievement in that they worked together, not wanting anyone to fail. For others, they felt that they earned their success, making sacrifices and working hard. However, many were not comfortable calling themselves successful, unless it meant using their success as a way of encouraging other Maori into higher education. What do all these factors say about these Tainui graduates?

This chapter seeks to pull together a number of threads woven throughout the thesis thus far, to bring them together in an attempt to shape a more cohesive picture on how Maori academic success can be achieved. In Chapter Two, I examined what success and achievement meant from the perspective of two minority and two indigenous groups. In particular, Durie's (2001) framework for educational advancement suggested that academic achievement should not be at

the expense of one's cultural identity. Instead, Maori educational advancement was viewed as having the ability to attain western standards of education while also maintaining links and an identity as Maori. The previous chapter highlighted the importance of parents and family support – support that was offered in a variety of ways, including financial. To what extent did this type of support shape the graduates' experiences at university and influence their views on success? The previous chapter also examined the role of mentoring, from informal peer mentoring between cohorts to the more formal programme of the seminar series offered by the Tainui Maori Trust Board. How significant were these mentoring relationships in contributing to the academic success of the graduates? This chapter will examine what the graduates said about success. How did they succeed where others have failed?

One strong factor that emerged during the course of the interviews with the graduates was their identity – not only as Maori, or as Tainui, but also as members of the Kingitanga movement. Chapter Two's examination of cultural notions of success alluded to the need to maintain an identity during the education process, so as not to be caught up within the dominant paradigm of western knowledge and western values. hooks (1994), Mirza (1995), Takara (1991), L. Smith (1999) and others (Ballard 1973; Trask 1999) advocated adopting what they termed 'strategies for survival'. These strategies included maintaining one's cultural identity, and not allowing the agendas of others to detract from the pursuit and achievement of a higher education. In Chapter Three, I expanded upon this notion of developing strategies to survive, by surmising a tribal theory of success. This theory was based upon the resistance to the assimilatory practices of the dominant culture, using the sayings of tribal leaders to propel one through the complexities of the western higher education system. This chapter will examine in more detail the role of identity for minority and indigenous students. In particular, I will focus on how the Tainui graduates have maintained strong links with their family, their hapu, their marae, and the tribe. This strength of knowing who they are, their position within the tribe, the importance of tribal philosophies – has that contributed to their success? Has it been a strategy of survival, similar to that suggested in the literature?

The role that higher education institutions have played in the success of minority and indigenous academic achievement has been sporadic and at times entrenched in western perspectives that do not seem willing to accommodate different cultural perspectives. Chapter Two identified the need for such institutions to be more in tune with the needs of minority and indigenous perspectives and needs. In Chapter Four, I outlined the history of the University of Waikato, tracing its development since its establishment in 1964. At its opening, the Governor-General urged the University to be proactive in establishing itself as an institution well-tuned to Maori concerns and well-adjusted in how it could assist Maori in tino rangatiranga or determining their own futures. However, what eventuated was a number of half-hearted attempts by the University, where Maori initiatives were instigated not by the institution, but rather by dedicated staff (often Maori) and external organisations. The Academic Audit report (1997) identified this half-hearted approach, and the University's continued hold on a mainly monocultural approach despite aspiring to promote a bicultural, Treaty-based philosophy. Similarly, the Tainui graduates found that, despite a number of programmes that aimed to assist Maori through university, the University of Waikato was not, in their opinion, very proactive or responsive to the needs or aspirations of Maori. Essentially, therefore, the University, despite the opportunity to create a new environment for higher education, has instead clung to the traditions of western university education, entrenched in its colonial past. This chapter will examine in more detail the positive role institutions can play in assisting in the academic achievement of minority and indigenous peoples.

Further to the role institutions play in higher education, there have been increasing calls for Maori to play a greater role in determining and shaping their own futures (Durie 2001). The Tainui Maori Trust Board, since its establishment in 1946, has identified the need for its tribal members to embrace education, and in particular higher education, as a way of progressing tribal development. In Chapter Five, I identified how the Board developed an education strategy for the tribe, which covered all areas of the education system. Paying particular focus on tertiary education, the strategy foundered initially due to lack of government support and a difficulty in getting initiatives implemented. After the signing of the Raupatu

Settlement in 1995, however, financial investment in higher education was substantially increased through the expansion of the scholarship programme, which had been in place since 1947. Aside from this financial assistance, the Tainui graduates felt that the Board was not particularly supportive of their efforts to become better educated. Furthermore, the graduates felt that the requirements to enrol as tribal members and apply for scholarships became more restrictive and inhibiting after 1995. This chapter will examine the extent to which the Board's strategy of getting more tribal members into higher education has been successful, and how effective the Board's strategy has been in terms of responding to the needs of its tribal members who are undertaking higher education study. In particular, I focus on the extent to which the Board has adhered to its philosophies espoused under the Kingitanga, and whether the Board has developed a tribal strategy for success, as discussed in Chapters Two and Three.

Success

The purpose for Barrington's (1987:5) study of "successful Ngarimu scholars" was to provide a "source of inspiration to other young Maoris." As identified in Chapter One, there is a lack of data about Maori university completions from which more comprehensive analysis of Maori academic achievement can be done. However, a report by the Ministry of Education (1997a:28) identified that despite the increase of Maori participation in university education, especially during the 1990s, there was a "corresponding reduction in rates of completion." To date, however, Barrington's study and one later report (Broughton 1993) commissioned by the Ngarimu VC Board, contain detailed accounts of Maori experiences at university as well as providing some insight as to perhaps why Maori achieve, and how Maori view success. One factor identified by Barrington about the Ngarimu scholarship recipients was that they were already on the path to academic success because they were high achievers at secondary school and fulfilled the strict criteria of academic merit set down by the Ngarimu VC Board. This assertion can also be applied to the Tainui graduates because, aside from one graduate, they all entered university directly from secondary school. However, whereas the

Ngarimu VC recipients all met the strict academic criteria of the Ngarimu VC Board, the same cannot be said about the Tainui graduates. As mentioned in the previous chapter, two of the graduates entered university via the University of Waikato bridging programme, Te Timatanga Hou.

hooks (1994), in Chapter Two, believed that minority students needed to develop strategies in order to transgress western definitions of how and who can achieve success. Mirza (1995), also in Chapter Two, mirrored this focus, paying particular attention to the development of strategies of survival. The experiences of the graduates, outlined in the previous chapter, also highlighted methods used to ensure they pulled through and succeeded. For example, one graduate recounted how a group was established, which worked together, dispersing readings to help each other keep up with the course work. Another graduate talked about working in whanau groups, where work was shared around to make sure everyone completed their assignments so that there was less chance of anyone failing. These two examples can be called 'strategies' in that they were able to progress through a system that was not always considerate of Maori needs. This chapter will now examine some of the factors or 'strategies' identified in Chapter Two as being positive contributors to academic success to see what effect, if any, they had on the graduates' experiences at university, and to see whether they influenced the graduates' perspectives on academic achievement and success.

Family and success

As with Barrington's (1987) study, the Tainui graduates found that parental and family support were positive factors during their time at university. The previous educational experiences of the graduates' parents were mixed, with notably the mothers having higher qualifications. However, the main aspect from those parents who had few educational qualifications was a desire not to see their experiences replicated by their children. Was this a motivating factor for the graduates to succeed? I would argue the prior educational experiences of the parents helped to shape their opinions of education, and the ways in which their parents supported them through university. For example, as mentioned, one father who had left school at 12, did not wish to see his children have to sacrifice

opportunities in life due to a lack of education. As a result, this father expressed support, and although unable to help with the academic content, offered his support in different ways:

> I was the first in my family to go to varsity, and the only one…Me going to varsity was a big bonus…Dad was really supportive of us in any area, because he didn't want that for us, to have to struggle like he did.

It would appear that despite their own poor or negative educational experiences, the parents of these graduates tried to steer or support their children towards achieving what they hadn't been able to do – a western education. It is clear that as Maori parents, they have clear aspirations for their children to succeed at school and university, and are really no different from Pakeha parents.

I refer back to Okagaki & Frensch (1998), whose findings, which I described in Chapter Two, relate parental notions of academic success as being influenced by ethnic and cultural perceptions. Many of the parents of the nine Tainui graduates had mixed educational experiences. As a result of their lack of educational achievement, the parents appeared (from their children's perspectives) to ensure that their children did not follow in the same direction. A distinction perhaps needs to be made here between negative educational experiences and lack of educational achievement. Lack of achievement can easily be equated with a negative experience in education, and this may be true for the most part. However, it appears that the experiences of the graduates' parents, especially those who had not achieved at school may have formed a negative opinion of their experience, which in turn led to an increased desire for their children to experience education more positively, and thus successfully, where they had been unable to do so. In essence, therefore, it appears that those parents who had had these experiences had strength of character to overcome adverse circumstances. In a sense, it could be assumed that the parents developed their own 'strategy' to survive their educational experience, and have attempted to pass on that strategy to their children.

The role of family and parents in the academic success of minority and indigenous peoples has been acknowledged in Chapter Two as an important contributing factor. This was further highlighted through the experiences of the Tainui graduates, where the majority of the students relied upon their families and parents for support in a variety of ways. So to what extent does the role of families and parents play in shaping attitudes of success for the Tainui graduates? Can this role be a contributing factor to Maori academic success, or are there deeper, more culturally aligned notions which link familial and parental support and academic achievement? In other words, how much have the experiences and support of the parents, as described above and in the previous chapter, instilled and reinforced attitudes of success and academic achievement for the Tainui graduates?

I believe that the role parents and families play is important in guiding, supporting and nurturing Maori academic achievement. Given the emphasis Maori place on whanau relationships and the extended family environment, success in this context can be viewed as having a rippling effect. This type of rippling effect was explained in the previous chapter by one of the graduates, who acknowledged the increasing numbers of members from their community enrolling for higher education. This is also in line with Deyhle's (1995) study on the Navajo, where success was relative to the effect it had on the wider community, as outlined in Chapter Two. Therefore, does this mean that the Tainui graduates were successful because of their parental educational experiences, and/or their family and parental support? I think for some they were. Two of the graduates were very clear in relating their family experiences in education, and how these experiences served as reminders of what not to do. In effect, the negative experience was used as an example, thus creating a positive situation from which the graduates could move forward. However, these graduates did not appear to be held back by the fact that members of their family and some of their parents did not achieve. Certainly, I would venture that it was these very experiences that inspired them to achieve academic success.

The role of the family, therefore, has been found through the experiences of the graduates, to influence, shape and support their attitudes to academic achievement, and to the notion of success. The family history of education could be described as one mechanism that contributed to a strategy for success.

Mentoring and success

Jacobi's (1991) literature review of the research conducted on mentoring, which was discussed in some detail in Chapter Two, identified the diverse range of variables that impacted on mentoring, and the problems associated with having such a diverse range in terms of being able to monitor mentoring effectiveness. Gandara's (1994) position, as a result of her study of educationally ambitious Chicanos, identified the existence of power/knowledge relationships given the context within which mentoring relationships are staged and as a result how such a position could be problematic for a mentoring relationship between student/teacher.

None of the graduates discussed 'formal' mentoring relationships. However, it would seem that many of the graduates were involved in a variety of mentoring relationships. In particular, these included group and peer mentoring – where work was shared and support was provided to ensure all managed their course loads; to casual, informal inquiries as to progress (from professor to student); to the mentoring provided through the seminar series run by the Tainui Maori Trust Board. These experiences were viewed positively by the graduates, and point to a mixture of relationships, combining Erkut & Mokros' (1984) findings about faculty and academic mentoring relationships with Pascarella's (1980) findings on peer relationships regarding mentoring.

The development of the seminar series for postgraduate scholarship recipients by the Tainui Maori Trust Board in 1996 was seen as a precursor to the establishment of the Endowed College, which opened in February 2000. As mentioned in Chapter Five, the seminars were designed to provide mentoring to the students, both from their peers, and from members of the academic community and the wider tribal community. This format was to allow students access to mentoring

figures that they may have otherwise been unable to access at a larger institution, like the University of Waikato. Given the lack of educated Maori (particularly those with higher degrees), there is the assumption that academic mentors would be drawn from the Pakeha, dominant community. Again, this raises the issue of power/knowledge – akin to the superior/subordinate relationship described earlier by Gandara (1994). Where Pakeha mentors may have the skills to advise from an academic capacity but not necessarily from a cultural/racial/ethnic perspective, this may be of concern to Maori organisations attempting to organise mentoring relationships, particularly in the area of tribal research. While the role of Pakeha mentors could be deemed problematic, the responsibility rests on tribal institutions to ensure that the positive contribution that Pakeha mentors can make is done so in a way that respects and upholds tribal principles and philosophies. Further, the role of tribal elders as mentors should also be explored, but again, issues of access to information, protection of tribal knowledge, accountability to the communities involved and so forth become relevant. These different approaches and the way mentor relationships are constructed, therefore, must bear in mind these differences, particularly in relation to the preservation and protection of tribal knowledge and future tribal self-determination.

From the graduates' perspectives, only one received a postgraduate scholarship and thus was affected directly by the seminar series run by the Board. This graduate, as highlighted in the previous chapter, felt that the way in which the programme was structured (which also, at that time included the provision of computer support, study space and access to an academic advisor) was positive and 'really useful.' However, the graduate lamented that this facility was not available to all the scholarship recipients. From this perspective, the seminar series offered a positive mentoring relationship for this graduate.

However, a different type of mentoring relationship could be viewed in terms of the provision of access to resources and mentoring from the tribal perspective that I described above. In particular, the previous chapter related an account from one of the graduates who was unable to access tribal archival material. How supportive was the Board in this respect? What type of knowledge/power

relationship existed which excluded this graduate from the very type of experience the Board was trying to initiate? In essence, this experience highlights a difference in aspirations between the Board and the graduates, which challenges and contradicts the Board's position on providing positive role modelling. The effectiveness of positive initiatives such as the seminar series, which promoted and celebrated the students' achievements, is undermined by such contradictory actions and does little to encourage Maori/tribal academic advancement and success. This type of experience emphasises the need for the Board to ensure its policies and initiatives are consistent in their message to tribal members, and is reflected and implemented in practical terms and in positive ways.

The enigma of success

The graduates felt more comfortable to be tagged as role models only if it helped encourage more Maori into university, and only one of the graduates was quite open in acknowledging their achievement, although that achievement was put into perspective when they reflected on how many of their peers had missed the same opportunity, through lack of encouragement and support. This overriding opinion of the graduates of what might appear to be a rather subdued sense of achievement is in fact open to other interpretations. This self-effacement may in part be due to the reluctance of the graduates to appear whakahihi (arrogant) about their achievements, despite the difficulties Maori experience in completing university education. A Maori whakatauki (saying) embodies this reluctance to talk about one's own success:

> Kaore te kumara e korero mo tona mangaro.
> The kumara does not say how sweet it is (Brougham & Reed 1990:65).

This saying means that the kumara (sweet potato) does not talk about its own sweetness, or within this context, that the graduate does not talk about their academic success. This type of positioning shown by the graduates is a culturally appropriate positioning of humility and modesty, and therefore underlines the relevance that cultural values play in the achievements of these graduates, whereby the graduates appear unwilling to let such success override the

maintenance of their cultural identity and integrity. In essence, the saying also infers that it is for others to acknowledge one's achievements, and, via the scholarship and thesis presentation ceremonies held during Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu's annual Koroneihana (Coronation) celebrations, this is how the Board has chosen to acknowledge tribal success in education.

However, this is the only way in which the Board has acknowledged the educational achievements of its tribal members, and this has been undermined by the changing policy of the Board toward education in recent years, which has focused on traditionally western interpretations of benchmarking academic achievement. The past 50-odd years of the Tainui Maori Trust Board's operations have seen constant reference to higher education – whether there has been the ability to fund initiatives or not, and the Board maintained its emphasis on ensuring educational funding was "excellence" based (Tainui Maori Trust Board Minute Book 1948:1). In particular, the Board adopted after the 1995 settlement stricter academic criteria that meant success was defined according to rigorous definitions as determined by institutions such as the University of Waikato. In determining 'excellence' in the numerous education funding policies adopted by the Board, 'excellence' was in 1996 and 1997 defined as the ability to pass at least half the enrolled courses in any one year, maintain an average of B+ in consecutive years, or having a minimum grade point average (GPA) in academic subjects (as set by the University) at all times. This approach by the Board appears more in line with western definitions of success and seems to contradict tribal philosophies of unity and a weaving of traditions, as indicated through the tribal saying 'kotahi te kohao o te ngira' described in Chapter Three. The question, therefore, is what does the Board want more – educational excellence or a commitment to increase the human resource capacity that can contribute to tribal development and self-determination?

The increasing emphasis of the Board on academic excellence as a criterion for successful scholarship recipients is further contrasted with the Board's intention of using the postgraduate scholarships as research mechanisms by which theories and ideas about tribal development could be promulgated. In short, do only the

brightest tribal members know what paths are best suited for tribal development? What about those who work 'at the coalface,' whose experiences may be far richer than any academic qualification? The message of academic excellence, and thus success, while an admirable one, is contradictory and confusing for tribal members whose primary goal would surely be to complete university. Furthermore, this emphasis on academic criteria as a measure of success appears to take the Board further away from the tribal philosophies it espouses.

A fundamental question within this whole realm of academic criteria and balancing such criteria with the needs of encouraging tribal members to pursue higher education lies in an organisation's view of success. The Tainui Education Strategy purported to support initiatives "which enhance the academic achievement of Tainui people" (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:4). The seminar series has been one initiative that has achieved this goal. However, this has been offset by the Board's increasing reliance on western benchmarks of academic achievement from which education policies have been formulated and implemented. The resulting impression is one of confusion, where the Board, while establishing programmes (like the seminar series) that seem grounded in tribal philosophies and support notions of tino rangatiratanga (self-determination), also seeks to cling to western constructs of success and thus continue to be burdened by the oppressive nature of the dominant culture.

From this discussion, and from the experiences of the graduates outlined in the previous chapter, there is a distinct difference between the Board's approach to success and those of the graduates. This raises concern as to the effectiveness of the Board's educational strategy, particularly in the area of higher education, and questions whether the approach being used by the Board is appropriate and relevant. In particular, it appears that the Board's approach in achieving academic success is more ideological rather than practical. Certainly, the experiences of the graduates point more to the adoption of 'strategies of survival' as discussed earlier in this chapter. To this extent, the notion of a tribal strategy or theory of success has yet to be effectively developed, which weaves together more coherently the

ideological aspirations of the Board with the more practical realities of the higher education experience.

Identity

In his book, Nga Tau Tohetohe, Walker (1987:134-135) recounts how he came across a document about Maori identification, and what it said:

> Being a Maori is –
> Having the greatest grandparents in the world.
> Respecting your elders because they have earned it.
> Having 250,000 brothers and sisters.
> Fouling up the Government and its statistics…
> To know the difference between a Maori, a Maori-Pakeha, a Pakeha-Maori and a Pakeha and to beware of the last two…
> Watching the teacher teach the other kids…
> Belonging to a particular tribe which is the best in the country.

The identification and classification of Maori has been erratic and plagued with inconsistencies and lack of consensus on what the definition of a Maori means. It has been stated that Maori were a singular entity that over time, split and grew into tribal groups that linked themselves to the members of the original canoes that came over to New Zealand (Sinclair 1988). Indeed, Walker (1987:131) found that Maori only labelled themselves as such in order to "distinguish themselves from the white strangers whom they called Pakeha." Further, Gould's (1996) study of 16 major iwi revealed that their identification was mainly through tribal (iwi) or sub-tribal (hapu) affiliation, not as Maori. Thus, identification was seen as tribal first, and Maori second. For the Waikato tribe, there are a number of other associations that help distinguish it from other tribal groups. Firstly, there is the tribe itself, as its own entity. Secondly, there is Waikato sitting amongst three other iwi, which form the Tainui confederation of tribes - that is those tribes that voyaged on the Tainui canoe from Hawaiki to New Zealand. Finally, there is the role the Waikato tribe plays as kaitiaki of the Kingitanga movement. These three distinct but interwoven aspects help shape the identity and characteristics of the Waikato tribe.

The nine graduates interviewed for this thesis represented a number of tribal groups, in other words, their identification was not solely with Tainui. However, their association with Tainui was very strong, characterised by close associations between their families and their marae, and also through their ties with the Kingitanga movement. The role of the tribe, particularly in relation to the Kingitanga movement, is one of particular importance to some of the graduates. As described in the last chapter, the Kingitanga role defines the tribe, and essentially makes the tribe what it is: a guardian of the King movement, and in return, the people of the tribe are expected to look after other iwi, both in return for their support during the Land Wars of the 1860s and also in terms of their role as guardians of the Kingitanga.

It would appear that the Kingitanga and its relationship with the tribe have been strong points with which the graduates were able to attach themselves, and from which they drew strength in terms of their tribal and personal identity. While it does not appear that their identification as Tainui, as supporters of Kingitanga, defined their experiences at university, it does appear that these affiliations helped shape their family support mechanisms, and also contributed to their views on the tribe, and in supporting tribal activities. However, has this shaping also influenced the graduates' perceptions of success, and in particular, a tribal view of success? The results are mixed. Very few of the graduates referred to the tribe when acknowledging their academic achievement, although many of them were conscious of the Board's view on higher education. The graduates, for the most part, did not feel obligated to either the Board or the tribe in return for the investment made in their education, although one graduate stated that their families made them more conscious of the Board's (and thus the tribe's) investment in them. In short, the graduates separated their tribal identity from their university experience, a mechanism that perhaps would have allowed them to manage more comfortably in a university context, and to survive the university experience without compromising their tribal associations and identity as Maori and as Tainui.

From the Tainui Maori Trust Board's perspective, how would this separation of identities affect their aspirations for tribal development? As mentioned in Chapter Five, since 1995 tribal members have been required to affiliate to one of the 60-odd marae who supported the signing of the Raupatu, and who were from the 33 hapu that suffered under the confiscation. Board policy indicated that education, sport and cultural scholarships were the only forms of individual gain available to tribal members. Emphasis was on collective distribution, through marae grants. Therefore, the Board's distinction between individual responsibilities to the tribe (through education scholarships) and collective ones (through the marae grants) could perhaps explain the graduates' approach. However, the emphasis placed by the Board on identification in recent years has not found favour with the graduates interviewed. I agree with their concerns that perhaps such a focus contradicts the philosophies of the Kingitanga. This has been shown through tightening definitions of what it means to 'be' Tainui, and to 'belong' to the tribe.

The separation of identity during the higher education experience did not appear to be a conscious choice made by the graduates. Rather, as one graduate explained:

> I have always been strong in my Tainui identity. It wasn't a problem for me. I didn't need to go to varsity to find my Tainuitanga.

In a sense, it could be explained that because of the strong family and parental support experienced by most of the graduates, and because of the graduates' quite stalwart involvement in tribal events, the need to maintain a sense of 'Tainuitanga' – or a Tainui identity – did not seem to be as important as finding strategies to get through the degree programme. Perhaps having the satisfaction of knowing one's cultural identity and having a strong and real link to the tribe and its events gave the graduates enough confidence to be able to stand alone within the university setting and survive the higher education experience. How many other Maori students are able to do the same?

The strength of identity associated with these graduates, however, must be tempered with what is seen as a lack of responsiveness by the University of Waikato (and the education system) to the needs of tribal authorities and the Maori communities they represent. As shown in Chapter Four, a hui of kaumatua in 1990 raised concern at the lack of Maori input into the establishment and subsequent development of the University since its inception in 1964. The lack of consultation by the University on issues, particularly its name, which refers not only to the region but to the tribe, appeared to have still been unresolved nearly 30 years after its establishment. Similarly, the lack of support given to the development of Maori programmes, as highlighted by Karetu (1989), suggest that the University failed to take advantage of its unique positioning within what the Governor-General Sir Bernard Fergusson called "the heart of the traditionally Maori community" (Day 1984:60). This is further reinforced by the length of time it took the University to set up the School of Maori and Pacific Development, which was established in 1996, and only after considerable input and pressure from Maori staff and Maori communities. In essence, therefore, the University has neglected its obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi and has not sufficiently recognised or addressed satisfactorily the needs of nearly 20 percent of its student population.

According to Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991), institutions that respect indigenous students for who they are, that provide relevance and meaning for the world view of indigenous students, that promote and offer a reciprocal relationship and help indigenous students to exercise responsibility over their own lives, are institutions that truly reflect and are responsive to their needs. Unfortunately, it appears that the University has not provided this type of institutional environment for Maori, as indicated by the experiences of the Tainui graduates.

It appears that the graduates did not go to university to assert or reassert their identity, either as Maori or as Tainui. The graduates were confident enough in their own tribal and Maori identity to not be consumed by issues of identity during their university experiences. Indeed, the graduates' focus was on their education, not the maintenance of their identity. However, is this the focus of many other

Tainui students? In recent years, Tainui students receiving scholarships and attending the University of Waikato have been enrolled for degrees in Maori. The assumption is that many of these students are seeking to reaffirm their identity as Maori, through language and culture, which then brings into question how effective the University will be able to cater for their needs as Maori, and as Tainui. Given the graduates responses outlined in the previous chapter, it would appear that the University has some way to go before any significant and positive change for Maori is achieved.

The role of identity in the academic achievement of indigenous and minority students has been found to be a significant factor in their success at university. For the graduates in this study, this identity – to the tribe and to the Kingitanga - has been strong, and has been reinforced by family links. Of concern to the graduates have been the changes since the settlement of the Raupatu in 1995, particularly in relation to tribal identification and who can and cannot belong to the tribe. In their opinion, it contradicts the philosophies of the Kingitanga, which preaches tribal unity and inclusiveness. Of less concern to the graduates has been the role of their identity during their experiences as students at the University of Waikato. This is because they did not feel their identity was an issue for them while they were at university. Further, the confidence and strength that they had in their identity meant that they could focus on what they saw as the task at hand – getting through university. While acknowledging the lack of responsiveness by the University to their needs as Maori, many of the graduates felt sufficiently strong enough in their identity not to be affected by the University's shortcomings. Despite this, there is a need for both the Tainui Maori Trust Board and the University of Waikato to be more proactive in their efforts to recognise the issues of tribal members and of Maori in higher education, and to instigate changes in their approaches to and resolution of these issues.

The University of Waikato and its contribution to Maori academic success

The previous chapter described the general lack of knowledge that the graduates had regarding Maori targeted programmes offered by the University of Waikato. Most familiar to the graduates was Te Timatanga Hou, the bridging programme that sought to "help prepare disadvantaged Maori students for university education" (Avery 1989:45). Two of the graduates had participated in this programme prior to entering university, and their views of the programme were quite different from each other. One of the graduates felt that the programme offered a 'cruisy year' with few academic obligations, while the other felt that it was a worthwhile programme in that it allowed them to examine the different programmes offered throughout the university, and to test their suitability for these programmes.

Chaney et al (1998:197), described a federal support programme initiated in America, which assisted disadvantaged students to "stay in and complete college." This study highlighted a number of retention issues that emerged as students progressed through their higher education, and looked at the implications of such issues. Of the several conclusions drawn, one point has merit in this discussion. Chaney et al (1998:211-212) state, "retention is not determined solely by academic factors, but also appears associated with students' social integration on campus." In effect then, it could be suggested that this is what Te Timatanga Hou offers Maori. Indeed, the experiences of the two graduates who participated in this programme, while very different, point towards a type of social integration, in terms of being made more aware of university expectations offered by the different programmes, and preparing the students for this.

One less positive aspect of Te Timatanga Hou, however, is that it has only been available to school leavers. The establishment in 1973 of the Certificate of Maori Studies, as described in Chapter Four, was seen as a positive move by the University in providing an opportunity for "people who might not have thought it within their capability to have access to the University" (Karetu 1989:74). At its peak, the Certificate was taught in various locations around the country, and

certificate holders were eligible to apply for entry into the degree programme offered by the Department of Maori. The demise of the Certificate and the establishment of Te Timatanga Hou has left a gap in the provision of a successful bridging course for mature Maori.

The importance of programmes like Te Timatanga Hou and the Certificate of Maori Studies is viewed in the literature as a "mandatory" service that should be offered to at-risk students in order to enhance retention (Abrams & Jernigan 1984:272). The New Zealand Universities Review Committee (1987) also recognised this need, especially in assisting Maori to prepare for university study. However, Te Timatanga Hou is a year-long programme, after which Maori students are essentially left to their own devices. Further, the stigma attached to being a Timatanga Hou student (in other words, someone whose grades were not adequate for direct entry into university), may in fact not appropriately reflect or support student aspirations for tino rangatiratanga, and perhaps is more an example of a rather outdated programme instead of an innovative and responsive one. Support programmes to ensure Maori stay in and complete, as Abrams & Jernigan (1984) suggested do exist at the University of Waikato. However, the experiences of the graduates point to a lack of knowledge about possible resources available to support them in getting through their university degree, thus raising questions as to the effectiveness of such programmes in reaching their target audiences.

According to Davies & Nicholls (1993), the ability of institutions to provide opportunities for Maori to access higher education, through programmes like Te Timatanga Hou, must be tempered with the ability of Maori to access mainstream university programmes. In particular, Davies & Nicholls (1993:90) suggest the need for programmes that "encourage the movement of Maori" into 'non-traditional' areas such as architecture, medicine, commerce and science. To what extent does Te Timatanga Hou provide this movement? One of the graduates entered Te Timatanga Hou despite having being accepted into the School of Education. This graduate said that as this wasn't their preference, they decided to go to Te Timatanga Hou and use it as a stepping-stone to get into their course of

choice. In this instance, therefore, Te Timatanga Hou provided an opportunity to do what Davies & Nicholls suggested. However, this was more a calculated step on the graduate's part rather than the way Te Timatanga Hou was structured.

The suggestion that Davies & Nicholls make about the need for Maori to move into more mainstream courses brings into conflict the issue of Maori tino rangatiratanga, or self-determination, and especially the ability of Maori to define their own agenda for participation in higher education. In essence, the statement by Davies & Nicholls does little to emphasise the need for mainstream to be more reflective of Maori needs and aspirations, rather than the other way around. Bishop & Glynn (1999a:67) describe this as "another example of mainstream educators once again talking…about issues that concern *them* and leaving out those most vitally affected, Maori people." The fact that there are increasing enrolments in Whare Wananga as opposed to universities underlines the inability of mainstream to understand what it is Maori really want, or aspire to. Indeed, the New Zealand Universities Review Committee (1987:68) found that New Zealand institutions needed to "rethink their role and mission in terms of Maori cultural values and aspirations." Such rethinking has yet to occur. Mead (1997b:57) believes that this is because "Pakeha ideologies often get in the way…There is also the ideology of assimilation, which conspires to impose mainstreaming upon the Maori people." While there is no denying that there is a need for more Maori doctors, scientists and accountants, the call from Maori who have established Whare Wananga appears to focus on ensuring that education is not "an alienating experience but rather is to enhance Maori culture and build up the self-esteem of students as Maori persons" (Mead 1997b:62).

As an institution, the University of Waikato has a number of programmes aimed at meeting Maori needs, which arguably would appear to demonstrate that education for Maori is not such an alienating experience. For example, as mentioned, one of the graduates participated in the School of Education whanau programme, which meant that all the students in their class were Maori. This graduate spoke of the sensitivity of staff to Maori issues, and particularly how shocked they were at the open-mindedness of non-Maori staff towards things

Maori. They did wonder, however, if these staff had been especially selected. Asked how much of a difference this made to their experience at university, this graduate felt that it made a huge difference, particularly as they had been one of only three Maori students at secondary school. However, one other graduate spoke of the frustration at times of being Maori at the University of Waikato, and in particular being Tainui, especially after the signing of the Raupatu settlement in 1995. This graduate felt that they had to be the spokesperson for the tribe, explain why the Board made certain decisions and what its direction was, just because they were Tainui. This graduate felt that they were unfairly targeted because of their tribal affiliation, and felt that the lecturers did little to understand or even appear interested in the issues facing the tribe during that period. What can be learned from these two vastly different experiences?

Karetu (1989:78) wrote that "if the minorities are to be found in increased numbers in universities, then greater cognisance has to be taken of the minority concerned, its cultural differences appreciated for what they are, not for what society or a university believes they should be." The examples above of the graduates' experiences points to a lack of understanding and recognition of Maori issues, and how they should be approached in an institutional context. Indeed, the University of Waikato has initiated positive programmes for Maori, but unless they are developed across campus, and reflected and endorsed by the university hierarchy, then little will effectively be achieved. Miller (1999) stated in Chapter Two that institutional leadership was a critical factor if strategies related to minority academic achievement were to succeed. Similarly, Hurtado et al (1998) found that many education institutions adopt the *laissez-faire* approach, perhaps because it is easier to manage. The initiatives developed by the University of Waikato, as outlined in Chapter Four, point more to the efforts of Maori staff, rather than a well-developed institutional plan.

Despite attempts by the University of Waikato to develop Maori programmes and initiatives (such as the School of Maori and Pacific Development), these appear to have been the result of lengthy, drawn out processes rather than proactive stances. This, in turn, leads to questions about the commitment the University of Waikato

has in upholding the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, and thus assisting Maori in their desire for tino rangatiranga. In short, the University of Waikato has missed an opportunity to brand itself with the unique ethos that Kingsbury (1984) described in Chapter Four. Furthermore, the University of Waikato appears, from the graduates' experiences described in the previous chapter, to be ineffective in addressing Maori concerns. Therefore, it would seem that the University of Waikato has maintained its cling to its colonial past, and thus has missed its opportunity to effect real change for the Maori communities within its catchment district.

The Tainui Maori Trust Board

I opened Chapter Five with a quote from Tawhiao, the second Maori King, which the Tainui Maori Trust Board interpreted as being that Maori communities are only as strong as their weakest member. The Board's efforts to strengthen the tribal population have resulted in an attempt to develop a tribal theory of educational success. The graduates' views were generally positive about the Board's backing of higher education. However, the graduates were not so positive about the processes adopted by the Board, such as selection criteria and affiliation criteria, during the application procedure. In particular, there was a differentiation in satisfaction levels between those who received funding prior to the settlement of Raupatu in 1995, and those who received funding after. The main point of differentiation revolved around the issue of eligibility and selection criteria, through whakapapa and affiliation, which was outlined in Chapter Five. The graduates' responses to this issue widened the discussion to include the issue of identification, and identity, which I examined earlier in this chapter.

The criteria for 'belonging' to Tainui, and thus being entitled to access scholarship funding prior to 1995, was according to the boundaries set out by the Tainui Maori Trust Board. While the boundaries changed over the years, the graduates felt that whakapapa was not an obstacle in obtaining education scholarships from the Board. Rather, prior to 1995, the opinion of the graduates

was the opposite. Believing that the whakapapa criteria were too loose, the graduates recalled seeing people with 'tenuous' links to the tribe receiving scholarships. In my opinion, this is a difficult area from which to try and make an assessment. All but one of the graduates I interviewed reported having quite strong ties with their marae, while all stated their strong ties to the tribe and to the Kingitanga, as discussed earlier in this chapter. In part, then, it could be explained that their disdain at seeing others whom they perceived as 'outsiders' receiving scholarships from the Board, could have been based on their interpretation on what whakapapa or affiliation meant, as opposed to the criteria set down by the Board.

Post-1995, however, the three graduates who were affected by the changes to the scholarship criteria reported a different slant on the issue of whakapapa and affiliation. The scholarship criteria were significantly changed, especially in the area of whakapapa and affiliation. This was as a direct result of the settlement of Raupatu. The Tainui Maori Trust Board stated quite explicitly that the collective financial benefits would only be dispersed to those marae that signed in support of the settlement.[1] However, it did allow individuals from these excluded marae to apply for education and cultural grants. Applicants had to be members of the tribal roll before being considered for educational funding. The 1995 annual report of the Board stated, "registration on the beneficiary roll is restricted to those beneficiaries who can whakapapa to one of the 33 principal Waikato Raupatu hapuu" (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1995:46). Furthermore, the annual report also stated, "Raupatu marae are those that signed in support of the Deed of Settlement effected on 22 May 1995 at Tuurangawaewae Marae" (1995:46). As mentioned in the previous chapter, three marae did not sign in support of the Deed of Settlement that resolved the Raupatu claim in 1995.

Given the strict rules and regulations by which the Board defined whakapapa and affiliation, to what extent did this approach impact upon the individual? For example, one of the graduates was affiliated to a 'non-signatory' marae, while

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[1] It should be noted that while this exclusion exists, it does not preclude marae from joining at any time in the future – subject to their acceptance of the settlement terms.

another graduate belonged to a hapu that had argued for the return of settlement compensation to their hapu, as opposed to the tribe as a whole. While these two graduates did not feel that their funding was affected in any way, the graduate from the non-signatory marae did feel uncomfortable that their marae was labelled differently from the others.

The graduates also expressed concern at the exclusion of these marae and hapu, not from the point of whether they supported the settlement or not, but the perceived impact such an exclusion might have had on promoting higher education to the tribal members affiliated to these marae and hapu. It is a valid point, and one that the Board does not seem to have considered in any great detail. This appears in direct contrast to the Board proclamation that "all those involved in education must take bold steps" (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1995:39). That being the case, the Board certainly has taken bold steps, but perhaps at the expense of certain marae and hapu members.

The issues arising from this kind of scenario are thus: - the implications of such a policy on prospective students who are drawn from these non-signatory marae, – whether such prospective students suffer any negative classification due to the non-signatory status of their marae, – how other prospective 'signatory marae' students view those 'non-signatory marae' students. The list could go on. These issues were not actively explored amongst the graduates. They have been highlighted here to assess the Board's equitable distribution of settlement funds, which points to an area where the limitations of one policy may have an unforeseen negative impact on another.

The graduates' knowledge about the activities of the Board in relation to education were mixed. All were very aware of the Board's intention for the tribe to become educated, and gave examples of how this was being filtered through to the tribal community. The aspirations of the Board in this respect were very clear to the graduates, and were well supported. However, the graduates' were less knowledgeable about the Tainui Education Strategy, with one graduate querying its significance and relevance to tribal members. This raises the question as to

how applicable the Strategy should be to tribal members, and how relevant it is in advancing and promoting the Board's aspirations for the tribe.

The graduates' understanding of the wider educational objectives of the Board, as discussed in Chapter Five, was in my opinion quite poor. However, such lack of knowledge may have reflected the limited contact between the Board and its tribal members. The introduction of the tribal newsletter, Te Hookioi, sought to change that. One other area that the graduates identified regarding the Board pertained to the lack of follow-up between the Board and the graduate, aside from during the scholarship application process. The graduates comments on different ways in which they thought the Board might better assist in future planning, also raises the issue as to the possible contribution such students can make in assessing the effectiveness of education policies and initiatives. Again, it points to the closing remarks made in Chapter Five, and has been reinforced in the previous chapter, that perhaps the Board has not made effective use of its most important resource: its people.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has sought to overview the main issues arising from the graduates' responses and to highlight the areas that deemed them successful. Perhaps the most significant finding of all was that the experiences of the graduates were not dissimilar to the experiences of other university students, regardless of race or ethnicity. This is contrary to what minority and indigenous researchers believe the case to be. This assertion must be viewed with caution, however, due to the small numbers interviewed in this thesis. Indeed, a wider survey may find otherwise.

The success of Maori students at university is a complex issue. This chapter described several elements that contributed to a notion of success. These elements included family support and mentoring, elements that are not unique to Maori or indigenous and minority peoples. The graduates' responses reaffirmed the need for family support, and highlighted the often-intangible aspects such support can

provide, like cooking meals. In terms of mentoring, the graduates responded more to informal programmes of mentoring, by establishing their own study-groups where necessary. The one graduate that it affected, however, viewed the role of the Board's seminar series programme, positively. Despite this positive initiative for mentoring support by the Board, the graduates' related experiences that questioned the types of mentoring support offered by the Board, and to whom. In particular, this related to access of tribal information and the Board's aspirations in encouraging tribal members to study issues relevant to tribal development. At times, it appeared that the Board's aspirations contradicted what it was actually prepared to do to assist tribal members in achieving these goals.

The graduates' experiences at the University of Waikato were mixed, and this was reflected in their opinions about the effectiveness of the University in recognising Maori needs and aspirations. Awareness of the variety of programmes offered by the University was low, and the graduates' responses indicated that more could be done for Maori at the University. In essence, the graduates were not initially attracted to the University as a result of the positive programmes offered to Maori students, although some did participate in such programmes.

The Tainui Maori Trust Board encapsulated its approach to education in the following way: "there is urgency about our educational catch-up. We cannot waste the talents of our people any more. Education is growth and growth must be in every arena, …every possible avenue and pathway" (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1995:39). The intention of the Tainui Maori Trust Board, through its investment in higher education, is to remove what Howe (1974:45) labels as the "economic disqualification" due to minorities' occupancy on the lower rungs of the "economic ladder" as the "great inhibitor to learning opportunities," and to reaffirm amongst the tribal population that the way forward is through education itself. However, the graduates identified that in trying to remove the economic disqualification label, the Board inadvertently replaced it with two others – whakapapa (affiliation) and success through academic excellence. As a result, graduate opinion expressed concern about whether these approaches actually inhibited more tribal members from participating in higher education.

In summary, the graduates succeeded because of their own perseverance and determination. It appears that the University of Waikato was chosen as a place to study mainly because of its location, and that full advantage was taken of the ability to apply successfully for financial assistance from the Tainui Maori Trust Board. What has been identified however, are ways in which both the University and the Board might review their approaches toward Maori participation in higher education. This will be explored in the following, final chapter.