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GLOSSARY

Hui	Meeting
Kapa Haka	Māori cultural group
Kaupapa Māori	Māori practice and custom
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Māori immersion primary schools
Kohanga Reo	Māori immersion pre-school
Mihi	Greeting
Manākitanga	Hospitality, caring and attention
Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga	New Zealand's Māori Centre of Research Excellence
Pākehā	Non Māori New Zealanders
Pāngarau	Mathematics
Powhiri	Welcome
Taha Māori	Māori perspective
Tangata whenua	Indigenous people
Taonga	Property, treasure
Te Reo Māori	Māori language
Te reo me ngā tikanga Māori	Māori protocol and customary practice
Tuakana/teina	Elder/younger sibling
Wānanga	Institution of higher learning, to study in depth
Whakawhanaungatanga	Relating very well to others
Whānau	Extended family

TAKU AO—MY STORY
KO MAUNGAPIKO TE MAUNGA

Ko Parengarenga te Moana

Ko Kurahaupo te Waka

Ko Ngatikuri te Iwi

Ko Titirangi te Maunga

Ko Uawa te Awa

Ko Hauiti te Marae

Ko Ngati Porou te Iwi

Ko te toka o Akiha, he toka whitinga ra

Ko te toka o Mapuna, he ripo kau tau e kite ai

This research project is informed by the experiences and events that have influenced me throughout my daily living. Many events, occasions and things that have occurred and I have observed have contributed to the perspective that I bring to my research.

When I was born my parents were teachers in a remote Māori community with less than 50 students attending the school. The students at the school were almost all Māori and often had Māori as their first language. In these communities, Māori was the dominant culture and, for most, Te Reo Māori was the predominant language. All of my primary schooling was spent in small country schools within the Māori School Service.

Both my father and mother taught in the schools. My father was the headmaster and took the senior classes in the ‘standards’ (Standards 1–6). My mother was infant mistress and taught the junior classes (New Entrants–Primer 4). Although my parents took part in many of the community events, we did not belong to those communities; our family (my parents and their children) were on the margins of each community. The longest time we spent in any one community was six years. As my parents, and particularly my father, sought promotion we moved to larger schools with more students.

At every new school, our family lived in the house provided by the Education Department, typically beside the school. So, for me, the boundaries between school and home were blurred. Unlike others, I do not recall the trauma or excitement of my first day at school. My

mother had been teaching full time all my life. Just as a mother at home would care for the baby while working around the house, my mother (often with the assistance of children in the class) would care for her baby and preschoolers while working in the classroom.

For me, school was not a foreign, strange place! Looking back I recognise that I enjoyed a number of advantages that my classmates did not share. School was part of my parents' life and therefore was part of mine. I did not leave my family behind each day when I went to school. My parents were with me all day and every day while I was at school. I was "at home" in the classroom.

Two of the places where our family lived were remote country schools, located more than 50 miles of winding dusty roads from the nearest town. In the circumstances keeping a school running was dependent on the skills and resourcefulness of the staff. I learned about running a school by watching my father light the wood fires in each classroom on winter mornings before the children arrived and seeing him bind water pipes with sacking to insulate them from the frost and so keep the water running. I learned about lesson preparation by watching my mother mix paints, make paste from flour and manually prepare number books for the children to use each day.

I understand now that teachers like my parents in remote schools were quite isolated from other teachers but I remember that they kept in touch with teachers at the neighbouring schools. It was through this contact that I was introduced to the politics of education at an early age.

If I was allowed to remain in the room when teachers made social visits to our home, I would hear the conversations of my parents and the teachers from neighbouring schools. Although I did not understand the conversations (I knew I was not supposed to be taking any notice and could not ask questions then or later), I recognised the emotions and sense of injustice that particular subjects aroused. I recall two subjects that generated a great deal of discussion: the end of the Māori School system and the reluctance of Pākehā families to send their children to the local Māori school.

I discovered at an early age that all people were not equal. Just as I learned about the world of education from my parents and their peers, I learned about the community we were living in during the time I spent with my peers. I learned that they saw me as a privileged outsider

and when I looked at myself through their eyes I too believed I was privileged. Although I accepted that I was more privileged than my classmates, more often than not, I felt inadequate alongside them. They were part of the community and I was on the margins.

In that environment, as I learned about the school's community, I learned about myself. The children told me who I was while I spent my time in school with them. They told me I was clever because my parents were the teachers and I could get help with my schoolwork. They told me I was lucky and I would not get the strap because my father was the headmaster. They told me my family was rich because we had a car and we could afford to buy bread from the shop. From my earliest days in school, I listened and learned that the playing field was not level in schooling.

I did not believe that I was clever in comparison with them. They knew so much that I did not know and wanted to learn. They were better at all the games we played—from string games and knucklebones to hop scotch and skipping—and they knew all the rules. They were more skilled in the formal team games like football, basketball and softball. They were resourceful. They could make their own equipment such as carving spinning tops that would jump or hum as they spun. They could make pop guns by hollowing out the stem of a particular tree and then shooting pellets. The children also knew what was happening in the community: who was sick, who had died, how they had died, who was pregnant, who the father was and when the baby was due! In that setting, through the eyes of a child, school learning seemed to have reduced value.

I did believe them when they said I was lucky (meaning privileged). We had a car when few families had cars. The schoolhouses we lived in were always well equipped. We had a generator to supply lighting when other homes were still using lamps and candles, which would regularly cause both minor and serious household fires. I did not have to walk to school along roads with logging trucks rumbling past. I did not have to take on the adult responsibilities that were expected of the children from large families. I knew I was lucky!

My classmates also introduced to me to the influence of power in the classroom, and the concept of the power of the teachers and the powerlessness of the students. In most instances, I could relate more easily to the students' situations than with the teachers/my parents.

Another privilege I enjoyed was the trust of my peers. Sometimes children would voice to me their feelings of frustration and injustice against my parents (their teachers). 'I got in trouble with your father for breaking the window but Pita did it.' 'Your mother made us clean up the mess but it wasn't our fault.'

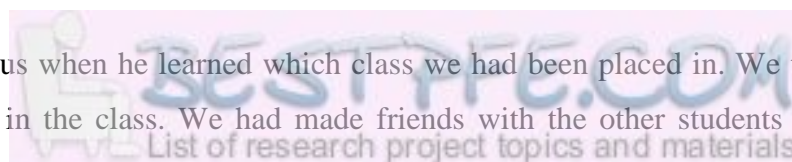
When I still had one more year of primary schooling to complete (Form 2/Year 8), we moved again. By this time, my father's youngest sister had come to live with our family and she was due to start secondary school. My father, who (because he was my father) also thought I was clever, decided I could miss (Form 2/Year 8) and should start secondary school, too. Therefore, in the week before classes started, he went to the local high school and enrolled both of us.

When my primary schooling came to an end, I had to make the transition from a small Māori school to a large state secondary school. I had to leave the comfort of education administered and provided by my parents and attend a large-scale, more detached system of education. Luckily, in the new environment I had support from another family member who was in the same class. At the same time, we both knew my father was closely monitoring our progress and our relationship with the new school.

I was apprehensive. I had always hated moving on to another school and another community. I knew all about leaving friends behind, being new, having to make friends and trying to fit into established friendship groups. This time would be more difficult because we would be attending a large state secondary school and for the first time I would be attending a school with students who were not Māori. I was moving beyond the small, rural Māori primary schools to the mainstream state system. I was petrified!

For that reason, I still remember my first day at high school. Nearly 300 new students for the Third Form (Year Nine) were herded into the assembly hall. A teacher, on the stage, read rapidly through the list of names and the students whose names were called followed the teacher out the door to their new form room. At the end of the process, there were about 35 of us left (most of us Māori) who had not heard our names. We lined up, gave our details to the teacher and we were told we were in 3G4. This was the lowest-streamed general class.

My father was furious when he learned which class we had been placed in. We told him we were happy to stay in the class. We had made friends with the other students already. He



contacted the school and he insisted that we move to the professional course in which he had enrolled us. We were put in 3P2, a class where all the students were taught full Mathematics and French. There were two other Māori students in our class and none in 3P1, the top-stream class where students studied Latin as well as French.

Without the intervention by my father, it is unlikely that we would have been placed in an academic class. We were happy enough in the class we had been placed in originally, which led to employment in trades and manual or domestic occupations. We were beginning our secondary schooling and we did not understand the implications or outcomes of being placed in 3G4 instead of 3P2. We were later required to sit aptitude tests, which may have also resulted in our being moved out of 3G4, but if we had been asked for our preference we would probably have opted for 3G4, the familiar class with the new friends we had made.

I was very confused for most of the first year but having another member of the whānau with me in the same class helped me to survive. My father's youngest sister was like my older sister. She always kept an eye on me as we grew up. She was calmer and more organised. She listened and understood. She knew what our homework was about and when the coursework had to be completed. I knew I could manage by doing what she did.

My father became part of a local committee formed to support Māori in education and at times he was involved with the management staff of the high school. By the time we reached Form 5 (the year most students sat the national examination, School Certificate), our classes had been shuffled and we were the only Māori students left in the class. By now, I was older and wiser. I did not need anyone to tell me we were privileged. I knew we were because my father was the headmaster at a local school; he knew many of our teachers and had challenged the school previously. We were not likely to be demoted as the other Māori students in our class had been. We both passed School Certificate and the following year we were accredited the University Entrance examination. Then my family moved again, this time to Auckland.

For the fifth time I had to adjust to a new home, a new environment, a new community, and once again I had to find new friends. Luckily, I had learned from experience how to settle in to a new situation and how to find new friends. I knew a new environment was easier to cope with once friends were found.

By this time my father's sister, my ally through the first four years of secondary schooling, had decided to go to teachers' college, so I was alone. But in my class in the new school I found that there were three other new girls, and two of them were Māori. We quickly became a mutual support group. The other new girls had come from small private schools to complete their fifth and final year of secondary schooling. Although we had been regarded as 'achievers' in our previous schools, we very soon realised that we were not regarded as being on the same level as the students who had already spent four years at the school. It became obvious that we were on the margins of the class and so we rarely participated in discussions or volunteered answers.

Life at this new school would have been very difficult without the friendship of the other new girls. We became a small cohort in the larger class. Looking back, I realise that we were resilient because we had come with a degree of confidence developed in our previous schools, where our ability and achievements had been recognised and acknowledged. Also, while some teachers had limited expectations of us, other teachers recognised and enjoyed the new and different contribution we made to their classes.

One teacher was particularly patronising and often directed comments at us saying, "Of course you girls would not know this because you weren't here when we studied the topic in the fifth form." Nevertheless, we allowed the comments to pass unchallenged. Even on the occasions when we knew for certain our knowledge was greater than the others in the class we remained silent and shared the satisfaction of that knowledge within our little group after class.

One incident I recall still makes me smile. It was in class with the same teacher and she was taking a lesson on the bone structure of birds. She had a variety of bones for us to look at, to see how the bones were strong but light. As she picked up a bone she told us what bird it came from. Then, she picked up what was obviously a skull and looked at it rather puzzled: "This is a skull but I'm not exactly sure what bird this comes from." The three of us who were Māori were standing together and one whispered to the other two, "It's a fish head!" Having eaten many fish heads in our time, we recognised instantly that the skull belonged to a fish rather than a bird. We suppressed our giggles and we kept our knowledge to ourselves. Unlike the teacher, we did not choose to embarrass the teacher or enlighten the class.

My secondary schooling soon came to an end. After a short stint working in an office, I trained and worked as a primary school teacher and later moved on to teaching in the secondary sector of the education system. It was during my time as a secondary school teacher that I became acutely aware of the power that the teacher could exercise in their relationship with students. When the power was used in a positive way, the students benefited greatly. On many occasions, however, I saw power being used in a negative way and too often it was against Māori and Pacific students.

I was frequently reminded of my own experiences as a secondary school student when teachers underestimated students' ability and suggested that students who were not achieving lacked motivation. I became increasingly aware that some teachers were encouraging and supportive of Māori students while others were not. Often there were times where the interests of the school and the interests of the student were not aligned. In those situations, the power of the school (or teacher) overwhelmed the student and as a result the student would leave.

The power of the teacher was most obvious in regular meetings that were held by the fifth form dean. All teachers who taught a class at that level would attend the fifth form dean's meetings. He would go through the classes and ask how each class was progressing. One of the teachers might say, "I'm having trouble with Tony. His attendance is erratic. He is not doing any work in my class and he has a bad attitude. I think he is wasting his time here." Other teachers might agree but another teacher would disagree in the following way: "Tony is not a problem in my class, his attitude is fine. He does not work as fast as the others do but he usually comes to class." Another teacher might also have positive comments to make about Tony.

After a while I noticed a pattern. The "problem" students were typically Māori or Pacific boys. Usually, the same group of teachers made the negative comments and a different group of teachers made the positive comments. Eventually there would be an incident of insolence, bad behaviour or bad language and the student would leave the school and, most often, could not be persuaded to come back. The students left and the teachers remained to repeat the pattern.

The pattern was also obvious to other staff members in the school who were making an effort to retain Māori students beyond the compulsory school leaving age. After consultation with

the Māori parents and many meetings, the school established a Bilingual Unit to enable an easier transmission of Te Reo Me Ngā Tikanga Māori (Māori language and culture) to the Māori students in the school. It was recognised during the planning process that by gathering many of the Māori students into the Bilingual Unit, the timetable and staffing could be arranged so that the students could avoid the teachers who could not teach them.

By this time I had become aware that the students should have an advocate. As a secondary school teacher, it is difficult to intervene or advocate for students apart from those in the classes you teach. The role of student counsellor is one of the few roles acknowledged by staff members as having the right to advocate for students against another colleague or the school. With this in mind, I made the decision to become a guidance counsellor.

After completing a Masters degree in counselling I worked as a school guidance counsellor and then moved on to my present position, which is in the Equity Office of a large university and includes responsibilities for career and course planning as well as the recruitment and retention of Māori students for the University. Much of the recruitment work I do involves the provision of targeted events for Māori students in secondary schools. The disparity in the responses of schools to the targeted events and programmes reminded me of the differences in the perspectives held by teachers and the regard they have for Māori students. Most of all, involvement in the programme reminded me of the power that teachers exercise over their students, and over the students' future in the workforce because of the support they provide or withhold.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction—Te Kupu whakataui i te kaupapa

Vignette 1

As I prepared this study, one of the young men in my whānau (family) contacted me at the suggestion of his parents. He had just completed his fifth and final year of secondary school and was unsure of what he should do in the coming year. He had planned to take up an automotive apprenticeship but the company he was going to had closed and he was considering his options. He asked about enrolling for university. As we discussed his secondary school assessment results, it was clear that the courses he had taken in his final year would not provide him with the credit he required for University Entrance. I was frustrated for him because he had achieved the Levels 1 and 2 numeracy and literacy requirements for University Entrance and had sufficient credits in Level 3 English for University Entrance but he did not have a second approved subject at Level 3. He was one of a minority of Māori male students who had remained at school to complete five years of secondary education. He had demonstrated a “potential to succeed” because he had more than 14 credits in Level 3 English. He said he was not aware (and his parents were certainly not aware) of the University Entrance requirements when he was choosing subjects for his final year and did not recognise the importance of taking two or more approved subjects. I now have a member of my own whānau to add to the long list of students who have been “tripped up” by the complexity of the new NCEA qualifications for University Entrance.

Comment

This vignette demonstrates how easy it is for a student to “fall through the cracks” in the school system. Although the high failure rate of Māori boys is part of the background for this story, this is a boy who did not fail, in fact he succeeded in all his assessments. His potential was indicated by his success with Level 1 and 2 prerequisites for University Entrance. However, he was not aware and neither were his parents, that the courses he took at Level 3 would limit him to careers in trades and industry and would not provide him with the option of university education. Although he had intended to take up an apprenticeship, with good careers counselling he could have kept his options open for both an apprenticeship and university study. If he had been given good advice he would have had more options and he would have also raised the achievement statistics for Māori boys in the school.

An introduction to the thesis

My story and my own journey through education help to illustrate the perspective I present in this study. Very early in my schooling, my peers told me I was privileged by having parents who were part of the school and I believe they were correct. When I reflect on that journey, I see that several factors contributed to my successful progress as a student. I had an easy transition from home to primary school. My parents were teachers and “insiders” and had an understanding of the education system. This meant they could monitor my progress and they also had the confidence to challenge the system if necessary.

My parents wanted me to have access to university-level education and they knew the importance of being in an academic class, so my father did not accept my placement in a non-academic class. He was able to use his professional background and knowledge to challenge the school’s decision. He was able to intervene and advocate for me so that we were moved into the academic class.

I was not left to make my own decisions about my educational pathway. My parents had expectations and clear goals for me to achieve at secondary school. They made choices for me at times when I did not have the experience or knowledge to make informed decisions about my future. They did not allow those decisions to be made by the school’s sorting and grading processes.

Support was a critical factor during my journey. While I had the support of my parents in gaining access to the appropriate classes, once I was placed in the class I had the responsibility of achieving the required grades to remain in there. As I worked up through the secondary school levels, it would have been easy to be discouraged by the limited expectations and negativity of some of the teachers I encountered. Fortunately, I was never isolated. I always had the support of a family member and, then, other (similarly marginalised) friends in my classes as I moved through secondary school. There were also teachers who provided support by being positive and encouraging or simply by being respectful and fair.

Although the influence of my parents was important for me and my educational journey, it was not the “parent factor” that was key, but their action and interventions. The critical factor was the intervention by an advocate with knowledge of the education system who was acting in the interests of the student.

In my case I was privileged to have parents who advocated and intervened for me, but advocates do not have to be parents. Students, whose parents are unable to successfully advocate for them, should not and need not be disadvantaged. There are members of staff in secondary schools who can and do act as advocates for students. They are people who understand the structures and the factors within the secondary school system. In this study “support for Māori students” is regarded in its broadest sense to include any and all positive interventions and actions that have the potential to reduce discrepancies between Māori students and non-Māori students in secondary schools.

The multilevel argument

A challenge that exists in secondary education in New Zealand is the challenge of lifting Māori achievement to the achievement levels of other population groups. Within that challenge the specific focus on achievement for this thesis is the achievement of University Entrance. To understand the extent of that challenge, factors at all levels of the education system from the past, present, and into the future must be considered, from the strategies and policies at the national level to the teacher–student relationship in the classroom.

The thesis discusses policy established to raise Māori achievement as well as the targets, goals and monitoring process set in place to support the policy. The existence of the policy signals an acknowledgement by the state of the need to improve achievement outcomes for Māori students. While Māori achievement has improved since the policy was introduced, achievement for other groups has also improved and the discrepancy between Māori and other groups remains. Therefore it is not clear that the improvement is a result of the policy.

If the policy has not brought about the expected outcomes, other relevant factors must be considered. The thesis also considers the structural barriers faced by Māori students accessing university education which they need assistance to overcome: covert racism at the school level, streaming, NCEA subject choices, access to resources and teacher expectations. It is argued that, in this context, the explicit engagement of careers advisors as agents is essential to provide the assistance needed to empower Māori students to take up the opportunities available to them.

The thesis comes from a Kaupapa Māori perspective and recognises the wider long term struggle and the need for transformation at national and institutional levels but, more

importantly, it addresses the possibility of transformation and resistance at the level of the individual student. It echoes the intentions expressed by the Minister of Education that Māori should enjoy success in education as Māori . Rather than waiting for educational reform to give the answers and solutions, this thesis explores what can be done now in any secondary school for any Māori student who has not been identified as a high achiever but still aspires to a university education.

The question that is posed is “Can careers advisors provide advocacy for Māori students?” The assumption behind the question is that if careers advisors can make clear to Māori students the pathway to university, and the necessary prerequisites along with support, the students should be less obstructed in their attempts to gain access to university. Such assistance from a careers advisor can empower the student and make space for tino rangatiratanga, self-determination, and resistance to the status quo to occur.

Therefore Kaupapa Māori underpins this thesis. Although it has a focus on the work of careers advisors, a predominantly non-Māori group, within mainstream secondary schools, both the purpose and question of the thesis come from a Kaupapa Māori perspective so it makes a small contribution to the Māori struggle for transformation in education.

The other theory running through the thesis is Giddens’ structuration theory . When the effects of policy and the implementation of policy are considered, structuration theory is useful in helping to examine and understand how the relationship between systems structures and agents affect policy implementation. This is important when reflecting on the engagement or non-engagement of careers advisors with targeting of Māori students. Structuration theory helps to illustrate the power vested in the role of the careers advisors through their ability make decisions on behalf of Māori students and their ability to participate in or prevent the transformation for Māori in education from occurring.

My interest in the careers advisor’s role began because I had noticed that when a careers advisor left a school and a new appointment was made, my engagement with that school would also change. A new relationship could begin with a school which had no previous history of participation and engagement, or a relationship with a school that had previously participated could cease. It seemed, therefore, that the response received from careers advisors depended more on the individual advisor than the school, policy, or any other related factors. In 2001 when new national goals and guidelines targeting Māori students were established

(see Appendix 2), I became interested in the way that individual careers advisors responded to the policy and how they made decisions and used their roles within their schools to determine whether students should engage with targeted interventions for Māori students.

Structure of the thesis

My own experiences as a Maori in education and my interaction with Maori students within the state education system provided me with the motivation to undertake this research. But, as I worked through the research process there seemed to be no place to show the daily realities of navigating the education environment as a Maori. I had a wealth of incidents and events that were relevant to the research and I wanted to be able to select and use some of them in the thesis. Therefore each chapter is introduced with a vignette to provide a backdrop for the research.

This chapter, Chapter One, outlines the purpose of this research. It provides a personal and professional rationale for the study and introduces some policy issues related to careers education and Māori students in secondary schools. It also explains the importance of careers advisors and the roles they have in providing assistance for students in the transition from school to university.

Chapter Two provides the context with the establishment of neo-liberal environment policy with targets and goals, hopes for Māori. It will develop the discussion about policy, to provide an historical overview and critique of Pākehā policy for Māori and an understanding of the philosophical basis of the current policy context. It examines patterns and trends in the education of Māori, mainly in the last 50 years, noting the mismatch between Māori aspirations in education and the education provided by the state. The chapter also discusses the limitations of attempts to explain these patterns and trends which are based in notions of social and cultural deficit, and examines possibilities for transformation in the recent focus on equity and targeted initiatives. Possibilities can only be realised by the action of key players, and Giddens' structuration theory is introduced as a conceptual framework from which to examine the findings of the study.

Chapter Three discusses the concept of equity and examines equity policy and equity groups in New Zealand. It also considers "covert and overt racism" and sets the scene for development. It also considers the aims and purposes of equity policy and policy implementation. The definitions, interpretations and implications of equity and equality in

education in relation to fairness and justice both are discussed and the purpose of targeting as an equity initiative is considered. The specific equity policy that gave rise to this research project is introduced and the significance of the policy in relation to Māori achievement in secondary schools is discussed. The chapter concludes with an example of equity in action, by examining participation by schools in STEAM, an equity programme established to target Māori and Pacific students.

Chapter Four follows on from the discussions of equity and considers structural barriers for students; NCEA; subject choices; streaming; high and low deciles; family resources and identifies reasons why Māori students might be affected more by those barriers than other students. A major barrier identified in the chapter is the complexity of the University Entrance regulations based on credits from NCEA. The process of gaining University Entrance based on NCEA assessments is discussed in detail to illustrate the necessity and importance of well-informed advice and support from careers advisors to students. Other kinds of support and barriers are also discussed along with reasons that they may vary according to school size, location and decile.

Chapter Five provides the methodology for the research and further develops the relationship between the research design and both Giddens' (1984) structuration theory and Kaupapa Māori theory (G. Smith, 1997). The chapter describes the connection between the key elements of the research: the theories, the policies, the choices made by schools for Māori, the choices made by Māori, and participation in a targeted intervention as an indicator of policy compliance. The chapter also outlines background for the decisions about interview and participant selection processes and describes the development of the criteria used for analysis of the data from the interviews.

Chapter Six gives the results of the interviews, the stories of five people working in careers education. It introduces and analyses the data gathered from the interviews of the participants. To provide a background for the analysis of the data, the chapter begins with an overview of the careers advisors' role to illustrate the capacity the careers advisors have to act—in a positive or negative way, for or against the interests of Māori students. Influences from the other sources (school management, other staff) that may have an ability to affect the careers advisors are also considered and discussed. The concepts of incentives and barriers are considered in relation to Giddens' structuration theory and the significance of autonomy is addressed. The chapter concludes with the analysis and discussion of the five interviews.

Chapter Seven discusses the research findings and conclusions, questions for the future are discussed and recommendations are made for further research. The chapter concludes by outlining the influence of individual advisor's agency on the career aspirations of Māori students and the extent to which the students are reliant on active and conscientised schools to recognise the structural barriers they create.

CHAPTER TWO

Education for Māori – Te ora te hōhonu o te hinengaro Māori

Vignette 2

In the final term of her seventh form year a young woman from my whānau decided she wanted to become a teacher so applied to a teachers' college along with a number of other girls from her school. They were interviewed and the school year continued as they waited to hear whether they would be offered a place at the teachers' college. Eventually, the students received letters informing them of the outcome of the applications and she was successful. All the others received their responses on the same day and later she described how the news had been received at school the following day:

“We all went into class and I sat down at the back with my friends where the Māori students always sit. The teacher came in and asked which of us had been accepted into teachers' college. I raised my hand but the teacher did not see me. Instead, she spoke to the girls in the front of the class congratulating and commiserating with them as she realised who had been successful and who had missed out. My friends waved their hands to try and attract her attention so she would see my hand was up too but she did not look towards us and did not notice me.”

Comment

It is not possible to determine why the teacher did not notice one of the successful students when she was congratulating and consoling the others. However, her actions indicate she did not expect any students, apart from the ones she was speaking to, to be successful. When she failed to give one group of students her attention she also failed to bring the achievement of one successful student to the attention of the class. The success of that Māori student was not recognised and celebrated in the same way as the success of her classmates. The teacher had exercised her agency in such a way that had effectively marginalised the successful Māori student and rendered her invisible.

This chapter presents a theme of Māori underachievement and outlines how the state's efforts to improve Māori education outcomes have been marked by a long history of failed policies, plans and strategies, reinforced by agendas of assimilation and integration. That history is underpinned by strong assumptions about Māori people's inability to learn and to be taught.

The context for Māori education in the new millennium

The restructuring and decentralisation of the education sector in New Zealand in the 1980s and 1990s form the background context. It has been argued that the restructuring and decentralisation, which was supposed to deliver more parent choice and involvement, failed to change Māori outcomes and instead gave the parents more responsibility for improving conditions and achievement at the local level (Thrupp, 1997).

Statistical data on participation and achievement is presented to show the disparity between Māori and other groups in the population. The disparity has been explained as a result of socio-economic and class influences. The establishment of the school decile system to provide compensatory funding for schools in lower socio-economic areas is described. Also documented is the continuing under-representation of Māori as a population group in degree-level study and as school leavers with qualifications for university. To conclude this background, the research undertaken to assess the influence of policy on careers and guidance provided for Māori students in secondary schools and the role careers advisors play in providing that advice are presented.

Relevant policy

The policy at the core of this research project are goals and guidelines, National Administrative Guidelines and National Education Goals, NAG 1, & 2 NEG 2 & 9 ("Notices: Official," 1999) (see Appendix 2 and further detail on pages 60–65). The goals and guidelines were introduced at a national level as directives for schools with the stated aim of improving the achievement of Māori students. Fundamental to this research project is firstly, the argument that in order for the policy to be successful, it must be effective for students. Secondly, it is argued that implementation of policy occurs at the grassroots level of education in the interaction between the teacher and student.

Giddens' structuration theory and careers education

The impact of policy generated at a national (macro) level to be applied and implemented by teachers in their daily interaction with students at the classroom (micro) level will be considered using Giddens' (1984) structuration theory. Structuration theory allows for examination of the social processes and tensions between the macro and micro levels of an institution and in the case of this project, the education system. Giddens' (1984) theory

recognises institutions as systems such as the health system, the traffic system and, in this thesis, the education system.

This research examines how policy developed and issued at government (macro) level is accepted and implemented or ignored and undermined at the micro level. Giddens' theory is particularly suited to the consideration of policy implementation. Within structuration theory, the concept of agency also allows for the exploration of tensions between policymakers at national (macro) level and policy implementers at the local (micro) level.

Giddens (1984) describes an agent as having the capacity to act. Agency is identified as the actions and decisions of individuals. These actions are influenced by a wide range of factors such as circumstances, personal choice, interpretations evaluations and values. Therefore structuration theory recognises that agents, through their capacity to act, can have a positive or negative effect on a structure or system because of the nature of their response to structural or systemic expectations. Structuration theory is appropriate for this research because it recognises the agency of the teacher/educator and allows for an individual's resistance or endorsement with regard to policy compliance or non-compliance, to be appraised.

Giddens (1984) maintains that social structures are rules and resources within a social system and individuals within that social system are agents. Giddens conceptualises structures as memory traces that shape and are simultaneously shaped by the rules, practices and routines used to negotiate daily lives (Stubbs, Martin, & Endlar, 2006). Policies, rules and regulations then, are the structures within a system.

Human action or agency within the system, and of the system, can sustain or change the system. Structuration theory therefore recognises and explains the existence and influence of individual difference in the daily operations of a social system.

Individuals acting as agents shape the system by reinforcing the rules through regular recognition and use of those rules. However, Giddens (1984) also suggests that, through that same agency, individuals are able to transform the system by using and shaping new structures. Structuration therefore describes the way human agency reproduces or transforms a system.

Giddens thus wants to take account of how individual actions in everyday life connect to larger social structures and have the potential to strengthen or transform those social structures. Social structures and rules can bring stability and security to everyday lives. The structures and rules are in turn reinforced by their acceptance and use in everyday life. Therefore Giddens explains that “local activities and relationships matter because they have the power to reinforce traditional structures and processes or to transform them” (Johnson, 2008, p. 328).

The agency of the individual is therefore a key factor in Giddens’ structuration theory. Giddens suggests the structural properties, or rules and resources of a social system are acknowledged and maintained through regular and routine use (Stubbs et al., 2006). It is through this human action or agency that social systems are sustained or transformed. Giddens suggests that “people produce their social systems employing rules and resources (structures) during interaction (agency), knowingly or unknowingly reproducing these structures via routines and rituals that are often taken-for-granted or unquestioned” (Hardcastle, Usher, & Holmes, 2005, p. 223).

Giddens suggests that an agent’s capacity to act comes from the access to, and knowledge of, the rules and resources of the agent’s social systems. In the context of a school therefore, teachers have agency and the ability to exert control due to their access and knowledge of the rules and resources in the school context.

The ability of agents within a social system to bring about change introduces a key feature in the structuration theory which Giddens has called the “double hermeneutic process” (Giddens, 1984, p. 284). This occurs when upon reflection of day-to-day activities people are able to influence the structure of society by either reproducing current practices or by changing them. This is demonstrated in a study by (Boucaut, 2001) in which the author examines how challenges to the appropriateness of traditional behaviour are made with regard to school and workplace bullying.

Giddens' Structuration Theory

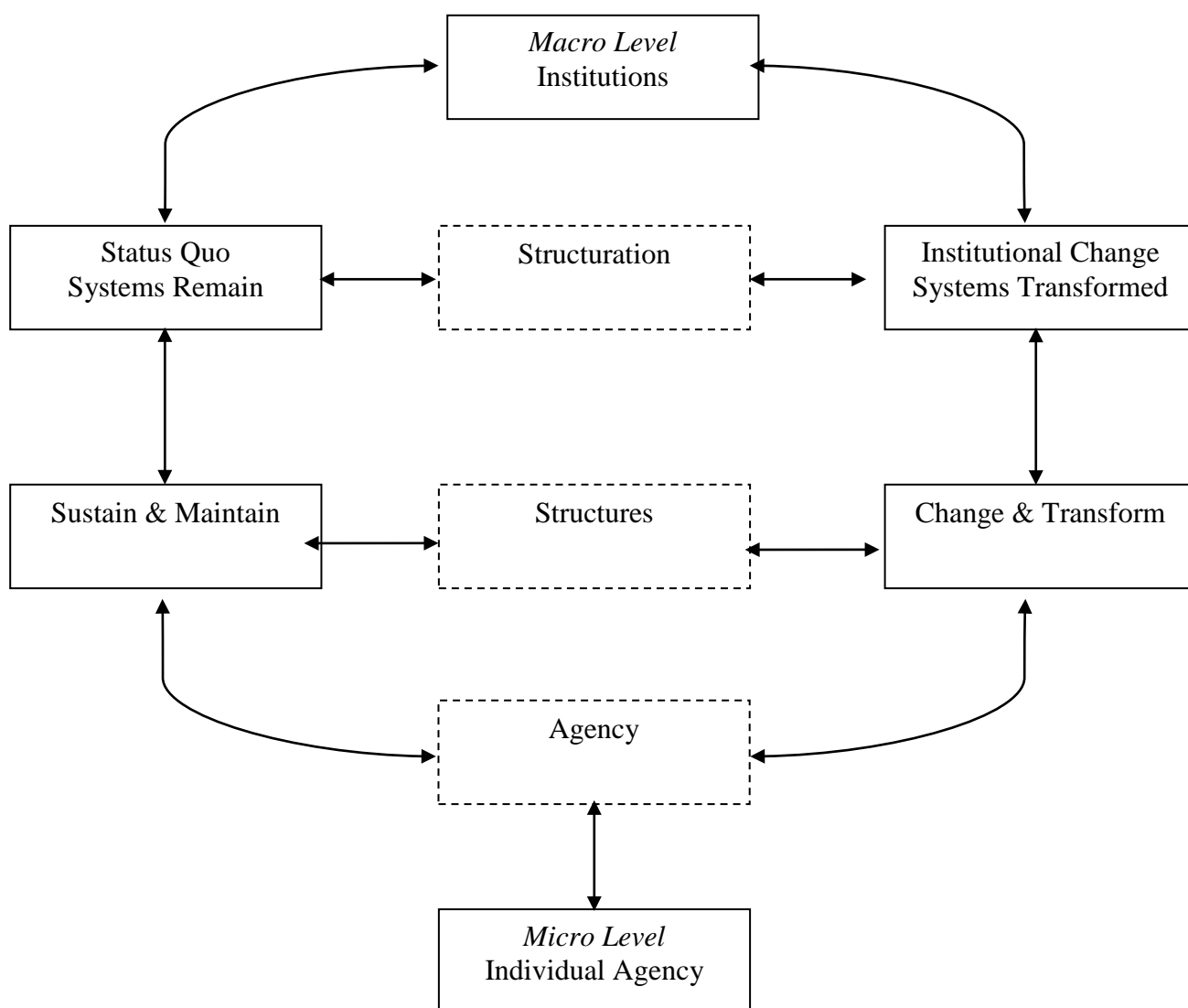


Fig. 1 Giddens' structuration theory as it applies to this research project.

When teachers accept without question (and work within) well established rules and routines, their agency is serving to reproduce the status quo (Morrison, 2005). However the double hermeneutic process provides conceptual space for understanding how agents can bring about change as the combined result of new knowledge and reflection on their own world view. For example, this double hermeneutic process would occur if an individual in the school system became aware of inequitable access, participation, and outcomes for Māori students at the school and took action to address those inequities. This idea is, therefore, particularly pertinent in examining the case of school careers advisors who have responsibility for holding and distributing information about the full range of career and tertiary education options to

students (Vaughan & Gardiner, 2007). It is the exercise of that agency that will be investigated in this research project.

Careers advisors are the focus of this study because they are at the centre of the local activities and relationships with Māori students and therefore have the ability to maintain or transform the structures that contribute to Māori underachievement. Within schools and with regard to careers education, maintenance of the status quo or the business-as-usual approach, could be regarded as examples of agents at the individual level upholding and reinforcing traditional behaviour. Conversely, with regard to the role of the individual agent, engagement in interventions, or challenging and changing existing practices could be recognised as the double hermeneutic process within the structuration theory. In this thesis then, Giddens' (1984) structuration theory provides a lens for the examination of the implementation of national policy at the local school level and also allows for the consideration of the engagement of careers advisors with targeted interventions for Māori students.

Emerging Issues

The challenge that Māori underachievement has presented to the schooling of Māori has resulted in various research projects, analyses of underachievement and searches overseas for parallel systems and solutions. State policy and perceptions that evolve from research in education can be reflected in teacher attitudes and classroom practice many years after policy has been outmoded (Simon, 2000).

The analysis of Māori underachievement has relied on policy and structural change to bring about improvement, while insufficient attention has been given to changes that could be implemented by individual teachers in the classroom (Bishop, 2005). The establishment of structures at a national level and a focus on policy at a national level may have little effect in the classrooms of Māori students or in the teacher/Māori student relationship unless there is also a corresponding drive for change in the school and in the classroom. Similarly, research results implying that underachievement is a result of reasons such as socio-economic factors, low self-esteem and lack of parental support could indicate that there is little that teachers can do to improve Māori student achievement (Simon, 2000).

The recurring theme for Māori educators over the last forty years is that progress in Māori education has been inadequate in spite of numerous policies and strategies developed to address Māori underachievement (NZEI Maori Education Committee, 1967). At the end of

the 1990s, retention rates for Māori in secondary schools were lower than for non-Māori. Of school leavers, one in five non-Māori attained a bursary qualification whereas only 1 in 20 Māori attained a bursary qualification. (Until 2003, secondary school students in New Zealand required a bursary qualification to gain University Entrance. In 2004 the bursary qualification was replaced by the NCEA accreditation system.) This lack of achievement by Māori students is not a new phenomenon. Māori educators have repeatedly commented on the Māori education crisis and the failure of the education system to provide equitable outcomes for Māori (Awatere, 1984; Bishop, 2008; Jenkins & Jones, 2000; Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2002; G. Smith, 1997; Walker, 1984).

A report to the primary teachers' union, the New Zealand Educational Institute (NZEI), in 1967 by the NZEI Māori Education Committee stated:

On the whole most Māoris have passed through our schools as failures. The schools have produced a disciplinary problem, a teaching problem, and eventually a drop out problem. Māoris, who have undergone this process, understandably have a poor view of what education has to impart. To prevent this failure schools need programmes and methods to match the strengths and weaknesses of the Māoris. (NZEI Maori Education Committee, 1967)

The 1984 Māori Education Development Conference at Tūrangawaewae Marae was attended by almost 300 people from education and political backgrounds. It is hailed as a significant event in Māori education. It is credited with being the launching point for Kura Kaupapa Māori (immersion primary schools operating under Māori philosophy and practice). One of the resolutions from the conference is identified as demonstrating the growing support for the development of Kura Kaupapa Māori (Walker, 1984). The resolution urged a Māori withdrawal from existing schools and the establishment of an alternative Kura Kaupapa Māori schooling system similar to the Kohanga Reo, the pre-school immersion centres operating under Māori philosophy and practice that were already in existence.

Smith is highly critical of the way the education system has failed Māori and blames the policies and the underlying theories from which they were based on as evidence of the lack of success. He states:

For Māori, the ongoing history of educational policy failure needs to be critically examined. The theoretical underpinnings of such policies (for example assimilation, integration, multiculturalism, biculturalism) ought to be critically analysed as problematic and potentially the cause of the failure to achieve the outcomes of positive transformation and intervention. (G. Smith, 1997, p. 132)

Nevertheless, the 1960 Hunn Report and the Currie Commission Report are still continually referenced as having made the most significant impact on Māori educational progress within New Zealand in the second half of the twentieth century.

The Hunn Report

The Hunn Report (1960) was published at a time when the effect of the Māori migration from their tribal lands and communities to the cities was being noticed. Previously there had been little contact between Māori and Pākehā, but the migration of Māori to the cities in search of work brought Māori into greater contact with Pākehā in workplaces, social settings and schools. The policy of assimilation or dominance of Pākehā on Māori in social settings was challenged by the influx of Māori to the towns and cities.

The same report signalled a government shift in race relations policy (Marshall, 1988; L. T. Smith, 1997; Spoonley, 1993). Smith describes the policy as the state's attempt to define and politically control Māori people at a time of urban migration and rapid population expansion. Smith also claims the Report signalled an end to the separate development of Māori people. For example, the Hunn Report and its policy of integration laid the foundation for the closure by 1969 of all Māori, which had existed in parallel to the Board-run schools. The Hunn Report was widely distributed through government departments and presented clear statistical evidence to show that Māori were disadvantaged in terms of health, employment, housing and education. The "problem" of Māori underachievement was identified and the search for solutions began with policies outlined in the report. There was a shift of direction away from the previous notion that Māori should be assimilated into New Zealand society to the suggestion that integration was more acceptable.

In advocating a policy of integration rather than of assimilation, the Hunn Report drew a distinction between the two concepts by stating that process of assimilation is to "become absorbed/blended/amalgamated with the complete loss of Māori culture" while the process of integration was to "combine the Māori and Pākehā elements to form one nation wherein

Māori culture remains distinct” (Hunn, 1960, p. 15). The report had identified the destructive elements of assimilation and recognised the effect it was having on Māori culture.

Spoonley (1993, p. 66) acknowledges the criticisms the Hunn Report has attracted but describes it as “one of the first systematic attempts to document the racial disadvantage of the Māori”. He holds this view because the report was able to identify the problem. However, he questions the myth of racial equality and claims that, historically, the Education Department’s interest in Māori education was actually to the detriment of Māori when Māori values and practices were marginalised or excluded and it was expected that Māori were to be socialised into a subservient role.

The Hunn Report was followed by other reports and analyses of Māori disadvantage. Spoonley claims awareness of the disadvantages led to the Māori activism of the 1980s. By the mid 1980s, the institutions of the state were becoming aware of racism and the concept of institutional racism. Spoonley states that, as a result of the report, the decision was made to use education policy to address Māori educational disadvantage. Policy changes brought about additional staffing for schools with a high Polynesian population, a teacher-training scheme for native speakers of Māori and a Māori Studies course at Wellington Teachers College.

At a social level, intermarriage was expected to assist with the integration of Māori into New Zealand society, while in schools integration was reflected in the curriculum as schools began to offer Māori art and craft. In 1962, the Currie Commission and Education Department Report was released which, with its recommendation that Māori schools be transferred to Education Board control, suggested structural integration should occur. Previously, Māori schools had been under the direct control of the Education Department and so were controlled at a national level by one organisation, the Education Department. Schools under the Education Board were controlled at a local provincial level. The effect of this change to Education Board control was not integration as described by the Hunn Report, where the Māori elements and culture of Māori schools remained distinct. Instead, the Māori students and teachers from the Māori schools were absorbed into the Board school system almost without trace. L. Smith (1997) claims that the unique advantages established in the Native School system, such as the strong community input and curriculum adaptations, were lost in the transfer to the Board system where their value was not recognised or understood.

When assessing—almost three decades later—the effect of the integration policies that followed the Hunn Report and the Currie Commission Report, Jones, Marshall, Morris Matthews, G. Smith, and L. Smith (1990) claim that, in fact, Pākehā showed little interest in Māori culture, schools showed no interest in dealing with issues of race and the process of integration distracted attention from Māori education issues of access, participation and outcomes. They state that, for Māori people, the policies of assimilation and integration were much the same.

Deficit Theory: Māori in Education

At the same time as the publication of the Hunn Report, other Western education systems were looking for ways to address the high failure rate of students from some minority groups. The assumption was that, since all students were being taught in the same way and receiving the same support, any failures or weaknesses must be the result of deficiencies and weaknesses within those minority groups. Most of the research carried out at that time found these groups to be culturally, linguistically and socially deprived and so the phrases “cultural deprivation” and “cultural deficit” came into common use. Assimilation was seen as the solution (Jones et al., 1990).

It was inevitable that, when middle-class, mainstream New Zealand culture and values were taken as the norm, all other cultures would appear different, deficient and deviant. Therefore, with regard to education, Māori students were different in the way they responded to teachers, they were deficient if their homes did not have a study space and they were deviant because they were more likely to drop out of school. This focus on the deficiencies of Māori resulted in Māori being blamed for their lack of success in education. As long as attention was on Māori students, Māori parents and the community beyond the school, there was no expectation or requirement for teachers, schools and practices within schools to make changes or adaptations to meet the needs of Māori students. Māori were blamed for their own failure.

The effect of the deficit theory and victim-blaming research on Māori is described by Mead (2003):

The cumulative effect of all this research on Māori from the 1960s through to the early 1980s was a widespread perception by Māori that educational research was victim blaming research, which simply regarded Māori culture, Māori people, Māori parents and Māori children as being culturally deprived. The “cycle of deprivation” seemed to incorporate within it and to Māori at least, lay blame on, all aspects of Māori life,

personality, home circumstances, family size, economics and educational achievement. What appeared to be missing consistently was the sense that there might be profound historical and political reasons which accounted for the socio-economic circumstances of Māori. (Mead, 2003, p. 143)

The assimilation policy in New Zealand was comparable with the Compensatory Education programmes in the United States. In New Zealand the assimilation process was a response to the deficiencies that had been identified in the environments of Māori children. These deficiencies were recognised as the reasons for Māori underachievement. Extracts from the Currie Commission Report (1962) reveal the influence of the “cultural deprivation” concept. The cultural background of the researchers became the norm as the culture and background of the Māori were assessed. They saw deficiencies but, because of their limited cultural experience, were unable to see the advantages of another culture. The influence of the cultural deficit theory was evident in the description of Māori living conditions in the report. The lack of study facilities and resources and poor living conditions of Māori were further deficiencies detailed in the report (D. P. Ausubel, 1970). Also noted in the report was a link between cultural impoverishment and low economic status.

Māori being seen as “deficient” also came from Ausubel (1961), the American writer who claimed that Māori pupils were not as well prepared for secondary schooling as their Pākehā classmates. Ausubel’s monocultural perspective left him blind to Māori cultural strengths and advantages. He was only able to observe instances where Māori were different and, in his view, deficient. He noted weaknesses in academic subjects and an increasing disadvantage in written work caused by a “language handicap”. Using tools and measures developed for quite different population groups, Ausubel also described a “Stunting of Verbal Intelligence” based on the Otis I.Q. test and offered his opinion on the causes of “Māori intellectual retardation”. Ausubel identified two main factors: firstly, the status of Māori as an underprivileged, lower-class group with large families and, secondly, the special disabilities experienced by Māori, associated with the problems of acculturation. Ausubel claimed that Māori parents did not place as much value on education as did Pākehā parents but failed to acknowledge Māori parents’ aspirations for their children when he observed that Māori parents expected their children to complete more years of schooling than Pākehā did.

Ausubel did not consider that the education that was provided or that the way it was provided might be deficient in meeting the needs of Māori. Instead, he concluded Māori parents were

more permissive than Pākehā parents about homework, school marks, school attendance and sitting School Certificate. He noted that Māori pupils often performed very well in primary school through to the first two years of high school but few of the students showing ability in the early years of secondary school or who completed secondary school went on to attend university. Ausubel did not consider what could be done to improve education for Māori children. Rather, he went on to note deficiencies in Māori parents and concluded that the parents were handicapped by their own lack of attainment at school and the lack of time available to help their children study because of the large size of their families.

Responses to deficit thinking

The description of Māori as “culturally deprived” did not go unchallenged, however. Māori educators have been consistent in their criticisms of the education system and its failure to recognise and support Māori students, Māori staff, Māori knowledge and the Māori language. In their report to the primary school teachers’ union, in 1967, the NZEI Māori Education Committee commented:

... most Māori children are not culturally deprived. They are “culturally different” and this is vastly different. They live in a family, are loved and brought up in a way of life which is very comfortable and to which they return whenever failure at school or in the outside world impinges heavily upon them ... There is a great need for awareness of Māori values and social organization and the contribution that the Māori way of life can make towards the synthesis of a nation. Unawareness of the Māoris is New Zealand’s main lack. So long as Pākehā’s continue to view the social problems of a plural society through Pākehā eyes, the solutions of those problems will remain slow and laborious. (NZEI Maori Education Committee, 1967, p. 11)

Unfortunately the views of experienced Māori educators had little impact in comparison with academic research findings and official documents such as the Hunn Report and the Currie Commission. New approaches in education emerged in the 1980s to replace the assimilation and integration policies of the 1960s and 1970s. Economic changes in New Zealand towards a free market model also influenced educational thought towards decentralisation in school administration and paved the way for the introduction of the Picot Report and Tomorrow’s Schools.

The Picot Report

In 1988 the Picot Report was released by the New Zealand government. The changes proposed in the report brought about a radical restructuring of the education system. The proposals were taken up by the Minister of Education and became the policies of “Tomorrow’s Schools”. The report aimed to do away with the existing bureaucracy of the system by making schools, colleges and kindergartens self-managing units. The Picot model decentralised decision-making around resources, staff appointments, professional development and support services.

The decentralised model promoted by the report shifted the many responsibilities away from the Ministry of Education to the Boards of Trustees of each school. While this shift in responsibility was advanced as a positive way for parents to have more say in the running of their local schools, it was also an abdication of responsibility by the Ministry of Education (G. Smith, 1997). Previously, policies concerning Māori and other issues of equity had been generated and debated at Ministry level. Now they could be debated and rejected or neglected by individual school boards. The effect of the report and shifting responsibilities to Boards is described by Smith (2003):

Māori people themselves are made responsible for changing school structures to protect language and cultural interests. The State appears very reluctant to negotiate a set policy ... Every school effectively becomes a site of struggle where language and culture is to be contested. In effect, each school will now be holding a referendum on what is to count as programming for language and culture. (G. Smith, 1997, p. 369)

Another concept introduced by the Picot Report was bulk funding. While the state set the level of funding, a (bulk-funded) school would have the responsibility for decisions around allocation and spending. The effect of the change would be that public dissatisfaction would be directed at Boards of Trustees and diverted away from the government. Adams, Clark, Codd, O'Neill, and Waitere-Ang (2000) claim that, while the move away from bureaucracy was welcomed, the report was in reality a compromise between the wishes of educationalists for more equity and local involvement and the desire of the Treasury and State Services Commission for more control and more choice.

The Picot Report explains the advantages of choice in relation to equity and efficiency in these terms: “...we see the creation of more choice in the system as a way of ensuring greater

efficiency and equity” (1988, p. 4). The statement was criticised by Adams et al. (2000) who claimed that choice does not always translate into equity and added that, where resources are limited, choices made by some can often limit the choices of others. They also explain that being able to exercise choice requires knowledge of the options and the need for those options to be viable and realistic. They claim that if education depends on the exercise of choice then the outcome in an unequal society will favour those with the knowledge, finances and the capacity to make informed choices.

Similar comments are made by Dale (2000) who cites research from the Smithfield project:

What the Smithfield researchers found was that the educational market had the opposite effect: it increased the likelihood of middle class children attending successful schools. Through a combination of greater access to resources such as cars, telephones and flexible work arrangements, all of which physically facilitate and expand choice of school, and ‘the underlying confidence ... derived from their own cultural capital, success and familiarity with the convention of middle class schooling ... They are able to exploit the market to their own advantage’ (Lauder *et al.*, 1999). (Dale, 2000, p. 126)

Education markets, therefore, offer advantages to middle-class parents at the expense of working-class and Māori parents.

G. Smith (1997) predicted that the Picot Report would have repercussions for Māori language and cultural revitalisation. Smith’s main argument was that Māori had become responsible for protection of Māori language and culture but Pākehā actually had control.

These criticisms were consistent with research conducted by Johnson (1997) with Māori members on School Boards of Trustees. This research investigated the influence that Māori parents could have over their children’s education in the environment created by the report. The research found that Māori members on Boards of Trustees were dependent on Pākehā discretion. They were unable to address the needs of Māori in the school without the commitment and support of non-Māori staff and Board members. Without it, Māori members were powerless.

Supporters of the reforms welcomed the increased choices that became available. Increased choice had been regarded as one of the positive and liberating effects of the reforms.

However, there was opposition to the provision of greater choice with predictions that choice may be achieved at the cost of equity (Lauder & Hughes, 1999). Opponents gave the example of the removal of school zoning to illustrate their argument. Lauder claimed that those who predicted the reforms would widen the gap between “rich” and “poor” schools were proved correct as those parents able to move their children took advantage of the policy. The result is that disparities between schools are increasing along class and ethnic lines. These critics claim the reforms have had negative effects such as harmful competition between schools, exacerbating inequalities in communities and disparities in resources for special needs. The negative effects appear to have created the greatest disadvantage for Māori, who too often lack the physical and financial resources to exercise their choices.

The Influence of Socio-economic Reforms

Since the Hunn Report the link between social class and achievement has been thoroughly researched and analysed. Research across four decades has repeatedly reported that achievement is affected by socio-economic status. Robinson (1999) acknowledged that research has established the strong link between social class and achievement:

Decades of research on educational achievement has shown that the best predictor of children’s school achievement is their social class background ... it is one of the most robust findings of the educational research literature. (Robinson, 1999, p. 2)

A study in the 1980s found evidence of the influence of class on the achievement levels of students (Lauder, Hughes, & Taberner, 1985). This study is offered as strong evidence that equality of opportunity does not occur. Students of equal ability with equal effort should have achieved the same class destinations. However, the study showed 75 percent of high-level achievers from upper-class (socio-economic) backgrounds entered upper-class destinations while only 34 percent of high-level achievers from lower-class backgrounds entered upper-class destinations. Therefore an upper-class background gave students twice the advantage of working-class students with the same ability. Although this was a study carried out in Christchurch, a part of New Zealand with a very low Māori population, many educators have used this sort of evidence to argue that lack of the achievement and attainment for Māori is a class issue rather than a Māori issue.

In a report to the Ministry of Education on “Māori Participation and Performance in Education”, the gap in family resources (i.e., socio-economic factors) is identified as the key

reason for the education gap between Māori and non-Māori (Else, 1997). The report states there are many different factors and more than one reason for the education gap. It suggests that the reasons may change for Māori as they move through the system. The report provides data which shows the effects of low socio-economic status on family resources. Māori parents are more likely to be unemployed, less likely to own their own homes and have less formal education than non-Māori parents.

In the 1990s the Ministry of Education set up an index of schools to facilitate funding allocation. The system gives schools with the least socio-economic advantage a decile 1 ranking while the schools with the highest socio-economic advantage receive a decile 10 ranking. Although the ranking is a socio-economic one, it also reflects educational outcomes. An Auckland University report in 1999 completed by the Taskforce for Improving Participation in Tertiary Education found that:

... there is a wide gap in participation rates between students from high and low socio-economic backgrounds. In 1997, for example, only 8% of students entering New Zealand universities were from low decile schools, compared with 52% of students from high decile schools ... Furthermore, this gap is increasing, not diminishing. Over the past 4 years, there has been a 20% decline in the proportion of students entering universities from decile 1–3 schools across the country, with particularly sharp declines in some areas. At The University of Auckland, for example, the number of students entering over this period from low-decile schools in Northland dropped 49% and 43% from low-decile schools in south Auckland. (University of Auckland, 1999, p. 6)

The ranking system also reflects racial/ethnic distribution. Schools with the highest Māori and Pacific student populations are also the low-decile schools. When school zoning restrictions were eased, many families near low-decile schools moved their children to high-decile schools hoping to increase their chances of success by attending a school with a higher achievement record. The following graph shows very low rates of enrolments for Māori and Pacific students in decile 7–10 schools and suggests that it is Asian and New Zealand European families who gain the advantages of education in the high-decile schools.

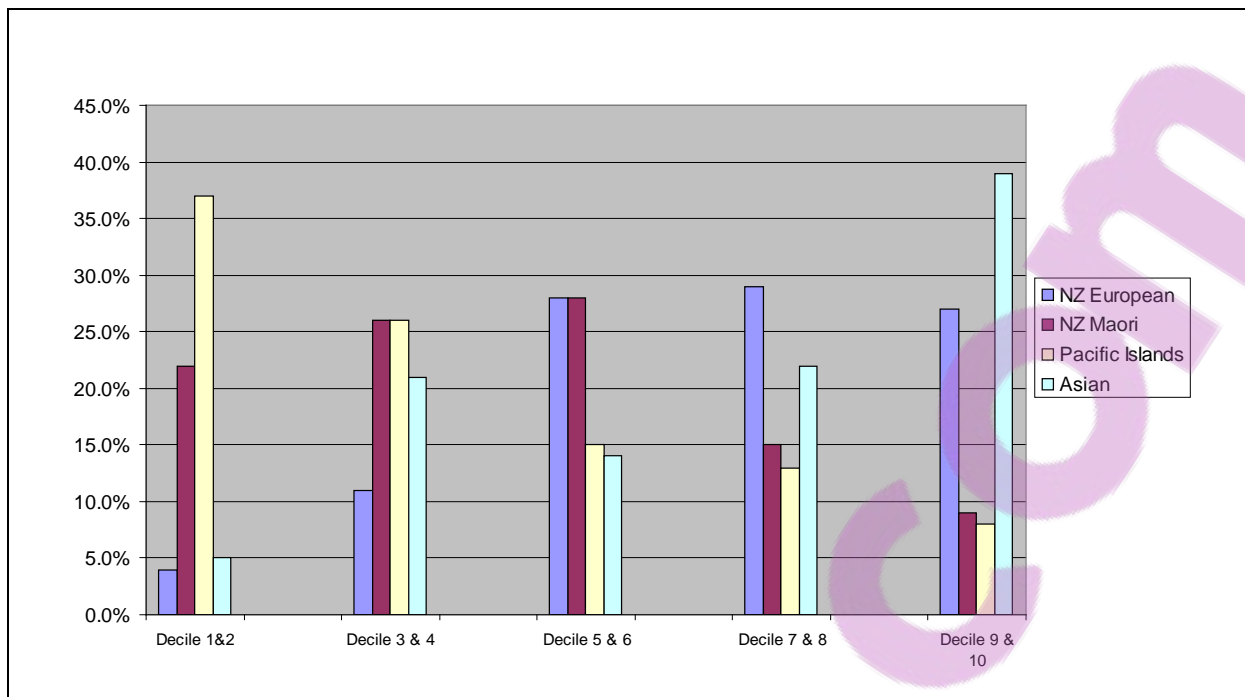


Fig. 1 Distribution of students across school quintiles by ethnicity

Retrieved from http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/series/2259/july_school_roll_returns/32403

The decile ranking of schools could almost be compared to streaming, which is a common practice in many schools. In secondary schools, streaming students for ability was seen as a way of making teaching easier. Streaming is supposed to improve student achievement because it does away with the need for teachers to cater for several different ability groups within the same class (Slavin, 1987). In the 1970s and 1980s streaming fell out of favour when studies showed that working-class students were disadvantaged by streaming which created and maintained inequalities (Boaler, 1997; Hargreaves, 1967; Lacey, 1970). There was concern in the United States noted by Slavin (1987) that streaming discriminated against students of low socio-economic status and students from minority groups who were being disproportionately placed in low tracks (streams). Slavin also cited evidence from McPartland (1968), of desegregation cases where plaintiffs have argued that streaming (or ability grouping) could be used as a segregating device within integrated schools.

In New Zealand the pattern of Māori over-representation in negative education statistics and under-representation in positive achievement statistics is reflected in classes streamed for ability. Too often the effect of streaming is that top-stream classes are predominantly Pākehā and Asian and lower-stream classes are predominantly Māori and Pacific students. In more recent years, the decile system, established by the Ministry of Education as a system for

allocating funding to schools, repeats the pattern. In terms of achievement outcomes Māori and Pacific students attending low-decile schools are the most disadvantaged groups (Madjar, McKinley, Jensen, & Van Der Merwe, 2009). The populations of the high-decile schools with the high achievers are predominantly Pākehā and Asian and the populations of the low-decile schools with the low achievement rates are predominantly Māori and Pacific.

The public perception is that the decile ranking of schools equates to a grading of quality. Therefore it is likely that the expectations teachers in low-decile schools have for their students would be strongly affected. In fact, the decile ranking system can allow some schools to use home circumstances as an excuse for their low expectations of their students whereas other schools are committed to providing a quality education that can make a difference to the lives of their students. The Research Bulletin (Kennedy, 2001) describes a double disadvantage for students when difficult home circumstances are combined with a failure of their school to develop high-quality programmes or to set realistic and positive expectations for them.

At the Knowledge Wave Leadership Forum in 2003, John Hattie described the achievement gap in the New Zealand education system:

We have an extreme degree of inequality in our education system and to make matters worse, the surveys from the past 25 years have shown we are the only country where our bottom 20% is getting worse. These bottom 20% are the least mobile, and there is no doubt that more and more public resources will need to be directed to them when they leave school. (Hattie, 2003, p. 4)

Hattie maintained that it is the role of the education system to foster success that is independent of students' backgrounds. Home influences, therefore, should not be allowed to provide excuses for lack of teaching successfully.

Institutional Racism in Education

Māori have consistently remained a disadvantaged and underachieving group within the education system and schools, and school policies have not resulted in any marked improvement. The term "institutional racism" has been used by writers such as Cazden (1988) and Spoonley (1993) to explain the continued lack of success for Māori in schools.

Institutional racism occurs when a racial group cannot gain access to the resources within a system such as the health, education or justice systems.

In response the Kaupapa Māori approach (G. Smith, 1997) provided Māori with a means of addressing institutional racism. Māori frustration at the lack of Māori access and success in education was frequently expressed until Kaupapa Māori became the catalyst for the recognition and response to institutional racism which resulted in the establishment of alternative education systems in Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori (see page 21) and later Wānanga. This thesis attempts to identify and address some of this institutional racism and to bring about transformation from within the system.

Factors affecting Māori participation

Student participation education can be affected by a number of factors beyond the control of the school but one factor that is managed and sustained by the school is the suspension of students from school. Students who are suspended or expelled from school are being denied access to schooling. The following table from the Ministry of Education website indicates the extent to which Māori were limited (from 2000-2007) in their access to education as a result of suspension. There is a consistent pattern in suspension rates, with the percentage of Māori suspensions being twice that of total student suspensions. In this regard, Māori are clearly a disadvantaged group.

Ethnic Group	Years							
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Māori	19.2	17.4	17.1	16.3	15.0	16.2	15.4	14.4
Pasifika	8.6	9.1	9.4	8.3	9.1	9.3	10.6	8.7
Asian	1.4	1.4	1.3	2.1	1.3	1.4	1.3	1.2
Other	3.6	6.3	6.9	6.9	7.4	7.1	6.5	7.5
European/Pākehā	5.1	4.5	4.5	4.3	4.1	4.3	4.1	4.0
Total	7.9	7.3	7.3	7.0	6.7	7.2	7.0	6.6

Fig. 2 Age-standardised suspension rates per 1,000 students, by ethnic group (2000 to 2007)

Retrieved from http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/Māori_education/schooling/school_leavers



The Ministry of Education report for school leavers in 2006 shows that the proportion of Māori students leaving school qualified to attend university has doubled (an increase of more than 7%) from 7.5% in 1993 to 14.8% in 2006. However, at the same time, the proportion of all school leavers qualified to attend university improved (an increase of more than 11%) from 25.1% in 1993 to 36.3% in 2006. Although Māori numbers had doubled, the increase for Māori was less than the increase for all groups in the population so that the disparity between Māori and other groups remained. Māori school leavers are clearly a disadvantaged group in terms of their ability to access university-level study.

Year	Ethnic Group				
	Māori	Pasifika	Asian	NZ European /Pākehā	Total
1993	7.5	9.1	46.8	29.8	25.1
1994	7.9	10.0	48.1	31.3	26.6
1995	7.5	11.0	46.9	31.4	26.4
1996	7.9	9.9	52.2	32.7	27.7
1997	8.2	10.3	54.0	34.0	29.3
1998	8.9	11.0	56.3	33.8	29.3
1999	8.5	9.1	54.1	31.5	27.5
2000	7.3	9.5	52.2	30.4	26.7
2001	7.4	9.7	53.6	29.9	26.0
2002	7.7	8.5	52.2	31.2	27.0
2003	8.9	9.4	54.1	33.2	28.7
2004	11.7	14.0	56.2	37.1	32.1
2005	11.9	14.5	58.5	38.1	32.9
2006	14.8	16.8	63.0	41.3	36.3
2007	18.3	20.2	65.7	44.0	39.0

**Fig. 3 Percentage of school leavers qualified to attend university
by ethnic group (1993 to 2007)**

Table from (Stock, 2008, p. 12)

Similar patterns can be seen with regard to school leavers with little or no formal attainment. While the percentage of Māori leaving school without qualifications has decreased

significantly from 33.5% to 21.8%, the rate of Māori school leavers without qualifications is still more than double the rate of Pākēha and five times the rate of Asian school leavers.

Year	Ethnic Group				
	Māori	Pasifika	Asian	NZ European /Pākehā	Total
1993	33.5	24.8	10.8	10.9	16.0
1994	34.6	23.7	10.3	11.1	16.3
1995	35.4	24.3	14.6	12.8	18.1
1996	39.0	26.6	9.7	13.6	19.1
1997	37.7	26.2	8.8	12.2	17.6
1998	38.2	27.4	6.9	12.6	18.1
1999	35.0	26.7	7.6	12.3	17.2
2000	32.5	24.4	7.4	12.5	16.5
2001	33.4	24.8	8.0	12.4	17.0
2002	34.9	26.3	9.1	13.8	18.2
2003	30.2	21.4	7.4	11.5	15.3
2004	25.4	15.9	5.2	9.6	12.8
2005	25.0	15.2	4.6	9.9	12.9
2006	21.8	12.2	4.5	8.8	11.1

Fig. 4 Percentage of school leavers with little or no formal attainment, by ethnic group (1993 to 2006)

(Ministry of Education July 2007)

Retrieved from http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/Māori_education/schooling/school_leavers

If the information for Māori students is considered in isolation, it appears that progress is being made with regard to Māori outcomes but, when comparisons are made with other groups, it is evident that Māori outcomes have followed the same patterns as other population groups and that the disparities between Māori and other groups remain.

Access and participation in tertiary education

From 1998 to 2005 Māori participation in tertiary education increased rapidly with the expansion and growth of wānanga and the establishment of wānanga campus sites outside the

large city centres. However, participation declined slightly from 2005 to 2008, coinciding with the introduction of changes in funding policies in 2005 aimed at reducing the range and number of pre-degree qualifications being offered.

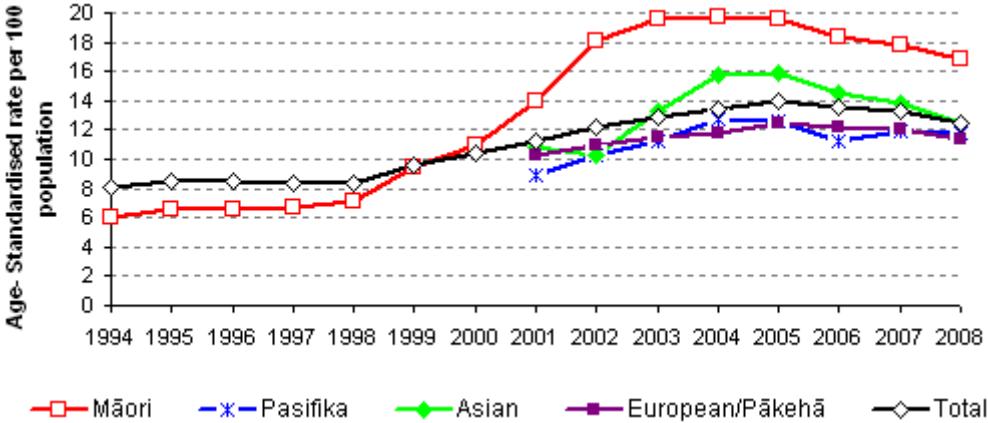


Fig. 6 Age-standardised participation rates in tertiary education per 100 population aged 15 plus, by ethnic group (1994 to 2008)

Retrieved on 27/01/2011 from http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/indicators/student_participation/tertiary_education/participation_rates_in_tertiary_education

Closer analysis of the data reveals the greatest participation is in certificates at levels one to three, with certificates at level four having the next highest participation rate, while the increase in participation in degree-level study was only slight. This pattern of participation is to be expected. It is a reflection of the achievement patterns of Māori school leavers (see Fig.7 p 38).

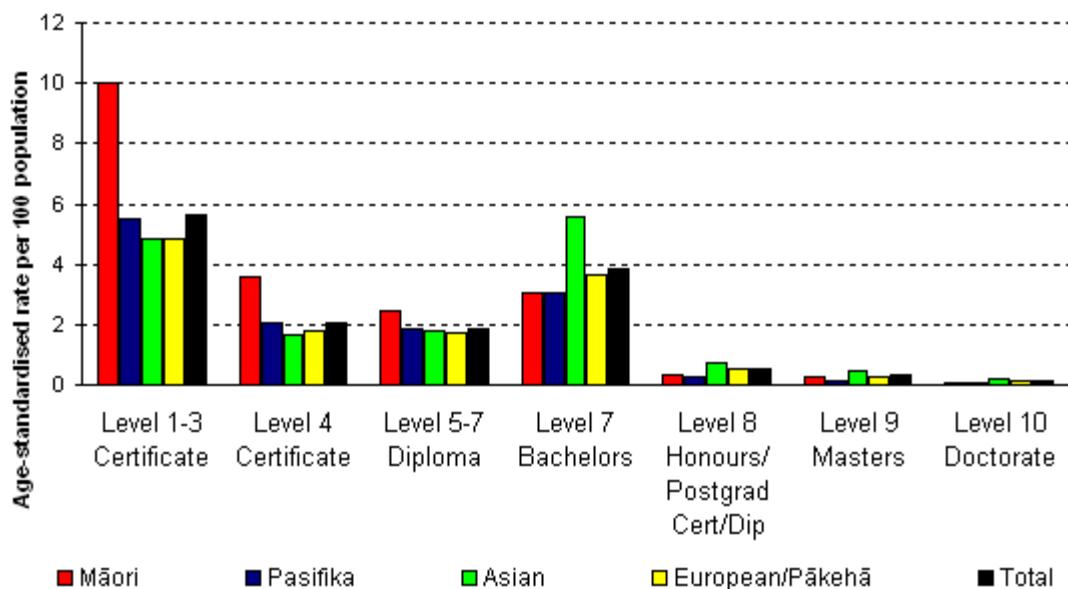


Fig.7 Age-standardised participation rates in tertiary education per 100 population aged 15 plus, by ethnic group and level of study (2007)

Retrieved from [http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/indicators/indicator_page/tertiary/1963 15/11/08](http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/indicators/indicator_page/tertiary/1963%2015/11/08)

Certificate-level study is equivalent to a senior secondary school education. Many Māori therefore lack the prerequisites for diploma and degree-level study. Māori are engaging in the type of tertiary education for which they are equipped: education for trade and industry and foundation studies at a pre-degree level.

Lower expectations for Māori

Māori now have a higher participation rate in tertiary education than any other group and the high participation has been regarded as an indicator of Māori success (Education Counts, 2007). However, to promote the high participation rate as success without acknowledging that most Māori are enrolled in sub-degree programmes, and that Māori continue to be under-represented in degree level programmes, is institutional racism. It is an example of setting and accepting lower expectations for Māori. While other population groups gain access to degree-level courses, high Māori participation in sub-degree programmes should not be celebrated.

If academic credentials are regarded as the resources distributed or earned in the schooling system, it is clear that Māori are not gaining them at the same rate or level as non-Māori. The higher suspension rate of Māori and the lower Māori achievement rate in secondary school examinations could be described as examples of institutional racism.

The *Research Bulletin* (Kennedy, 2001) comments on the effects of racism on Māori in schools:

There is no doubt that Māori children face a certain amount of discrimination in schools, mainly in the form of teacher discrimination and racism from other students. Available research evidence has shown that school and teacher expectations of and for Māori students are often not as high as they are for non-Māori, and that, although it may not be deliberate, teachers ignore or overlook Māori students. (Kennedy, 2001, p. 16)

Spoonley (1993) describes the education system as a key to the maintenance of social advantage. He states that the codes and the cultural values of the schools are typically those of the middle-class, so the school is a comfortable place for the middle-class students. He maintains that the extent to which the alternative cultures are included or excluded from the school and the extent of success or failure of particular ethnic groups are both important issues for the study of racism and ethnicity in New Zealand. Also identified are factors to be considered in investigating the institutional racism of schools, such as, the financial and social resources of the school, the role of the teachers in terms of expectation of achievement, the enthusiasm and skills in dealing with non-Pākehā topics, the place of the dominant minority values in the curriculum and the power structure of the school.

Spoonley (1993) cites the National Advisory Committee on Māori Education (NACME) 1986 report which asked for support for bilingual education and for racism to be confronted. The report also suggested that the principals and teacher-trainees be screened for racism. Spoonley claims the suggestion was not implemented because anti-racist education was considered to be a contentious issue.

All the policies, theories, systems and perceptions discussed up to this point have had a focus on Māori education and achievement. For the remaining part of this chapter, I will examine the effects that these policies and trends in education have had on Māori education and discuss whether the intended outcomes occurred.

The influence of education policies research and theories

Most education policies are set at a national level and implemented at a local level in schools or in the classrooms. Research on the other hand is undertaken at both national and local levels, but particular research projects are selected for discussion at education conferences or

published in national journals that are readily accessible to teachers. The results of research influence schools, teachers and teaching practice in a similar way to that of Ministry of Education policy.

After the publication of the Hunn Report and the Currie Commission, a group of Māori teachers on a subcommittee of the NZEI responded to the policies and trends of that time. This was a statement made from their report to the NZEI:

... our educational viewpoint has been negative. Teachers have persisted in presenting to Māori youngsters programmes which in no way recognize that they are Māoris. Teachers have been forced to grope around with only the haziest ideas about what they are facing each day and no real attempts have been made by our society to give the Māoris the kind of education best suited to their needs (NZEI Maori Education Committee, 1967)

Research almost twenty years later reached similar conclusions (Simon, 1986). This research found teachers had very little understanding of the culture of the Māori students they were teaching. Simon's research found that two thirds of the teachers interviewed used a teaching approach that "reinforced Pākehā dominance" and was therefore an approach that would work against the interests of their Māori students. She also found that more than half the sample of teachers subscribed to the "deficit" ideology, and some were openly negative towards Māori and had little understanding of the political issues such as the disempowerment of Māori in many school situations.

In earlier research with primary school children, Simon identified three themes in Pākehā teachers' descriptions of their interaction with Māori students:

- the deficit view,
- the denial of cultural difference; and
- trivialising of Taha Māori.

All three themes have negative outcomes for Māori. Simon was concerned that the deficit view, a policy of the 1960s which had been vigorously discredited by research and the Department of Education, should still prevail in the minds of teachers twenty years later. Simon also claimed that teachers were automatically linking Māoriness with language

difficulty and frequently could not justify their reasons for doing so. Simon also found that, instead of recognising that Māori were using a different form of English, teachers were describing the language of Māori as inadequate and limited.

The denial of cultural differences was another way in which Simon considered Māori were disadvantaged. Treating children as if they all had the same needs usually resulted in the interests of Pākehā children being met while the “Māoriness” of Māori was not recognised or acknowledged: “By ignoring the cultural identity of the Māori children, the Pākehā teacher is helping to reinforce negative attitudes both in the way [Māori] children see themselves and in the ways they are perceived by their Pākehā peers” (Simon, 1984, p. 136).

The third theme identified by Simon (1984) was the trivialising of the Taha Māori programmes introduced in the 1980s. Trivialising occurs when Māori culture is denigrated to being an unimportant “frill” to be added to the real curriculum. For example, allowing drama and music classes to be timetabled during school hours while kapa haka takes place after school or during lunch hours indicates that Māori performing arts do not have the same status as drama and music. Another example of the failure to accord Māori language the same status as other subjects occurred at a school that my nephews attended. The school bowed to parent and student demand for Māori language and organised for Māori language classes to take place before school from 7.45am to 8.30am. When attendance at the Māori class dropped off in the middle of the South Island winter, it was taken as an indication of lack of student interest and commitment.

A visiting American researcher also discussed the need to examine teacher – student relationships. Cazden (1988) recorded observations of interactions between Māori children and Pākehā teachers during reading sessions. She found that when Pākehā teachers worked individually with children, the teachers gave more prompts and encouragement to talk when they were with Pākehā and Pacific children than when they were with Māori children. In following up the study and results with the teachers, Cazden noted a common response was that it was more difficult to talk to Māori children.

Cazden claims that, “In any society where groups have differential power and where teachers from the dominant group ‘do what comes naturally’ ... the result is very apt to reinforce the privileged status of their own group and discriminate against others” (Cazden, 1988, p. 28).

Cazden emphasises that such differential treatment does result in disadvantage for Māori children and comments that such a situation gives truth to the term institutional racism.

Twenty years after Simon's research showed that Māori were disadvantaged in their interactions with teachers, new research shows that the disadvantage still exists for Māori students in schools (Rubie-Davies, Hattie, & Hamilton, 2003). Bishop claims monocultural practices in schools "pathologise" Māori:

As a result of the schools being organised monoculturally, Māori pupils often found that their cultural knowledge was unacceptable or belittled, their intentions and motivations misinterpreted and their language and names mispronounced. This amounted to a systematic assault on their identity and well-being as Māori people. Their resulting confusion was often manifested as frustration, poor behaviour, lack of willingness to participate in classroom activities, and subsequent low achievement and failure at school (Bishop, 2005, p. 65).

In his research with Māori students in mainstream secondary schools, published in 2006, Bishop interviewed both "engaged" and "non-engaged" Māori students and found for both groups:

Most of the students, in those groups, reported that being Māori in mainstream secondary schools was a negative experience for them. They often found themselves in conflict with the teachers and/or not getting the sort of help they needed with their learning ... Few reported positive experiences of being Māori in their classrooms, either currently or in the past, their negative experiences being overwhelmingly dominant. (Bishop & Berryman, 2006, p. 126)

It appears that although almost half a century has passed, little progress has been made. Bishop's comments in 2006 have the same themes as the statement from NZEI Māori Education Committee in 1967. Across the decades, research in the classroom has consistently shown Māori students' experience of education to be negative, as a result of poor relationships with teachers, lack of appropriate teaching and assistance, and little recognition of their Māori identity.

Increasing Cultural Awareness

The concept of biculturalism came into vogue as educators made efforts to increase cultural awareness and recognition of Māori culture.

A major new project, established under the banner of biculturalism, emerged as Taha Māori. This was a curriculum policy initiative intended to make Māori language, knowledge and culture part of the school curriculum. The Taha Māori experience is suggested as an example of Pākehā dominance and control in the area of Māori education. Taha Māori was meant to work in the interests of Māori but Smith (1990) was highly critical of the promotion of the project, claiming that Māori were hoping for substantial changes in Māori education and instead they were given Taha Māori. Smith described Taha Māori as: “a Pākehā defined, initiated and controlled policy which serves the interests of Pākehā people” (G. Smith, 1997, p. 342). Smith had a number of serious criticisms to make of the introduction of Taha Māori. He explained that although Taha Māori was ostensibly established in the interests of Māori education and funded as a Māori education initiative, it was “co-opted” for the education of Pākehā pupils because it was directed at all pupils.

Smith is also critical of the way Taha Māori depended on a mainly Pākehā teacher-population for its implementation. He comments that many of these teachers needed to develop appropriate attitudes and skills before they could adequately pass on the knowledge to pupils. If those teachers did not receive the appropriate training, the lack of preparation could have a negative effect on the Māori people, the Māori culture and Māori pupils in schools (G. Smith, 1997).

Another negative effect cited by Smith with regard to Taha Māori was the increased demand for resources, which resulted in resources being developed by Pākehā people. This took the control of Māori language, knowledge and culture away from Māori and placed it under Pākehā control (G. Smith, 1997). Such approaches to bicultural education tend to allow the dominant culture to become the norm from which the others deviate, by focusing attention on minority cultures and allowing the dominant cultural values of the education system to be invisible so that educational racism is sustained. It was Māori frustrations at initiatives such as these that laid the foundation for Kaupapa Māori theory, in recognition of the need for Māori to take responsibility for addressing Māori needs.

The issue of power over Māori education is given significance by Māori writers such as A. Durie (1989) and Walker (1990), who began to question those with the power over Māori education about the control of the curriculum and funding. Walker claimed that the education system had failed to meet the cultural aspirations and needs of Māori by excluding them from the success that would lead to higher social and economic status.

Access to power is the defining issue with regard to pluralism (Adams et al., 2000). Minority groups without sufficient access to power will inevitably be in a lower position in society while a minority group with more access to power will have a higher social position. Adams et al. argue that, before full pluralism can occur for minority groups, there needs to be a sharing of resources, a sharing of power and an increase in social parity. They describe the call by Māori for tino rangatiratanga as an example of Māori working to gain greater control over issues affecting Māori in health, education, employment and justice.

Adams et al. (2000) also describe difficulties Māori face as a group outside of the dominant group, so that Māori knowledge, cultural values and Māori children are located outside the educational norm. They discuss norms and deviance from the norms with regard to Māori culture and identity and claim that acceptance of Māori as a specific ethnic group is mainly on the basis of the actual contributions that Māori make to the New Zealand identity rather than acceptance in terms of political and cultural rights. They also state that definitions can be too simplistic and reduce Māori to a set of characteristics and values. These writers state that the group that has the power to define norms is the dominant group, who also can define the differences of other groups as deviance. They suggest that the group with the power in society is able to impose their views and decisions on the less powerful. The minority groups are left in a subordinate position, unable to resist, and therefore remain in a lower social position.

Jenkins and Jones (2000) criticised a statement on the Ministry of Education web page in 1999 stating the Ministry's purpose as: *Te Ihi, Te Mana, Te Mātauranga: Empowering Education*. Jenkins and Jones disputed that claim and maintained that the reward for Māori who have given long-term support to the state education of Māori, has been low achievement levels and the virtual loss of Māori language and culture. They claim, therefore, that it is inappropriate for a state agency to use the Māori language and concepts, *Te Ihi, Te Mana, Te Mātauranga: Empowering Education*, "which promise much, while [the state is] failing to have any regard for these meanings and promises" (Jenkins & Jones, 2000, p. 153). Just as Taha Māori was ostensibly created for Māori but co-opted for Pākehā, the "Te Ihi" promotion

is co-opting Māori concepts to give the impression of being supportive to Māori needs when the majority of Māori in mainstream schools have little or no access to their culture.

New Zealand education has often been influenced by American studies that focus on minority education. Assimilation policies in America that brought about desegregation of schools and programmes, such as Head Start, had parallels in New Zealand when Māori schools were closed. Compensatory education was a concept that was established in the United States and also affected education in New Zealand. Irwin (1989) presents a view that compensatory education reinforced a racist and ethnocentric policy of assimilation. Compensatory education was based on the assumption that some groups of children suffered deficiencies that impeded their progress at school. In the United States, these children were mainly black or working-class children. Irwin states that compensatory education denied the reality and validity of minority cultures. Its programmes failed in the long term because their basic premise was to change the children so they could experience success in a capitalist white world, in white terms.

International research has examined the teacher-student relationship more closely. Themes of underachievement, lower teacher expectations and deficit theories for minority groups repeat the themes in Māori education. Writers frequently comment on power and status relations between minority and dominant groups in society. Cummins (1988) explains the relationship of minority students to educators by stating that their interaction with educators in schools can be either empowering or disabling. He also claims that psychological assessment has been used to “disable” minority students by locating the problem within the students themselves.

McCarthy (1992) further describes schools and universities as hostile institutions with respect to the cultural identities of African American, Asian and Latino groups in the United States. In describing the education of the Canadian, Sami and Australia’s Aboriginal indigenous people a similar theme emerges. Jordan (1988) notes in the organisation of schooling: “lower standards were expected in schools and fewer years of schooling were judged appropriate ... the low expectations of teachers and lack of opportunity have left a legacy of memories of rejection ... and the creation of a negative identity” (Jordan, 1988, p. 193).

Robinson (1999) presents a view of the Māori achievement “gap” when discussing her research project in South Auckland and sought to redefine the achievement gap as the gap between parents’ aspirations and the achievements of their children. Robinson went on to

offer three different perspectives on the issues that arise from this information to influence educators. One view is that there is little schools can do about factors outside the school such as poverty, poor health and housing and that only a shift in economic and social problems will bring about change.

Another issue identified by Robinson is that of power and control in education, and the argument that more control of educational resources should be given to Māori authorities. Robinson further identifies some issues crucial to Māori achievement. For example, there is the tendency of educators to give attention and effort to issues arising from lack of achievement rather than giving attention to improving achievement.

One area of particular interest is the influence of the teacher-student relationship on the achievement of Māori students. A focus on factors outside the school such as socio-economic circumstances can make schools complacent and allows schools to excuse poor academic performance by Māori students, and also allows teachers to lower their expectations of Māori students (Bishop, 2008). While schools and teachers cannot be held responsible for the economic climate in the local area they are responsible for the programmes, policies and attitudes that prevail within their school.

Giddens' (1984) structuration theory recognises the agency of individuals to act in ways that have positive or negative consequences so teachers as agents have "the capacity to act". As a result, Giddens allows for consideration of the *inaction* of agents, as well as the *action* of agents, so that inaction (or doing nothing) is recognised as a choice. This is recognition that in the same way that actions have consequences, inaction may have consequences. Thus, Giddens' (1984) structuration theory acknowledges that an agent who "does nothing" is choosing not to act, and is therefore maintaining the status quo.

National Administrative Guidelines and National Education Goals

National Administrative Guidelines(NAGs) and National Education Goals (NEGs) (see Appendix 2 and further detail on pages 60–62), commonly known as NAGs and NEGs came into being as a result of the Education Act 1989 S60A and provided the framework for school charters (Education Review Office, Winter 1995). In 1999, changes were made to the existing NAGs and NEGs by the Ministry of Education, to be implemented by 2001 ("Notices: Official," 1999). Under previous NAGs and NEGs and guidelines, Māori had been included

as one of several equity groups within New Zealand. These new goals and guidelines were significant for their specific reference to Māori.

In brief the goals and guidelines required schools to:

- develop plans for improving Māori achievement;
- remove barriers to achievement;
- report to the school's community on the achievement of Māori;
- increase success of Māori through the use of Māori educational initiatives; and
- provide appropriate career education and guidance for students at risk.

The new goals and guidelines appeared to be endorsement for interventions that targeted Māori and addressed the need to improve Māori achievement. The compliance of schools with the new changes should have been evident in their responses to the targeted interventions that had been developed for Māori students. I wanted, therefore, to investigate the influence that the new goals and guidelines might have on the responses I was receiving from schools. The original title for my investigation became: *Equity policy and other influences on the support of Māori students in the transition from secondary schools to university*. The aims of this project were to investigate actions being taken by schools to provide support for Māori students and to identify factors that contribute to the implementation of the equity policies for Māori.

The research was considering education policy created at a national (macro) level and the implementation of that policy at the teacher/student (micro) level. Therefore Giddens' structuration theory (1984) was an appropriate theoretical base for the research because it acknowledges the interdependence between an institution at the macro level and the individual at the micro level.

As has been indicated in Chapter Two, two features of structuration theory are particularly relevant to the research. Firstly, Giddens disputes the powerlessness of the individual at the micro level. Secondly, Giddens argues that the individual has agency (autonomy or power) which can be used to maintain or constrain the structures of a system (Giddens, 1984). The theory therefore allowed for and offered some explanation for a wide range of participants' responses to the same situation. Structuration theory acknowledges the tension between the macro and micro levels of a social system and is useful, therefore, in analysing the everyday responses at the micro student-teacher level to policy generated at the macro national level.

Data from the Ministry of Education have consistently shown a significant gap between the achievement rates of Māori and non-Māori, and recent policy from the Ministry of Education has been introduced that requires schools to give specific attention to their Māori students and their Māori communities. This project explored actions taken by schools to address this achievement gap and to determine the extent to which the education policy influenced these actions.

For students with high aspirations and expectations, knowledge of the appropriate career pathway is essential. An understanding of the pathway should include an awareness of secondary school subject and qualification requirements and criteria for University Entrance. High quality career guidance is important in helping students to reach their goals. A report by the Education Review Office (ERO) explains:

It is important that all schools provide a career education and guidance programme to help all students to develop the necessary knowledge and skills to assist them to make good life choices, transitions to further study or training, and career decisions. (Education Review Office, 2006, p. 1)

The ERO report found that almost two thirds (62%) of secondary schools were effective or highly effective at meeting the career education and guidance needs of their students in general. But less than half (41%) were effective at meeting the needs of their Māori students; that means that almost two thirds (59%) of schools were not effective in meeting the needs of their Māori students. The report also stated that the effective schools encouraged student participation in events such as university open days, and career exposure with a Māori or Pacific focus (Education Review Office, 2006).

One of the aims of this research was to determine how education policies affect the support given to Māori students in secondary schools. There is an assumption that implementation of policy for Māori students is the responsibility of all staff in all areas and at all levels of a secondary school. The project gathered the information to determine how support for Māori students is accomplished in practice at the operational level of a school.

This research project gathered data from schools that had already demonstrated support for Māori students through their involvement with programmes established for Māori students such as the STEAM programme (as described in the Chapter Three). Engagement with a

programme which targeted Māori students suggested support for the concepts of equity and signified an intention to “increase success of Māori through the use of Māori educational initiatives” as stated in NEG 9. If equity was not the primary motivation or a relevant factor for engagement with the programme, engagement in an equity programme had the potential to increase students’ chances of self-determination.

According to the philosophy behind the cycle of transformation developed by G. Smith (1997), transformation through conscientisation, resistance, and transformative praxis can occur simultaneously or in any sequence. Although the reason for a school allowing Māori students to engage in a targeted event may be simply one of compliance, the students have the opportunity to gain much more. An introduction to targeted Māori-specific, strategies and information has the potential to expose Māori students to conscientisation, transformation, and resistance, and thereby enable tino rangatiratanga. When Māori students have the benefits of tertiary education and their education options presented to them from a Māori perspective, the opportunity for tino rangatiratanga is increased.

Statistics from the Ministry of Education showed that in 1996, of the 9570 Māori school leavers across all the schools in New Zealand only 753 Māori students attained a qualification that would allow them to enrol in any of the eight universities in New Zealand (Education Counts, 2005). In the year 2000, across all the schools in New Zealand, only 708 Māori students out of the 9528 Māori school leavers attained a qualification that would allow them to enrol in a New Zealand university. Only 7.4% of Māori school leavers had gained University Entrance qualifications while 26.9% of all other students gained University Entrance qualifications (Ministry of Education, 2004).

By the year 2006, numbers of Māori students attaining University Entrance had increased to 1269 (12%) but at the same time other groups and the rest of the population were also showing improved outcomes for University Entrance so that the disparity between Māori and other groups continued, in spite of the improved outcomes for Māori (Stock, 2008).

Māori students who stay on at school are less likely than non-Māori to sit national exams or be formally assessed. The majority of Māori leave school with a qualification below sixth form certificate or NCEA Level 2. In the year 2000, for example, 39% of Māori males and 32% of Māori females left school without formal qualifications, compared with 17% of non-Māori males and 13% of non-Māori females (Education Counts, 2008). By 2006 the

proportion of Māori without formal qualification had decreased to 22% while for non-Māori the numbers had decreased to 11% (Education Counts, 2008). These statistics show the continuing inequitable outcomes for Māori in the secondary school system. The results show that schools are still failing Māori.

The changes to the NEG and NAG in 1999 required schools to consult with their Māori communities and develop strategies to improve Māori achievement and to report to the school's community on the achievement of Māori against the plans that the school had developed. If the legislation was effective, there would be a significant improvement in outcomes for Māori at secondary school level. One outcome could have been increased participation in events targeting Māori students.

The research question for this project grew out of an expectation that the new policy would have an influence which could result in positive outcomes for Māori students. This research is based on the assumption that achieving more equitable outcomes for Māori requires targeted attention and opportunities to be made available for Māori students in order to improve Māori achievement in secondary schools. This study will examine the impact of the equity legislation in the schools participating in this project. The research will also examine the effectiveness of the new legislation in improving support for Māori.

Information from this research could:

- assist in achieving equitable outcomes for Māori in secondary schools;
- improve Māori achievement in secondary schools;
- establish effective support initiatives for Māori students in schools; and
- assist schools to comply with equity legislation.

The advisors and school staff members involved in this research were selected because they had been identified as being supportive of Māori students in their schools through their involvement in targeted interventions for Māori students. With evidence showing that almost two thirds (59%) of secondary schools are not effective in meeting the career guidance and education needs of their Māori students (Education Review Office, 2006, p. 20), it is possible that results from this research may assist those schools to increase their effectiveness.

Chapter Two highlighted the importance of the link between policy as intended and policy as implemented in individual schools by individual teachers. This results in the potential for positive or negative outcomes through ignoring or just doing nothing or actively encouraging and supporting Māori students. This chapter also looked at patterns in trends in the education of Māori, mainly in the last fifty years, and noted the mismatch between Māori aspirations in education and the education provided by the state. The chapter has also documented the disparity between Māori achievement levels and the achievement levels of other population groups.

Chapter Three will discuss equity concepts, policies and groups and examines equity in New Zealand. It will also consider the aims of equity policy as well as policy implementation. The implications of equity in education in relation to fairness and justice both are discussed and the purpose of targeting as an equity intervention is considered. The specific equity policy that gave rise to this research project is introduced and the significance of the policy in relation to Māori achievement in secondary schools is described. The chapter concludes by considering participation by schools in STEAM, an equity programme established to target Māori and Pacific students.

CHAPTER THREE

Equity in education – Te tikanga whakatau/nga piki, nga heke

Vignette 3

Students' comments after a day at BEAMS (formerly STEAM)

- Today I have decided to do economics and accounting
- I really enjoyed architecture because the teachers are very welcoming
- I liked being with other people I didn't know
- Enjoyed learning different things esp in Business
- Liked designing shoes, and making paper houses in architecture

Teachers' comments after a day at STEAM

... a good glimpse of university life away from home, hanging out with students from similar backgrounds with similar interests. Being led by the uni students who showed their passion for learning has inspired them to work harder and given them goals that they know they can achieve because they have seen or spoken to people who have.

... I know the girls are inspired and engaged when presenters relate to them. It helped having Māori and Pacific Islanders present to them. The activities were practical/hands on, and they enjoyed that. Many of the students didn't know about these disciplines, so it was helpful having interactive workshops.

Comment

These comments from the students and teachers show the positive impact an intervention such as STEAM can have by demystifying university education and by motivating students to consider university as a destination when they have completed secondary school.

This chapter begins by discussing the concept of equity and examines equity policy and equity groups in New Zealand. In the education field, the definitions, interpretations and implications of equity and equality in relation to fairness and justice both nationally and internationally are discussed. Consideration is also given to the aims and purposes of equity policy and policy implementation at the national level and then how it is implemented at the local level.

The particular equity policy that gave rise to this research project was specifically targeted towards Māori achievement in secondary schools and is best illustrated in the STEAM project which is discussed fully in this chapter. The STEAM project was named thus to clearly describe the knowledge areas required for the degrees of Science, Technology, Engineering, Architecture and Medicine. This programme has since been renamed BEAMS to include a Business degree focus as well. However, the data used in this study reflects the STEAM project only and this chapter explores and discusses school participation in this initiative. The STEAM programme was an equity initiative that targeted Māori and Pacific students to aid their transition into university study. The vignettes that begin this chapter help to illustrate the success of the programme through the words of both students and teachers after attending the STEAM programme.

Defining equity

Many writers use the terms “educational equality” and “educational equity” together, without making a distinction between the two terms. While there are common features the terms are not interchangeable. Educational equality implies equal treatment and equal distribution of resources, while educational equity is primarily concerned with outcomes and the justice of those outcomes. Educational equity is also concerned with resource distribution focussed on need.

Educational equality considered as equal treatment fails to take into account the differing backgrounds of students in the classroom. Examples from New Zealand and overseas demonstrate how equal treatment of different groups can disadvantage some groups. Bishop (2005) suggests that poor behaviour and low achievement of Māori students in New Zealand are a result of being treated the same as all other students in the same class. But he says that this result more appropriately reflects the failure of individuals, institutions and systems to recognise cultural attitudes and difference and to address these accordingly. In their review of educational equality in New Zealand and South Africa Fiske and Ladd (Fiske & Ladd, 2000; 2004) observe that equal treatment is not enough when groups start out on an uneven playing field. Even with the “official” absence of racial discrimination in South Africa, students may be excluded from some schools when families are unable to afford school fees and transport costs. In their research into gender, equity and mathematics Fennema and Meyer (1989) demonstrated that the use of the same teaching method and style is not necessarily fair and just when students have different attitudes to curriculum subjects and respond differently to teaching approaches.

Secada (1989a) describes educational equality as being quantitative while educational equity is qualitative. Under these conditions therefore, educational equality can be measured in terms of finance allocated, classes offered, time spent, teachers employed, students taught and their grades. Educational equity, however, is concerned with fairness and justice and takes into consideration issues such as access, participation, treatment and outcomes. Secada explains:

Our educational system represents a social effort to distribute certain kinds of knowledge – as well as doing other things—from one generation to the next. How that system acts and the results of its actions can be weighed against whether or not they are just. Educational equity is what gauges how well our educational system lives up to our ideals of justice in the face of changing circumstances and of our evolving notions of justice (Secada, 1989a, p. 81).

For Secada then, educational equity is concerned with eliminating differences in educational opportunity for students from different groups in society.

Implications of Equity

Apple (1989) asserts that equality (equality of opportunity, and equity) cannot be fully understood without taking society's unequal cultural, economic and political dynamics into consideration. Apple claims that equality has been "redefined" and where previously equality had been linked to past group oppression and disadvantage under the "free market", it was now linked to individual choice. With this came a new emphasis on "excellence" accompanied by the idea that student failure is the fault of the student rather than deficient educational systems.

A reluctance to recognize oppression is noted by Razack (1999) who comments thus:

The daily realities of oppressed groups can only be acknowledged at the cost of the dominant group's belief in its own natural entitlement. If oppression exists, then there must also be oppressors, and oppressors do not have a moral basis for their rights claims. If, however, we are all equally human, with some of us simply not as advanced or developed as others, then no one need take responsibility for inequality (Razack, 1999, p. 23).

Secada (1989b) also describes equity in education as a response to the need to recognize and interpret disparities in education: "Equity as a position, argues that these disparities represent an

injustice in the educational system's distribution of its goods and that steps should be taken to remedy those injustices" (Secada, 1989b, p. 3). Grant (1989) defines educational equity as "fairness and justice... teaching which affirms learning style differences... and sensitivity to injustices suffered by particular groups of people" (Grant, 1989). And, in a study of equity in teaching mathematics to girls, by Fennema and Meyer (1989) found that providing equal access to mathematics for all did not achieve equal outcomes, therefore they preferred that equity be defined as "equal educational outcomes".

Aspects of equity identified by Farrell (1999) are similar; equality of access, equality of survival, equality of output, equality of outcome. Farrell's definitions are used by Shields (2004) to describe a just education. Here Shields describes equity of access as education programmes that meet the cultural social and academic needs of all children and education which gives children access to the curriculum through their lived experiences. In a just education system, he notes, equality of survival refers to children from all population groups having comparable sustainability and retention rates throughout the schooling system. In this way Shields defines a just education as having equitable outputs and outcomes that enable all children from all groups to lead productive, successful and fulfilling lives.

Other studies on equity have identified several aspects of equity in education. Equity of **access** occurs when admission to a class, course or institution is equally available to students of all groups in a community. Equity in the **learning process** occurs when all students feel safe in the learning environment and teaching takes into account the different learning styles of all students. Equity of **outcomes** occurs when students from different groups achieve at the same level and with the same attitude to their learning. The professional development programme Te Kotahitanga (Bishop, 2008) supported by the Ministry of Education is an example of an attempt at introducing equity in the learning process. Te Kotahitanga encourages teachers to use teaching strategies and practices that are known to work well for Māori students: see *Nga Haeata Mātauranga* (Ministry of Education, 2007).

Dale (2000) distinguishes between equality of opportunity and equality of access by explaining that providing access by simply removing barriers is not sufficient if people are competing for spaces and places and are not able, for reasons beyond their control, to compete on equal terms and, he adds: "Declaring that access is open legitimates the basis of the competition and makes its [unequal] outcomes appear fair" (Dale, 2000, p. 114). Dale also questions the assumption that equality of educational outcome leads to the equality of the occupational entry and points out that

the superior achievement of girls in education is not reflected in their achievements in the labour market. Dale asserts equality of educational opportunity is in place when the proportions of people from different cultural and socio-economic backgrounds are more or less the same in all levels of education as the proportions of these people in the population at large (Dale, 2000).

Brooking (1997) argues that equal treatment of all groups will not bring about change and describes equity this way:

The concept of equity involves adopting principles of treating people in a fair way. This does not mean therefore that we treat everyone equally. We may want outcomes or results that are equal for everyone, but because people have different circumstances and different needs, some may need special help to achieve these outcomes. There is no such thing as a “level playing field”: in fact equal treatment of an unequal group is an insidious way of maintaining the status quo (Brooking, 1997, p. 47).

Equity goes beyond equal opportunity and equal treatment and embraces principles of social justice and fairness. Equity, therefore, is an acknowledgment that in order to treat people in a fair way it may be necessary to treat them differently.

Criticisms of equity

While equity is founded on concepts of equal opportunity and fairness and justice for all, the control of equity directives, the management of equity and the application and adherence to equity belongs to those in power. With regard to education in New Zealand the ultimate authority is the Ministry of Education where equity policy is developed, publicised and promoted. In the process of developing equity policy, decisions are made regarding the selection of equity groups (sometimes referred to as “disadvantaged” groups). Once equity groups have been identified, the implementation of equity policy is the responsibility of the schools. In schools the practice and observance of equity is in the hands of the Boards of Trustees, principals, teachers and staff. In implementing equity policy schools have a number of options. Schools may choose to address the needs of each group separately, to treat all equity groups as one large group, or to target one particular group within the school. The implementation of equity therefore does not address the power imbalance between equity groups and the school, or equity groups and other groups within the school. Instead the implementation of equity relies on existing power and management structures for its success. In terms of structuration theory, it is the school management and staff who have agency—the

capacity to act or the ability to do otherwise (Giddens & Pierson, 1998). They are responsible for policy implementation.

Māori as an equity group

A number of groups are included with Māori for equity consideration in education because the principles of social justice and fairness underlying equity have relevance not just for Māori, but for all under-represented groups. Such groups include those with Pacific backgrounds, students with disabilities, those from rural or low-income backgrounds and in some instances, women. Focus on the number and diversity of other equity groups can have the effect of distracting attention away from the failure of the education system to address Māori needs.

Sharp (1990) recognised the limitations for Māori in being only one of a number of equity groups. His view was that equity was only one of the options available to Māori in the search for justice.

Māori might have been forgiven if they had judged that this way of thinking was not entirely suited to approaching their problems. It mixed their demands with others'; it defined groups according to multiple criteria – need, desert and equalization, etc. ... [and equity] tended therefore to treat Māori not as members of an irreducibly real ethnies but as individuals in need who happened to be Māori (Sharp, 1990, p. 226).

Within the provisions of equity legislation the opportunity still exists for exclusion and marginalisation of particular groups. When access to university study is considered a number of groups are included with Māori for equity consideration—the principles of social justice and fairness underlying equity have relevance not just for Māori but for all under-represented groups. Criticisms made by Smith (1997) of equity assumptions within the Picot report highlight this point.

Other ideological assumptions entrenched within the Picot report are false notions of fairness, equality, equity. Processes of equivocation serve to moderate minority Māori interests and aspirations through a concern to be fair to “all”. As a consequence Māori needs and aspirations are subsumed within the concern to be fair to everyone (G. Smith, 1997, p. 373).

Because the recognised equity groups can all claim to be disadvantaged within the education system, co-option of equity occurs when those in authority—school management, principals, administrators and teachers—are able to choose or give preference and priority to one equity group over another. In doing so they can, if necessary, justify the choice they have made and at the same time claim to be exercising principles of social justice and fairness and showing compliance with equity regulations. This is an illustration of the exercise of agency by the school and staff.

For example, if national assessment results for a girls' school showed that mathematics achievement for girls at that school was below the national average and at the same time the overall achievement for Māori girls at that school was similar to Māori girls' achievement at a national level but well below that of all non-Māori girls, the school could legitimately choose, as an equity initiative, to focus on raising mathematics achievement for all girls rather than addressing the need to raise overall achievement of Māori girls. Such an action by the school would address one need for social justice while ignoring another and demonstrates how marginalisation and manipulation can occur within the practice of equity. Giddens (1984) work provides a useful explanatory framework for both illustrations of the exercise of agency by the school in the implementation of policy.

Because equity legislation recognises Māori as one of several equity groups, Māori are not given the exclusive attention and recognition they deserve under the Treaty of Waitangi. The Treaty was signed in 1840 between Māori and the crown and gave the crown the right to govern. But the Treaty also guaranteed Māori partnership, equality of citizenship and protection of their lands and other possessions (taonga). The partnership Māori have with the crown gives Māori a status that other groups do not have, unlike equity legislation which makes Māori just one of a number of other groups. In education Māori have invoked the rights offered by the Treaty to argue for the provision and protection of Māori language and culture. Equity legislation, however, is not as powerful or likely to be as enduring as the Treaty of Waitangi with regard to protecting and promoting Māori rights within education. However, the current disparities in education for Māori in terms of access, sustainability of outputs and outcomes have prevailed due to the failure of the treaty rights of Māori being recognised and accorded substance. So, the introduction of new equity-based guidelines targeting Māori provide opportunity for more equitable education outcomes for Māori.

Education for all

In New Zealand equity policies have been introduced to address the disparities in education between population groups within New Zealand. Although an egalitarian notion has existed in New Zealand education since compulsory schooling was introduced at the end of the 1800s, provision for Māori education has often lagged behind.

Education policies and directives from the Ministry of Education serve to outline the state's expectations for the education sector and are also used to bring about change and address issues and problems that have been identified. Education policy is laid down by the Ministry of Education for Boards of Trustees (school management) to implement. As the management bodies of schools, Boards of Trustees are expected to encourage teachers in their schools to comply with policy requirements.

Implementation of a new policy does not automatically follow its introduction. Policy is open to interpretation and can also be accepted or ignored by those left with the task of implementation. Ball and Bowe (1992) explain:

Practitioners do not confront policy texts as naïve readers; they come from histories, with experience, with values and purposes of their own, they have vested interests in the meaning of policy. Policies will be interpreted differently as the histories, experiences, values, purposes and interests which make up the arena differ. The simple point is that policy writers cannot control the meanings of their texts. Part of their texts will be rejected, selected out, ignored, deliberately misunderstood, responses may be frivolous, etc. (Ball & Bowe, 1992, p. 22)

Teachers and educators in schools decide the extent to which they will allow policy to influence their education practice, and in doing so are exercising their agency. It is through policy that the government attempts to bring about change, and in the case of Māori, removal of barriers to learning and achievement. The equity policy in the National Educational Guidelines (NEGS) and National Administration Guidelines (NAGS) that is the focus of this research project is a response established to address barriers to learning and achievement that had been identified in relation to particular groups, of which Māori was one (Education Review Office, 1995).

The history of “equality for all” in education

As stated earlier, the principle of egalitarianism has prevailed as a notional concept throughout the history of education in New Zealand. Perhaps the earliest example of equality of opportunity or egalitarianism in New Zealand education was the introduction of compulsory schooling. Compulsory schooling was introduced as part of the 1877 Education Act. Before that schooling had been producing “gross inequalities” (Simon 2000) and had not been available or accessible to all children (Barrington, 2008; Simon, 2000). One of the intentions of compulsory schooling was to make schooling accessible to everyone. The Education Act 1877 had an underlying philosophy of equality of opportunity with regard to education. Equality of access was ensured firstly by the establishment of schools in areas that previously been unable to afford them and secondly by abolishing school fees. An outcome of the passage of that Act was that education became a right and was no longer a privilege.

It is important to note that this early expression of egalitarianism in education did not include Māori. While 1877 is documented as the year when schooling became compulsory for all children, it was actually compulsory only for Pākehā children. The 1867 Act had allowed for a Native school to be established in a community after a formal request from Māori, who were required to provide the land for the school (Simon & Smith, 2001), but schooling was not made compulsory for Māori children until 1894, almost thirty years later. The requests from Māori for a school in their community, is evidence of Māori striving for and exercising tino rangatiratanga, or autonomy and control over their education. A structuration theory lens (Giddens, 1984) would see that formal request as an example of tension occurring between the macro and micro levels of education and an example of Māori parents exerting their agency to achieve the right of schooling for their children.

The egalitarian theme emerged again in the 1930s when New Zealand suffered the effects of a severe depression. The Labour government of the time was under pressure to establish a more egalitarian society. In 1939 the Minister of Education, Peter Fraser, presented the government’s education policy:

The government’s objective broadly expressed is that every person whatever his level of academic ability whether he be rich or poor, whether he live in town or country has the right as a citizen to a free education, the kind for which he is best fitted and to the fullest extent of his powers. So far is this from being a mere pious platitude that the

full acceptance of the principle will involve the reorientation of the education system.
(AJHR, 1939: 2–3, cited in (Simon, 2000, p. 55))

That statement is well known, is recognized and frequently quoted as a founding principle of the state and the intention to provide all New Zealand citizens with a quality education. The egalitarian philosophy is the central theme of Fraser's statement and several other themes can be identified here also. *Social justice* – the right to a free education is the first, then there is *equality of opportunity* – for rich or poor, town or country, *equality of access* – free education – and *equality of outcomes* – best education to the fullest extent of his (the government's) powers.

In 1937 Fraser's government had abolished the Proficiency Examination which had previously controlled entry to secondary education. This made secondary schooling more widely available to the general population. Māori access to secondary schools improved with the establishment of Native District High Schools, the first being established in 1941. However, while Māori were now able to attend secondary schools in their own areas, the curriculum offered at these schools did not lead to university education. Instead the curriculum had a manual and domestic focus. The secondary education being offered to Māori provided the opportunity of further education but in a limited form. Māori did not have equal access to education resources and therefore could not achieve equal outcomes with students in schools that offered an academic curriculum. Native District High Schools did not offer academic subjects until 1945 and then only in response to the demands of the Māori community (Simon, 2000). The current difficulties around issues of access for Māori school leavers to university education discussed in Chapter Four suggest similar issues still exist at the start of the 21st century.

Background to Māori participation and achievement in education

As discussed in the previous chapter, Māori are over-represented in unqualified school leaver statistics and are also under-represented in all areas of university study. The need for greater improvement in Māori participation and achievement across all areas of education is recognised. Data published by the Ministry of Education (Education Counts, 2005) and discussed in the last chapter show that, while there have been improvements over the last two decades in areas such as attainment and retention rates for Māori school leavers at secondary school levels, there has been no improvement in the disparity between Māori and non-Māori. Effective strategies are needed to bring about an improvement in Māori achievement and participation rates. Equity policies and targeting practices make provision for changes to take place.

As previously noted, many of those who hold positions of power and authority in education, such as teachers, administrators, researchers and policy-makers blame the low achievement and participation of Māori in education on socio-economic factors such as unemployment, inadequate healthcare, low incomes and poor housing (Bishop & Berryman, 2006). These factors are not easy to address at the level of education alone. Too often other relevant factors at the micro level that could be more easily altered, changed or transformed in each school and classroom (such as the classroom environment, the awareness of Māori student needs and the relevance of topics to the lives of Māori students) are ignored and instead poor performance by Māori within the education system is expected and accepted. Equity policies and targeting practices can make provision for Māori needs to be addressed.

Equity in education since 1980

New Zealand schools are regulated by Ministry of Education through the National Administration Guidelines (NAGs) and National Educational Goals (NEGs). The NEGs are described in the Education Act 1989 as “statements of desirable achievements by the school system or by an element of the school system” and are part of every school charter by law and are therefore a legal requirement. In 1999 the Ministry of Education revised the guidelines provided to schools.

The Education Act 1989 gave rise to the NEGs and established desired outcomes for education and NAGs established guidelines for Boards of Trustees. The NEGs made reference to “equality of educational opportunity” while the NAGs required boards of trustees to “analyse” and “overcome” barriers to learning and achievement. At the same time the government’s strategic plan for the New Zealand education system was outlined in the “Education for the 21st Century” document which had the stated aim of “Equality of opportunity for all to reach their potential and take their full place in society” and the added aim of “an education system in which no group experiences unfair outcomes in terms of participation or success” (ERO Report, 1995). The strategic plan identified the groups likely to be facing barriers to learning as: Māori students, Pacific Island students, students from minority ethnic groups, students from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds and people with disabilities. The intention of these documents was clearly to improve opportunities and outcomes for the identified groups.

The inequitable outcomes of the identified groups were therefore to be addressed through the goals and guidelines. The NEGs required schools to identify and remove barriers to achievement while the NAGs required the Boards of Trustees to analyse barriers to learning and implement strategies to overcome them. Although the NEGs initially made specific reference to Māori and thereby gave prominence to Māori as a specific group, in 1993 the NEGs were changed to become more general and references to Māori were removed so that Māori became just one of several identified equity groups.

The NAGs established and set down in the Education Act 1989 and from 1993 to 2000 made no specific reference to Māori. References were made in general terms to equity in education for students who had “learning needs” or had to “overcome barriers to learning” but Māori were not identified as a specific group with particular needs.

The new and revised guidelines were published in 1999 to take effect in 2000 and be fully implemented by the second term of 2001. The new NAGs made specific references to Māori as outlined below.

NAG 1(v) states that:

Each board through the principal and staff is required to –
in consultation with the school’s Māori community, develop and make known to the school’s community: policies, plans and targets for improving the achievement of Māori students.

NAG 1(v) “consultation with the school’s Māori community ... requires schools to make contact with their Māori community and to gather information on the needs and aspirations of the Māori community”. This directive contains the expectation that Māori opinion will be heard and expressed in the policies, plans and targets. NAG 1(v) also requires schools to develop strategies to improve Māori achievement. Therefore, in this directive there is both recognition of the need to improve Māori achievement and the expectation that Māori as a specific group are to be given extra attention.

This particular directive also declares that schools have an obligation to develop targets, goals and policies specifically for Māori and includes the expectation that these goals and policies will be made known to the school’s community. These policies are written and approved by the Board of Trustees (the governing body of a school) and presented for inspection during

visits by the Education Review Office, the body responsible for auditing schools. Under previous legislation it was possible for schools' policies to be written and developed for Māori without any consultation or contribution from Māori. In addition to this, the previous guidelines did not have any requirement that the Māori community be informed of the policies and initiatives that had been developed for them. Through the specific mention of Māori and the need to consult with Māori in NAG 1(v), the Ministry of Education made a clear statement that Māori should be given the opportunity to address Māori issues.

The other National Administrative Guideline relevant to Māori is NAG 2(iii) which states:

Each board through the principal and staff is required to:

- (a) report to students and parents on the achievement of individual students, and to the school's community on the achievement of students as a whole and of groups (identified through (ii) above) including the achievement of Māori students against the plans and targets referred to in 1(v) above.

This guideline requires schools to chart and report the achievement of Māori against the achievement of all students in the school and report the results to the school's community. NAG 2 (iii) makes the school accountable for the plans policies and targets that have been established for Māori in that school. The effect of this guideline will be to make the achievement of Māori "visible". Previously the under achievement of Māori could be unnoticed, ignored or hidden within the reasonable achievement of the whole student body.

In the NEGS the government sets the following goals for the education system.

NEG 2:

Equality of opportunity for all New Zealanders by identifying and removing barriers to achievement.

This guideline requires schools to identify and remove barriers to achievement. This is acknowledgment that equality of achievement for all New Zealanders is not an existing condition and that schools must be aware of the barriers to achievement and must take responsibility for their removal.

NEG 9:

Increased participation and success by Māori through the advancement of Māori educational initiatives, including education in Te Reo Māori consistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

This guideline reinforces the others with the expectation that participation and success of Māori be increased. It also gives support to education through the medium of Māori language and acknowledges the rights of Māori established by the founding document of New Zealand, the Treaty of Waitangi.

NAG 1(v) and NAG 2(iii) require schools to set targets to improve the achievement of Māori students and report against these targets on their achievement.

One more guideline which does not make specific reference to Māori but is particularly relevant to careers advisors and to this study is NAG 1(vi) which requires schools to:

Provide appropriate career education and guidance for all students in year 7 and above, with a particular emphasis on specific career guidance for those students who have been identified by the school as being at risk of leaving school unprepared for the transition to the workplace or further education/training.

Although Māori are not specifically mentioned in NAG 1(vi), as a population group, Māori students are the biggest group of students leaving school without qualifications. This guideline provides incentives for careers advisors to participate in targeted careers initiatives for Māori students, to support Māori students and to also assist the school with policy compliance.

These new and revised guidelines published in 1999 made specific reference to Māori. It is this specific reference to Māori in the NAGS; NAG 1(v) and NAG 2(iii) that is significant to this research project because it targets Māori. Prominence is given to the needs of Māori and therefore serves as acknowledgement by the state of the need to improve Māori outcomes in schools. Previously the guidelines had been generic equity statements. Without the specific reference to Māori, schools had been able to ignore the needs of Māori and give priority to other issues or other equity groups. The specific reference to Māori also allows for individual teachers and staff members to offer support and opportunities to Māori students which may not be available to others, without having to justify their actions.

How do the guidelines affect schools?

In order to comply with the directives in NAG 1 and NAG 2, schools will have to identify their Māori students, record, observe and track their achievement and make plans, policies and targets specifically for Māori students.

Similarly NEG 9 sets the goal of increased participation and success for Māori through the advancement of Māori initiatives. These directives require schools to seek specific initiatives for Māori. The common practice of expecting the needs of Māori to be met by models and programmes designed for delivery to non-Māori is no longer appropriate. The “one size fits all” approach does not comply with the Ministry of Education directives. In order for schools to be compliant with the directives and guidelines, schools must identify and give special attention to Māori. The underlying philosophies of the Ministry of Education’s policies and guidelines are the principles of equity and the concept of partnership stemming from the Treaty of Waitangi. Any reluctance on the part of schools to identify Māori issues and to provide support and assistance specifically for Māori could be seen as a reflection of the Ministry’s advice to schools through the NAGS prior to 1999. The new NAGS demand that schools develop a Māori focus.

The effect of the new guidelines should have been evident from 2001 onwards. If there had been resistance from schools to the changes in the guidelines there would be little difference to Māori learning and achievement. Superficial change will not bring about any real improvement in Māori education outcomes.

Equity policies for tertiary education

Similar equity legislation exists at the tertiary level for universities. Section 220 of the Education Act 1990 requires the council of each university to include in its annual report to the Minister:

- an account of the extent to which the council has eliminated barriers to the progress of students;
- an account of the extent to which the council has avoided the creation of unnecessary barriers to the progress of students; and
- an account of the extent to which the council has and developed programmes to attract students from groups in the community under-represented in the institution’s student body; and disadvantaged in terms of the ability to attend the institutions.

New Zealand universities may also include recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi in their charters and mission statements. The equity provisions arising from the Education Act 1990 and the recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi serve to improve Māori access participation and outcomes in the transition from secondary education to tertiary level. The equity statement combined with the Treaty of Waitangi gives Māori students and their needs prominence and priority at the university level.

Equity in practice: School participation in STEAM

In my position at the institution where I work, my main tasks are the recruitment and retention of Māori at the university, liaison with schools, and assistance with equity policy development and practice. Legislation affecting Māori in secondary schools and legislation affecting Māori in universities are therefore strong influences on my role of recruitment. The creation of Māori liaison positions at universities was a response to the legislative obligations of universities to the Treaty of Waitangi and recognition of the principles of equity. STEAM was offered as a targeted event to build links between the university and Māori and Pacific secondary school students.

In order to meet the requirements for recruitment and retention of Māori students at my institution and the equity requirements of the degrees available at the university, several events are offered for Māori secondary school students. They aim to:

- introduce students to university study;
- inform and clarify for students the entry requirements for the university degree courses;
- make students aware of the courses available to university undergraduates; and
- encourage and motivate students to gain credentials through the Bursaries examination (and more recently NCEA) qualifications before leaving school.

These events fit within a Kaupapa Māori framework because *Māori are the focal point of the events* so being Māori is the norm. *Māori values underpin the event* so students are organised to work in groups and establish cohorts in recognition of the value of whakawhānaungatanga. University students rather than staff members are used as facilitators and guides to foster the tuakana/teina principle of support. The events make space for Māori to be Māori within non-Māori institutions. The events are interventions and transformation in education is the goal.

Programmes such as STEAM benefit the university by helping to meet its recruitment and equity obligations (Section 220 of the Education Act 1990) and benefit the schools by motivating students to perform academically and by offering information to help them with their career planning and their subject choices at school. The STEAM programme is therefore an example of an equity programme in practice.

Access to university education is determined by achievement at secondary school. While other pathways to university exist for adult entry through second chance education, the fastest, most efficient and least expensive pathway is direct entry from secondary school. At the time the STEAM programme was being developed and up until 2002, the main pathway for entry into a New Zealand university from secondary school was through the Bursaries examination which was taken by students in Year 13. There were three pass levels in the Bursaries examination. The minimum entry level to university known as “University Entrance” was a pass in three subjects. A higher level pass was a “B” Bursary or a pass in five subjects with a minimum total of 250. The highest level was an “A” Bursary which was a pass in five subjects with a minimum total of 300.

At all New Zealand universities the minimum level of University Entrance gave students entry into open entry degree courses which had no limits on the places available. However, in the degree courses where places were limited, an “A” or “B” Bursary was required. In the degree courses with the smallest number of places an “A” Bursary with a high total (340–390) was required. At that time my recruitment role at the university required targeting of Māori secondary school students in Year 13 who were likely to pass the Bursary examination. However, it became evident very quickly that the pool of available Māori school leavers was quite limited. Statistics for 1996–2000 (the years before the establishment of STEAM) show that approximately 20% of all school leavers attained an 'A' or 'B' Bursary but only 4% of Māori school leavers attained an these Bursaries. These numbers for the years 1996 to 2002 are illustrated in Fig. 8(see p 69).

Year	Group	Number	Percentage	Total number
1996	Māori	390	4.08	9570
	All	10351	19.91	51487
1997	Māori	420	4.6	9137
	All	10508	20.94	50193
1998	Māori	373	3.87	9650
	All	10579	20.4	51866
1999	Māori	441	4.5	9793
	All	10752	19.76	54400
2000	Māori	370	3.88	9528
	All	10572	19.21	55020
2001	Māori	385	4.0	9453
	All	9850	18.4	53517
2002	Māori	367	3.9	9445
	All	10018	19.1	52546

Fig. 8 School leavers with 'A' or 'B' Bursary 1996 – 2002

Compiled from Ministry of Education tables (Education Counts, 2005)

In the year 1996 Māori represented 18.6% (9570) of all school leavers and of these Māori school leavers only 4.08% (390) attained an “A” or “B” Bursary. All of these students would be eligible for admission to the degrees of science technology, engineering, architecture and medicine (the STEAM degrees). Over the years 1996–2002 the percentage of Māori school leavers achieving the “A” or “B” Bursary qualification remained constant at around 4%.

Figure 9 shows the school leavers with minimum level University Entrance for the same time period, 1996-2002.

Year	Group	Number	Percentage	Total number
1996	Māori	363	3.79	9570
	All	4024	7.82	51487
1997	Māori	333	3.64	9137
	All	4188	8.34	50193
1998	Māori	485	5.03	9650
	All	4621	8.91	51866
1999	Māori	390	3.98	9793
	All	4205	7.73	54400
2000	Māori	338	3.55	9528
	All	4203	7.64	55020
2001	Māori	332	3.4	9688
	All	4078	7.62	53517
2002	Māori	357	3.8	9445
	All	4144	7.88	52546

Fig. 9 Māori School leavers with University Entrance 1996–2002

Compiled from Ministry of Education tables (Education Counts, 2005)

Another 3.79% (363) attained the minimum pass level for University Entrance. These students would be eligible for open entry degrees such as arts and science but they would not gain entry to the degrees of technology, engineering, architecture and medicine. In total, in 1996, across all the schools in New Zealand only 753 Māori students attained a qualification that would allow them to enrol in any of the eight universities in New Zealand, and even less (724) in 2002.

Māori students who stay on at school are less likely than non-Māori to sit national exams or be formally assessed. The majority of Māori leave school with a qualification below sixth form certificate. In the year 2000, 39% of Māori males and 32% of Māori females left school without formal qualifications compared with 17% of non-Māori males and 13% of non-Māori females. It was clear that the pool of available Māori students had to increase drastically

before the proportion of Māori in universities could reflect the proportion of Māori in the New Zealand population. The challenge in my recruitment role was to find ways to increase the numbers of Māori students leaving school with Bursaries and University Entrance qualifications. I began to run targeted courses on campus where Māori secondary school students could meet Māori university students across the full range of degrees. In these programmes school students could learn about university degree courses and university life from Māori students like themselves who had been at secondary school two or three years earlier.

It was also evident at that time that very few Māori students in Year 13 at secondary school were studying the subjects required (mathematics and sciences) for degrees in science technology engineering architecture and medicine. While the pool of Māori students with “A” or “B” Bursaries was small, the pool of Māori students with “A” or “B” Bursaries in mathematics and sciences was extremely small. Furthermore, in the New Zealand school qualification system, the subjects students studied for the Bursaries examination at Year 13 was determined by subject choices those students made at the end of Year 10. It followed therefore that an intervention was necessary at Year 10 level in order to increase numbers of Māori students taking mathematics and the sciences in Year 13.

STEAM

The STEAM programme focussed on introduction to degrees in science technology engineering architecture and medicine. STEAM was created and developed by the researcher and a work colleague in 1998. Creation of the programme was a deliberate intervention designed to increase the participation of Māori and Pacific students in this range of mathematics and science-related degrees. (As noted earlier, there was a change to the STEAM in 2007 that brought in the Business school and the name changed to BEAMS. There are now five faculties and departments contributing to the programme: **B**usiness, **E**ngineering, **A**rchitecture, **M**edicine and **S**cience.)

When this research project began, STEAM was offered on the university campus for secondary school students and targeted fourth form (Year 10) Māori and Pacific secondary school students. STEAM promoted the study of mathematics and science at secondary school and encouraged students to retain those subjects throughout the five years of secondary schooling so that they would be able to gain access to the widest range of university degrees.

The rationale for STEAM

STEAM was a result of an institutional Review of Equal Educational Opportunities (University of Auckland, 1998). At the time recruitment and promotion of university study was mainly limited to presentations for students in their final two years of secondary schooling. These presentations consisted of the technical details of course structures and prerequisites and the application and enrolment processes.

Submissions to the Equal Educational Opportunities Review (University of Auckland, 1998) suggested that the recruitment initiatives aimed at students in their final two years (Years 12 and 13) were often too late for Māori and Pacific students who had already made inappropriate subject decisions in their early secondary school years. Recommendation 4 and Recommendation 11 from the review identified Years 9 and 10 as years when students should be targeted and visited by university personnel and encouraged to study at university. Other submissions to the review suggested the use of interactive presentations and university students as role models would be effective in encouraging and recruiting Māori students for university courses (University of Auckland, 1998).

Subject choice was also a significant issue for the STEAM faculties and degrees, because access and success in the STEAM degrees was heavily dependent on knowledge of seventh form (Year 13) mathematics and science. Increasing the numbers of Māori students enrolling in the STEAM degrees would be difficult without an increase in the numbers of students taking mathematics and science subjects through to seventh form.

At that time, in most schools, students made subject choices in fourth form (Year 10) that placed them on a pathway for the rest of their secondary schooling which took them towards, or away from, the STEAM degrees. Often the subject choices were made without understanding the consequences. The review suggested that targeting third (Year 9) or fourth form students and using Māori and Pacific role models would be more effective in motivating and generating student interest in university study.

Equity obligations

Once established, STEAM also provided an example of compliance for the university, schools and faculties in meeting their legislative equity obligations. STEAM is an initiative targeting Māori and Pacific students and raising their awareness of the degrees that follow on from secondary school mathematics and science subjects and thus directly addresses the legislative

equity requirements for a tertiary institution under section 220 of the Education Act 1990. Section 220 requires an institution to include in its annual report to the Minister an account of programmes to attract students from groups in the community that are “Under-represented in the institution’s student body; and ... Disadvantaged in terms of their ability to attend the institution.” For the faculties and departments within the university whose staff and students are involved in planning, hosting and coordinating a STEAM workshop, the programme offers an activity that can also be included in the annual EEdO or Equity report of the department or faculty.

The significance of STEAM to this research project

As targeted intervention and an equity initiative which assists students in the transition from secondary to university education, participation in STEAM provides an indicator of the recognition that schools and career educators in schools give to the principles of equity and to Maori students in their schools. It is the variation in the way careers advisors perceive or fulfil their duties and the responsibilities of their work that is the actual question that is investigated in this research. Of particular interest are the factors that influenced the research participants to engage in STEAM and, any influence policy might have had on the participants and careers advisors in general.

STEAM was initially offered only to schools in the Auckland area. Later invitations were extended to include all schools in the North Island of New Zealand. Schools are asked to select a maximum of 10 students who are showing potential in mathematics and science to attend the one-day programme. It is offered for five days at the end of the year with up to one hundred Year 10 students from six to eight different schools attending each day. Most schools attending come from the Auckland area but each year a small number of schools outside Auckland make journeys of up to four hours in order to bring students to participate in STEAM. The STEAM programme itself is a set of interactive workshops each based on a relevant degree. School students spend a full day on campus in groups which rotate through all workshops. The tutors at each workshop are Māori and Pacific university students studying that particular degree.

In this research, the STEAM provides a discrete and convenient measurement of a school’s response to equity. When the policy at the centre of this research was introduced, it became possible to provide empirical evidence of policy compliance. There were statistical data citing the numbers who had been provided with guidance for students at risk of leaving school

unprepared for transition to the workplace – NAG 1 (vi), (see p62). Numbers participating in a Māori educational initiative – NEG 9 (see p62) – as well as equality of opportunity by removing barriers to achievement – NEG 2 (see p61) were also clearly furnished. Finally, the requirement to address reporting and planning for parents – NAG 2 (iii) (see p61) – was readily complied with. For schools seeking to show policy compliance in terms of Māori student achievement, STEAM would provide that data and comply with several different aspects of the policy.

This research and STEAM

STEAM offered a basis for comparison over a number of years of the 110 schools that were invited to attend the programme. That group of schools provided the population sample for this research and over several years attendance patterns had emerged. Schools could be grouped into four categories according to attendance rate. There were those with non-attendance, those with occasional attendance, those with regular attendance, and those with constant attendance. I set out to gain detailed evaluations and responses to the STEAM programme from the participating schools. From that process the data gathered motivated me to consider and investigate the role of careers advisors in schools as a policy agent, and the careers education information available to Māori students.

Participants to be interviewed were chosen from the constant attendance group (20). There was obviously something going on in that school group that was important for them to maintain attendance. My hypothesis at the beginning was that the influence of individual careers advisors was crucial to school participation.

School participation in STEAM

When Māori students of a school participate in an event such as STEAM, there needs to be approval and support for the project across several different administration levels of the school, and support at a general staff level. If there is an acceptance within a school that targeted opportunities should be sought for Māori students, STEAM provides an important and convenient option.

A number of factors can affect the school's support of off-site programmes held during school time. Before a school can send a group of students to attend an on-campus event, the school (or a contact person within the school), must usually be able to accept and support the process whereby Māori students are given an opportunity that is not available to non-Māori. The

school must have the expectation that Māori students are capable of university study and they must find a staff member who is willing to take responsibility for organising the visit to university. The school management must also provide support (class relief) for the organising teacher and overrule objections of individual teachers who may be reluctant to release students from their classes for one day.

Setting those conditions in place which allow Māori students to participate in the STEAM programme could be described as ensuring equality of opportunity and removing barriers as stated in NEG 2.

Generic vs Targeted strategies

Careers advisors who prefer that Māori attend the generic programmes offered rather than programmes with a Māori focus, may be adhering to the concept of educational equality rather than equity believing that being fair and just requires that all students are treated the same. However, this approach is contrary to the philosophy of NEG 2, and also NEG 9 which requires “Increased participation and success by Māori through the advancement of Māori Educational initiatives”. These particular NEGs recognise that Māori need to be given targeted support to achieve better educational outcomes. The revised NAGs require that changes occur in many schools.

In order to comply with NAG 1 regarding the development of plans, policies and targets for Māori students and NAG 2, reporting on the achievement of Māori, schools must be aware which of their students are Māori. Unless schools have already identified their Māori students they cannot report on their achievement or decide which students would benefit from extra support.

Schools with low expectations of their Māori students may not see any value in having students participate in on-campus programmes such as STEAM. Teacher expectations are relevant in NAG 1 which refers to developing targets for Māori achievement. Out-of-school trips for students involve a great deal of work and organisation. The teacher involved has to select students, obtain parental consent, notify class teachers that students will be absent, communicate with the university and arrange transport. Teachers who undertake the organising role tend to be either committed to the cause of providing support for Māori or appointed to the role within a school. In both these instances the existence of teachers in such roles suggests a more positive environment for Māori.

The organising teacher can be encouraged in the role by the support received from the school. As noted earlier, provision of a relief teacher, if the organising teacher is taken out of class, support and approval from colleagues who may lose students from their classes for a time, support and recognition from principal, deputy principal or deans, support from staff as a whole for principles of equity in education as well as administrative support.

Lack of support for a Māori initiative could be seen as a barrier to Māori participation. Provision of support for an initiative could be described as “removing barriers to achievement” as in NEG 2.

In a school where principles of equity are accepted and observed, individual teachers would be discouraged from objecting to initiatives specifically for Māori. It would be recognised, for instance, that the benefits for Māori students should outweigh the inconvenience suffered by a teacher whose Māori students missed one of their classes.

On average in the first six years of the programme, only 30% of all invited schools responded to the invitation to attend the STEAM and approximately 25% of all schools actually attended the programmes and the schools attending the programme were mostly the same schools each year. In terms of students’ retention of maths and science subjects the programme has been successful. In 2004 a review conducted with past STEAM students, found that two years after attending STEAM, 89% of students were still at school and studying mathematics or science or both. Since STEAM began students’ evaluations and teachers’ comments about the STEAM programme have been overwhelmingly positive so the low participation rate of schools is disappointing.

Conclusion

This chapter included an examination and discussion of egalitarianism, equity and equality in education in New Zealand. The notion of egalitarianism in education was established in New Zealand in 1877 when free and compulsory education was introduced. The egalitarian theme was reinforced by Peter Fraser as the Minister of Education in 1939 who declared the right of every citizen rich or poor to a free education. Although Māori were not included in these initiatives at the time, they were included at a later stage usually as a response to reaction and requests from Māori communities. Underpinning the notion of egalitarianism was the philosophy of justice for all citizens.

Towards the end of the twentieth century, egalitarianism was replaced when concepts of equality and equity in education gained prominence. The distinction between equality and equity was made. Equality was explained as equal treatment that could result in unequal groups being treated as if they were equal. Equity in education accepts that in the interests of fairness and justice, unequal groups may require unequal treatment. Criticisms of equity were considered and the significance of the specific equity policy that is the basis of this research project was outlined.

The chapter concluded with a description of the STEAM programme as an example of equity in practice. It has aims which include equity of access, participation and outcomes and includes equity in the learning process. Therefore participation by a school in programmes such as STEAM provides a tangible measure of the support a school offers to its Māori students. Participation in a programme for Māori students is a demonstration of that school's support for Māori.

Chapter Four will follow on from the discussions of equity and consider some of the barriers faced by students with aspirations of a university education and identifies reasons why Māori students might be affected more than other students by those barriers. A major barrier identified in the chapter is the complexity of the University Entrance regulations based on credits from NCEA. In Chapter Four it is argued that the barriers are significant and therefore support from staff in schools, and careers advisors in particular, is essential to enable Māori students to have greater access to university degrees.

CHAPTER FOUR

Access: selection in or selection out – Te whiriwhiri me te whakatau

Vignette 4

As part of the work I do to recruit Māori into university courses I often make contact with careers advisors in schools and ask if I can visit to speak to Māori students in the school to explain university course options, entry requirements, the application processes for admission schemes and Māori scholarships. On more than one occasion I have been told there was no need for me to visit because, “We have no Māori students here that are university material”.

Comment

This vignette is an example of gate keeping in action. It illustrates how the expectations of careers advisors can influence the way they exercise agency in the careers advisor’s role.

This chapter examines Māori access to degree-level education comparing tertiary education participation rates for Māori in pre-degree and degree programmes alongside descriptions of the benefits of a university education pathway for Māori. The pathway from secondary school to university is described alongside the barriers faced by Māori with aspirations to an academic education. The role that careers advisors can play in assisting Māori to address the issues that emerge is also introduced into the discussion.

An outline of the changes that have occurred in secondary school assessment processes since the introduction of NCEA in 2002 will be presented. It is argued that the change in the secondary school assessment system has removed the ultimate responsibility of qualification and course planning from the schools and given it to individual students and their families. Also argued is the point that parents and families, who have been disempowered by the change because of the complexity of the new system, have become even more reliant on the decisions and judgements made by schools. This increases the potential for negative effects as a result of the agency of the school or the individual agency of staff members.

An examination of the advantages of cultural capital and socio-economic factors and school deciles on schools and students is presented with the suggestion that the transition from school to university is easier for children from middle-class families. Also included are

aspects of power identified by Delpit (2006) aligned to the power of expectation with reference to the state, schools, teachers and careers advisors.

An investigation of the Māori struggle to gain a degree-level education would reveal that access is regulated through the exercise of power and control which serves to restrict Māori participation in academic education. Delpit (2006) has identified five aspects of the culture of power in relation to literacy instruction which can be seen as equally relevant in the struggle for Māori to achieve access to degree level study. These are:

1. issues of power are enacted in the classrooms;
2. there are codes or rules for participating in power; that is, there is a “culture of power;”
3. the rules of the culture of power are the rules of the culture of those who have power;
4. if you are not already a participant in the culture of power, being told explicitly the rules of that culture makes acquiring power easier; and
5. those with power are frequently least aware of or least willing to acknowledge its existence (Delpit, 2006, p. 24).

These five aspects of power will be used in the conclusion of the chapter to evaluate the key influences in the journey to university through secondary school and will be linked to structuration theory.

Education for transformation and liberation

A university education places Māori graduates on a pathway to the professions, a higher income and a wider range of lifestyle choices. The 2007 report by Earle “Te Whai i ngā Taumata Ātakura” found that, for Māori, a bachelor’s degree improves employment opportunities and almost entirely removes the disparity in income that exists between Māori and non-Māori with lower-level tertiary qualifications (Earle, 2007). The same report also concedes that Māori continue to be under-represented in degree studies and states that, in order to dramatically increase numbers of Māori obtaining degrees, “the most important change would be to increase the number of Māori secondary school students achieving University Entrance or better. This remains that the major constraint on success” (Earle, 2007). Success with University Entrance therefore offers Māori access to education described by Freire (1970) as education for transformation and liberation.

Improvements in participation

As discussed in Chapter Two there has been a rapid increase in the numbers of Māori studying at tertiary institutions but the increase has been in enrolments at certificate and diploma level (the qualifications for vocational and industrial occupations) while enrolments at degree level have shown little change particularly with regard to Māori school leavers. High participation by Māori adults (rather than school leavers) has masked the low achievement rates for younger Māori.

Since the 1960 Hunn report educators have debated the changes needed to address the Māori education crisis that emerged (G. H. Smith, 1990). As the debate continues, new strategies are suggested, introduced and implemented but Māori students continue to fail. Although the numbers of Māori students achieving University Entrance has increased recently, the achievement of other groups has also increased so that the disparity between Māori and non-Māori achieving University Entrance remains (see Chapter Two).

It is clear that the system is failing Māori students and that systematic and structural change is needed (G. H. Smith, 1990). Maintaining the status quo while waiting for the changes to occur so that Māori can benefit from a “trickle down” effect will not improve Māori outcomes in the short term. Students spend five years at secondary school from Year 9 to Year 13. Therefore in terms of secondary education, a new generation begins every five years. Any new reform that is introduced, if effective, should therefore show positive results within five years. If expected outcomes cannot be achieved within five years another generation of students would have been failed.

Sitting back and waiting for the system to change is not a viable option for Māori as yet another generation of Māori students repeats the pattern of failure of previous generations. Bishop and Berryman comment:

Those who focus on systemic problems are ... identifying the major factor determining Māori students' educational achievement as being outside their own domain of influence and control and therefore outside their ability to change (Bishop & Berryman, 2006, p. 250).

If schools, teachers, parents and students believe the only solution to the problem of Māori underachievement is systemic change, they are all placing themselves in a state of powerlessness where they are unable to intervene or take responsibility for improving Māori outcomes. They are by definition acting in support of the status quo.

Structural barriers

Before Māori student numbers at university can grow, the numbers of Māori school leavers attaining University Entrance must grow. But there are a number of changes that must occur to allow for an increase in numbers of Māori students enrolling in university courses. More Māori must:

- stay in school and complete Year 13;
- gain the NCEA level one numeracy requirement;
- gain the NCEA Level 2 literacy requirement;
- attempt University Entrance by Year 13;
- gain University Entrance;
- enrol in a university degree; and
- have access to appropriate career planning and advice.

Influential factors

The picture created by the school leaver data shows that just over 1 in 10 Māori school leavers achieve University Entrance and have access to an emancipatory education or degree-level education. The reasons for the low achievement of Māori in secondary schools are numerous. There is evidence that improvements in the teacher-student relationship need to take place (Bishop & Berryman, 2006). Other evidence shows the profound effect of low teacher expectation on Māori achievement (Rubie-Davies et al., 2003; Simon, 1986). Recent research also considers the effect of subject availability on attainment of University Entrance (Madjar et al., 2009). Many of these factors require action and attention from within schools themselves and are therefore beyond the reach or scope of Māori students and their families and also beyond the influence of the tertiary institutions striving to increase the Māori enrolments. This study considers issues which can be addressed from outside the school through targeted interventions for Māori and providing careers education for students and families.

Removing these barriers is clearly not the total remedy but it will be a partial remedy and may result in positive changes. If some barriers can be addressed from outside the school system,

an improvement in Māori participation in university-degree-level education will be achieved. By raising awareness of the barriers and how they operate and developing strategies to overcome them, Māori access to university can be improved. The roles of parents, teachers and schools therefore are all significant in the pursuit of improved outcomes for Māori students in secondary schools.

In the overview to the ERO annual report for 2006, the Chief Reviewer recognised the importance of whānau and parents and also acknowledged the difficulties some parents face when communicating with schools:

Children learn better when their whānau or family is well informed about and actively involved in their education. To be effectively involved parents need to feel welcomed by the school—there are still adults in New Zealand whose own experience at school was unhappy or negative and who therefore find it difficult to begin a positive relationship with their child’s school. Parents should have high expectations of what our schools can and should do and schools should respect and respond to the aspirations that parents have for their children.

Parents are entitled to reliable, clear and useful information on how their children are achieving at school and about the performance of the school. The responsibility for the close and detailed picture of learning lies with each individual school and early childhood service. (Education Review Office, 2006)

The new credentialing system has introduced new barriers for parents and whānau with high aspirations for their children (Madjar et al., 2009). In this chapter it is argued that the introduction of NCEA has made it more difficult for parents to attain “clear and useful information on how their children are achieving at school” (Education Review Office, 2006) and to determine for themselves whether their child’s progress is meeting their aspirations. This has occurred when at the same time greater responsibility for acquiring the right credentials and shaping an academic or career pathway has shifted from the school and teachers to the student. Therefore parents are less likely to be able to provide assistance at a time when students are in most need of it.

The assessment system

A significant barrier to be addressed by the Māori student creating their own pathway to university is the secondary school assessment system. A major overhaul of the assessment system began in 2002 and has now been in place for several years. Although the changes were made with good intentions there have been unintended outcomes. The new system is so different from the previous one that it is difficult for most parents, employers and institutions outside secondary schools to understand (Madjar et al., 2009). Even amongst secondary school teachers there are still debates about the application of some of the finer details of the new system.

NCEA

In terms of University Entrance, the new NCEA qualification system is totally different from the old Bursaries system. There are many new and complex features in the new system but the main characteristics are summarised in the following discussion.

Under the previous assessment system there was one main qualification highway for all secondary school students. The first checkpoint they met was School Certificate and the final one was University Entrance Bursaries. While there were also other qualifications, for example, Sixth Form Certificate and Higher Leaving Certificate, the main ones were School Certificate and University Entrance Bursaries. Unless students were in a class that was not a School Certificate class, all students attempted School Certificate. If they did not wish to sit School Certificate they usually had to take action to “opt out”. The same applied to University Entrance Bursaries. Students in Year 13 knew they were in classes that were for University Entrance Bursaries or they were not. They did not have to take particular care to ensure they were on track.

The NCEA assessment system is quite different. It introduced the concept of credits which could be earned at three levels usually in the final three years of secondary school. These credits were to be accumulated and used towards the NCEA Certificate for each level (usually Level 1 in Year 11, Level 2 in Year 12 and Level 3 in Year 13) and also for other qualifications such as University Entrance with NCEA. Most of the work students completed in those years earned credits which could be used as the building blocks towards qualifications such as NCEA Certificates and University Entrance with NCEA.

Where previously School Certificate and University Entrance Bursaries were stand-alone qualifications which existed independently of each other, the new system introduced pre-requisites so that achievement at higher levels depended on success at lower levels. Students could earn subject credits from “unit standards” or “achievement standards”. However credits from unit standards place students at a disadvantage because they provide only “achieved” or “not achieved” (pass/fail) results. Unit standards do not provide the achievement grades that are necessary to allow for the ranking of students for selection processes when students are applying for limited entry degree courses. The result is that students offering unit standards on entry to a tertiary institution cannot achieve high rankings and can occupy only the lowest ranks during the ranking and selection process.

Also, the introduction of the new system served to fragment the field of qualifications. The idea of acquiring credits to build towards a particular qualification allows flexibility so that students can work toward their strengths but it also requires vigilance and knowledge of qualification regulations to ensure that a student is “on track” for the career of their choice. A closer examination of the detail in the changes gives a clearer picture of the complexity of the new system. It also demonstrates the challenges students face if they are to be self-reliant and make their own pathway through secondary school. The extent of the changes (resulting from the introduction of NCEA), is clearly evident in a comparison of the old and the new regulations for University Entrance.

University Entrance Regulations: Bursaries

Under the bursaries system the regulations for University Entrance were described in less than 20 words. The minimum criteria for University Entrance through the bursary examination had been determined by the New Zealand Vice Chancellors Committee. The regulations were the relatively simple and clear:

Entry to any University in New Zealand requires three C grades or higher in University Bursaries as well as Higher School Certificate.

(From NZQA website <http://www.nzqa.govt.nz/ncea/for-students/ue/index.html>)

The bursaries pathway to university was well established and known to both students and families. It had been in place for many years with very few changes. Students and families knew that schools offered bursary and non-bursary subjects so that a student intending to go to university would have to take at least three bursary subjects in Year 13 or Form 7. Most

students who stayed at school until Year 13 could attempt University Entrance. Those who were not eligible for University Entrance usually knew.

University Entrance Regulations: NCEA

In comparison the statement outlining the regulations for the minimum requirements to attain University Entrance with NCEA takes more than 140 words and includes terminology and concepts specific to NCEA. The statement also requires references to the NZQA website for a better understanding of the requirements.

The minimum requirements for entry to a New Zealand University under NCEA are as follows:

University Entrance standard

You will be qualified for entrance to a New Zealand university if you have obtained:

a minimum of 42 credits at Level 3 or higher on the National Qualifications Framework, including a minimum of 14 credits at Level 3 or higher in each of two subjects from the approved subject list, with a further 14 credits at Level 3 or higher taken from no more than two additional domains on the National Qualifications Framework or approved subjects; plus, a minimum of 14 credits at Level 1 or higher in Mathematics or Pāngarau; plus, a minimum of 8 credits at Level 2 or higher in English or Te Reo Māori; 4 credits must be in Reading and 4 credits must be in Writing. (University of Auckland, 2009, p. 16)

This standard is established by NZQA, as required by legislation, after consultation with universities through the New Zealand Vice-Chancellor's Committee (NZVCC).

New terminology and concepts

The 144-word statement introduces seven new concepts and related terminology:

- *Credits* units of assessment
- *Levels* stages of assessment
- *National qualifications framework* the new system of assessment and qualification
- *Approved subjects* selected subjects

- *Approved subject list* list of selected subjects
- *Domains* subject subsets
- *Literacy credits* credits in reading and writing
- *Numeracy credits* credits in mathematics

Other related words that are also new to the NCEA assessment process are:

- achievement standards;
- unit standards; and
- excellence (E), merit (M), achieved (A) – levels or grades of achievement.

As well as knowledge of the new terminology, the new University Entrance prescription requires sophisticated reading and comprehension skills and has the potential to confuse rather than clarify (Madjar et al., 2009).

Integral to this study of the regulations has been the need to examine areas of confusion for students in the transition from secondary school to university. Part (i) is complex:

Part (i)

a minimum of 42 credits at level 3 or higher on the National Qualifications Framework, including a minimum of 14 credits at level 3 or higher in each of two subjects from an approved subject list, with a further 14 credits at level 3 or higher taken from no more than two additional domains on the National Qualifications Framework or approved subjects (University of Auckland, 2009, p. 16)

Most students and staff in schools have become more familiar with the new regulations and terminology although there is still confusion about the application of the regulations. The first phrase (underlined) of Part (i) is misleading. Although it is qualified by the two phrases that follow, the phrase suggests that a total of 42 credits is required when in fact successful candidates need three sets of fourteen credits rather than a 42 credit total. The full description of the requirements is so long that it is rarely quoted in full. Instead for the sake of convenience it is often abbreviated to ‘42 credits at Level 3’. This only adds to the misapprehension and confusion. (It should be noted that previously, under the bursaries qualification system, the attainment of University Entrance depended on total marks in Year

13 or Form 7 final examination results. The new NCEA Certificates also rely on a credit total.)

Part (ii)

a minimum of 14 credits at Level 1 or higher in Mathematics or Pangarau on the National Qualifications Framework. (University of Auckland, 2009, p. 16)

Part (ii) is relatively straightforward and causes few problems as long as students are aware of it.

Part (iii)

a minimum of 8 credits at level 2 or higher in English or Te Reo Māori; 4 credits must be in Reading and 4 credits must be in Writing. (University of Auckland, 2009, p. 16)

Part (iii) causes difficulties. Students are often unaware which of their English or Te Reo Māori credits are classified as literacy credits. In order to confirm their number of literacy credits, students are required to either consult their English teacher or refer to the NZQA website. As a qualification University Entrance is quite separate and distinct from National Certificates of Educational Achievement (NCEA) which have their own separate regulations.

The national qualifications for secondary school students

The National Certificates of Educational Achievement (NCEA) are part of the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) and are the national qualifications for secondary school students in New Zealand. The requirements for achieving NCEA are:

Level 1 – 80 credits at any level including 8 in literacy and 8 in numeracy

Level 2 – 60 credits at level two or above + 20 credits from any level

Level 3 – 60 credits at level 3 or above + 20 credits from level two or above

Credits towards NCEA can be earned using either ‘unit standards’ or ‘achievement standards’.

Unit standards and achievement standards

The main difference between unit standards and achievement standards is that achievement standards recognise different levels of achievement. When achievement standards are earned, students gain credits at different levels “achieved”, “achieved with merit” or “achieved with

excellence". In contrast unit standards award only pass or fail results – "achieved" (pass) or "not achieved" (fail).

Achievement standards are therefore favoured by institutions and organisations when ranking or selection is required. The grades provided by achievement standards allow for differentiation between candidates. Unit standards are more useful for students planning to go on to vocational-based education or industry training while students intending to pathway to degree studies use achievement standards.

NCEA and University Entrance

The NCEA Level 3 Certificate and University Entrance are the two different qualifications available to students their final year at school (usually Year 13). The two qualifications lack congruence but the regulations for each qualification have enough similarities and differences to cause real confusion.

Although more credits are needed for the NCEA Level 3 Certificate the difference in regulations makes it possible to gain the NCEA Level 3 Certificate without having all the requirements for University Entrance. Therefore schools which have a policy favouring NCEA Level 3 rather than University Entrance may be denying some of their students the opportunity to achieve university education. Many schools promote NCEA Level 3 Certificate as the main qualification for Year 13 students to pursue. Some critics suggest schools are offering whatever is needed to get students through to improve their overall student pass rate. There is also evidence that some Māori students are "actively discouraged" from taking the Standards required for University (Haines, 2008; Madjar et al., 2009).

Accumulating credits

Secondary school students are encouraged by their schools to be aware of the NCEA regulations in order to attain NCEA certificates at Levels 1-3. The credits earned by students for NCEA Levels 1 can also be credited towards the University Entrance qualification. However, the University Entrance regulations have a number of significant differences from the NCEA certificates and students must take care to ensure that they are covering all the bases in order to be eligible for both University Entrance and NCEA certificates. For instance, both sets of qualifications have literacy and numeracy requirements but they require different totals of credits at different levels. This has the potential to cause a great deal of confusion.

The existence of both unit standards and achievement standards adds to the complexity. Generally the standards developed for vocational and industry training are unit standards while achievement standards are favoured for academic destinations. In order to reduce confusion and to distinguish between unit standards and achievement standards one description has divided them into “academic” and “cabbage” subjects. (Hipkins & Vaughan, 2002).

The underlying assumptions of the new assessment system are that:

- students possess the appropriate decision-making skills to make informed decisions;
- students have decided which pathway they will take when they choose unit or achievement standards; and
- students know how each of the standards applies to their tertiary education options.

If students are not aware of the consequences of their choices they do not have tino rangatiratanga and they are unable to be self-reliant and independent in determining their tertiary education options.

The University of Auckland Starpath Annual Report for 2008 discusses research on NCEA and notes that:

While there is much that is positive about the NCEA system, concerns remain about its potential to motivate students away from achieving their best, and towards “collecting credits” and adopting for easier assessments, without adequate regard for the long-term implications of their choices. (Starpath Project, 2008, p. 10).

The fragmentation and complexity of the NCEA assessment system makes it extremely difficult for students who wish to challenge or change the direction the school has chosen for them. Students who are unable to navigate the system unaided are forced to go back to seek assistance from the system which in many cases has already indicated the low expectations it has for them.

Developing a career plan

Most teenagers at secondary school make choices for the future in a process of consultation and negotiation with their families. Research conducted in New Zealand found that showed that parents were the main source of careers guidance and support (Madjar et al., 2009). The

majority of students discussed careers option with their parents (Boyd & Chalmers, 2001). Decisions must be made about which subjects, which career path, which school qualifications, when to leave school, which trade to pursue, which tertiary institution to attend, and which certificate, diploma or degree to choose. All are important and all have long-term consequences.

A study on pathways to employment conducted with young people in New Zealand found that for secondary school students who discuss their career and education plans with others, those most frequently preferred were parents (63%), friends(55%), career counsellors/advisors, teachers (28%), and whānau (31%) (Dupuis et al 2005). Therefore the influence of others apart from careers advisor specialists can also be significant.

In the past, families, employers and tertiary providers were familiar with the bursary qualification system because it was a system in place when they were at school. For families in particular that knowledge helped them to assist and advise their children as they advanced through secondary school. However, all that knowledge and experience became redundant upon the introduction of NCEA.

Without the base knowledge and understanding of the University Entrance regulations under NCEA, students and their families are totally dependent on the school system to make the best choices for them. Smith and Timperley (2008) claim that while NCEA is more inclusive to a diverse New Zealand population it has ethnically weighted barriers which translate to adverse impacts on particular groups of students.

While dependence on the school system may be an acceptable option for the large number of students who are successful in gaining University Entrance it is not acceptable for Māori students to be reliant on a system that is already failing to encourage, engage and retain them. The new system restricts self-reliance and self-determination in students.

Parents who lack the class wisdom or cultural capital of the middle-class parents have been further disadvantaged by the recent assessment changes. The cultural capital of middle-class parents gives them power in their interaction with the education system. Other parents are less well equipped to question or challenge anything they cannot understand in the education system (Lauder & Hughes, 1999), including the new NCEA assessment process.

After more than forty years of national end-of-year University Entrance Bursary examinations with norm-based assessments, the system changed to NCEA and ongoing standards-based assessment. The huge and complex changes that took place when NCEA was introduced had the effect of marginalising parent support. The new NCEA assessment system was so different from the long-standing bursary assessment process that most people (parents, employers, and school and university administrators) have been unable to follow or understand the information generated by the new system without assistance. Research by Hipkins (2006) into NCEA describes parents' uncertainty about NCEA.

The pattern of parents' responses was characterised by high levels of "not sure/don't know" responses. Around half the sample responded this way to each of the NCEA items. Half of the parents also felt the school had not kept them well informed about NCEA. As for the teachers and trustees, those parents who were more negative about NCEA were also more likely to express concerns about other aspects of their child's schooling, with the NCEA perhaps acting as a "lightning rod" for other concerns such as anxiety about progress, or lack of contact with the school (Hipkins, 2006, p. ii).

A colleague who works as a Community Education Advisor informed me that he had been kept busy all year meeting parents and families to discuss and explain NCEA and NCEA regulations. He had attended 106 of those whānau hui (meetings with families) in 2008. (Personal communication, November 2008).

One example of the complexity is the information in a student's Record of Learning (now called Record of Achievement). The record of learning tracks and records the student's NCEA credits as they move through the three levels of NCEA. It can be offered by a student as evidence of achievement for employment, scholarship or education purposes. An important step in reading the Record of Learning is being able to understand the hierarchy of grades. The grades given for achievement are not the conventional A, B and C grades. The three grades that are awarded for achievement standards are, from lowest to highest: A; M; E (A=Achieved; M=Merit; E=Excellent).

In the new system a transcript of "straight As" no longer signifies outstanding performance, instead it is an indication of average achievement; and where previously D and E grades indicated failure, an E grade now signifies excellence, the highest level of success.

Although the grade system is different, it can be understood after a brief explanation. However, when subject credit totals are required it can be difficult and almost impossible for anyone (parents, employers, and school and university administrators) apart from the subject teacher and perhaps the student to calculate subject credit totals. The problem is that students earn credits from credit units, which are given titles. At times the title of a particular credit unit gives no clear indication of the subject the credits should be assigned to. Unit titles may signify science credits but not necessarily indicate whether the credits are for chemistry rather than biology or physics.

While a good deal of time and effort was spent educating teachers and students about the changes, the same sort of support was not available to the wider community (Hipkins, 2006). For most of those including families, employers and tertiary institutions the new system was, and continues to be, confusing and bewildering.

Effects of cultural capital on students

Parents who have the history, social position, education and income and hold professional positions provide their children with distinct advantages in education (Lauder & Hughes, 1999). The knowledge and understanding of the education system that these parents possess give them the confidence to challenge the system in ways that are beneficial to their children. This knowledge and understanding of secondary education is the “cultural capital” described by Bourdieu (1977) and the “class wisdom” identified by Lauder and Hughes (1999). As a group in the population that are under-represented in degree studies and consequently in the managerial and professional sectors, Māori parents are least likely to possess the cultural capital or class wisdom that would be useful in plotting the pathway to degree study for their children.

In order to compare the effects of cultural capital or class wisdom on their decisions about attending university, Lauder and Hughes (1999) interviewed two students from different social backgrounds who had attained University Entrance. The research found that for the daughter of the university professor it was assumed both by the daughter and the family that she would attend university. There was an unspoken “climate of expectation” that she would go to university. This was sustained not only by the family background but also by subtle pressure from the school, the peer group and the family. Attending university was the norm; it was expected. Not attending university would have created an exception.

For the daughter of a working-class family it was quite different. University Entrance was valued as a credential for gaining a good job rather than providing access to a university degree. For a student from the working class to attend university was to be the exception: “Her parents had little education and she knew few people who had gone to University; it was in effect a foreign place to her, hence she feared the unknown” (Lauder & Hughes, 1999). Clearly the environment for the working-class student was very different. She was not exposed to the same climate of expectation as the daughter of the professor. There was no unspoken assumption that she would attend university. For this student to do so, even with the support of her parents, would have been to work against the climate and environment she knew. She would have had to step outside the community she knew, into the unknown.

Māori perceptions and community wisdom

Māori perceptions regarding university and University Entrance have more in common with the attitudes of the working-class daughter. Māori have a “community wisdom” similar to cultural capital and class wisdom. This community wisdom would explain similar effects behind the Māori attitude to education, expressed by Bishop and Berryman when they describe what Māori want from education:

Being Māori as an aspiration, ranked just as highly as academic achievement for the students and for their whānau. Māori people want to be Māori within the mainstream education system, which has for so long been dominated by non-Māori who have effectively insisted that success means leaving Māoriness behind (Bishop & Berryman, 2006, p. 264).

For most Māori, like the students from a working class background, attending university is a step into the unknown and a step away from the protection of their Māori upbringing. When it is not common for members of your particular community, class or culture to attend university, embarking on degree study is taking a step into the unknown. Knowing also that few people like you have been there before creates an understandable fear of isolation. For Māori it appears that the fear of isolation from whānau and other cultural activities brings added pressures when up-taking tertiary study options in urban situations.

Bishop and Berryman (2006) suggest that many educators still believe Māoriness should be set aside in order to achieve academic success. This is a disincentive to Māori in the pursuit of

degree study and gives credence to the perception of some Māori that universities are not places for Māori and that academic study is a Pākehā pursuit.

The more recent policy in the the Ministry of Education publication *Ka Hikitia – Managing for Success* (Ministry of Education, 2008) appeared to address some of these issues by adopting goals set by Professor Mason Durie in 2001. The goals were set as outcomes for Māori in education:

- to live as Māori;
- to actively participate as citizens of the world; and
- to enjoy good health and high standards of living (M. Durie, 2001).

A school's influence on access to university

The public perception of school quality is usually based on academic success rates, school resources and facilities. Families believe that students will have a greater chance of success if they can attend a school with a high pass/low failure rate. While the accuracy of these perceptions are debated every time the school pass rates are published by the media there are some subtle advantages offered by large high-decile schools which are not so widely recognised or promoted. Schools often claim these advantages as results of the school quality and school culture but some of them are a direct result of having large numbers of students (the advantages of scale).

The careers advisor is the person in the school charged with the responsibility for careers advice.

In a large school the careers advisor's role is a full-time one. One of the noticeable advantages of scale is that careers advisors get frequent and regular practice in dealing with tertiary institutions and their rules and codes. They become familiar with the application processes, due dates and prerequisites simply through the volume of work created by the students in the school applying for university courses. Through the same volume of work staff also build relationships with recruitment personnel from the institutions and communicate regularly with them when assistance is required.

Cohorts

In a large school where large numbers of students are planning to go to university, cohorts are automatically established. There are many advantages in belonging to a cohort:



1. Cohorts share information. A cohort provides students with the advantage of collective knowledge and support. Students in the cohort need not know everything themselves or be totally reliant on the school careers advisor for support and information. Once the group has been advised of the due dates and the application process the information becomes part of the collective knowledge of the cohort so that students can discuss, recheck and re-examine information with other group members.
2. Cohorts keep students “on track”. Cohorts help to keep students on the pathway to university when students in the cohort assist and remind one another about what has to be done and when. Another advantage is that able students, on the margins of the cohort, such as those who are undecided, disorganized or less motivated can get to university simply by doing what everyone else is doing.
3. Cohorts provide ongoing support. Even for students with no family history of university study, the fear of the unknown and fear of isolation are significantly reduced when that student is part of a school cohort. When students arrive at university the collective knowledge and wisdom of the cohort provide support for group members as they adjust to the university environment.

For students from small schools and schools that send few students to university, the situation is quite different. Careers planning and advice in smaller schools is often the responsibility of the classroom teacher who has been given a few hours per week for “careers”. Unlike their counterparts in large, high-decile schools, the careers advisors in small schools do not have the benefits of time and frequent practice to develop and strengthen the knowledge of the codes and rules of tertiary institutions. When students are applying for less common or limited entry courses the careers advisor may be learning about the course requirements alongside the student.

A student may be the only one from their school intending to go to a particular university. In that situation a student who simply does what everyone else is doing will not get to university. One benefit of a small school would be that the students would have more access to the careers advisor and therefore would receive more individual attention than in a large school. However, the fear of the unknown and the fear of isolation are real issues for “lone” students coming from schools without the advantage of cohort support. As well as adjusting to the new environment and new ways of teaching and learning the lone student has to develop a social base by forming new relationships and friendships in order to feel comfortable in the new

environment. This is important to help overcome the fear of the unknown and the fear of isolation.

The ability to develop this sound social friendship base is valuable in helping the student integrate into university life but it is equally important for the first-year student to develop a strong academic base. The key to successfully completing an undergraduate degree is success (passing at least 75% of the courses studied) in the first year of study (Earle, 2007). While the lone student has to work to get established both socially and academically in the first year of study, the student who is part of a cohort that has transferred directly from school to university needs only to work on getting established academically.

Māori students have more in common with the earlier description of the lone student even when they come from a large high-decile school. Careers advisors and other staff are not always familiar with specific considerations that exist for Māori because in most schools the numbers of Māori students applying for admission to university are small. The specific considerations for Māori students include: Māori scholarships, Māori admission criteria, bridging courses for Māori, Māori verification processes, all of which differ from their mainstream versions. In large schools where cohorts of students can be processed en masse, Māori students may be processed as part of the larger cohort (e.g., students applying for an engineering or business degree) so that their specific Māori needs are neglected. Māori students who apply following mainstream application processes may not receive information specific to Māori such as Māori scholarships or Māori admission schemes.

Even when a Māori student is part of a school cohort the fear of isolation (being the only Māori in a large university class) and the fear of losing their Māoriness are very real fears which cannot easily be addressed or shared in a large non-Māori cohort. In order to survive, the lone Māori student has to become self-reliant and independent and learn how to gather information and resources and seek existing sources of support.

Pathways to a degree qualification

For Māori students who want to become proactive and determine their own pathways to university there are barriers to be aware of and to be addressed. Expectations can be motivators or barriers but for Māori students in secondary schools, expectations tend to be barriers. These barriers exist at all levels. There are expectation barriers set in place by the state; expectation barriers set in place by the schools; expectation barriers set in place by

teachers; and expectation barriers set in place by careers advisors. For most of those who succeed under the present system those barriers are non-existent but for those struggling within the system the barriers are real and can be insurmountable.

State-imposed barriers and expectations

For students and their families who face the barriers of low educational expectations imposed upon them by others, self-reliance and self-determination are the responses that enable them to challenge those barriers and exercise their own agency. An essential part of self-reliance and self-determination is being able to identify and address the barriers that exist particularly when they are not recognised and acknowledged by others. These students need advocates in the form of advisors who will use their agency to provide positive support and guidance.

An obvious state-imposed barrier is the school decile system. The school decile system categorises schools into deciles from 1 to ten. It has a socio-economic base so that decile 10 schools are based in the most affluent areas of the country while decile 1 schools are in the least affluent parts of the country with working-class families and often large proportions of ethnic minorities. High-decile schools offer a more academic curriculum while low-decile schools are more likely to offer vocational courses and study skills programmes (Thrupp, 1997). The general perception is that the higher the decile the better the school. From 1990 to 1997, when school zoning regulations changed there were large movements of students from low-decile schools to high-decile schools (Fiske & Ladd, 2000; Woodfield & Gunby, 2003).

A report from The University of Auckland “Taskforce for Improving Participation in Tertiary Education” (University of Auckland, 1999) showed that the majority of the student enrolments for the University come from mid-to high-decile schools. High-decile schools tend to be better resourced partly because they can generate a higher income from school fees and more easily attract high-fee-paying international students and are also able to offer a wider range of subject choices for University Entrance. All these factors contribute to the public perception that high-decile schools are better schools and students attending high-decile schools are better students than those attending low-decile schools.

In a critique of the introduction of markets in education, when discussing the effectiveness of schools and school choice Lauder and Hughes recognise the advantages available to middle-class parents and describe it as: “educational advantage captured through the potent combination of material capital (money and time) and cultural capital” (Lauder & Hughes,

1999, p. 29). While advocates for markets in education claimed parents would have greater choice the reality is that the market model allowed middle-class parents greater choice but failed to increase choices for parents from other groups:

Our findings are consistent with the view that education is a site of struggle for credential advantage; the issue, therefore, is not whether all would eventually come to the market as equals but why professional middle class parents would allow and indeed contribute to such an equality. The tactics used by professional middle class parents and schools that we have documented clearly show that education markets serve to exacerbate the exclusion of working class and Māori students. (Lauder & Hughes, 1999, p. 135)

Lauder (1999) further states that Māori are excluded from high-decile schools, this is confirmed by the reality that few Māori can be found in such schools. Instead Māori are found in mid-decile schools and the greatest number of Māori can be found in low-decile schools. In low-decile schools Māori students who wish to pursue a university education have to become more proactive than students in high-decile schools to ensure they make or create an academic pathway for themselves by taking the academic option whenever it is offered (Madjar et al., 2009). In a low-decile school students who are not proactive are more likely to find themselves on a vocational pathway leading to trade and industry training.

The school decile system has organised state schools into tiers. The Report of the Taskforce for Improving Participation in Tertiary Education (University of Auckland, 1999) showed that high decile and low-decile schools provide different outcomes for their students. High-decile schools prepare students for academic study at university level and have a high percentage of students achieve University Entrance and go on to university. Low-decile schools offer fewer academic subjects and therefore prepare students for vocational and industry training and have a small percentage of students attaining University Entrance and going on to university (Madjar et al., 2009). High-decile schools offer a wide range of academic options while low-decile schools offer very limited academic options (Madjar et al., 2009), therefore high-decile schools are the preferred option for parents and students with high aspirations. The expectations of the state are therefore clear to students in low-decile schools. They are expected to enter trades and industry. Therefore students in low-decile schools wanting to take the academic pathway know they are challenging the expectations and assumptions of the state.

School barriers and expectations

Just as the state organises schools into decile categories, schools often organise students into groups supposedly to make teaching more efficient and manageable. Students are selected into classes according to their ability. In New Zealand the practice is known as “streaming”, in other places it is referred to as “tracking” and the practice of streaming is practised in many large high-decile schools. Streaming is clear and actual evidence of the different expectations a school has for its students. Students of under-represented groups are often disadvantaged by streaming practices and are under-represented in top streams (Nakhid, 2003). Students in top stream classes are expected to go to university and enter the highly competitive limited-entry courses which lead to the professions. Expectations decrease for students going down through the ranks of streamed classes so that students in lower-stream classes are often unable to access the academic subjects required to qualify for university entrance (Madjar et al., 2009).

For students in the top stream who want to enter the competitive professional degrees the way is wide and clear. However, any student outside the top streams with the same aspirations who has been in the school for five years would be acutely aware that they are directly challenging the system and the school’s expectations. They are well aware that their aspirations place them on the margins and this makes it more difficult for them to seek help and advice.

The limited expectations of professional educators for Māori students are demonstrated in the following examples. Two educators both with a professional interest and responsibility for Māori achievement in the transition to tertiary education made these comments in an article for the *NZ Listener* (8 November, 2008) about NCEA and the gap between Māori and Pākehā achievement. A school principal said:

It’s [NCEA] certainly better than the previous system. Standards based assessment was put in this place in this country precisely to give accessibility for students for qualifications – to recognise what they had genuinely achieved ... What are you using the qualifications for? To get into university or to get into a job? (Haines, 2008, p. 24)

This comment suggests that qualifications for university would not be of any benefit in obtaining a job when, in fact, qualifications for university can serve both purposes. While qualifications for university may not include “job specific” skills they demonstrate an ability

to learn. This is an advantage in an employment situation. In contrast, job specific skills and qualifications place employment limitations on someone who cannot find work or is no longer interested in that particular field.

In the same article, a director of an Institute of Technology made similar comments:

But a lot of people aren't headed towards university. And it's not the ones heading to university from which we're getting the bulk of our disengagement. You see, it's the 20/80 rule. Do we run the system for the 20% who are getting great success, or try and do something about the 80% who have got to work hard to cobble together a record that looks pretty good? (Haines, 2008, p. 24)

This comment appears to be in a similar vein. However, it seems to suggest that 20% of Māori students are achieving success in terms of qualifications for university when less than 15% of Māori actually reach that level. There is also the implication that 20% is a reasonable proportion when in fact more than 40% of Pākehā and 60% of Asian students gain qualifications for university (see Figure 4 page 34).

Both these commentators saw themselves as working towards raising Māori achievement levels. But, while their comments may be appropriate for Māori students in the lower two quartiles, they are totally inadequate and marginalising for the upper two quartiles of Māori secondary school students. It is in the top two quartiles of Māori students where students with the potential to succeed at university are most likely to be found. While the efforts to reduce “the tail” of underachievers by improving achievement of Māori in the lower two quartiles is both admirable and necessary, the failure to raise achievement of Māori in the two upper quartiles is evident in the continued disparity between Māori and other groups with regard to attainment of university entrance qualifications.

Teacher expectations

Teacher expectations have a powerful effect on students' achievement and research has consistently produced evidence that teachers have low expectations of Māori (Simon, 1984) (Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Rubie-Davies et al., 2003) Vignette 2). Data gathered from interviews with Māori students by Bishop and Berryman showed that Māori students were aware of the limited expectations some teachers had for them:

They don't have high enough expectations of us kids anyway.

Yeah like when Miss gave us some work and she said, "I don't think you'll finish that but those of you that do, you've got this sheet afterwards". What makes her think we are not going to finish it? Little things like that just make us mad, and then we just don't work for the rest of the period. (Bishop & Berryman, 2006)

Teacher expectations influence the kind of relationship a student has with the teacher. The underlying assumption that a student will ask for help whenever it is required is based on the supposition that the teacher–student relationship is a strong and positive one. It would obviously be more difficult for a student to ask for help from a teacher whom the student knows has limited expectations of that student.

Careers advisory services

Careers advisors control the information gateway to tertiary education so the expectations of careers advisors control the distribution of information to students (Vaughan & Gardiner, 2007). Careers advisors therefore exercise a great deal of power in their roles. In his structuration theory Giddens recognises agency as an elemental basis of power and identifies it as the capability to do otherwise (Giddens & Pierson, 1998). In a school context using Giddens' theory, careers advisors would be actors or agents.

To be able to "act otherwise" means being able to intervene in the world or to refrain from such intervention, with the effect of influencing a specific process or state of affairs. This presumes that to be an agent is to be able to deploy (chronically in the flow of daily life) a range of causal powers, including that of influencing those deployed by others. Action depends upon the capability of the individual to "make a difference" to a pre-existing state of affairs or course of events. An agent ceases to be such if he or she loses the capability to "make a difference", that is, to exercise some sort of power. (Giddens, 1984, p. 14)

The amount of information, the kind of information, the way it is distributed and who receives it, is determined by the careers advisor. They can challenge and widen students' perceptions of their options for the future or they can limit and restrict options simply through the decisions they make as careers advisors.

For example, it is not unusual after I have requested an audience with Māori students to be told by a careers advisor that the school would like all students to be included because all students could benefit from the information that would be provided to Māori students. In this situation a careers advisor is exercising their agency to intervene by changing a targeted presentation into a mainstream presentation. The outcome of that intervention would be to take a resource intended for Māori students and to distribute or share it with all students. Another likely outcome is that the presentation is changed to include information for non-Māori students so that the focus is moved away from Māori students and the presentation becomes less effective and had less impact on Māori students.

Delpit's (2006) aspects of power, referred to earlier in this chapter, can be applied to the process Māori must follow to gain University Entrance. Some of the issues are highlighted below using Delpit's analysis:

Issues of power are enacted in the classrooms

The cumulative results of each student's assessments and selections, as that student progresses through secondary school, eventually determine whether the student is considered by the school to be a candidate for the University Entrance examination and assessments in Year 13, the final year of secondary school. The first prerequisite is numeracy at Level 1. Although the requirement for NCEA Level 1 is 8 credits, all students (and Māori students in particular) should be aiming for the University Entrance requirement of 14 credits or more. A mathematics teacher who sets a minimum of 14 credits as a class target is exercising the power of the teacher's role by providing all students with the opportunity to attempt the first stage of University Entrance. Similarly, the teacher who fails to encourage students to go beyond the minimum 8 credit requirement for NCEA level 1 is exercising the power of the teacher's role by withholding encouragement to do better and thereby limiting the potential of students in the class to achieve University Entrance.

There are codes and rules for participating in power; that is, there is a "culture of power"

Delpit refers to linguistic forms and communicative strategies in this aspect of power—ways of talking and writing. The terminology and language of the University Entrance regulations themselves are examples of the way the codes of power operate to maintain control through the codes and rules of participation. The long and complex description of the NCEA University Entrance requirements are a demonstration of the codes and rules for participation in the "culture of power" that is university education. The rules are difficult to understand

without reference to websites for definitions, listings and further clarification. Newcomers to the system are often reliant on the operators of the culture of power to provide access and advice to a university education.

The rules of the culture of power are the rules of the culture of those who have power

The new qualification rules are the rules established by those with power in the education sector. The complexity of the new regulations for NCEA and University Entrance qualifications has reduced the ability of students on the margins of the school system to take control of their own career pathways. The new philosophy behind the regulations and the detail within the regulations themselves make it almost impossible for students to develop their own pathways without assistance. In many cases this compels students to return to the existing system and remain dependent.

If you are not already a participant in the culture of power, being told explicitly the rules of that culture makes acquiring power easier

Those of us who are Māori working to pathway Māori into tertiary education have recognised the importance of this principle. We have seen many cases of Māori students being denied direct access to courses because they did not know or understand the rules of admission. During STEAM and other targeted events we have developed for Māori secondary school students, we spend time explaining the rules and the assessment processes that provide students with access to tertiary education. The philosophy is that students must know and understand the rules of access in order to make their own informed choices about tertiary education and degree study. We have often been told that we do not need to explain the rules and assessment systems because “the students have already been told”. However we have learned from experience that in a “Māori to Māori” context the same information can be presented in a more meaningful way or in a way that has more relevance for Māori.

Those with power are frequently least aware of or least willing to acknowledge its existence.

Those with less power are often most aware of its existence

There are hundreds of courses and many institutions for students to choose from in the transition from secondary to tertiary education. Schools usually have a careers office or careers advisor who is responsible for holding and distributing the information, but students are expected to ask for the information as required. Asking for, or seeking the information needed, may not be a problem when the staff member or careers advisor is already known to the student and is encouraging and approachable. However, in a large school when the student

does not know the careers advisor, or when the careers advisor is particularly formidable, a student may be too intimidated to ask for information or assistance, or a student in a lower stream may be reluctant to ask for a scholarship endorsement from the school when all other scholarship applicants are from the top stream class. In both examples the students' feelings are a response to power that is rarely recognized within schools.

(My own experience would support Delpit's statement that those with power are least likely to acknowledge it. The most formidable personalities in positions of power in education that I have encountered are the least likely to admit or recognise that they are difficult to approach.)

Conclusion

This chapter described the journey students take through secondary school on the way to a university education. Mechanisms of power and support and the limitations students encounter on that journey were discussed as well as the effect they have on Māori students. Also it was argued that the transition into tertiary education is easier for children of middle-class families. The contention was that the fragmentation of the qualification processes under NCEA requires vigilance on the part of students and their parents to ensure the courses they have chosen match their aspirations. Keeping vigilant is difficult given the multitude of regulations rules and codes. It was claimed that important subtle differences between unit standards and achievement standards are probably not fully appreciated. As well, the lack of congruence between University Entrance rules and regulations and NCEA regulations, all serve to restrict the ability of students and parents to self-check career pathways or to challenge school and teacher expectations. The role of expert advisor who has high expectations of the student and who will operate in the interests of the students is an essential one. The agency that exists within the role of the expert advisor can be used to enable or to constrain Māori students' intent on a pathway to university.

In the next chapter discussion focuses on the methodology used to bring about the discussion that leads towards the respective issues contained within the case studies examined.



CHAPTER FIVE

Methodology / Methods – Te taki haere i te kaupapa

Vignette 5 - Arranging school visits

This section describes a series of Māori Liaison team recruitment visits to schools. It can be used as a “yardstick” to evaluate the effectiveness of the legislation discussed earlier in providing support for Māori students in the schools visited. It also provides an insight into different ways that careers advisors in schools responded to a careers education initiative that was offered to Māori students in their school. The schools concerned had been contacted four to six weeks before the visits to ask if the team could visit their school on a given date. They were told that a team of Māori representatives from the tertiary institutions involved would like to speak to Māori students (preferably seniors) about tertiary study and the transition from secondary to tertiary education. Once schools agreed to a visit the arrival time and departure time was discussed and the visit was confirmed. The original presentation team were all Māori, three women and two men representing four tertiary institutions. When we were joined by another team person the team grew to three women and three men representing four universities and one institute of technology.

The aims of our presentation were to:

- introduce ourselves as representatives of our institutions;
- establish a relationship for our institution with the school, staff and students;
- promote tertiary education;
- explain the transition process from secondary to tertiary education;
- motivate students to stay on at school to complete Year 13;
- keep their career and degree options open by making wise subject choices at school;
- present the information in a way that acknowledges we are Māori;
- raise awareness of opportunities that exist for Māori; and
- present the information in an interesting way.

School Visits

When the visits took place the way our team was received, welcomed and supported varied greatly from school to school. The visits do cause a disruption to the school day. Therefore

making a decision to allow the visit is a demonstration of support for Māori students by the careers advisor. It is also a demonstration of the support and autonomy the careers advisor has in the school. The Manākitanga (hospitality, caring and attention) we experience as visitors is also an indication of the careers advisor's ability to create a space where Māori visitors and Māori students can "be Māori" in the school context. Such a level of awareness also demonstrates support for Māori students.

School One

The team was met by the careers advisor. We were taken to the library to speak to 13 Year 11–13 Māori students who had been selected as students who may be interested in university education. We were all provided with morning tea and we had the opportunity to speak to individual students who had questions for us or planned to enrol in one of our institutions. Although the careers advisor was not free to stay for our presentation she visited several times to check that all was well.

School Two

Our visit was set up to coincide with students' lunch hour. The careers advisor took us to the room where the students had gathered and a senior student welcomed us with a mihi (greeting). The students ate lunch while we spoke to them. Our presentation was well received by a group of 12 students in Year 13 and we had time at the end of the presentation for one-to-one discussions with students. The careers advisor did not stay for our presentation but returned at the end of the lunch hour before we were due to leave.

School Three

We arrived at the pre-arranged time but the careers advisor had forgotten we were coming. He offered to have a group of students for us to meet if we returned later that afternoon. Fortunately we were free later that afternoon so we agreed to come back. When we returned we were met by the contact teacher and the teacher of Māori language. We were taken to a room where there were 23 non-Māori and three Māori students waiting to hear our presentation. The teacher of Māori language was clearly embarrassed that we were not given a group of Māori students. He welcomed us with a mihi and we responded before making our presentation to the students we had been given. Our usual presentation was specifically for a Māori audience so was not appropriate for the audience we had been given. We had not expected to speak to a non-Māori group so we had not planned or prepared a presentation for a non-Māori audience. We realised we would have to immediately modify our presentation to

suit a non-Māori audience. The presentation went ahead and the students were receptive and polite and their questions reflected their concerns about the transition from secondary to tertiary education. It was unfortunate for the three Māori students present that they were denied the opportunity of hearing the presentation for Māori delivered by Māori. As we left the school at the end of the school day we saw many Māori students around the school and felt frustrated that we had missed the students we had expected to meet. We knew it was unlikely that Māori students in that school would have another opportunity to hear a presentation such as ours which had been tailored to fit a Māori audience. We also knew that the non-Māori students we had spoken to would be targeted again several times later in the year by general recruitment personnel from our own institutions.

School Four

When this school was first contacted about the possibility of a visit by our team the response from the careers advisor was that we would have to speak to all students if we came to the school. It would not be possible to speak to Māori students only. One of our team members suggested that we try to make arrangements through a Māori language teacher in the school instead. This approach was more successful and we were told by the careers advisor there had been a misunderstanding earlier and it would be possible for us to speak to a group of Māori students. We arrived at School Four at the arranged time and there was a powhiri (welcome) for us from the Māori language teacher and his class. During the powhiri he told us (in Māori) that the welcome was from the Māori department rather than the school. After the powhiri we were given morning tea. Later we were taken by the careers advisor to a small room to speak to 26 senior Māori students. There were no chairs in the room so some of the students had to stand and no chairs were available for the five members of our team. The careers advisor left us with the students and did not return before we left. It was a very hot day and we were all glad to leave the room at the end of our presentation.

School Five

We arrived at this school and while we were waiting for the contact teacher in the school lobby the school principal came to speak to us and welcomed us to the school. She took the opportunity to introduce us to a Māori student who was the student representative on the School Board of Trustees. The careers advisor took us to meet a group of 24 senior students. Our presentation had already started when the HOD Māori arrived to welcome and mihi to us. She apologised for not being able to stay for our presentation but explained that she had a class at that time. The students responded well to our presentation and asked relevant

questions. Several students told us they were considering enrolling at one of our institutions when they completed secondary school.

School Six

We had visited this school in previous years and have always been made to feel welcome at the school. However this year the careers advisor informed Māori Liaison staff from two other institutions of our visit, and without consulting us, had invited them to join us. This created difficulties for us firstly because the two people concerned had not participated in planning our presentation and secondly because any addition to our team and our team presentation would reduce the time allocation for each speaker. As it was, one Māori Liaison Officer did join us and participated in our presentation so a role had to be devised for him. When we arrived at the school we also found that there was another mainstream recruitment presentation being given at the same time as ours. Māori students had been told that they could choose which presentation to attend, so some attended ours and others attended the general recruitment presentation. Our presentation was to a group of 12 senior students.

The Māori language teacher who had stayed for our talk welcomed us. She told us after our presentation that she thought Māori students would have gained more by attending our presentation rather than the other one.

School Seven

This was also a boarding school which we had visited previously. Our visit was in 'study time' at the end of the school day after classes have finished. We were met by the deputy principal and the principal and we were taken to the school library to meet with a group of 30 senior students. We were welcomed and introduced to the student group by a senior member of staff and we were then left to make our presentation.

There were no teachers present while we conducted our presentation. Afterwards many students took advantage of the time allowed for one-to-one' consultation with members of our group. We were then taken for afternoon tea where the students acted as hosts. During this time students also asked more questions about their tertiary options. We were not joined by any staff members until we were about to leave the school. The deputy principal came to thank us for our visit and to see us off.

School Eight

We had been encouraged by a Māori parent from the school to contact the teacher of Māori and set up a visit so that we could talk to his Māori language class students. When we arrived we were welcomed by the teacher with a short mihi. Then we spoke to the 13 students in his class. At the end of our presentation the student who thanked us said she had not really thought about university study before but she was now going to give it some serious consideration.

Comment

When we visit a school our team tries to establish a space where “being Māori is the norm” so that we can interact with the students in a less formal way. If we are successful in creating a safe space to be Māori, students quickly relax and participate in the activities and ask and respond to questions. The way we are received and hosted by the school can make this easier or more difficult for us. If the staff are welcoming and caring in their dealings with us they make it easier for the students to show Manākitanga towards us in an appropriate Māori way.

The theoretical base of the research

The thesis investigates the support provided to Māori students in the transition from secondary school to university and the way careers advisors in schools exercise their agency with regard to that transition. The thesis develops and uses a particular form of critical theory bringing together Kaupapa Māori theory with Giddens’ structuration theory. Structuration theory is used to examine the roles and perceptions of careers advisors while the link with Kaupapa Māori is in the investigation of support provided for Māori students in order to improve their access to university education. In the context of this research structuration theory recognises ability of the individual to exercise agency both positively and negatively in an institution (system). This is recognition that the same policy can be accepted or rejected, implemented or ignored, supported or supplanted as a result of the agency of individual members of staff in a school at the micro level. Therefore in this research project structuration theory allowed for the close examination of the roles of careers advisors and the decisions they make in their everyday work environment.

Kaupapa Māori

Kaupapa Māori theory is defined by (G. Smith, 1997) and used to explain the need for solutions and theories that make a better fit for Māori in Māori contexts. The negativity and resistance of some Māori to theory has been explained as the result of the way western Pākehā

dominant theory has been applied and used to undermine Māori language and culture (L. T. Smith, 1997). The failure of education reform for Māori is due to policies that have been selected and applied in the interests of the dominant Pākehā society to solve issues in Māori education (G. Smith, 1997). Therefore, as a theory that has been developed from within Māori communities, Kaupapa Māori theory is more appropriate for research involving Māori and has the potential to be more successful.

Kaupapa Māori grew out of Māori resistance in the 1980s and 1990s and provided the platform for Māori-medium education at Kohanga Reo (pre-school) and Kura Kaupapa Māori (primary) and wharekura (secondary) schools. For more than a century, the education for Māori offered by the state had failed to meet Māori aspirations and instead sought to educate Māori by removing Māori identity and distinctiveness through processes of civilisation, assimilation and integration. As a response, Kaupapa Māori emerged from the Māori struggle for control over the way Māori children and students are educated (Bishop, 2008; Pihama et al., 2002; G. Smith, 1997).

Transformation is a key component of Kaupapa Māori theory and transformation of both individuals and broader Māori society occurs by challenging injustice and inequalities (Pihama, 2001). Various resistance notions of conscientisation, resistance, and transformative praxis from western theory are incorporated within Kaupapa Māori (G. Smith, 1997). However, Smith argued against the traditional fixed linear progression from conscientisation to resistance and then to praxis. Smith described instead a cycle of transformation and claimed that Māori experience in Kaupapa Māori interventions such as the Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa movements showed that conscientisation, resistance, and transformative praxis could occur simultaneously or in any sequence. One of the elements of Kaupapa Māori described by Smith (1997) is *tino rangatiratanga* (the principle of relative autonomy) or the goal of control over one's life and cultural well-being.

This research is based on the assumption that achieving more equitable outcomes for Māori requires targeted attention and opportunities to be made available for Māori students in order to improve Māori achievement in secondary schools. This section of the research will examine the impact of the equity legislation in the schools participating in this project and also examine the effectiveness of the new legislation in improving support for Māori.

Information from this research could:

- assist in achieving equitable outcomes for Māori in secondary schools;
- improve Māori achievement in secondary schools;
- establish effective support initiatives for Māori students in schools; and
- assist schools to comply with equity legislation.

The advisors and school staff members involved in this research were selected because they had been identified as being supportive of Māori students in their schools through their involvement in targeted interventions for Māori students. With evidence showing that almost two thirds (59%) of secondary schools are not effective in meeting the career guidance and education needs of their Māori students (Education Review Office, 2006, p. 20), it is possible that results from this research may assist those schools to increase their effectiveness.

This study investigates support for Māori students in secondary school in the transition from school to university. If the support is in the form of an intervention that allows Māori students and their families to “control key decision making in respect of their education” then such support could be seen as a Kaupapa Māori intervention. The important difference in the intervention is the notion of control.

For Māori students and their parents, such a strategy for transformation would be having control over decisions regarding the students’ education options in the transition to university. The importance of such support (including provision of information and resources) in the period of transition, is that the provision of adequate support would allow Māori students and their families to take control and plan their own education and career pathways.

Tino rangatiratanga/self-determination is thus one of the key principles of Kaupapa Māori. This project considers that positive support for Māori students in the transition from school to university can not only improve Māori achievement and success, but will allow students tino rangatiratanga/self-determination and autonomy, through a greater ability to control their own career pathways.

Kaupapa Māori theory was not developed in order to reject existing western theories but as a theory and a transformative praxis derived from within Māori communities which allows for more complex critical analyses and responses to Māori educational crises and challenges (G. Smith, 1997). Smith acknowledges that overlap occurs between critical theory and Kaupapa

Māori theory and recognises that “much of the ‘new’ level of conscientisation of Māori has been derived from the direct teachings of critical theory” (G. Smith, 1997, p. 67). The use of both Māori theory and Giddens’ structuration theory as the bases of this research project is an example of the overlap referred to by Smith (1997).

Kaupapa Māori challenges unequal power relations and related institutional structures (Pihama, et al., 2002; G Smith 1997). Kaupapa Māori also seeks to restructure power relationships between Māori and Pākehā so that partners can be autonomous rather than being either subordinate or dominant (Bishop, 2008).

Of 12 key issues for Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis identified by Smith, three (i, x, xii) have particular relevance to this research.

- i. Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis emphasises all the dimensions of conscientisation, resistance and praxis...
- x. Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis develops critique for two main reasons
 - [a.] deconstruction of existing impediments
 - [b.] building positive and proactive actions and pathways...
- xii. Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis belongs to all Māori and is not the sole preserve of particular initiatives; ...[it is argued] that one could not claim to be working within Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis if they were not working politically to transform the structural relations of power, economics and ideology which form Māori oppression, exploitation or marginalisation. (G. Smith, 1997, pp. 164-165)

The main part of this project considers the support given to Māori students to allow them access to initiatives developed by Māori for Māori students which will help them create an academic pathway to provide access to university. The initiatives provide information to enable students to make informed decisions rather than relying on the mechanical “sifting” processes existing in schools which may not take individual preferences into account (issue i). The initiatives also help students to avoid pitfalls such as inappropriate subject selections (issue x[a]) so that they remain ‘on course’ and in control of their own academic progress and achievement which in turn relates directly to their access to university (issue x[b]). The

project as a whole is research by a Māori researcher in a field that investigates factors to improve achievement and outcomes for Māori in education (issue xii).

Kaupapa Māori recognises the unequal power relations and marginalisation of Māori in education and has the expectation that effective research will address the challenges that exist. Kaupapa Māori theory provides an appropriate foundation for this research project which is initiated by a Māori researcher with the aim of increasing the autonomy of Māori students in secondary schools.

Structuration theory

This research is concerned with the transition from school to tertiary education and future careers. One focus is on the support provided to Māori students, i.e. the intervention; the other focus is on those who provide that support and the factors that influence the extent of that support. Careers advisors in schools are the members of staff in a school charged with the responsibility of assisting and supporting students in their transition from school to university. So, it is the way careers advisors fulfil their roles and responsibilities for providing support to students and in particular Māori students that is investigated in this research.

Policy is developed and created by organisations and institutions for implementation by workers and staff operating at different levels of the organisation right down to the “grassroots” level. Giddens’ structuration theory acknowledges the interdependence between the institution at the macro level and the individual at the micro level and so provided an appropriate base for the research.

This research looks particularly at the influence of education policy on the support of Māori students in the transition to university. The particular policies are the NAGs (National Administration Guidelines) and NEGs (National Education Goals) which govern New Zealand schools (See Appendix 2).

The NAGs and NEGS are both specific and generic. Specifically, schools are directed to improve the achievement of Māori students and increase success by Māori through the use of Māori educational initiatives. The more generic directives refer to removing barriers to achievement and providing appropriate career education and guidance for students at risk of leaving school unprepared for work or further training.

The additions to the NAGs introduced for implementation in 2001 specifically referring to Māori, triggered this research. The additions stimulated my interest in policy implementation and the involvement of individual teachers and staff members in policy implementation. Underpinning this research was an expectation that the changes to the NAGs should result in increased participation by schools in initiatives developed for Māori students. In other words: if the policy required an action then there would be evidence of that occurring. When no significant increases in participation occurred in spite of the policy, it was clear that there were more complex issues at play. I decided to investigate the effect of policy on teachers and their practice.

Two features of Giddens' structuration theory are most relevant to this project.

1. Giddens disputes the notion of the powerlessness of the individual at the micro level.
2. Giddens argues that the individual has agency which can be used to maintain or constrain the structures of a system (Giddens, 1984).

Structuration theory therefore recognises that implementation of policy does not occur automatically. It also acknowledges that the ability or agency of the individual may be used in ways that affect the system, both positively and negatively.

Four aspects of Giddens' structuration theory have been identified by Baera, Geslera and Konrad (2000): the system, the structure, agency and structuration.

1. *The system*—is described as “a set of social practices”. Organisations and institutions are recognised and defined in structuration theory as different sets of social practices. Examples of such systems are the health care system, the motor vehicle licensing system, the judicial system, and in the case of this research the education system.
2. *The structure*— “the rules and resources that guide the system”. Systems are organised and given a sense of order by rules and resources which are known in structuration theory as the structures. These structures are the rules and regulations that determine how and when the system is used.
3. *Agency*—“human actions and decisions”. Agency or the actions and decisions of agents are based on factors such as context, choices, interpretations, evaluations, personal and collective values. These factors and many more can combine to influence the agency of an individual. Different combinations of these factors can produce different individual responses to the same situation.

4. *Structuration*—“the ways in which human agency supports, transforms, and is transformed by situations, thereby reproducing systems” (Baera et al., 2000, p. 321). In other words the way that human agency acts *upon* or *in* a system can work to maintain or constrain that system.

Giddens (1984) thus claims that systems are maintained or constrained by the agency of individuals within the system. In other words, structures (as rules and resources that guide the system) may be strengthened when individuals observe the rules, while structures that are ignored or disobeyed may force changes. Sometimes this may bring about transformation.

For example, the traffic system is maintained by the observance of the structures (road rules) by drivers and pedestrians even in the absence of law enforcement personnel. But human agency can also transform a system. Traffic rules (structures) can be ignored and replaced. Often when thousands of people leave a stadium after an event, pedestrians leave the footpaths and walk along roads. Vehicles no longer have the right of way and come to a standstill. Existing structures (the traffic rules) are ignored and the traffic system is transformed. Although the change is temporary, nevertheless it is the result of individuals' agency.

The establishment in New Zealand of Kura Kaupapa Māori is an example of structuration. Māori parents were unhappy that education provided by the state had failed to address Māori aspirations and in particular, their desire to have Māori language offered in all schools. The agency of Māori parents created a new system of education established outside of the state system. Kura Kaupapa immersion Māori schools were started with Kaupapa Māori philosophy providing the structures (rules) of the new system. Kura Kaupapa Māori originated outside of the mainstream schooling system and were therefore not recognised or included in the rules (and resources) of that system. But after much consultation and political discussion between the school communities and the state, coupled with the introduction of the 1989 Education Act, Kura Kaupapa Māori were incorporated into the state school system (G. Smith, 1997). Transformation had occurred.

Smith (1997) describes the example of Kura Kaupapa Māori schools as a Kaupapa Māori process of conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis. However, it can also sit within Giddens' theory of structuration. This illustration of an overlap between structuration

and Kaupapa Māori theories demonstrates the commonalities and compatibility of the two theories and their relevance to this research project.

Another example of Kaupapa Māori intervention is the establishment of Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga/ New Zealand's Māori Centre of Research Excellence. This intervention operates at postgraduate level and is an example of the combination of Kaupapa Māori and structuration theories (Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga, 2010). Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga was a collaborative initiative established to bring together Māori researchers from a range of disciplines and institutions and to use their combined skills and strengths to further Māori development and advancement. Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga was developed from the same philosophical model as Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori and works in the overlap between western academic traditions and Māori knowledge and understanding. The three areas of focus for Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga are sustainable and healthy communities, social and educational transformation, and a new frontier of knowledge for Māori (Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga, 2010). These are similar to the Kaupapa Māori themes of this research project.

The transition from school to university

The research question, “How do equity policies influence support for Māori students in the transition from secondary to tertiary education?” provides a narrow focus on the transition period between school and university and the implementation of equity policies during that time.

The focus is narrow as it is not concerned with curriculum and classroom practice but is concerned only with the influences on Māori students in the progression from secondary school education to university education. The research centres on careers advisors and other similarly placed staff in secondary schools who are responsible for assisting students in that transition.

Four years of transition: the reality for Māori students

Recruitment of students for university study usually occurs in the final year of secondary school, in Year 13. Students are encouraged to apply to the institution of their choice. It is generally assumed that they all have the needed information and subjects. If they are successful in their final examinations and gain both University Entrance and the grades required for their degree courses, they are able to enrol at the university. Usually the school-to-university transition stage refers to the period beginning with recruitment, followed by

application and enrolment and ending with attendance at the first lecture. But as this research project uncovers, the transition period from school to university for Māori students covers a longer time-frame from Year 10 to Year 13, in fact most of the secondary school years.

The reason for extending the transition period for Māori students from the usual one-year period to a four-year period, is that in most schools, it is in Year 10 that students make subject choices which take them towards, or away from university study and in particular the mathematics and science based degrees (Madjar et al., 2009). This means that the transition from an overall general education to an education in preparation for a university degree begins with appropriate subject choices at Year 10.

For students who have aspirations for a university education planning a pathway to university can be like plotting a trail through a maze knowing that distractions, dead ends and detours should be avoided, but lacking the actual ability or cultural awareness to recognise them. Many Māori students make subject choices without really understanding the consequences of those choices (Madjar et al., 2009; University of Auckland, 1998). Critical to gaining access to university is the knowledge that planning for university study begins with subject choices made in the early secondary school years, in fact in Years, 9 and 10. Equally critical is an understanding of the qualifications framework and the importance of prerequisite requirements. Research by the Starpath Project (Madjar et al., 2009) has shown that careers advisors are able to provide vital support and information for students and parents.

... individual [careers advisors] varied in the extent to which they were perceived as helpful and able to provide relevant information, but overall, they were seen as having the most comprehensive understanding of the NCEA system and the all-important links between subject choices at each level of NCEA and eventual career plans (Madjar et al., 2009, p. 54).

It is this variation in the way careers advisors perceive or fulfil their duties and the responsibilities of their work that is the actual question that is investigated in this research.

Keeping Māori students on track

This project considers the role of careers advisors and career educators in schools and the part they play in supporting Māori students in their four-year transition period. Effective careers education and advice within this model can assist Māori students to continue to be engaged in

schooling and stay on track for attaining university level education. The project looks specifically at the engagement of five careers advisors with STEAM (see p.68). The aim of STEAM was to emphasise the importance of mathematics and sciences as prerequisites for university degrees (in particular, science technology engineering architecture and medicine) where Māori and Pacific students were under-represented.

Before the establishment of STEAM there was expectation that Māori and Pacific recruiters would increase the numbers of Māori and Pacific students enrolling in the STEAM faculties and degrees by using the same strategies that were used to recruit other students for those degrees.

However, it had become clear during our school recruitment visits that most schools had no Māori and Pacific students in their final year of secondary education taking the mathematics and science subjects at university entrance level. The subject choices that Māori and Pacific students were making in their earlier years at secondary schools had the effect of steering them away from mathematics and sciences, the prerequisite subjects for the STEAM degrees (Madjar et al., 2009; University of Auckland, 1998). Therefore STEAM was developed to raise awareness of students about the importance of retaining mathematics and science subjects through to their final year of secondary school. The year when subject choices are usually made is Year 10 therefore it was Māori and Pacific students at this level who became the target group for STEAM.

This research investigates the factors that influenced those careers advisors to engage in STEAM and, then investigates the influence recent policy might have had on the participants.

Self-determination and low expectations

The previous chapters document the failure of mainstream education in New Zealand to address Māori aspirations. Evidence has been gathered and presented which shows the impact of low teacher expectations of Māori students and the resulting frustration and resentment that low expectations generate with Māori students and their families (Bishop, 2005). In the field of careers education the low expectations would result in limiting career education opportunities for Māori students. Therefore, engagement with targeted programmes such as STEAM, which promote study at university, is an indication of higher expectations for Māori students.

For Māori students and their families who are faced with these low expectations and the underachievement of Māori students in their school, self-determination through a Kaupapa Māori-based intervention becomes the key to an emancipatory education. Research data gathered by Bishop and Berryman (2006) gives many subtle examples of low teacher expectations gathered from Māori secondary school students, however concrete evidence of schools' expectations of students can be seen in the streaming of classes. An example of self-determination occurs when a student challenges those expectations by applying from a lower-streamed class for a place on one of the highly competitive university degree courses.

Self-determination through Kaupapa Māori intervention thus presents a challenge to the status quo in secondary schools. When Māori are under-represented in the top stream academic classes in a school it is essential that those challenges occur. If Māori students are not represented in higher streamed classes in sufficient numbers to address the under-representation of Māori in the professional degree courses, then Māori students in lower streams must be considered.

This challenge is necessary to overcome the under-representation of Māori in university degree courses and in particular in the more competitive limited entry degrees. Most New Zealand universities recognise that their obligations to The Treaty of Waitangi require them to improve Māori participation in degree programmes. Māori access to university education is also covered by the Education Act (1990) which states that all New Zealand universities have a statutory obligation to remove barriers for groups in the population "under-represented and....disadvantaged in terms of their ability to attend the institution" ("Education Act " 1990).

The equity policy at the centre of this investigation as incorporated in NAG 1v, NAG 2iii, NEG 9 (Ministry of Education, 1999) includes a directive from the Ministry of Education that schools will develop policies, plans and targets for *improving the achievement of Māori students* and report on them to the Māori community.

Policy implementation

Research from South Africa into education policy implementation describes a gap between policy as theoretical text, and policy as practice, and the gap between those who produce policy and those at the micro level of the classroom. The claim is that the influence of the teacher at the classroom level has too often been overlooked (Smit, 2003). My own

experience while working in equity roles has made me aware, firstly of a similar gap and secondly that positive implementation of policy is frequently uneven, erratic and unnoticed.

If the goals and guidelines at the centre of the investigation as discussed in Chapter Three (NAG 1(v), NAG 2(iii), NEG 9) ("Notices: Official," 1999) are successful at the micro level, there would be an improvement in the achievement of Māori students in the transition from school to university. Expected outcomes would be an increase in the number of students eligible to attend university, and as a consequence, an increase in the numbers of Māori students enrolled in university degrees. The successful implementation of this policy could have a positive influence on the recruitment of Māori students into university degree study.

The significance of critical theory

The theoretical framework applied in this project includes critical theory as it allows for the recognition and investigation of power relations, privilege, and oppression in contemporary societies. Several basic assumptions of critical theory were identified by Kincheloe and McLaren (1994) and some have particular relevance to this project:

That all thought is fundamentally mediated by power relations that are social and historically constituted; that certain groups in any society are privileged over others and, although the reasons for this privileging may vary widely the oppression that characterizes contemporary societies is most forcefully reproduced when subordinates accept their social status as natural necessary or inevitable;....that mainstream research practices are generally, although most often unwittingly, implicated in the reproduction of systems of class, race, and gender oppression. (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994, p. 139)

Power relations are implicit in this research. The inequitable level of Māori achievement is acknowledged in the equity policy at the centre of the research project which directs schools to take steps to improve the achievement of Māori students. Two of the research questions demonstrate the passive role of Māori students in the implementation of equity policy. Policy implementation is the responsibility of schools. Therefore support for students is provided by schools and received by students so the students have a passive role in that they are dependent on the school to provide support.

1. *How do equity policies influence support for Māori students in the transition from secondary to tertiary education?*
2. *How are equity policies implemented in secondary schools?*

In relation to this project perhaps the first and most important consideration and one which indicates the full extent of a school's power and privilege, is the ability of a school to make the decision implement or not to implement the goals and guidelines. If no formal steps are taken to implement the goals and guidelines it becomes the responsibility of the Education Review Office (ERO) or the Māori community. The Education Review Office (ERO) is the agency which reviews and reports publicly on the quality of education in all New Zealand schools usually every three years. In between reviews the Māori community (if the community is aware of the policy) can engage with the school and address the implementation of the goals and guidelines.

When the NAGS are being implemented two groups are clearly defined: the group for whom the policy was developed (the Māori students) and the group responsible for implementing the policy (the school management and staff). In the relationship between the two groups the power and privilege rests with the school management and staff.

The NAGS require that schools:

in consultation with the school's Māori community, develop and make known to the school's community: policies, plans and targets for improving the achievement of Māori students. NAG 1(v) (Notices: Official, 1999)

This study proposes that participation in STEAM is evidence of compliance with the NAGs and NEG. By participating in a programme which introduces Māori and Pacific students to university education and encourages the study of school subjects that are prerequisites for limited entry degrees a school can offer evidence of support for Māori students. The study also argues that encouraging students into university degrees is evidence of the school's intentions to raise the achievement of Māori students. It is also evidence of compliance with NAG 1(v).

Although the Māori community has some power through the required consultation process, the real power and the privilege of the school lies in the ability of the school to control the

way the NAGs are implemented. If the school chooses to use the full extent of its power and privilege, how the school consults, who the school chooses to consult with, when and where the consultation takes place can all be controlled by the school. By exercising control over the situation, the school is exercising its agency in terms of structuration theory (Giddens, 1984).

The extent of the implementation, the attention and resources given to implementation and the method of implementation are all in the control of the school.

1. How does the school consult? – one 30 minute meeting? A series of meetings? Do the plans and ideas for consideration come from the school or do they come from the community?
2. Who does the school choose to consult with?–Two or three Māori involved in local body organisations? All parents of Māori students at the school? The local marae committee? All of these?
3. When does the consultation take place?–At a time convenient for the school? At a time convenient for members of the Māori community?
4. Where does the consultation take place?–In the principal’s office? In the senior student’s study room? In the Māori teacher’s classroom? At the school marae? At the local marae?

Each of these decisions can have an effect on the type of response and the extent of involvement of the community in the consultation process. Research from a critical theory perspective allows the researcher to examine issues of agency power and privilege in the relationship between the school and Māori students, their parents and their community.

The following diagram shows the stages in the research process. The stages developed from the research question which had the implication that equity policy should influence support for Māori students and therefore an indicator of support was required. Participation in STEAM an equity programme became the indicator. The participants became the population for the research and provided the sample population. Once the participants were selected, interviews were conducted and the data was collected and analysed.

The Research Process

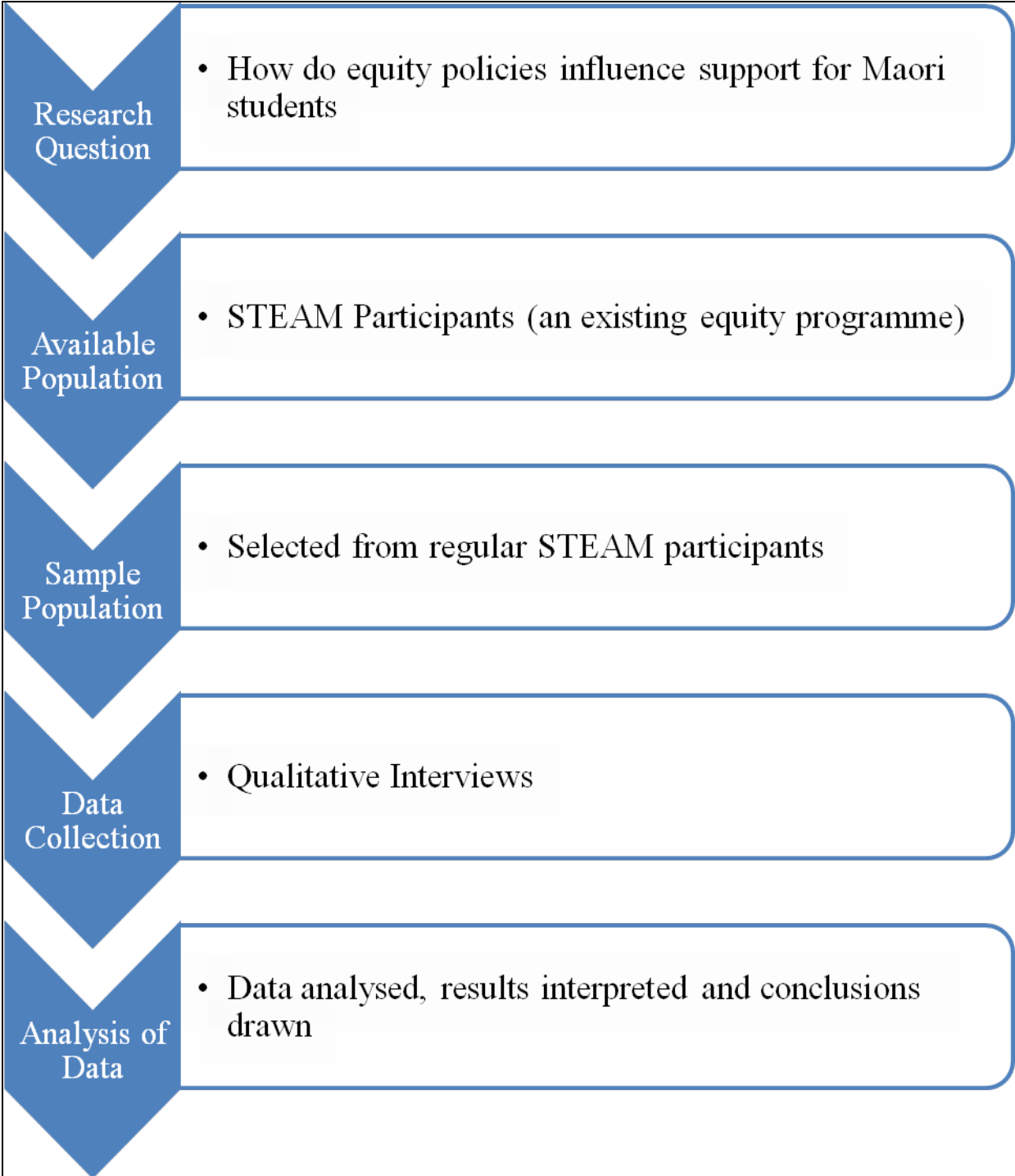


Fig. 10 Stages in the research process

Case studies

A case study approach was used to gather data for this project. The case study methodology provides the opportunity for the in depth study of an issue (Patton, 2002; Stake, 1994). Rather than being chosen for their similarities, cases are chosen for the information they provide.

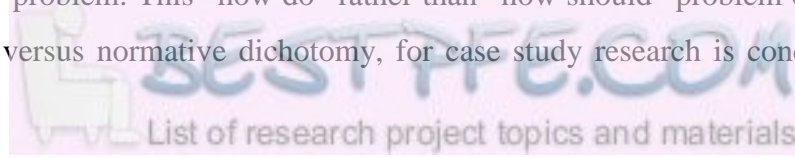
The logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry, thus the term purposeful sampling. (Patton, 2002, p. 273)

As a research methodology the case study is particularly appropriate for this project which is exploring the influences behind the decisions and actions of careers advisors in schools. While the outcomes of the careers advisors' decisions and actions are known and shown through their participation in STEAM, the reasons for the decisions are not known. The case study approach allows the researcher to investigate the participants' attitudes to their work, their students and their school and assess the extent to which policy has an effect on all of these things. This fits neatly with the description of case study research by Yin (1981).

As a research strategy, the distinguishing characteristic of the case study is that it attempts to examine: (a) a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, especially when (b) the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin, 1981, p. 3)

Yin claims that research using experiments and histories as methodologies is deliberately conducted away from its context. In this study which aims to better understand the context of support for Māori students in secondary schools, research methodologies which ignore or invalidate the context which creates and contributes to the data would be inappropriate. Case study research is therefore more effective for this project. The type of problems investigated using the case study approach have been described by Perry (1998) as descriptive rather than prescriptive.

...the research problem is usually a “how do?” problem rather than a “how should?” problem. This “how do” rather than “how should” problem captures the positive versus normative dichotomy, for case study research is concerned with



describing real world phenomena rather than developing normative decision models. (Perry, 1998 p. 787)

Therefore the research questions “How do equity policies influence support for Māori students in the transition from secondary to tertiary education?” and “How are equity policies implemented in secondary schools?” are well suited to the case study methodology criteria as outlined above. A ‘how’ question invites a considered and more elaborate response than a ‘when’ or ‘who’ question and the case study provides an opportunity for an in-depth exploration of the response.

A qualitative research approach was chosen in order to gain new insights into the education of Māori students at secondary school. Qualitative methods are useful in attempting to understand people’s experiences and what they are doing and thinking (Strauss & Corbin, 1996). The policy that is at the core of this research is common to all schools in New Zealand but while the purpose and expected outcomes of the policy are common to all schools, the interpretation and implementation of the policy may differ widely. Qualitative research is recognised as an appropriate tool to use in investigating policy implementation (Rist, 1994). The questions (above) for this research project cover aspects of policy implementation described by Rist (1994) as aspects that are suited to qualitative research.

Qualitative work can focus on such questions as the degree to which the programme is reaching its target audience, the similarities and contrasts in implementation strategies across sites, the aspects of the programme that are or are not in operation, whether the services slated to be delivered are in fact the ones delivered and the operational burdens placed on the institution ... responsible for implementation (ie. is there the institutional capacity to respond effectively to the new policy initiative?).(Rist, 1994, p. 550)

In this study Māori students are the target audience of the policy in question. The selection of participants from five different schools allows for comparison of implementation strategies at different sites and the purpose of the semi-structured interviews is to investigate the extent to which the participants were responding to policy when they engaged in a programme targeting Māori students. During the semi-structured interviews participants were also asked about the resources available at each school (the institutional capacity) to enable them to participate in the targeted programme. By using a qualitative approach and gathering data

through semi-structured interviews it is possible to gain an understanding about the range and variety of responses used in the chosen schools to address the careers education of their Māori students.

Methodology

The semi-structured interview

Information was gathered from participants during semi-structured interviews. A set of questions focusing on the reasons participants had chosen to take part in STEAM and steps that were followed to enable participation to occur were used to guide the interview. Interviews were audio taped with the participants' permission according to the requirements of the University of Auckland Ethics Committee. The interviews took place in 2004 and 2005

The semi-structured interview provides both the opportunity to cover common ground in each of the interviews but also allows sufficient flexibility to pursue new or unexpected angles and perspectives that may arise during the course of the interview. Narrative data from such interviews have been used by New Zealand researchers also studying the education of Māori in schools (Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Hill & Hawk, 2000; Madjar et al., 2009; McKinley, 2000; Simon, 1984). The benefits of narratives for the collection of research data have been described by Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh, and Teddy (2007). Two of these benefits relate to this research project. Firstly, narratives allow for the influence of power relations on thoughts, words and actions to be identified, and to show how individuals make meaning of their context and experiences. Secondly, narratives allow participants to declare and discuss their theories of practice and explain how the theories affect their practice. Patterns of interdependence and the positions of participants in the wider context of their institutions can also be revealed and identified through data from narratives (Bishop, 2008).

The semi-structured interview is more flexible than questionnaires. The interview allows for reinterpretation and reshaping of the problem both before and during the research programme (Bishop & Berryman, 2006). Although as a research method, interviews are more time consuming and more expensive than questionnaires, they offer the interviewer the opportunity to adapt to new information and to pick up and pursue new ideas.

If flexibility and the ability to reshape and reinterpret questions during the project are considered in regard to the research question – How do equity policies influence support for Māori students in the transition from secondary to tertiary education? – the advantages of

using interviews are evident. The question seeks new insights and new information. The question is also seeking information about policy and practice within schools and therefore it is important that the data-gathering method allows for ideas to be suggested and discussed further.

Interviews can help the researcher to gain insight into complicated topics, assess the range of ideas participants may have about a subject and understand the different perspectives between individuals. Interviews allow flexibility because they can uncover factors that influence opinions, behaviour or motivation and promote the generation of new ideas from the participant.

The interview provides the researcher with the opportunity to gather in-depth information and to pursue new ideas. The individual interview also has the advantage of offering the opportunity for interaction between the interviewer and the participant. By interviewing staff who were directly involved with Māori students, responses to the research questions had the capacity to gather new ideas for improving support for Māori; offer insights/ideas that differ from those of policymakers and administrators. With regard to the policy relevant to the research, data from the interviews could gather information about barriers that exist for Māori in secondary schools and provide data to give a context to the existing information on Māori underachievement.

The research questions are complex. A qualitative research approach using individual interviews to collect data was chosen as a more useful research tool in gathering new information rather than a questionnaire which predetermines the area of investigation. The study allowed the researcher to assess the effect of policy in different schools and on the individual staff members involved. The study also provided an opportunity to identify common philosophies and practices with regard to Māori students and Māori student support. As well, factors that resulted in the development of support for Māori students in a school were investigated and any effect that education policy had on the provision of that support.

Selection of interviewees

The study's participants were purposively selected. Criteria used for selection of potential participants were that participants needed to be involved in careers education in their schools and that participants had been instrumental in their schools' participation in STEAM on several occasions. Involvement in these events required considerable administration,

organisation and commitment on the part of the participant. For the purposes of this study the involvement of Māori students from a participant's school was a measure of the participant's support for Māori students. It was assumed that their involvement indicated they would have an awareness of issues around the implementation of equity and any other strategies used by their school to improve outcomes for Māori.

Careers advisors and other staff members who were invited to participate in the research had direct daily contact with students and were part of the inner workings of their own schools. Therefore they were strategically placed to offer insights into the support for Māori students and the progress of these students through the secondary school system. To find out how equity policies affect Māori students in secondary schools, teachers from schools which are already implementing some form of equity initiatives for Māori were selected. The project was concerned with research into policy implementation at a level described by Rist (1994) as "ground level" day-to-day reality research.

This research is concerned with policy implementation at the micro level. Structuration theory recognises teachers at the micro level as agents who are able to interpret and reshape policy to fit their local contexts (Giddens, 1984). Personal experiences and teachers' resistance can be major factors in the implementation or non-implementation of policy (Smit, 2003). Teachers who worked on a daily basis with students were preferred to staff in management positions with positions of responsibility such as principals and deans because the research was concerned with the effect of national equity plans and policies on students and in classrooms. Interviews with principals or deans were likely to provide information about what *should* be happening while teachers at the operations level were more likely to provide information on what is *actually* happening with students.

The schools

The three equity questions, assume an acceptance of equity principles and practice - How are equity policies implemented in secondary schools? What effect do equity policies have on Māori secondary school students? What factors assist their implementation? Schools that do not participate in the targeted events may not have begun to address the equity issues and therefore would not offer sufficient data for this study.

Records of schools attending equity events including STEAM for the three years preceding the study were used to identify possible participants. Each year approximately 110 schools were invited to attend the on-campus events for Māori students.

Of those 110 invited schools, 65 had attended at least one event (59%). Participants therefore had to be selected from this group of 65 schools.

Within that group of 65 our records showed that:

- 20 (18%) had attended once only;
- 25 (23%) had attended 2 or 3 times; and
- 20 (18%) had attended at least 4 times.

The participants were selected from the last group.

Five participants from the group of 20 schools that had attended at least four times were invited to participate in the research. They were approached because:

1. Each of them had been responsible for having a group of students from their school come to the university to participate in a targeted event or programme on at least four separate occasions.
2. Each of them had remained in their respective positions in the same school for the three years being considered.
3. Each of them was an experienced teacher each and held positions in their school that allowed them to participate in careers education for students in the school.
4. Each of them agreed to take part in the research.

In accordance with the principles of purposeful sampling each of the participants was chosen for the diverse school contexts they could offer to the study.

As a group the participants' schools represented a range of mainstream secondary schools:

Deciles – one at decile 1, two at decile 3, one at decile 5, one at decile 10

Single sex and co-educational – Two girls' schools, one boys' school, two co-educational schools

Location – One school from another city and four Auckland schools, one within Auckland city, three from suburbs to the west and south of Auckland.

Decile 9-10	•
Decile 7-8	
Decile 5-6	•
Decile 3-4	••
Decile 1-2	•
Auckland central	•
Auckland suburb	•••
Small city	•
Single sex (boys)	•
Single sex (girls)	••
Co-educational	••

Fig. 11 **Participant School Characteristics**

1-700	
700-1000	••
1000-1500	••
1500+	•

Fig. 12 **Student numbers at participating schools**

0- 5 %	•
6 - 10%	
11-15%	
16 – 20%	••
21 – 25%	•
26 – 30%	•

Fig. 13 **Percentage of Māori students enrolled**

Purposeful sampling of participants

Identification of appropriate informants is important. An informant who provides valuable data is usually one who has the required knowledge and experience, is thoughtful and

articulate, and is willing and able to participate in the research (Morse, 1994; Patton, 1999, 2002).

<i>Teaching experience</i>	
0-10 years	
11-20 years	•••••
Postgraduate teaching qualifications	•••
<i>Years as careers advisor</i>	
More than 10	•••
Not applicable	••
<i>Other criteria</i>	
School counsellor	•
Academic dean	•
<i>Participant Ethnicity</i>	
New Zealand Pākehā/European	••••
Pacific/European	•

Fig. 14 Participant details

Two of the five participants were not careers advisors but they were chosen because they had become involved in events targeting Māori students from their schools and had maintained involvement over several years. Although their schools had become regular participants in STEAM they had not arrived there through the conventional pathway. Instead both participants had originally contacted me independently to ask if they could bring a group of Māori students on a campus visit. They did not receive the letters and notices that I had sent to schools regarding campus events for Māori students or my requests to set up a visit to their schools because. They were not the careers advisors in their schools. So these people were of interest to me because they had gone beyond their own job descriptions to become involved with career planning for Māori students. From my perspective from outside the school they both appeared to be strongly motivated to assist Māori students in their school and improve outcomes for Māori.

The third participant frequently asked to be allocated more places on the course so that more students could attend. I regarded being proactive in this way as offering strong support for students at that school so this participant was selected.

The other two participants were chosen because they were schools from my local community therefore I had more knowledge about those schools than the others. One was of particular interest because of a communication breakdown that had occurred with that school that we had worked together to overcome. I also had more informal contact with staff and students of those schools. This meant that the last two participants were easily accessible and available.

Four of the participants identified as New Zealand European or New Zealand Pākehā and one identified as Pacific European. The only Māori careers advisor who met the selection criteria (in the group of 20 schools) was not eligible to participate because of a conflict of interest.

Participation in the targeted events required schools to select Māori students from their student body to attend the events. Therefore each school, through the actions of a staff member (usually the careers advisor) had shown a willingness to provide an opportunity for Māori students that was not available to others. The careers advisors and their schools had therefore demonstrated a willingness to take part in an equity initiative and had shown support for the principles of equity and targeting and in doing so, were providing support specifically for their Māori students.

Contacting participants

Participants were contacted by phone or face to face and asked if they wished to take part in the research project. All interviews were conducted by the researcher at the place chosen by the interviewee (at the interviewee's place of work or my work place or at the interviewee's home).

The interviews

A semi-structured interview format was preferred to a more structured format because it allows the researcher the flexibility to probe and follow leads or themes that may arise in the interview. Therefore the questions used in this project are a set of questions to be used as an interview guide which allows the interviewer to alter questions or omit questions that may not be relevant to a particular context or participant. The questions were designed to help determine whether the history of a school's involvement in targeted events was influenced by national policy, school policy, school philosophy or because of the participant's personal choice and individual reasons or for other reasons. It was also intended that the questions would explore the school context as the site for policy implementation.

The following questions were used to guide the interviews and could be used as starting points for further discussion.

1. Why does your school participate in STEAM?

The purpose of this question was to identify factors which influenced the decision for students to participate in a targeted event. Was the decision influenced by school policy, attitude or expectations of Māori students or of staff? Was the decision influenced by the philosophy and perception of an individual staff member? What factors did the interviewee or other staff take into account when making the decision to participate?

2. Who decides that your school will participate?

The purpose of this question was to determine the extent of the participant's autonomy.

3. What level of seniority does that person have in the school?

Both this question and Question 2 were intended to investigate the authority and management status of the interviewee and to determine how effective the status of the interviewee could be in creating or overcoming barriers.

4. Who has the authority to approve/disapprove participation?

The purpose of this question was to investigate the barriers of authority that might exist within a school that would affect student participation in a targeted event and to examine the level and numbers of staff whose approval was essential before such participation could take place.

5. Which staff members, if any, can veto selection?

This is similar to Question 4 but aims to uncover any challenges that might come from staff peers rather than superiors in management. Any such challenges would likely have a negative effect and may discourage future participation.

6. Which staff member takes responsibility for overseeing the whole process of participation?

This question investigates any support the participant may have and would indicate wider support within the school.

7. How are Māori students identified?

This question investigates processes to be followed in locating and choosing students to participate in the targeted event. It can also provide insights into the participant's attitudes and perceptions of students' attitudes to identifying as Māori.

8. How are students selected?

Places on the STEAM programme offered to a school are limited. The process used to select students for those places may offer insight into the school system and reveal existing support or obstacles in the school network.

9. What support structures do you know of that support Māori students at your school?

This question gives an indication of the participant's empathy and awareness of the school from a Māori student's viewpoint.

10. How much support is provided by school administration and other staff members?

This question is to determine how easy or difficult it is for the participant to organise attendance of a group at the event.

11. What costs are involved and how are they paid?

This question investigates whether cost is a barrier.

12. Are you aware of equity policy guidelines NAG1(v), NAG2(iii), NEG2 and NEG 9?

This question investigates whether participation is a direct response to the policy.

13. If you were not at this school would the school still participate in STEAM?

This question is intended to discover whether participation is school-driven (in which case involvement would continue) or participant-driven (in which case involvement may end)

The participants had been selected for the study because they were considered through their actions to be supportive of Māori students. They had been consistent in their support of equity initiatives for Māori students over several years and could therefore be regarded as possible examples of successful policy implementation. The aim of the interviews was to investigate the reasons for their participation in STEAM and to discover whether the candidates were influenced by policy, the school, their colleagues, by personal views or by

other factors. Therefore the questions focused on areas that might facilitate or inhibit participation.

Question 1—the interview commenced with this question and provided an opportunity for the participants to explain their involvement in STEAM.

Questions 2–6—These questions explore the participant’s role and status within a school to determine how easy or difficult it would be for the participant to execute the plan to attend STEAM once a decision was made. The questions also have the potential to reveal the participant’s relationship with other staff members and whether the relationships facilitate or interfere with the plans to attend STEAM.

Was the participant confident of approval and support from the school management and administration? Did the participant require perseverance and determination to ensure students were able to attend STEAM or was approval and support from management merely a formality?

Questions 7–9—consider the identification and selection of students and can reveal whether the participants actively sought and encouraged students to take part or took a more passive approach and issued the invitation then waited for responses. Information gained from these questions might also provide an indication of the extent of the participant’s awareness and interaction with Māori students.

Questions 10–11—investigate the measurable, visible aspects of support that are available to the participants in the careers role and for Māori. Do the funds come from a careers budget or from equity funding available in the school? The source of funding may give an indication of school support or of the autonomy of the careers advisor.

Question 12—refers to the policy at the heart of the research project and investigates the participant’s awareness and understanding of the policy. The response to the question can also reveal whether the participant’s involvement with STEAM is directly influenced by the policy.

Question 13—the purpose of this question is to determine whether engagement in STEAM is driven by the participant as an individual or by the school’s philosophy and policies. It can

also determine how effective any school policy of support for Māori students can be. If school policy is effective a change in staff should not affect engagement with the STEAM programme. When engagement with STEAM can be affected by a change of staff it suggests that an individual staff member is able to resist and prevent policy implementation.

Analysis of data

Audiotapes of the interviews were transcribed. The transcriptions were read and re-read to identify and categorise themes within and across the interviews.

Structuration theory (Giddens, 1984), recognises that an individual has the capacity to maintain or constrain systems. Therefore the data from participants' interviews were examined for evidence of factors within their individual schools that might maintain or constrain the structures (in other words, assist or resist policy implementation). In order to determine the major factors behind students' participation in STEAM the data were sorted into categories and sub-categories chosen by the researcher.

Categories of incentives and barriers were developed from the positive and negative exercise of agency recognised by Giddens' structuration theory (Giddens, 1984). The first factors considered were those that assisted and encouraged (maintained) policy implementation. The positive influences for policy implementation would be identified as *incentives*. The second factors considered were those that created difficulties or discouraged (constrained) policy implementation. These negative influences would be identified as *barriers*.

Sub-categories were then chosen to help differentiate between incentives and barriers that were generated by the school, by the professional role of the participant, or by personal factors distinctive to each participant. These incentives and barriers were classified under three broad categories: professional, practical and personal.

Professional factors—were those related to a job description, professional and school expectations of the careers advisor's role and expectations of staff in general.

Practical factors—were the factors related to the execution of the plan to participate – they are action and task related.

Personal factors—were those that are influenced by personal values and judgement.

The final categories used in the analysis of the data were:

1. professional barriers and incentives;
2. practical barriers and incentives;
3. personal barriers and incentives;
4. any other practices or policies that might discourage or prevent Māori students from advancing to university-level education; and
5. any motivating factors particular to an individual interviewee.

Practices or rules that were part of school administration policy and practice were regarded as professional barriers.

In Chapter Five the policy and practice related to the transition from secondary school to university were discussed. The theoretical base of the research was outlined and the methodology for the research was established. In Chapter Six the data from the interviews is examined and considered to determine the influence of policy on the decisions of the participants. The factors that are distinct to individual participants are also identified and discussed.

CHAPTER SIX

Careers advisors supporting Māori – Nga kaihautū tauira

Vignette 6a

When the initial pilot programme for STEAM was a success it was decided that the programme would be offered to schools throughout the Auckland region. Time and resources were limited so it was decided each school should be offered 10 places on the programme for Māori and Pacific students and schools were asked to give preference to students who had shown potential in mathematics and science. One of the aims was to raise schools' awareness of the Māori and Pacific students who were succeeding and to have those students acknowledged. The STEAM team members were therefore taken aback when we received this response on school letterhead paper, from the Head of Science at one of the schools.

“I am very uncomfortable ‘SELECTING’ some students for your STEAM programme, based on the colour of their skin. My students and I wish to know exactly who is eligible for the course. Most of my students are of mixed lineage. Are some of them excluded because their grandfather was a moral person, while others are included because grandfather couldn't keep his trousers buttoned up? Personally I resent having to create divisions in my class on this basis. Please tell us the specific criteria for selection. Which of us are Māori?”

HOD Science

We wrote to the school to express our concern at the tone and content of the letter and included a copy of the letter. The following response arrived from the principal of the school

“Dear A ... and M...I received your letter dated [date removed]. I was extremely concerned and disappointed at the letter you received on [date removed] from [name removed]. I can assure you that the letter does not reflect the opinions of [our college] College or the College Board of Trustees. Mr [name removed] is away today so I have not had the opportunity to discuss this with him, but will be doing so on his return. I would like to apologise for the letter you received from [name removed] College, as to date we have had an excellent relationship with [name removed] University and trust this will not be affected by this correspondence.

Thank you again for bringing this matter to my attention.

Yours sincerely,

Principal”

Although the apology was recognised as genuine it did not adequately address our feelings. We had both been deeply offended at the insult that had been directed at our ancestry while the intention of the apology seemed to be to mend links between two institutions. There was no further communication between us on the matter.

Vignette

“Kia Ora team,

Can I take this opportunity to once again thank you so much for your presentation to my students today. I’ve just come back from the staffroom and numerous staff commented on how much the students were talking about it. This is always a measure of the impact, and everything the staff said was positive. If you have a debrief and keep any notes, file the format so that we can repeat it next year. Once again a huge thank you.

Regards

Careers advisor

(Personal communication 25 May 2005, received after a presentation by a team of Māori Liaison Advisors to almost 100 Māori Year 11 and 12 students)

Comment

Vignettes 5 and 6 have been included here because they illustrate the range of responses to received from careers advisors regarding targeted interventions developed for Māori students to raise students’ awareness of tertiary education options.

Vignette 6a is an extreme example of one teacher’s resistance to an equity initiative. The teacher’s statement is blatantly racist and suggests that students of mixed lineage are the result of immoral conduct on the part of their ancestors. The writer also claims the moral high ground by refusing to allow division in his class by selecting some students to participate in STEAM. Vignette 6a also shows how one teacher’s actions can interfere with the implementation of equity in education. This teacher is unusual because he openly declared his opposition to an equitable intervention. Others who also share the same views may not declare them so deliberately.

Vignette 6b offers a response in complete contrast to Vignette 6a and shows how another teacher was encouraged by the enthusiasm and positive responses of the students who had attended a targeted presentation to convey his thanks and appreciation to the team of Māori presenters.

This chapter discusses the importance of careers education and the provision of information and guidance to students and the role of careers advisors in the drive to increase the numbers of Māori students gaining access to university. Careers advisors are able to provide important information support and advice to steer Māori students along a pathway to university qualifications. The position of the careers advisor and the professional responsibilities of the role with regard to Māori students are discussed as well as the way the professional obligations and responsibilities of the careers advisor translate into practice. Also considered is the capacity of the careers advisor to offer choices to Māori students and whether the choices made are in the interest of the student, the school, or the careers advisor's workload. Finally, the support the careers advisor receives from senior management and colleagues and the degree of autonomy that exists in the role are also discussed.

The latter part of the chapter describes and analyses interviews with five teachers involved in careers education in their respective schools. The teachers were selected because their students had regularly participated in targeted events such as STEAM. The purpose of the interviews is to identify incentives and barriers that exist to encourage the support of Māori students in the transition from school to university education and to determine the influence of policy on the decisions and actions of the careers advisors.

Role of careers advisors

As has previously been explained, careers advisors are staff selected by management and principals in secondary schools and allocated both non-teaching time and a management unit allowance pay incentive to develop and provide programmes and information to assist students in their career choices. In smaller schools, careers advisors may be part-time so that they spend part of the time during the school week as a classroom teacher and the rest of the time in the careers role. Because the staffing formula is based on student numbers, in a large secondary school the role is often almost full-time. Students leaving school today face a far more complex and unpredictable education and work environment than their parents' generation encountered at the same age. For Māori students in education there is a further level of complexity when they engage with large tertiary institutions often with fewer

qualifications (Ministry of Education, 2007) and attempt to find or shape a course that meets their academic needs without compromising their Māori needs or their Māoriness (Bishop & Berryman, 2006). In this situation the role played by the expert advisor is crucial.

In schools the role of expert advisor is the careers advisor's role. Careers advisors are thus key people and act as agents and advocates for Māori making the transition into tertiary education. Giddens' (1984) structuration theory identifies agents as those having the capability to do things and recognises therefore that agency implies power:

Agency concerns events of which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense that the individual could, at any phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently. Whatever happened would not have happened if that individual had not intervened. (Giddens, 1984, p. 9)

Within the careers advisor's role, the scope and opportunity for intervention and the exercise of that agency is immense.

Careers advisors are the people in the school who deal with tertiary applications and enrolments; job applications and scholarship forms; and career and transition information (Boyd & Chalmers, 2001). The role they have in assisting students to navigate their way through secondary school to tertiary education makes them critical gatekeepers and brokers in possession of information about the full range of tertiary options and qualification (Andres, 2003; Boyd & McDowall, 2003).

The work of careers advisors is subject to policy audit from the ERO through the National Administrative Guidelines NAG 1(vi) (Ministry of Education, 1999) (see Appendix 2). Just as NAG 2(iii) and NAG 1(v) require schools to attend to the needs of Māori students, NAG 1(vi) requires that particular attention is given to students "at risk" of leaving school "unprepared for the transition to the workplace or further education/training". This particular guideline has the effect of making careers education a focal point during school reviews conducted by the ERO evaluation visits to schools.

To meet NAG 1(vi), Māori as a group in the population with the highest proportion of students leaving school without qualifications, should be particularly included in any careers planning or projects developed by a school. However, because the guideline is targeting a

wider group than just Māori students, the concept of being “students at risk” leaves the guideline open to varying interpretations. It raises a series of questions. Māori as a group are “at risk” but should a Māori student who is achieving academically still be regarded as at risk? And is NAG 1(vi) targeting all Māori or only those likely to drop out of school early? The interpretation of the guideline and its implementation therefore become the responsibility of the school and the careers advisor and create the opportunity for the careers advisor to exercise agency positively with regard to determining the pathway for Māori students seeking access to tertiary education.

Vaughan and Gardiner (2007) investigated how career staff in New Zealand schools were managing the Ministry of Education requirements around NAG 1(vi) for careers guidance and planning with secondary school students “at risk in the transition to work” or further study (Ministry of Education 2003). One of their findings was that the duties of the careers advisor had the potential to grow uncontrollably. They predicted that focus and re-organisation was needed or careers staff might find they are: “managing an ever-increasing deluge of information (and advertising) and different in-school and out-of-school relationships, while trying to help students link up life, the universe, and everything” (Vaughan & Gardiner, 2007, p. 81). An overload of information creates a situation where a careers advisor has to sort, filter and give priority to the different kinds of information that have been received. In order to cope with the potential for overload, decisions careers advisors make about their work actually are the mechanisms of agency in Giddens’ (1984) terms. Vaughan and Gardiner also found an emphasis on provision of information over provision of careers guidance. Their research also found variation between schools in the way careers education was offered and in the quality of careers education being provided. However, in spite of the variation across schools, careers staff agreed they had one main purpose which was to “provide information or access to it for all students” (Vaughan & Gardiner, 2007, p. 22).

The careers advisor therefore, is the contact person for recruitment personnel from tertiary institutions because recruitment into tertiary study is related to students’ future planning and careers. Vaughan and Gardiner found that careers staff thought the most important activities in their roles were advising and assisting students with information about tertiary education and careers and hosting or attending events where students could hear speakers from the community, industry and tertiary institutions. The participation of Māori students in targeted events such as STEAM would fall into this category of events. Therefore it is clear that the

careers advisors have the responsibility of deciding whether Māori students will participate in targeted events.

The careers advisor is the first point of contact in the school for recruitment personnel from tertiary institutions. When institutions offer events for secondary school students, invitations are sent to the careers advisor. When new information is sent to schools it is sent to the careers advisor. Also, universities run “update days” and fund travel for out-of-town careers advisors to attend the events. If a strong relationship can be built between an institution and a school through the careers advisor, both the school and the institution benefit from the relationship.

Many of the following observations and comments in the following section of this chapter are gleaned from experience and interaction with schools in the execution of my recruitment role but they are validated by the data from the interviews discussed later in the chapter.

Giddens describes an agent as having the “capability to do otherwise” (Giddens & Pierson, 1998, p. 84) and to intervene or not to intervene (Giddens, 1984). Careers advisors have that capacity. In most schools it is the careers advisor who arranges for visitors to come in to the school to talk with groups of students or also arranges for groups of students to leave the school to visit institutions or to take part in activities related to future planning and tertiary education. If a recruitment visit is approved, the careers advisor informs other teachers in the school that students may be absent from classes. Careers advisors also invite and students to attend the presentation. When a careers advisor selects some students (rather than inviting all students) to attend an event, some criteria would be required to determine which students are chosen and which ones are not. The process of student selection is therefore a political one.

Grouping students into streams according to ability has been recognised as having negative effects on minority students and students with low socio-economic status (Boaler, 1997; Nakhid, 2003; Rosenbaum, 1976; Slavin, 1987, 1990). Māori students can also be disadvantaged by the streaming practices in schools (Madjar et al., 2009). When recruitment personnel from university visit schools, careers advisors often select students to speak with recruitment personnel on the basis of students’ achievement or their “stream” within the school. If Māori are under-represented in top streamed classes, Māori students can be unintentionally disadvantaged by this practice. Māori students who are not in the top streams may believe that they are not eligible or entitled to access the university recruitment

presentations and therefore not eligible for university degree courses, particularly those requiring specific subjects and grades. They may also be unwilling or lack the confidence to challenge the selection process.

In addition to the generic information about access to university courses there is information that is specific to Māori. For example, some institutions have admission schemes which provide places with different entry criteria for Māori and, as well, most institutions provide information on scholarships for Māori students. However Māori may not receive the information if they are not in the top ability classes or if the careers advisors do not recognise them as Māori.

Interventions by careers advisors

The implementation of policy which targets Māori students is central to the research. In order for this to occur there must be interaction between an individual teacher or staff member as a representative of the school and Māori students. The assumption within this project is that while the state and the school may have policies and guidelines to support Māori students and to improve Māori achievement, both are reliant on individual staff members for their implementation. Giddens structuration theory argues that:

To be able to “act otherwise”, means being able to intervene in the world or to refrain from such intervention, with the effect of influencing a specific process or state of affairs. This presumes that to be an agent is to be able to deploy (chronically in the flow of daily life) a range of causal powers, including that of influencing those deployed by others. Action depends upon the capability of the individual to ‘make a difference’ to a pre-existing state of affairs or course of events. (Giddens, 1984, p. 14).

Intervention by a school staff member, usually the careers advisor, is thus the first step in providing Māori students with access to equity careers events targeting Māori students. When a careers advisor receives an invitation for Māori students to participate in a targeted event they have the opportunity to support the interests of Māori students in their school and to demonstrate compliance with NAG 1(vi). In responding to the invitation the careers advisor is in a position to make a choice on behalf of Māori students and the school and to exercise “agency”. Thus the careers advisor has the capacity to enable or constrain the access of Māori students to an intervention developed specifically for Māori. It was expected that data

gathered from the interviews would reveal what influences contributed to the career advisors' decisions to engage in a targeted event.

Representatives from outside organisations such as Māori liaison advisors and other recruitment personnel who provide Māori students with information regarding tertiary education and careers, are reliant on career advisors to allow them access to Māori students. Careers advisors have time allocated to them to help students plan for future education or pathways to careers, therefore they are the point of contact for representatives from tertiary education institutions and industry trainers wishing to meet and recruit students within their school. From the different responses of career advisors to the targeted events they are offered, it is evident, even to outside organisations, that career advisors exercise considerable autonomy. Because it is often a sole position the career advisor is able to design and develop their own plans for carrying out the requirements of the career advisor's role. This also serves to increase the autonomy of the careers advisor's role.

Incentives and barriers

The incentive model was developed from Giddens' structuration theory as a tool for analysis for the data from this study. As mentioned earlier, in Chapter Five, positive influences were identified as incentives whereas negative influences were identified as barriers. The pattern of responses from schools to the invitations to attend STEAM suggested that there were factors operating that caused some careers advisors to become regular participants in STEAM while other career advisors participated intermittently or not at all. This suggested that other factors apart from national policy and guidelines were influential. It appeared therefore that regular participants were responding to factors that did not influence the others. It also appeared that because a great deal of extra work was involved in having a group participate in STEAM the influential factors operating were positive and provided encouragement for careers advisors to participate. Therefore it was decided the encouraging factors would be identified in the data as **incentives** to participation.

In contrast, it appeared that the intermittent or non-participating careers advisors either lacked the incentives or faced difficulties that discouraged participation. These difficulties would be identified in the data as **barriers**. The extra work involved in having a group participate could serve as a barrier in itself and additional factors could also be operating. Therefore the data would be examined for barriers as well as incentives.

If policy in itself did not provide sufficient encouragement for participation in equity events, these incentives were key to the application of equity in careers education. The main purpose of the interviews was to assess the incentives and barriers that exist with regard to Māori students participating in STEAM. Another aim of the interviews was to determine the extent of the interviewee's authority, autonomy and agency in deciding that students from his/her school would participate and to identify any incentives and barriers that might influence that decision.

The data were examined to identify any incentives that might be evident which would encourage the organiser to have students from their school participate in STEAM. These incentives are classified under three broad categories: professional, practical and personal. Professional factors are those related to a job description, professional and school expectations of the career advisor's role and expectations of staff in general. Practical factors are the factors related to the implementation the plan – they are action and task related. Personal factors are those that are influenced by personal values and judgement. Job description requirements, school philosophy and policy compliance are all examples of professional incentives or motivators.

Incentives

Practical incentives

Practical incentives exist when convenience becomes a factor in participation. If participation in an event is straightforward and uncomplicated, organisers may be more inclined to take part, while an event which requires a great deal of coordination and administration beforehand may discourage participation. Also the timing of an event may fit neatly into the school calendar or the location of the event may be near the school. These would be regarded as practical incentives.

Personal incentives

Personal incentives were those that motivated or encouraged participation and were particular to the individual participant. The incentives may be a result of personal experience, beliefs, family and religious background, political awareness or personal philosophy.

The significance of incentives

Careers advisors, particularly part-time advisors, face workload issues and information overload issues (Vaughan & Gardiner, 2007). Therefore incentives and motivators are

important because they provide the impetus to overcome barriers that must be faced. For the organiser, usually the careers advisor, committing to participation in STEAM is committing to extra work for the benefit of a specific group of students within the school.

The decision to participate involves an appreciation of equity and social justice at more than just a superficial level. It may also involve a level of personal commitment because it can be considered to be extra work or an addition to the work that is done for the student population as a whole.

The convenient option for the careers advisor are generic ‘one size fits all’ options where Māori students attend careers events with all other students and have access to the same information and resources as other students. The convenient option is also easy to justify in terms of the careers advisor’s responsibilities. Unless the school management expects a careers education report which focuses particularly on Māori students, the careers advisor can report in more generalist ways:

‘all students attended the careers expo’

‘all Year 10 classes have had lessons with the careers advisor’

‘all Year 13 students have been interviewed by the careers advisor’

Barriers

When careers advisors are faced with a variety of events promoting university courses the convenient “one size fits all” option is less likely to face resistance or be questioned by staff colleagues and students than a targeted event for Māori students. It is generally accepted that the careers advisors have a job to do and should be allowed to do it. However, the selective nature of targeted events such as STEAM can attract criticism (see Vignette 6) the perception is that some students (in this case Māori) appear to be given an advantage or offered resources that are not available to others. Professional motivators such as school policy and personal motivators such as personal philosophy could serve to overcome the challenges and resistance of staff colleagues at a school.

School policy can help overcome staff resistance because policy provides justification for the careers advisor’s actions. Policy also lends authority to the careers advisor so that the challenge is not directed at a staff member but at those who were responsible for the policy, usually school management, or in other cases, the state education system. Personal philosophy

and personal values can help to overcome staff colleagues' resistance if they provide a strength and confidence to challenge disadvantage and injustice by offering opportunities to under-represented groups.

In the analysis of the data from the interviews, barriers were also identified and classified under the same three broad categories: professional, practical and personal. There is a final category which is not strictly a motivator or barrier which is autonomy. Within autonomy, personal agency has full rein.

Professional barriers

Policies, systems and processes set down by the school can also serve as barriers and are regarded as professional barriers. Taking students out of class and away from school requires consultation with students, parents and staff as well as the approval of parents. While those systems and processes are usually established to safeguard both the students and the school they can constitute barriers for the person organising and coordinating participation in an event such as STEAM.

When a teacher or careers advisor is not fully supportive of the event, these school policies and systems can be allowed to become barriers because navigation of these barriers requires extra time and effort from the organiser.

Professional barriers can also arise when decisions or value judgements are required. Participation in STEAM requires students to be absent from regular school classes for one school day and therefore raises questions about the "value" of regular classes in comparison with the "value" of the STEAM programme. To address or confront this issue and other similar issues is to face professional barriers which require time and effort to navigate in the same way as practical barriers.

Practical barriers

Practical barriers are those which make tasks difficult or impossible to implement. A careers advisor with a limited time allocation may not be able to organise letters to parents, transport, meetings with students because of other workload commitments. Having no school vehicle available for transport or a staff member without a driver's licence would be examples of practical barriers.

Personal barriers

Personal barriers would be ones which are a result of personal views and philosophies. Careers advisors who made choices and gave priorities to other groups and other events over events for Māori students would be creating barriers as a result of their personal choices and priorities.

Autonomy

Autonomy equates to agency in Giddens' structuration theory (1984). Autonomy is important because it allows career advisors to exercise their choices. Autonomy gives the careers advisor the chance to "get on with the job" without interference. It provides an opportunity and space within a school for the careers advisors to provide targeted assistance to individual students or groups of students where they believe it is appropriate.

Careers advisors and other staff in schools who allow Māori students access to targeted events, occupy a strategic position in a school with regard to the transition of students from secondary to tertiary education. From this strategic position it is possible to make a difference or contribute to the transformation and self-determination of Māori students in secondary education.

The data from the interviews will be examined to assess the extent of the authority and autonomy exercised by each of the interviewees.

Analysis of data from each interviewee is presented below separately in recognition of the autonomy of the careers advisor's position and also to highlight differences between schools. The common themes and unusual or distinctive characteristics are identified and discussed in the concluding sections of this chapter.

... I choose to do it. I could just leave it and do nothing.

...No one says I have to do it.

Emily's story

Emily (not her real name) is the career advisor at a large, high-decile school in the city.

The School

At the time of the interview the most recent ERO report for Emily's school had been two years earlier. Observations recorded in the report indicated that the school was implementing the requirements in NAG1(v) and NAG 2(iii). Under the heading of "Improving the educational outcomes for Māori students" the report noted that the school board had high expectations of Māori students and high retention rates and had had extensive consultation with the Māori community.

Māori were a small minority group within the school (less than 10%) of the school's total students. Groups of students from this school are present at almost all of the targeted events and programmes that are offered in the region. When limits are placed on the numbers of students attending from each school, Emily often asks for more places if they are available. Therefore the regular participation of the school in targeted events suggests that Emily provides strong support for Māori students at her school.

Through her actions and her regular support of equity initiatives and targeted programmes Emily demonstrated strong support for Māori students by allowing them access to information and programmes designed specifically for Māori. The interview investigated the reasons behind Emily's support for Māori students in her school to determine whether Emily was motivated by the accountability of her careers' role or by a sense of responsibility towards Māori students.

In order to assess whether Emily's awareness of Māori students extended beyond her careers' role she was asked what support the school offered Māori students. Emily outlined the support structures that exist in the school for Māori students: a homework centre, kapa haka, a marae, regular whānau meetings. At an academic level, Emily listed a year 12 and 13 dean with responsibility for Māori and the provision of Māori language with a Māori language teacher. Emily's response indicated her awareness of Māori students extended beyond the

bounds of her careers' planning responsibilities. It also suggested that her involvement was not simply a matter of policy compliance.

Incentives

For Emily the incentives seemed to be professional and practical ones rather than personal incentives. If Emily had personal (political, religious, family or social) reasons behind her involvement in targeted programmes and events for Māori students they were not evident in the interview.

Professional incentives

The professional reasons given by Emily for involvement in the programme were that STEAM offered a chance to visit a university campus, promoted the study of maths and science, offered students good advice ("keep your options open".) The responses suggest that in her professional capacity as a career advisor, Emily had made an appraisal of her programme and aligned it with goals she considered were important for students. Emily also implies a school philosophy:

Everyone in the school wants to do better for Māori and Pacific ... [and] Because ... the figures show that Māori, Pacific and disabled students don't do as well as they should and our Head [principal] is very good at disseminating such information or balancing what we do well at this school like having girls that get scholarships and so on, balanced with the fact that New Zealand-wide there's a gap between those that do and those that don't and often for whatever reason, it's Māori.

The influence of the principal, and therefore professional influence, is evident from this quote. Emily credits her awareness of the need to raise Māori and Pacific student achievement directly to the actions of the principal. This is consistent with the comments in the school's ERO report with regard to Māori.

Policy and the influence and knowledge of policy can also be regarded as professional incentives. Emily's awareness of policy seemed to be limited to policy that was directly linked to her job (NAG 1 (vi)). Emily described these policy guidelines as "the careers' ones" which had a particular emphasis on students at risk of leaving. She also quoted the Treaty of Waitangi but admitted:

I don't really know the other ones.

She explained:

I should know the policy, the Head [principal] would probably be quite appalled that I didn't know. She's very good at things like that ... and she would have told us about them.

Emily's explanation suggests that policy works at that school by flowing down from the principal to staff. While Emily admits she does not know the policy relevant to Māori, her responses during the interview indicate that there is general awareness across the school of the need to do better for Māori. This reflects the fact that although Emily has little awareness of the actual policy the school has raised the awareness of staff of the need to improve outcomes for Māori students.

Practical incentives

Emily offered two reasons for her school's participation in STEAM that could be classified as practical incentives. They were firstly, a well organised day and secondly, the easy access from school.

When an event is well organised and students are fully occupied there is little need for close and constant supervision or for disciplinary action by school staff therefore staff are more willing to participate and support an event. From a school staff member's perspective a well-organised day is attractive because it makes fewer demands on staff who accompany the group.

Ease of access also provided a practical incentive. Emily explained that because her school was near to the university campus which was the venue for STEAM, she saw no need to provide transport. Instead she asked students to use public transport or be taken by their parents directly to the campus and in that way no transport costs were incurred for her careers education budget. These practical incentives provided Emily with an easy option in terms of complying with NAG1.(vi) and meeting the needs of Māori students in the school.

Personal incentives

Autonomy emerged as a particular personal incentive for Emily. She appeared to have a great deal of autonomy in her role and this allowed her to choose the events for students from her school. Her responses also suggest strongly that she was influenced by her personal judgement as well as her professional responsibilities. Emily describes her autonomy in a way that indicates it is an “enabler” as well as an incentive. In response to the comment that she has more time than other careers advisors because she is in a large school Emily says:

... I choose to do it. I could just leave it and do nothing....No one says I have to do it.

And later in the interview she says:

You do what you want to do in a job don't you.

Both of these comments illustrate Giddens's description of agency and power. Emily recognises that she has the capacity within her careers advisor's role to choose or not to choose, to act or not to act. Although she has chosen to have her students participate she recognises that she was not compelled to do so. In order to gauge the extent of her autonomy she was asked if the school would still participate in STEAM if someone else was in the careers advisor's role. Initially Emily's response was positive:

Yes. I'm sure they would. I think they would ... I'd be very surprised if they didn't. I think they'd find it hard to justify not.

Emily obviously expects that another person in the career advisor's role would share her viewpoint. However, on further reflection she begins to reconsider when asked whether the participation by her school was influenced by her personal judgement or if anyone would notice if participation ceased.

Although Emily has implied that it would be hard to justify a decision not to participate, her later responses show that it is quite likely that no one would notice that the school no longer participated in STEAM.

Perhaps someone in the science department ... perhaps some of the students would notice - I don't know if anyone else would notice - there's only one event.

So despite Emily's claim that her successor would find it hard to justify not participating, it was unlikely that staff or students would notice the lack of participation so justification would not, in fact, be necessary.

This is an example of the "downside" of autonomy. While autonomy allows a careers advisor to carry out tasks without interference, autonomy can also mean that the work carried out is not noticed or acknowledged. During the interview Emily recognised that a new or different careers advisor might not exercise the autonomy of the role in the same way. Once again, the autonomy of the careers advisor's position is demonstrated when Emily recognised that another careers advisor could exercise their agency different way.

Emily's responses suggest quite strongly that for students in that school, participation was dependent on the personal motivation of the careers advisor.

Professional barriers

Emily had to seek approval from school management for taking the group out of school but did not regard this as a barrier saying approval was:

to make sure they're safe and parents are informed.

So for Emily approval from management was a necessary formality although she did acknowledge the extent of the authority of management by adding:

they could refuse if they thought it wasn't worth going to.

Emily also gave a clash with exams as a reason that approval might not be given but having acknowledged the authority of management, Emily had the expectation that support and approval would be given. Her response was similar when asked about the reaction from staff in general Emily said there was very little criticism from other staff.

The only criticism would be when they're out of school.

It is clear from her responses that Emily thought the programme was worthwhile and fitted with the school philosophy of raising Māori students' performance. Therefore to her,

administrative processes and requirements were necessary obligations rather than major barriers to participation.

Practical barriers

Practical barriers can emerge in the process of selecting Māori students to attend the programme. Emily used a computer-generated list based on identification information gathered during a student's enrolment at the school when students or parents would have indicated their Māori identity. However, Emily explains that the system is not foolproof and that problems can arise when students become aware that a list of Māori students has been made. Students who identify as Māori whose names were not on the computer-generated list want to know why they were left out. Other students whose names are on the list ask to be removed from the list because they do not wish to identify as Māori themselves or be identified as Māori by others.

The way that Emily describes the selection process operating suggests that she is facilitating the participation of Māori students by allowing them to add or remove themselves from the participation list. The process is one of self-selection which is compatible with tino rangatiratanga/self-determination. Students are not being pressured to participate nor are they prevented from participating.

Cost was expected to be a major barrier for participation in the programme. While there was no cost to schools for this, the cost of travelling to the event had to be addressed by schools or students. The interview question of cost was intended to discover the extent of financial support available to the student. Emily indicated that the careers budget would provide for transport in a minivan if necessary but for events in the central city (close to their school) students could make their own way to the event by bus or having parents drop them off there instead of at the school. Therefore for Emily and students from her school, the cost of attending an event was minimal and therefore imposed no real barrier to participation.

Summary

Emily's responses indicated that at the school staff level there was recognition of the need to raise achievement of Māori students and there are structures to allow that to happen, such as the homework centre and whānau meetings.

The school's ERO report indicated that the school had set high expectations for Māori students. Emily's comments also provide strong evidence that the school management raises the awareness of staff to their responsibilities for raising Māori student achievement. Although Emily did not know the detail of the NAGs and NEG's relevant to Māori, she was reacting to expectations of management when she claimed everyone in the school wants to do better for Māori and Pacific students. Emily's comments reflect the comments in the ERO report and suggest that policy and guidelines have been adopted by the senior management of the school who have generated a set of expectations and created a context for the implementation of the guidelines.

Emily's comments also imply that the principal would expect staff to know the policy and Emily was slightly embarrassed that she did not know it well. However, Emily did know the guidelines directly related to her role as careers advisor and was able to quote them. This suggests that Emily was more strongly influenced by policy directly related to her careers role than to policy aimed at the school staff in general.

Emily recognised it was the autonomy that existed within her role which enabled her to choose which career events and opportunities she selected for students from her school. While she credited the school philosophy and the authority of the principal as the strong influences behind the choices she made. Emily also conceded that any successor in her position might not make the same choices and would not necessarily be held accountable for ceasing to participate in targeted events for Māori students.

**I'm interested in having a policy that I can hang my hook on,
say this is what we've got to do.**

Carl's story

Carl (not his real name) is the careers advisor at a low-decile school in the outer suburbs of the city.

The School

At the time of the interview the most recent ERO report for Carl's school had been two years earlier. Māori were approximately 15% of the school roll. Observations recorded in the report indicate that the school was implementing the requirements in NAG1(v) and NAG 2(iii). Under the heading of "Improving the educational outcomes for Māori students" the ERO report noted the school had set up specific initiatives for Māori and had compiled information on Māori achievement in all aspects of the curriculum. The report also indicated the school was aware of the need to raise achievement and retention for senior Māori students and the school board had established a process for consultation with the school's Māori community. The report noted the school was aware of Māori achievement across curriculum areas and that the school is commencing consultation with the Māori community.

The interview

At the beginning of the interview Carl was asked why his school participated in STEAM. His response was directly linked to the career needs of the student and the clause in National Education Guidelines issued by the Ministry of Education relating to careers education.

Carl's professionalism with regard to his job was reflected in his knowledge of legislation related to the careers advisor's role. He was familiar with the Education Guidelines that were specific to careers education:

The National Educational 1.(vi) is a priority so [as a careers advisor] you've got to ensure that you give career education advice to students who are at risk of leaving school with no or low qualifications.

He was also aware that compliance with that guideline should be part of the school's ERO report and he understood that participation in STEAM could be cited as an example of compliance.

With Carl the boundaries between professional and personal responsibilities of the careers advisor's role are not distinct because his professional knowledge and awareness enable him to become involved in the aspects of the role he considers to be important and of value to the students.

Professional incentives

The explanation Carl gives for participation in STEAM indicates a level of professionalism and his commitment to the careers advisor's role because it relates directly to careers education goals and Māori achievement policy goals. Later in the interview however Carl makes comments which reveal other considerations he has about involvement in STEAM, which go beyond compliance to job descriptions and Ministry requirements. When discussing the concept of providing a balanced education he says:

this [STEAM] is one of the balances, it's a balance based on academic and culture as well. It's also career focused.

This comment captures the value that Carl saw in STEAM and identifies criteria that he considered to be significant for student participation in STEAM. He obviously saw the benefits of a programme that could combine academic, cultural and career aspirations of students.

Policy was also important to Carl. He had an awareness of policy and in particular the policy that was relevant to careers education. His attitude to policy was as an enabler; it was a resource that he could use. He said,

I'm interested in having a policy that I can hang my hook on, say this is what we've got to do.

Policy provided Carl with a justification for his actions. It seemed that rather than being a driver or a prompt for the tasks and events he chose, policy came into consideration later and provided justification or back-up for decisions he had already made. He also demonstrated how policy gives him authority and permitted him to behave in a particular way.

Policy gave strength to Carl's agency. He made an interesting comment with regard to his part in the school administration and policy when he explained that his involvement in the STEAM programme went beyond simple compliance with policy and school expectations.

... [participation in] STEAM should be meaningful and I believe it is. So I'm not just trying to tick all the boxes. I'm trying to make sure that those are quality things that are available. If I wasn't I would be cynical enough to invite the kids, any 10 kids, ...

Carl claimed that the care and time he takes to select students for STEAM demonstrated his commitment to provide an opportunity for students who would gain the most benefit. These comments show Carl makes a distinction between a choice for compliance at a superficial level, and a choice at a more meaningful level which provides greater benefits for the students involved. The time and care taken by Carl to select students who would benefit from attending STEAM goes beyond simple compliance and showed a commitment to the actual students. Carl's comments indicated he was seeking a positive outcome for the students. The implication was that ticking the box or complying with policy at a superficial level gave a positive outcome for the school rather than the student.

Practical incentives

Carl explained that the principal had the philosophy that every teacher in the school had a responsibility for careers and gave the example:

there would be an expectation that somewhere along the line a maths teacher would illustrate to his classes how maths can be used job-wise, or the importance of numeracy in jobs and careers.

The principal's expectation that all teachers contribute to careers education by linking their subjects with job opportunities, would have had the effect of raising the profile of the careers department and Carl's role and work. This could also have had the effect of reducing any resistance there might be from other staff members toward losing students from their classes to attend STEAM.

Carl attributes staff support to be a result of awareness of the link between schooling and careers, and the school focus on careers. He does not mention any actions or expectations or

provisions specifically for Māori students. Although his support was implied rather than stated during the interview, through his involvement in STEAM, Carl showed support for Māori students and recognised their specific needs.

Personal autonomy and authority

Carl was not part of the senior management team in the school although he did have credentials (management units) in careers. However, he believed he had a great deal of freedom in the role of career advisor. He exercised his agency within the careers role to organise and coordinate the careers department in a way that he believed was appropriate.

... [in] our school it's pretty much *carte blanche*, career-wise what I want to do. If I want to send kids on STEAM, I'll send kids on STEAM. They've never really queried me on it ... I do it because I believe that it's necessary.

Carl agreed when questioned further that his decision for students to participate in STEAM was a combination of personal belief, the authority of the careers advisors position, the freedom or autonomy provided by the school with the Ministry of Education policy or guidelines providing back up if required. Carl did not feel constrained in his job. He recognised that the Principal of his school gave him the flexibility to do his job with little interference.

Barriers

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the administration safeguards and rules set in place by schools to cover situations when students leave the school grounds can constitute barriers to participation in events such as targeted programmes. Carl did not believe he faced any significant barriers at his school.

Professional barriers

Carl explained that the school would not send a group of students to an event without a teacher. A rule such as this could become a barrier when trying to organise the trip. Any teacher who is away from school for a full day requires relief for the classes they have to teach on that day. Carl did not describe or recognise any real barriers that needed to be addressed in order for students to participate in STEAM. However, he described the work he did in preparation for events. The dates for events were entered on the school calendar and if necessary a presentation to staff took place long before the event occurred. When asked about

the response of other staff members to the disruption caused when students attended STEAM, Carl replied:

I haven't received any negative feedback so long as it's published well in advance; it's entered on the academic calendar.

Carl described several other things that he does to raise staff awareness of the work that is being done in his department. He involves class teachers, subject teachers and deans in the selection process and he sends Māori or Pacific staff with students to attend the STEAM day. He also gives a presentation about STEAM to the staff:

Staff are pretty wise to what we are trying to do, to link school and give these kids career opportunities because it has real spin-offs. These kids could go along to STEAM day and sort of develop a real interest in engineering or science or architecture and that has spin-offs when they come back.

Carl acknowledged it was important that staff at the school knew what was happening, when it would happen, and why it was appropriate for students to attend. In the process of selecting students to attend STEAM, Carl involved deans and class teachers. As a result, most of the staff who would be affected by the students' absence contributed in some way to the organisation of the STEAM event.

Practical barriers

Practical barriers such as cost, relief for teachers attending STEAM and the administrative workload were not significant barriers. Carl had a careers advisors budget which was used to cover the cost of attending STEAM and he also mentioned that there were staff that were available to provide him with administrative support. The extra work that is related to taking a group of students away from school for the day was not all carried out by Carl. The availability of administrative support and the ease of access to relieving teachers to cover the teacher attending STEAM, are examples of support from the school for Carl and the students attending the STEAM programme. It is clear that Carl does not work in isolation and is able to use resources beyond his own department to allow a group of students to attend STEAM.

Personal autonomy and authority

Carl was well aware of the difficulties of implementing the careers education requirements in the complexity of the school environment:

Careers education is probably its own worst enemy ... it's been so piecemeal, and if there's 20,000 schools in New Zealand there's 20,000 variations. There's no consistent approach ... the career and transition money is [calculated by] a formula depending on your school decile ... some schools can get \$25,000 for career and transition education. But who decides who uses it?

This quote from Carl raises some of the political issues in schools regarding allocation of careers and transition budget and the huge differences that exist between schools with regards to careers and transition. Carl's comments indicate that the Ministry guidelines and the responsibilities that go with the role of careers advisors are definitely motivators for him. However, his comments and questions on the internal policies within schools with regard to the careers and transition budget suggest he has an interest at a more personal level regarding the fairness or justice of some of the processes that affect the careers advisors and careers and transition departments.

Summary

The main motivator for Carl was his professionalism. Carl took a professional approach to his role as careers advisor. During the interview he made several references to careers education and to the National Education priority that is specific to careers. He also demonstrated an awareness of ramifications that careers practice has for students and teachers, when careers events help provide students with a focus that relates back to their classroom learning.

Carl clearly valued the autonomy that the careers advisor's role offered and recognised that he was allowed a great deal of flexibility to carry out the role. He exercised his agency when he used his knowledge of the relevant policies to justify the directions he chose to follow.

He was motivated by the responsibilities within his role rather than by the need to comply with policy. He made the interesting observation that if he were participating simply for the sake of compliance he would not need to take time and care with selection of students for STEAM. Carl also worked to remove any form of barriers or resistance to STEAM before they arose by providing information and by giving notice of events long before they occur. He

was able to generate support for the events by involving other interested staff members and sending them to the events with the students.

Carl regarded policy as an enabler. Rather than seeing policy as placing demands or limitations on his work as a careers advisor, Carl regarded it as a form of authority or a buffer that gave him reason or backing for things he wanted to do.

Tangata whenua need to be given the best service basically.

It's their right and our duty.

Mark's story

Mark (not his real name) is the careers advisor at a low-decile school in the city suburbs.

The school

At the time of the interview the most recent ERO report had been two years earlier. The ERO report for the school described it as multicultural with Māori being almost 20% of the school roll. The ERO report focused on improving the achievement of Māori and Pacific students and made positive note of initiatives to promote Māori and Pacific student achievement. Observations recorded in the report indicated that the school was implementing the requirements in NAG1(v) and NAG 2(iii). Under the heading of “Improving the educational outcomes for Māori students” the report commented that the school was committed to raising Māori achievement, had good provisions for Māori language and had strengthened links with its Māori community. The report also noted the school had been monitoring the achievement of Māori students for more than a year.

Professional Incentives

When Mark explained why students from his school participated in STEAM he implied that his view and opinion was shared by others. Comments from the ERO report suggest that Mark's opinion reflected the school's aspirations for Māori.

Mark stated:

We want our Māori students to do better.

He expanded on this comment in a way that showed his awareness of some of the issues that Māori students face:

We don't want them to be recycled through under-achievement in the system and all the negative outcomes.... [like] poverty, lack of choice.

Mark's personal philosophy also showed in his attitude to school procedures that may otherwise have been considered to be barriers. He described the process of gaining permission

for attending the event from the school management as “just a formality” so it was clear that he was familiar with the processes he must follow in order to take a group out of classes and away from the school. He was also confident of the support of management:

We tell them what’s happening and they’re totally supportive.

Mark described his position within the ranks of authority in the school as “down at the coalface”. He said he had no official place in the hierarchy of the school and he was “just ... staff”. Mark also claimed that he and other staff members from the careers department had established a reputation within the school of being competent and efficient and that had helped to create the support they received from the management of the school:

We just get on with the minimum fuss, we just get it done. I’ve been in this game a long time I think they trust us that we don’t stuff up.

So while he was confident of the support from the management of the school there was a suggestion that the support had been earned and that it is not automatically given. This implied that the support may not have always been available and may not have been available to another person in the same role.

“I think they trust us that we don’t stuff up” is a subtle acknowledgement of a barrier that had been successfully negotiated. Similar undertones were present when he discussed the effects of his decisions on others within the school:

Basically schools work on the principle that you don’t cause other people headaches, you get on and do your thing. It’s when there are repercussions that they tend to say no.

Practical incentives

Mark was prepared to make the extra effort that is required to enable students from his school to attend an event targeting Māori because of his social justice philosophy. His commitment was also demonstrated by the regular attendance of the school at a range of targeted events.

When asked about cost Mark said that he had a small budget but he would overspend his budget if necessary to ensure students had access to good opportunities. He explained that he tried to keep costs to a minimum. Most careers events away from school incurred transport

costs and usually students paid a small fee for a place on a bus but for students attending targeted events there was no charge:

If it came to it I'd just overspend my budget and take the flak at the end of the year ...
I'm not scared of getting into trouble over things I believe in.

Mark was obviously prepared to go to great lengths to ensure his students were able to participate and prepared to face the consequences if in the process he went beyond the limits of his budget. The barrier of cost is made insignificant by the strength of his convictions and his sense of justice.

Personal incentives

Right from the start Mark declared his own personal philosophy and awareness and then used the pronoun "we" to include others (other teachers presumably, or other staff members at the school). His views suggest an awareness of the state's commitment and obligations to the Treaty of Waitangi:

.... tangata whenua need to be given the best service basically. That's their right and it's their right and our duty.

Mark indicated he was well aware of Māori under-achievement and accepted that in his role as an educator he had a responsibility to improve Māori outcomes. His view was underpinned by a social justice approach because he perceived he had a responsibility to provide the best service to Māori students. This social justice viewpoint fits with Freire's (1996) "education for liberation" theory and contrasts sharply with the deficit education model where targeted initiatives and events like STEAM might be regarded as charity.

Mark had a social justice philosophy and agenda which he was able to identify and articulate. He spoke of:

A better future for the country and everyone in it.

And elaborated by saying:

You know if Māori are doing well, everyone is doing well, that's my philosophy.

It was apparent that Mark was applying equity principles in carrying out his responsibilities as careers advisor, so he was asked if he was aware of the equity requirements in the NAGs and NEG. His response was that he was vaguely aware of the guidelines but he was reasonably confident that he would be meeting the requirements of the guidelines. He described changes and improvements he had observed in Māori students with regard to career planning:

... I've seen a change in Māori in just the last five years. I see more Māori thinking about their future and saying "I'm going to get a diploma" whereas I think if I went back five, ten, fifteen years it was so rare.

Mark did not consider the change and improvement was a result of policy. He did concede that he did not know whether policy had influence at the management level but suggested:

I think personally they [management] just think it's the right thing to do ... I'm sure they have got policy to back them up but I think in the end it kind of comes through in your heart, not your head. I'm not sure about policy I'm not a policy person these days.

It is evident that Mark's strong sense of justice and his personal philosophy provide stronger motivation for his support of Māori students than education policy and guidelines. He was aware of the need to improve Māori outcomes in his area of career planning and had achieved improvement. He expected that policy would align with his personal philosophy so he was not driven solely by the need to comply with policy.

Professional barriers

Mark preferred to keep a low profile and although he claims the school is supportive of initiatives and events for Māori students, his comments suggest he manages the situation to reduce the opportunity for other staff to interfere or oppose his efforts:

... At certain times of the year when everyone is stressed and tired....you could back fire [by] having a high profile when sending kids out. We just do it low key and we just make people more likely to go ...[other staff are] only vaguely aware it's happening but that's the route I choose because I think if you go ... making a fuss, then you will maybe also arouse the opposition.

This statement suggested that Mark's knowledge and experience had taught him what events and situations are likely to have a negative affect on his plans and also demonstrated how he acted to minimise the opposition by his colleagues. This can be contrasted with his earlier response to the question about any resistance he encountered when organising participation in STEAM. His response was:

I wouldn't think there's virtually any [resistance] in our school. The top three in the school DP, AP and Principal they're all 100%. They're supportive of doing good things with my students.

Mark ignored or dismissed negative reactions from his colleagues as results of stress and tiredness. It appeared that Mark's personal enthusiasm and support for equity for his students overrode any likely staff opposition to participation.

Practical Barriers

Mark had explained how the situation had been different when a previous assistant had not shared his philosophy and obviously did not agree with equity initiatives:

She had a different idea of the meaning of equality—apartheid in reality ... 'here's the opportunity, it's here for everyone, step up and take it'. But it doesn't actually work in reality she did a bit of the clerical side of it but not with great heart.

Mark described how that particular assistant did not embrace the concept of equity and had been very reluctant to make any extra efforts (such as prompting students to return permission slips) to help students attend STEAM. Mark's comments prompted me to recall a particular year when I noticed that he had not responded to any notices sent out regarding the STEAM programme. When I phoned him he told me he had not seen any correspondence or information regarding STEAM. He asked me to send it again and said he would wait by the fax machine to ensure he received it.

Mark's comments and my recollection of the events at that time demonstrate how important it is to have staff who are committed to the support of Māori students and how a lack of commitment can seriously affect the opportunities available to Māori students, they also show how someone with a different philosophy or agenda can engineer a quite different outcome.

Limits of autonomy

Mark was unsure whether the school would continue participation in STEAM if he was not there. During the interview he had made several references to one of his colleagues who had worked with him as an associate in the careers department of the school. Certain responses and comments during the interview demonstrated the degree of influence that could be wielded from the assistant's position. Firstly Mark acknowledged that participation in STEAM might not continue if he were no longer at the school:

There's a pretty good chance they would [continue participation] but ... it is possible that if they got someone else they might re-prioritise their time.

With this comment Mark acknowledges the agency that exists in the careers advisors role. He recognises that his successor could make other choices and justify those choices on the basis of time availability. However Mark was confident that if his present assistant was still at the school participation would continue. His confidence came from knowing his assistant shared his view on the value of the STEAM programme for the students. This is further evidence of the autonomy that exists within the careers roles and the scope there is for personal views and values to influence the work carried out by careers staff.

Mark could see that if he left the school and his present assistant was not there, that participation in STEAM might not continue. He explained that another person may make other choices and used the phrase "re-prioritise their time" to explain it. He also admitted that senior management (in spite of their support for the programme) would probably not notice that the school was no longer attending STEAM.

This statement and explanation is evidence of the power and authority that exists in the careers advisor's role. Mark had exercised that power and authority in an effort to help Māori students to do better when he made participation in STEAM a priority. At the same time Mark acknowledged that someone else might do things differently. When asked about the prioritising process that a careers advisor might use. Mark's comments were that:

The job is bigger than the careers advisor ... you are making decisions all the time about what you'll participate in and yes it's really obvious to me, it's easy to justify you didn't do that because you did something else.

This statement clearly illustrates the total autonomy within the careers advisor's role and how it can work for or against student involvement in any event. As Mark describes it, careers advisors cannot participate in all the events that are offered so they are compelled to make choices. Justification for those choices can be made by giving priority or "trading off" one choice against another. Within the processes of making choices and prioritising there exist the opportunity to exercise personal and professional philosophies and to be influenced by preferences and prejudices.

Exercising choice can work for or against any particular group of students. The effect was evident in the situation Mark described when he had an assistant who did not share his philosophy and enthusiasm for STEAM and was reluctant to do the extra work required for participation in STEAM.

Summary

Mark's commitment to Māori students and his ongoing participation in STEAM was a result of both the school's philosophy and his personal philosophy. He admitted that he did not have a strong interest in policy nor did he feel that he was influenced by policy in his role as careers advisor. Instead he considered policy to be the responsibility of the school management team. His support for Māori in education went beyond a superficial level and beyond simple policy compliance to a deeper understanding of justice and the unique position Māori hold in New Zealand society.

Although Mark did not identify any barriers within the schools and did not seem aware of any barriers that could prevent him from providing support for Māori students, some of the processes he followed suggested that he deliberately worked to avoid attention. This implied that he believed some attention he would attract might not be positive.

He also believed that the support and endorsement he received from management for the work that he did, had been earned. This indicated that it did not come automatically with the role of careers advisor and therefore may not necessarily be available for another person in that role.

Mark also acknowledged that the autonomy in the role allowed him to make choices to benefit the careers education of Māori students. However he also recognised that another person in the same role could "re-prioritise their time" and make quite different choices.

‘Someone with the time and inclination’

Matthew’s story

Matthew (not his real name) was a student counsellor at a mid-decile school in a regional city.

The School

The ethnic composition of the school was almost three quarters Pākehā and more than a quarter Māori. At the time of the interview the most recent ERO report was for the previous year.

Observations recorded in the report indicated that the school was not yet fully implementing the requirements in NAG1(v) and NAG 2(iii). Under the heading of “Improving the educational outcomes for Māori students” the report noted that the school did not collect information separate information on Māori participation (attendance, truancy, suspensions, stand-downs, and retention levels). The report also noted the school had a high stand down rate for Māori and had not set in place a process for consultation with the school’s Māori community and there was no Māori representation on the school board of trustees. The report recommended that the school address issues relating to Māori achievement, consultation, and representation on the school board.

Matthew was chosen to be interviewed because of his involvement with equity initiatives offered in Auckland. Despite the distance (a 3-hour bus ride) from Auckland, Matthew had, for a number of years, brought groups of Māori students from his school to STEAM and other targeted events on campus.

Matthew was of interest to me because his guidance counsellor role would not normally have included participation in careers events. There was a full time careers advisor at his school and information about equity events had been sent to the careers advisor. But the school had not participated in any events before Matthew became involved. I wanted to investigate the reasons for his involvement. He was also of interest because I had found that communication regarding these events had to be sent directly to him. When this was not done there was no response from the school and subsequently no participation. Participation by his school appeared to be entirely dependent on his intervention.

Professional incentives

When asked why he had chosen to bring students from his school to programmes like STEAM, Matthew's comments showed he was initially motivated to have students participate as a result of his work as a counsellor:

The first time we participated... it was mainly because a group of Māori students came to see me and they were going to leave school and they were going to leave to nothing.

So Matthew had become aware of a particular group of Māori students through his role as school counsellor. He also was aware of their family backgrounds and that they had no history of family members attending university and therefore no expectation that they themselves might go to a university. This had motivated Matthew to organise a visit to university:

The whole aim of it was to put aside the veil of secrecy or whatever, the unknown about the university to demystify it for them. That was really successful because [when they arrived] they talked to other students on the [university] marae they came away really understanding that the university was a place they could aspire to.

His comments also demonstrated that he was aware of the perception that for Māori students the university was an unknown environment. Although he does not state it specifically, he implies the students have an apprehension about the unknown and suggests that a visit to university helped to remove the apprehension and gave the students the encouragement to aim for a university education.

Practical incentives

Once Matthew had made the decision to bring a group to visit the university, operational support was available; the school database was used for the identification of Māori students. An administration assistant was able to select Māori students from the database and send them individual notices rather than relying on daily notices to make contact with Māori students. Students who wished to participate would then sign on for the event. Matthew also had operational support when he last travelled to Auckland with a group. On that occasion the careers advisor made all the travel arrangements and Matthew travelled with them as the supervising staff member.

Personal incentives

Matthew's counsellor role had raised his awareness of the needs of Māori students at his school and had provided the motivation for him to become involved in targeted events. However, in choosing to bring a group of students to Auckland to visit the university Matthew was going beyond the requirements of his school counsellor role.

The decision to go outside the requirements of his job description indicate the reasons for his involvement go beyond professional motivation into personal motivation. There is a great deal of administration involved taking a group of students out of school including: booking transport, writing to parents, identifying Māori students, selecting Māori students, notifying staff, organising a room to meet students, meeting students and collecting permission slips from parents. When a staff member takes on responsibility for an event that is not part of their job description they are doing so because of personal motivation. It was apparent to me that Matthew became involved in the events because he was motivated by the relationship he had developed as school counsellor with the group of students.

Professional barriers

There did not appear to be any strong professional motivation for staff in the school to become involved in events targeting Māori students. When invitations to attend STEAM were directed to Matthew, the school participated. But when the invitation was sent to the careers advisor (as it was with other schools), students from the school did not attend.

During the interview Matthew had implied that the situation had changed and that there was no longer any need for his participation. At the time of the interview he said he was no longer as involved as he used to be and that the current careers advisor, head of Māori and Māori counsellor were taking responsibility for participation in events like STEAM. He believed that the events were a regular part of the school programme so there was no need for his involvement. However, a check with my records showed that the school no longer attended STEAM on a regular basis.

Practical barriers

Although I had met and worked with the careers advisor at Matthew's school I had never received a response from that careers advisor to notices about STEAM (even to decline). I was therefore interested to learn from Matthew the reason that he had requested that mail

regarding STEAM and other programmes be directed to him. His explanation suggested there was a breakdown of communication on the occasion when the school did not participate because the invitation went to the career advisor instead of being sent to him:

I think that year a decision was made that it was more appropriate that the Māori teacher should take the students and I think she got it ... that's always a risk when you pass something on to someone without some sort of direct contact.

Matthew implied that the message was forwarded to the Māori teacher but no action was taken to arrange a trip to Auckland for STEAM. He also suggested that the Māori teacher was not offered any support to help with organising a trip which is something he would have done if he had been forwarded the message himself. Although he does not criticise or blame any particular colleague he does suggest that direct communication should have been made with the Māori teacher. He also suggests that support or assistance should have been offered when the invitation was passed on.

Matthew was asked if he thought the person organising a trip to Auckland for STEAM needed to have a degree of seniority. Matthew's first response was that seniority was not required but then on reflection agreed that a classroom teacher with a full teaching load would have little time to complete the administrative tasks required in organising a trip to Auckland:

That's true as a counsellor or even as a careers advisor you can block out a period and say I'm going to organise the STEAM DAY today.

He recognised that other staff members may have been better placed to organise the trip:

... So it's probably appropriate that someone with the time and the inclination – I don't know about the inclination. I mean as long as it's part of school policy and that was your role for example, as the careers advisor.

There are two implications in these last two statements. One is that there are staff members who have more time during the school day to make arrangements to attend events such as STEAM. Matthew seemed reluctant to suggest that one of his colleagues may have lacked the motivation to organise a visit for students to Auckland but he conceded that the careers

advisor would have the time and probably the responsibility within the careers role to do it. The other implication is that he did not believe that participation should be dependent on the inclination of a staff member but should be regarded as part of the job. Matthew's statement is interesting because it implies that, if there was relevant school policy and it was someone's role (such as a careers advisor), participation should occur. This is recognition of the agency within particular roles his staff colleagues hold. An "inclination" implies a capacity to act (Giddens, 1984). However his statement did not help explain why he and not the careers advisor was the person involved with Māori student visits to Auckland on so many other occasions.

Earlier in the interview Matthew mentioned how he shared the passion of the Māori students who had initiated the first visit to Auckland and that passion would have driven him to do the same thing again even if he were an ordinary classroom teacher. The idea of having or lacking a passion or inclination for the task of taking students to Auckland for STEAM may be the key to that school's participation.

The occasion when the invitation did not get through to Matthew demonstrates how an attitude of indifference can limit opportunities available for a group of students. While it might have been more appropriate for a number of reasons for the Māori teacher to deal with a visit to Auckland for Māori students, in reality, a classroom teacher does not have the time or the funding available to arrange the visit.

Summary

The main motivators for Matthew appeared to be personal as well as professional. Matthew first became involved in a targeted initiative when a group of Māori students who were about to leave school with no real prospects for the future, came to him as the school counsellor. He complemented his student counsellor role with a careers advisory role and began to work with them by planning a trip to the university.

As a counsellor in the school there was no expectation or requirement for Matthew to plan and arrange education and career planning events and visits for students from his school. That is usually the job of the careers advisor. Matthew explained that he shared the passion of those students, so that passion was clearly his motivator.

Matthew had empathy for the Māori students in his school. He showed that he appreciated the perceptions of the Māori students and understood why they might not consider university as an option. He did not espouse the deficit view and blame the students for wanting to drop out of school. Instead he made the decision to take action and try to change their perceptions of university by organising a visit to the university campus.

Matthew was not responding to professional motivators but to personal motivators. The “passion” he shared with the students drove him to take on the extra work that was required. However, in his role as counsellor he had more flexibility, with regard to time, to make arrangements and to be away from school without needing to arrange a substitute teacher.

The “capacity to act” was highlighted by Matthew when he mentioned that staff in senior management with “time and inclination” should be responsible for such trips and indicated the need to have an inclination to make arrangements for attending an event targeting Māori students.

It seems fair to conclude from his comments that on the occasion when the invitation went to the careers advisor (instead of Matthew) and then to the Māori teacher and no trip eventuated, that in that instance none of the staff members involved had the time and inclination or passion to arrange a visit to Auckland for STEAM.

Matthew’s reduced involvement with events like STEAM seemed to coincide with the school’s reduced participation in STEAM. This demonstrates the depth of influence a single individual can have on support for Māori students.

“in all of the professions for example, where working-class people are under-represented, and Māori and Pacific people are a critical part of that under-representation, it’s really important that we push kids, encourage them ... to get into a living where they can go to university and take up a job in one of the professions”

James’ story

James (not his real name) is the academic dean of a decile-one school on the outskirts of the city.

The School

The ethnic composition of the school is more than 90% Māori and Pacific. Approximately 20% of the students are Māori. When he was interviewed James had been teaching for more than 20 years. He had been an academic dean at the school for five years.

At the time of the interview the most recent ERO report had been completed the previous year. Observations recorded in the report indicated that the school was implementing the requirements in NAG1(v) and NAG 2(iii). Under the heading of “Improving the educational outcomes for Māori students” the report noted that the school board and teachers were committed to improving Māori student achievement through the strong consultation process established with the Māori community. This had resulted in development of strategic goals and targets for improving Māori student achievement. The report also noted that Māori students achieved well in comparison with the non-Māori students.

Although he was not a careers advisor, James was chosen as an interviewee because each year he arranged for a large group of 40 to 60 Māori and Pacific students from his school to visit the university campus. James also invited university staff to speak at the school careers evening which was always well attended by parents and students of the school. It was clear from these actions that James was committed to improving outcomes for students in his school so the purpose of the interview was to investigate James’ motivation and the reasons behind his commitment.

In terms of academic achievement and access to university level study, James’ school had made huge progress in a short period of time. He was proud of what the school had achieved

and told me that the school had increased the number of students gaining University Entrance from 3 per year to 22 in the previous year. Throughout the interview he made frequent reference to the shared vision of the school management, the principal and the staff and their high expectations for students.

James had the position in the school of academic dean he explained his role:

It's one of my roles in the school, as Academic Dean, to drive that academic achievement and to push kids hard really. And sometimes they need pushing really hard, they need shoving and they need a bit of, you know, the educational equivalent of a clip around the ears or something. They need constant encouragement.

The main focus of the role as James saw it was to raise the academic achievement in the school and he recognised that it was a challenging task.

Professional incentives

The school-wide focus on achievement provided a strong professional incentive to James. When he was asked why the school participated in targeted events such as STEAM, James explained that the school wanted Māori and Pacific students to have greater opportunities to achieve and to aim for a high quality education:

In all of the professions for example, where working-class people are under-represented and Māori and Pacific people are a critical part of that under-representation it's really important that we push kids, encourage them ... to get into a living where they can go to university and take up a job in one of the professions.

James' statement indicates that he is motivated to support Māori and Pacific students by a level of political awareness and also by a school-wide drive to improve achievement outcomes. (The drive to improve achievement had been noted in the ERO report.) When asked who made the decision that the school would participate in events such as STEAM he explained that it was the influence of the school management and the school's philosophy that determined the participation:

... The principal and management ... kind of set the tone for the school that states the kind of environment where academic success is valued and regarded as important and where the expectations are set so the kids are aiming really high.

James' explanation suggests that the school has set a university level education as a goal for all students so that participation in equity events such as STEAM would become milestones on the pathway to university.

Although his knowledge of the national guidelines and their changes was limited, James thought the guideline change might have affected the school at management level but he did not identify any links between the guidelines and the school philosophy:

It would have influenced the principal and deputy principal and the board of trustees... it might have put it on the radar screen. But ... It hasn't really filtered down through the school in an identifiable way.

However, James' opinion may be a reflection of his lack of interest and awareness in education policy rather than a reflection of reality. James' opinion may also indicate that he has a greater commitment to the students and social justice issues than to policy compliance.

James made several references to the positive approach of the principal and strong staff support. He believed that the principal's vision was shared by the staff and this had brought about significant change in the school. When asked why thought the teachers were supportive his response was:

Because the whole ethos of the school is supportive. But it wasn't like that when I first got here five years ago..... the school was still finding its feet after being bashed around and [the principal] was central to that rebuilding of the school and gathering forward momentum.

James had seen the improvement brought about by a supportive climate in the school. He was in a position to make comparisons because he had seen how the school had changed in the five years that he had been there. He understood the importance of support. He also believed in having high expectations for students:

Schools have to show for the kids that they are supremely confident that their kids can achieve. You must be positive all the time, I mean that can be hard sometimes for teachers but you've just got to be positive all the time.

James also described creating the an environment for success

The kind of environment where academic success is valued and regarded as important, and where the expectations are set so that kids are aiming really high. There has to be high expectations, and high education of standard set by the school as a whole.

Practical incentives

James had expressed his view that all students should be aiming for a university education and a professional career. The programme for the parents evening reflected the same aims. Unlike the usual school careers evenings where the students are expected to gather information to suit their own needs this careers evening was aiming to give students and their parents information that would provide access to university education.

James fully understood and supported the school's philosophy and had helped in its implementation. In an environment where the school had a philosophy that was based on social justice, participation in events targeting Māori and Pacific students implementation was easier than it would be in a school without that philosophy. In this school targeted events were considered as resources to be used toward achieving the goal of university entrance for all students. James believed that participation in these events was not dependent on the commitment of an individual teacher but was driven by the school philosophy.

The school also used support staff from the local community so that for one programme which took place in the school holidays the community liaison person was responsible for taking students to a programme in the city for that day. The extra support allowed James to have students attend the programme and did not require him to give up his own time during the holidays to be there.

Personal incentives

James' political views and sense of social justice came through strongly in the interviews. He wanted to encourage Māori and Pacific working-class people to go to university and graduate into the professions. His vision of education was education for emancipation. He believed that whole cohorts of students from his school could succeed. He did not approve of the idea of limiting success to just one student, for example, through avenues such as scholarships:

It's the market model. It's the competitive model. It's all crap. It's all just crap. It's creating a pyramid, hierarchies, which the European society does brilliantly well.

James went on to give examples of real goals set for students and achieved by the students. The school had entered a large group of fifteen to twenty students in the high-level scholarship examinations (the highest level of assessment at secondary school, usually attempted by a small minority of "top" students in mid-decile and high-decile schools) and one student had achieved distinction in history.

He also describes the programme for a parents evening that would be held during the next school term:

It will be focusing on Level 3 NCEA and entry to University—what kids need and we'll get a couple of people from the university to talk. And we're sending out letters, they're all individual letters, to parents right across the board ... and we'll talk about what is needed for University. We'll get some of our students back again to talk about where they are up to in University. Once you've got a bit of momentum going you've got it. It's much easier to build on.

James' vision of education for emancipation also recognised the potential barrier that the new NCEA qualifications and assessments could create and he was working to address the issues around NCEA and University Entrance:

I'm going around the 7th Form now saying "There's two qualifications this year. There's Level 3 NCEA and there's entering a university. Which one do you think is the most important?" And they get the drift, they say "It's entry into university", and I say "Yes, because that gives you more options."

James' approach differed from the convention in many other schools where NCEA Level 3 certificates are promoted often at the expense of University Entrance. James was working to overcome the confusion around the two different qualifications/pathways of NCEA and University Entrance.

The school is situated on the outskirts of greater Auckland city so that the cost of travel could be a significant barrier to participation in the events held in the centre of the city. However, in his position as academic dean, James enjoyed a great deal of autonomy. He also had access to funding for the events that he planned for students:

... just in my role I have the freedom to do these things [attend events]
... there is never a question—and there's always support. No one questions these things and the school finds the funding for them

These comments suggest that the status and autonomy of James' role as academic dean and the support of school management and the school philosophy combined to remove any barriers to participation that might exist in other schools. James was also confident he would have access to any funding that was required. These factors allowed him to implement plans to visit the university.

Another of James' views that differed from the conventional approaches is his belief in the importance of working with cohorts rather than individual students:

And one other big thing I have is that it's very hard to mentor an individual student and get success out of that [going to university]..... If that's not part of the peer group's experience then they're going to say "Oh yeah, no". And it's not going to make the change. So you need to change the cohort, change the whole school.

He explained that it was the reason he brought large groups (60-80 rather than a small elite group) of students to visit the university campus:

Some of them won't go to university, but what they will do is they'll provide the environment where other kids feel really good about going.

The whole peer group accepts that this is a valid option because they've all been there, they've seen it. They decided not to go, but so and so decided and they're great, it's fine. It normalises it.

By using a “cohort” approach and normalising the goal of a university education James is overcoming the barrier of the “fear of the unknown” and is helping to establish peer support for those who do go on to university.

Several of the examples that James discussed showed that he and the school went beyond the recognised areas of responsibility of the school. One way the school did this was by following up on students who had left school and were technically no longer the school's responsibility. James described how they had located one student who had gained university entrance but had enrolled in a foundation studies course (a course for those who did not gain qualifications at secondary school). The school was able to help the student transfer to a university course. Another student had been offered a place on the university certificate in health science course but had not taken it up. The student had a difficult home situation and he intended to encourage that student to take up the place on the course and follow that dream of studying to become a doctor.

James' political views also meant his personal view of education was based on an emancipatory model rather than a deficit model. Although he was actively involved at the “hands on” practical level in raising academic achievement at the school he was also interested at a professional development level. He told me of his interest in a research project with Māori and Pacific students which had described the importance of the relationship students had with their teachers.

.... the personal relationship [students] have with a teacher is really important, and the other thing they said, is that one of the other critical things that I haven't thought of as significant till quite recently really, what the kids were saying is that the teachers they like and they succeed with, are teachers that don't give up on them.

James has obviously recognised the need to find different ways of working with Māori and Pacific students and considers that teachers could adapt to their students rather than expecting students to adapt to them.

Summary

James' actions were definitely not driven by policy. He was only vaguely aware of the changes to the NAGs and NEGAs and did not initially think they were a major influence in the school, although he did suggest the policy would have influenced the school management. However, James had an awareness of the political issues in education for students from low-decile schools and working-class families.

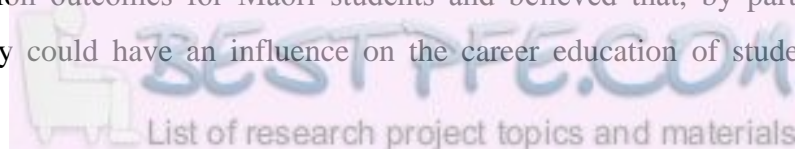
James described a shared vision within the school by management, principal and staff. It was often difficult to separate James' personal views from those of the school but the intention to address barriers to academic achievement in the school was clear. The vision James described included strategies of high expectations, an emphasis on attaining university entrance, generating parent support and establishing high achieving student cohorts.

If compliance is the only motivation for policy implementation it is usually at a minimal level. James' school went beyond the minimal level. If policy compliance was the sole motivation for improving student outcomes there would have been no need or interest for the school or staff of the school to follow up on students who were no longer enrolled at the school.

Barriers for Māori students can be reduced significantly when school philosophy combines with personal and political awareness. James gave examples of the sort of support he offered and the school offered their students. There was also evidence that the principal's vision for the school was closely allied to James' personal and political views. The examples provided evidence that both James and the school community go beyond their boundaries of the responsibility for the students. This suggests more than a commitment to policy legislation and guidelines. It suggests instead a commitment to people. It is an example of what Giddens' concept of structuration in which people intervene to create a change that would not otherwise have occurred.

Summary of interviews with careers advisors

There were a number of common features that emerged from the data for the three participants who were employed as careers advisors. All three were aware of the need to improve the education outcomes for Māori students and believed that, by participation in targeted events, they could have an influence on the career education of students in their schools.



All of the advisors were influenced by the philosophy of support within their school for Māori students and believed that by participation in equity initiatives such as STEAM they were meeting the expectations of their school. All three assumed that there was total agreement in their school regarding support for Māori. They used the word “we” when describing their own attitudes regarding support for Māori students in their school, implying that all their colleagues shared their views (even in the school where it was acknowledged that an assistant in the same office held opposing views to the interviewee). It was most noticeable that having made the decision to participate in the events, they were not aware of any significant barriers to those plans. Issues of transport, costs teacher supervision were not allowed to interfere with their plans.

For two of the advisors the responsibilities and duties of their careers advisor’s role were motivating factors. Their professional obligations provided a strong influence on the way they carried out their work. The third advisor was motivated more by his strong sense of justice and a need to do what was right. He explained his personal viewpoint and operated from that perspective.

Although none of the interviewees knew the details of NAG1(v) and NAG 2(iii) the ERO report for each school indicated that the school and the boards of trustees at each of the schools were making efforts to meet the guideline requirements. When the ERO report was taken into consideration for each of the schools the interviewees’ views reflected similar themes to their school report. In one way or another, all three advisors acknowledged that the autonomy of their role gave them the freedom to operate and make choices that suited their aims and intentions in the fulfilment of their roles. They also recognised that someone else in the same role might have different priorities and make different choices. While each of them had exercised their autonomy to benefit Māori students there appeared to be no processes or checks in place to ensure that would happen every time.

When the factors that influenced the three careers advisors were examined it was found that policy was less influential than a personal sense of justice and responsibility to their students and profession. Their interviews revealed the extent of autonomy that exists in the careers advisor’s role and explained the distinctions between individual careers advisors and the way they carry out the responsibilities of their role. Emily was strongly motivated by the expectations of the school principal and the school philosophy. Carl was motivated by a sense

of professionalism and personal sense of responsibility to the careers advisor's role. Mark was motivated by an awareness of Māori needs and a strong personal philosophy of justice. Although the interviewees did not consider that they had to overcome barriers in order to participate in equity events they did identify barriers that might exist for other careers advisors.

Two of the interviews were with participants who were not careers advisors but had become involved in careers education and support for students in their school through their own awareness of students' needs. It was evident that their knowledge of students' circumstances provided strong motivation for both Matthew and James and their participation in initiatives targeting Māori students. Their primary motivation was more from a sense of justice and sense of responsibility to students than from a sense of responsibility to their profession to their school or to their role in the school. In their interviews and in the careers work that they carried out with students they demonstrated a strong awareness of student needs and student backgrounds.

They differed from careers advisors because they came to their role through their awareness and involvement with students. Careers education was not a prominent feature of the positions they held within the school but they had become involved in area where they saw a need that should be addressed. They were involved as the result of a choice they had made which fitted with their personal philosophies of education. Unlike careers advisors they had a freedom in the roles they had chosen that careers advisors did not have because they could pick and choose the level and extent of their involvement.

Conclusion

The information gathered from the interviews clearly shows the variation from school to school. Although groups of students from each of the schools have participated regularly in targeted initiatives such as STEAM the reasons for their participation varied for each school. Those reasons differed because each of the careers advisors had a different attitude to equity and a different approach in the way they organised the careers advisor's role.

Emily's strongest motivation was the philosophy and expectations of the school as promoted by the school principal. Carl regarded policy in a positive light as a tool that provided him with both guidance and justification for the decisions he made as careers advisor. He was motivated by his sense of responsibility to his role as careers advisor and the policy directly

related to that role. Mark did not pay a great deal of attention to policy but instead relied on a personal sense of justice and a school management expectation that staff and management were working to improve Māori achievement outcomes. Matthew described having a passion for the work he did with students as a school counsellor. He was motivated to change the perception of Māori students wanting to drop out of school by encouraging them to consider a university education. He had used his agency to extend the terms of his job to include career counselling and advice for those he saw needing active intervention. James was motivated by a goal of pushing students from under-represented groups into university and on to professional careers.

All five participants described their school as having a positive and supportive school environment. Perhaps this indicates that at the management level, the schools were responding to the NAGs, NEGs, and policies although staff members were mostly unaware of these policies themselves. However, the participants' responses suggested that, despite a positive environment in a school, the actions of a careers advisor who chose not to participate in targeted programmes and equity initiatives could easily go unnoticed in a school.

The concept of agency in Giddens' structuration theory recognises that the result of an intervention by an individual, would not have occurred if the individual had not intervened (Giddens, 1984). This is the power behind an individual exercising agency. Exposure to targeted initiatives for Māori students that provide both general and specific information for Māori students is an intervention that can be initiated or ignored by an individual careers advisor. Data from the interviews suggest that even in a school with a positive and supportive environment for the students, lack of action by an individual staff member can prevent intervention from occurring and therefore prevent student participation in equity initiatives. Information from the interviews also suggests that a lack of action and intervention would go unnoticed by school staff and management.

Chapter Six examined data gathered during the interviews and considered the influence individual careers advisors could have in initiating or ignoring opportunities for Māori students.

The final chapter provides an overview of the study and discusses implications for supporting Māori in the transition to university education and suggests areas for future research.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Facing the Challenges – Kia hiwa ra! Kia hiwa ra! Kia hiwa ra!

Vignette 7

I'm going around the 7th Form now saying "There's two qualifications this year. There's Level 3 NCEA and there's entering a university. Which one do you think is the most important?" And they get the drift, they say "It's entry into university", and I say "Yes, because that gives you more options."

Comment

This vignette was selected for the final chapter because it explains in a nutshell the difference between "education with limitations" and "education for liberation".

This final chapter discusses the research findings and the areas that require further investigation.

The under-representation for Māori in university courses translates to an under-representation of Māori in the professions. That under-representation must be addressed if Māori are to achieve the goal expressed in *Ka Hikitia* that Māori participate fully as citizens in a global community (Ministry of Education, 2008).

Lifting Māori achievement in secondary schools to the achievement levels of other population groups with regard to University Entrance is the specific focus of this thesis. The challenge of addressing Māori under-representation at university gave rise to the research question for this project: *Can careers advisors advocate for Māori students?* The question was prompted by the introduction of policy changes and ongoing debates around equity in education. So more questions arose: *What effect do equity policies have on advocacy and support for Māori secondary school students? How are equity policies implemented in secondary schools? What factors assist their implementation?* To understand the extent of that challenge the thesis discussed factors both historical and present at all levels of the education system from strategies and policies at the national level to the teacher-student relationship in the classroom.

Policy is important because it is through policy that the state's expected educational outcomes are expressed. Therefore research that contributes to an understanding of the policy implementation process and the factors that lead to successful implementation can lead to transformation in education. The policy at the centre of the research directed schools to develop plans to improve Māori achievement. The concept of equity and the effectiveness of equity were discussed as a means of attaining fair and just educational outcomes for Māori. Contributing factors to Māori underachievement provided further background for the thesis and the strategies introduced to deal with the disparity between Māori and other groups were considered as further background to the research.

This thesis recognises that before numbers of Māori undertaking university courses can increase, the numbers of Māori students studying and achieving the University Entrance prerequisite courses at secondary school must increase (Earle, 2007; Madjar et al., 2009). The research focused on the guidance and support provided to Māori secondary school students to assist them with planning and making decisions that determine their education and career pathways.

To provide the context for Māori students in the transition from secondary school to university, an account was given of the barriers that exist for students wishing to gain access to university: streaming of classes, subject choices, access to resources, teacher expectations and NCEA and University Entrance requirements. The investigation of issues around gaining University Entrance qualification revealed that the process is complex and lacks transparency. The regulations for the University Entrance qualification are difficult for many students and parents to understand (Madjar et al., 2009) and therefore constitute a significant barrier for Māori students and their families in terms of self determination. This thesis argues that support for Māori students is essential if Māori are to gain tino rangatiratanga and control their education pathways and future careers. Careers advisors are the people strategically placed in schools to provide the necessary advocacy and support for students and also to assist schools with policy compliance.

The strands of two theories ran throughout this thesis. Kaupapa Māori theory provided the rationale behind the research and Giddens' structuration theory provided the analytical tool for the research findings. The early chapters in this thesis described the context for the research project by demonstrating the recurring powerlessness of Māori within the New Zealand education system and drawing upon commentaries from previous Kaupapa Māori

research. The mismatch between Māori educational aspirations and the education provided by the state was shown to be an ongoing and unresolved issue. The discussion in the chapters showed Māori underachievement in secondary schools has been thoroughly documented and researched: however, despite various efforts to address the continuing underachievement the disparity between Māori and other groups in the population has remained.

The recognition by Māori of the longstanding mismatch has strengthened Māori demands for tino rangatiratanga. Although the establishment of Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, and Wānanga has helped to address those aspirations for some Māori, the majority of Māori in education are within the state education system. The mismatch then, makes support for Māori students fundamental to improved outcomes for Māori in the state system.

Giddens' structuration theory was useful in helping to examine and understand how the relationship between systems, structures, and agents affect policy implementation. This theory is important when reflecting on the engagement or non-engagement of careers advisors with targeting of Māori students. Structuration theory recognised the power within the agency of the careers advisors through their ability make decisions on behalf of Māori students and thus their ability to assist or prevent the transformation for Māori in education from occurring.

Giddens' structuration theory (1987) allowed for the examination of the way careers advisors carried out the tasks in their careers education role. It was recognised that the volume of work related to careers education compels careers advisors to make decisions regarding the selection and distribution of information (Andres, 2003; Boyd & McDowall, 2003). When careers advisors make those decisions and selections, they are exercising their agency. In the present education context where NCEA has adverse effects on some groups of students, and provides ethnically weighted barriers in access to universities (S. Smith & Timperley, 2008) then, the way individual careers advisors exercise their agency can be critical to Māori students and their access to university.

The new contribution to knowledge that this research makes is in the link it establishes between Giddens' structuration theory and Kaupapa Māori theory. The research identified the link between the agency of careers teachers and the self-determination/tino rangatiratanga of Māori students. The research participants were selected because they had exercised their agency positively and allowed Māori students access to an equity initiative which promoted university education and provided information on entry criteria and entry options for Māori

students. It was through the positive agency of the careers advisors that Māori students gained access to information that facilitated their self determination/tino rangatiratanga. It must be restated again that this small group were selected because the results of their engagement set them out as different from the mainstream of careers advisors who chose not to help Māori students engage, or in Giddens' terms exercised their agency negatively.

In terms of Kaupapa Māori, the participants (careers advisors and teachers) were challenging the status quo when they made the decision that their students should engage in an equity event which could lead to their future participation in university education. The careers advisors were moving beyond normal school practice. They were: identifying and targeting Māori students; setting high expectations for Māori students; and making space for Maori to have exposure to university education. As a result of that engagement, students were better prepared to take control of their own learning and future education pathways. This engagement is compatible with the Kaupapa Māori goals of tino rangatiratanga/self-determination and conscientisation. However, the research also demonstrated that in spite of the existing equity policy, Māori students were dependent on the autonomy of the careers advisors and the support of school management to give them access to equity initiatives.

In order to make a successful transition from school to university it is necessary for students to understand the assessment processes and the criteria for entry into university courses. Careers advisors who exercise the agency of their role to allow Māori students access to that information, are providing support for students in the transition to university. They are also assisting Māori students and their families to take control of their futures and to establish career pathways. Through their agency, careers advisors can encourage or constrain the ability of Māori students to exercise tino rangatiratanga or self-determination.

The evidence from the research data suggested that the equity policy for Māori did not directly affect the participants in their interaction with Māori students in their schools. Data from the interviews indicated that policy was not an influential factor for most of the participants. Indeed in this the policy itself was almost invisible. Only one participant directly attributed his school's participation in equity events to policy, and the policy he cited was the careers-related policy NAG1 (vi). His overall attitude towards his careers advisor's role was that of being professional, and having knowledge of the careers policy and compliance was part of that professional approach. He differed from the others in that he recognised that through his own agency he could use policy to further his own interests. He recognised that

when it was appropriate, he could use policy to justify or give greater authority to things he wanted to do. It was this participant who made the distinction between minimal compliance and more purposeful compliance. Minimal compliance occurred if a random “first in, first served” approach was used to select students for equity events. More purposeful compliance occurred when students were selected according to their ability and aspirations.

None of the other four participants showed a similar level of interest in policy. Although two of the remaining four participants indicated an awareness of the policy related to careers they did not cite that policy as the reason for their engagement in equity initiatives. None of the remaining four expressed being policy compliant as a conscious goal. However, they were aware of policy, but they suggested that (except for NAG1 (vi)) policy was the responsibility of the school management team.

In one way or another, all the participants described having the support of management for their engagement with equity initiatives. Therefore policy may have been influential at the management level in all the participants’ schools. It is possible that policy worked by directly influencing management, then through management, indirectly influencing staff like careers advisors, but such a conclusion is beyond the scope of this research project.

The participants for this research were chosen because of their regular engagement with equity initiatives. That regular engagement provided Māori students in the participants’ schools with the same outcome: access to information to university courses and the entry criteria for those courses. It was assumed that the factors leading to participation would also be similar because engagement with the initiatives occurred regularly and the outcomes were the same for each of the schools. In fact, the research investigation found great variation in the participants’ reasons for engagement but the common factors and keys to participation with equity initiatives were the autonomy of the careers advisor’s role and a supportive school environment.

The autonomy that existed within each of the participant’s roles in their respective schools had a significant influence on the ability of the participants to provide support to Māori students and allow the students access to information about university. The autonomy or the agency of the careers role was expressed in various ways by the participants. Each one acknowledged the freedom they had, to make decisions and choices. They spoke of having the time and inclination, having the ability or capacity to prioritise, having the freedom to choose

what they wanted to do. This freedom was confirmed when the responses from the participants showed that the initial reasons for engagement in the events differed with each participant and were wide ranging and included both professional and personal issues.

The potential to withhold or deny support was also recognised by all the participants and expressed in various ways:

“I choose to do it. I could just leave it and do nothing ... No one says I have to do it”;

“I’m interested in having a policy that I can hang my hook on, say this is what we’ve got to do”;

“Yes it’s really obvious to me, it’s easy to justify - you didn’t do that because you did something else”;

“Someone with the time and inclination [should take responsibility for the equity events]”; and

“In my role I have the freedom to do these things [attend equity events]”.

Giddens’ structuration theory recognises that autonomy provides the “capacity to act” and enables us to recognise the capacity of another person in the same role with different priorities and different personal and professional views to use their autonomy in a different way or in a less supportive way. Nevertheless it is the positive potential of this autonomy which allows individuals to be innovative, to explore new initiatives and to work towards emancipatory education. However, it is not autonomy that is the problem. The problem is what careers advisors make of the opportunities that are available to Māori students. Therefore it is unlikely that removing or reducing autonomy within the advisors’ roles would improve support or assist Māori students in the transition from school to university; instead the capacity for transformation would be restricted.

The participants had in common other factors which encouraged participation and engagement with equity initiatives. These factors were the expectations of the school principal, policy related to careers, personal views on justice and fairness, support for particular students, a personal belief in education transformation. Although the autonomy within their roles allowed the participants to decide that students should attend an equity event, the support of school management was required in order for attendance at the event to go ahead. All participants acknowledged having support from management for the decisions

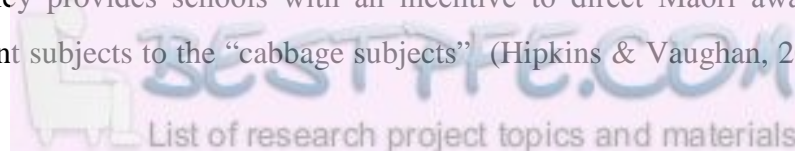
they had made and also support with resources such as access to funds to cover costs that might be incurred.

A number of issues arose in the course of this research which is significant in the transition from school to university. The first issue related to policy compliance and the different levels of compliance and revealed the limitations of policy in affecting change. A school could demonstrate accountability by reporting compliance in an ERO report while actual benefits to students were minimal. A higher level of compliance occurred when students' needs and aspirations were taken into account, so that the benefits to students were greater.

Improvements in Māori achievement have been celebrated since the changes to the NAGS and NEG's in 2001 because fewer Māori now leave school without qualifications. However, despite the improvements, the discrepancy remains between Māori school leavers with University Entrance and other groups with University Entrance because the improvement has occurred at the lowest level. This is an example of minimal compliance. Schools can claim success in raising Māori achievement while Māori access to university shows little improvement.

Discussion in Chapter Four showed that since the change from bursary to NCEA qualifications, gaining University Entrance is now a much more complicated process and gaining the NCEA level 3 qualification does not necessarily guarantee access to university. Therefore a focus on attaining NCEA Level 3 detracts attention from access to university and the importance of University Entrance as a separate qualification.

In order for policy to have an effect on the numbers of Māori students gaining University Entrance qualifications and to avoid minimal compliance, policy must be more specific. Unless key performance indicators (KPIs) are linked to any policy aimed at raising Māori achievement, schools have no incentive to lift Māori achievement to the higher levels required for entry into university courses. Almost thirty years ago it was established that good intentions are not enough make a positive difference for Māori and at times good intentions could actually be detrimental (Simon, 1984). The existing NAG 1(v) and NAG 2 (iii) (see Appendix 2) regarding Māori achievement are twenty-first century examples of good intentions. The policy provides schools with an incentive to direct Māori away from the academically relevant subjects to the "cabbage subjects" (Hipkins & Vaughan, 2002) so that



overall Māori achievement at the school looks good, but the benefit to Māori students is minimal.

If schools were required to report on numbers of Māori students gaining University Entrance in the same way that schools are required to report on suspensions and expulsions it would demonstrate higher expectations of schools by the state. Such a move would also allow Māori parents to make comparisons between schools in the same way that participation in STEAM allowed schools to be compared.

Another issue regarding this compliance emerged that challenged an assumption at the basis of the research. The question was whether staff at a school could be in compliance with policy if they were unaware of the policy. During the interviews all the participants claimed to have the support of school management for their efforts and actions around equity initiatives. Yet their responses indicated that they were not aware of the new equity initiatives, apart from NAG1 (vi) the careers related one. Did school management create the supportive environment as a response to the new equity initiatives? Was the supportive environment the catalyst for the participants' actions? If so the equity policy may have indirectly influenced the participants so that they were responding and complying with policy. These questions deserve further research.

The second area that gave rise to new issues was achievement. The different criteria required for NCEA Level 3 and University Entrance had always been evident but the impact the differences made to students in the transition to university was significant. This emerged from the data in the interviews. One of the participants had analysed the situation and continually reminded his Y13 students that of the two qualifications available (NCEA Level 3 and University Entrance), University Entrance was more valuable because it kept their options open. His intervention provides examples of agency, Kaupapa Māori, conscientisation, transformation and Delpit's rules of the culture of power (Delpit, 2006).

Through his intervention this participant was ensuring that students were aware of which qualification was of more value. He recognised that while gaining NCEA Level 3 was an achievement, it was of limited value. In direct contrast, University Entrance was a qualification that kept students' options open and therefore offered much greater value. The implication of this finding is that schools promoting NCEA Level 3 as the primary qualification for school leavers are demonstrating limited expectations of their students.

The present equity guidelines at the heart of this research have not resulted in greater gains for Māori than for other groups with regard to university access. While a greater proportion of Māori school leavers have gained a University Entrance qualification, other groups show a similar increase and the gap has remained. Therefore, with regard to access to university education, existing equity provisions in the NAGs have not reduced the discrepancy between Māori and non-Māori achievement. Although gaining NCEA Level 3 is regarded as an achievement, it should be recognised as a lesser and a limited achievement. The acceptance and celebration of lesser and limited achievement for Māori is a form of racism because it normalises and legitimises Eurocentric dominance (Davies, Nandy, & Sardar, 1993; Ritchie & Rau, 2009). Schools can increase numbers of students gaining NCEA Level 3 Certificates without improving access to university degrees for Māori students. Some schools can show policy compliance and success with NCEA Certificate Levels 1-3 while at the same time having processes in place such as prerequisites and restricted access to academic subjects, which act to limit achievement (Madjar et al., 2009).

A recommendation from this research would be that more specific achievement criteria are included in the national guidelines (NAGs). If success in gaining University Entrance were to be used as the indicator of Māori achievement at secondary school there might be more attention given to Māori students with the potential to succeed at university. There would also be a necessity to make University Entrance criteria clear to students and their parents and whānau. Schools could be encouraged to identify and track Māori students achieving the university entrance prerequisites at NCEA Level 1, Level 2 and Level 3. The introduction of such criteria would also encourage schools to identify Māori students showing potential at an early stage and more Māori students might be persuaded to take academic subject options.

Limitations

This study has a number of limitations. One is the geographic spread of the participants, and another is the limited number of participants. The number of participants interviewed was only five, and so it can be argued that this is a very small study. However, this research has shown that the effect of the actions of these five people as examples of Giddens' structuration theory has resulted in almost 200 Māori students having more access to university education. Their challenging of the status quo, or the mainstream norm position, by recognising the possibility of their agency provides us with examples of the positive outlier. What will be important for other projects will be to see the effect that increasing the conscious decisions in

the individual agency of careers advisors will be over the next five years. This study took place at a time in which targeted programmes for Māori were being encouraged by government policy; in a less encouraging climate any change to policy could have negative repercussions on Māori access to university.

Conclusion

Giddens' structuration theory provided the frame for interpreting the research data. It allowed for examination of the way that careers advisors carried out the tasks related to their role and analysed the personal and professional influences behind their actions. The research lens provided by structuration theory revealed the extensive influence of individual agency on the careers advisor's role. The research showed that Māori students making the transition from school to university are heavily dependent on the way careers advisors exercise their agency.

The complex structures of the NCEA assessment process for University Entrance have effectively marginalised parents and whānau support so that their ability to provide students with guidance intervention and monitoring has been significantly reduced. With the reduced ability of whānau to provide support, the careers advisor's role has become much more influential.

A challenge that exists in secondary education in New Zealand is the challenge of lifting Maori achievement to the achievement levels of other population groups. Within that challenge the specific focus on achievement for this thesis is the achievement of University Entrance. To understand the extent of that challenge factors at all levels of the education system from the past, present, and into the future must be considered, from the strategies and policies at the national level to the teacher student relationship in the classroom.

The thesis discussed policy established to raise Māori achievement as well as the targets goals and monitoring process set in place to support the policy. The existence of the policy signalled an acknowledgement by the state of the need to improve achievement outcomes for Māori students. While Māori achievement has improved since the policy was introduced, achievement for other groups has also improved and the discrepancy between Māori and other groups remains. Therefore it is not clear that the improvement is a result of the policy.

If the policy has not brought about the expected outcomes, other relevant factors must be considered. The thesis also considered the structural barriers faced by Māori students

accessing university education which they need assistance to overcome: covert racism at the school level, streaming, NCEA subject choices, access to resources and teacher expectations. It was argued that in this context, the explicit engagement of careers advisors as agents is essential to provide the assistance needed to empower Māori students to take up the opportunities available to them.

The thesis came from a Kaupapa Māori perspective and recognised the wider long-term struggle and the need for transformation in education for Māori at national and institutional levels but more importantly, it addressed the possibility of transformation and resistance at the level of the individual student. This research process echoes the intentions expressed by the Minister of Education that Māori should enjoy success in education as Maori (Ministry of Education, 2009). Rather than waiting for educational reform to occur this thesis explored what could be done now in any secondary school for any Māori student who has not been identified as a high achiever but still aspires to a university education.

The question that was posed was “Can careers advisors advocate for Māori students?” The assumption behind the question was that if careers advisors can make clear to Maori students the pathway to university, and the required achievement targets, the students should be unobstructed in their attempts to gain access to university. Such assistance from a careers advisor can empower the students and make space for tino rangatiratanga, self determination, and resistance of the status quo to occur.

Kaupapa Maori underpins this thesis and the aim of making space for Māori students and allowing tino rangatiratanga in secondary education. Although it has a focus on the work of careers advisors, a predominantly non-Maori group within mainstream secondary schools, both the purpose and question of the thesis come from a Kaupapa Maori perspective. Therefore the thesis contributes to the Maori struggle for transformation in education.

The other theory running through the thesis is Giddens’ structuration theory. When the effects of policy and the implementation of policy are considered structuration theory is useful in helping to examine and understand how the relationship between systems, structures and agents affect policy implementation. Giddens’ structuration theory is also useful when examining the relationship between careers advisors and Maori students and reflecting on the engagement or non-engagement of careers advisors with targeting of Maori students. Structuration theory helps to illustrate the power vested in the role of the careers advisors

through their ability make decisions on behalf of Maori students and their ability to participate in or prevent the transformation for Maori in education from occurring.

However, while recognising that most secondary schools do not operate according to Kaupapa Māori, it is possible for sympathetic careers advisors to use their agency now to help extend possibilities for Māori students. They thus act in a way that is compatible with Kaupapa Māori.

Careers advisors can exercise agency in a positive way when they recognise and address barriers faced by Māori students and can initiate transformation by allowing Māori students opportunities to take greater control of their own education and development. But careers advisors are also able to exercise agency in a negative way and maintain the status quo when they make no effort to bring about changes or to address barriers faced by Māori students. This negative agency occurs when the only opportunities Māori students are offered are the same opportunities offered to all other students.

The research findings revealed the extent of agency exercised by individual careers advisors with regard to the decisions that were made about providing Māori students with support. For the most part the decisions around support for Māori students were made on the basis of individual evaluations and judgements.

External policy was not a significant motivator for individual careers advisors. Policy was generally regarded as the responsibility of management so that only policy specifically related to careers education was acknowledged by participants. None of the participants suggested that their participation in an equity event was an effort to be compliant with a particular policy.

The research found that support for Māori students in the schools depended on the agency of each careers advisor or Maori student advocate in terms of their individual evaluations and judgements. Therefore for many Māori students tino rangatiratanga or self determination is not possible without the support of an advocate such as the careers advisor. The main finding of the research was that it was the consequences of the individual agency of careers advisors sometimes intended, but very often unintended that provided consequences for Māori students.

Recommendations

The final section of this thesis is a set of recommendations to policy makers.

There are two that I would suggest should be made:

Recommendation 1: That University Entrance and University Entrance prerequisites at NCEA Level 1 and 2 and 3 become the key performance indicators (KPI) for Māori achievement in secondary schools.

Recommendation 2: That information programmes to assist students, from year 9 onwards, and their whānau, understand and navigate NCEA and the requirements for University Entrance become part of the government's Whānau Ora initiatives for strengthened whānau capabilities.

This would mean that the student's whanau will gain both the information needed and the strategies needed to support their students in the quest to gain access to University if that is what the whānau seek.

APPENDIX 1

Interview Questions

1. Why does your school participate in STEAM?
2. Who decides that your school will participate?
3. What level of seniority does that person have in the school?
4. Who has the authority to approve/disapprove participation?
5. How are Māori students identified?
6. How are students selected?
7. Which staff members (if any) can veto selection?
8. Which staff member takes responsibility for overseeing the whole process of participation?
9. How much support is provided by school administration and other staff members?
10. What costs are involved and how are they paid?
11. Are you aware of equity policy guidelines NAG1(v), NAG2(iii), NEG2 and NEG 9?
12. What structures do you know of that exist to support Māori students at your school?
13. If you were not at this school would the school still participate in STEAM?

APPENDIX 2

Ministry of Education National Administration Guidelines (NAG) and National Education Guidelines (NEG) quoted in this thesis

Guidelines relevant to Māori

NAG 1(v):

Each board through the principal and staff is required to –
in consultation with the school's Māori community, develop and make known to the school's community: policies, plans and targets for improving the achievement of Māori students.

NAG 2(iii):

Each board through the principal and staff is required to –
report to students and parents on the achievement of individual students, and to the school's community on the achievement of students as a whole and of groups (identified through (ii) above) including the achievement of Māori students against the plans and targets referred to in 1(v) above.

NEG 9:

Increased participation and success by Māori through the advancement of Māori educational initiatives, including education in Te Reo Māori consistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi

The Careers education Guideline

NAG 1(vi):

provide appropriate career education and guidance for all students in year 7 and above, with a particular emphasis on specific career guidance for those students who have been identified by the school as being at risk of leaving school unprepared for the transition to the workplace or further education/training.

The Equity Guideline

In NEG 2:

Equality of opportunity for all New Zealanders by identifying and removing barriers to achievement.

APPENDIX 3

The Ministry of Education – Education Review Office (ERO) National report 1995; National Education Guidelines (NEG)

National Education Goals

Education is at the core of our nation's effort to achieve economic and social progress. In recognition of the fundamental importance of education, the Government sets the following goals for the education system of New Zealand.

1. The highest standards of achievement, through programmes which enable all students to realise their full potential as individuals, and to develop the values needed to become full members of New Zealand's society.
2. Equality of educational opportunity for all New Zealanders, by identifying and removing barriers to achievement.
3. Development of the knowledge, understanding and skills needed by New Zealanders to compete successfully in the modern, ever-changing world.
4. A sound foundation in the early years for future learning and achievement through programmes which include support for parents in their vital role as their children's first teachers.
5. A broad education through a balanced curriculum covering essential learning areas with high levels of competence in basic literacy and numeracy, science and technology.
6. Excellence achieved through the establishment of clear learning objectives, monitoring student performance against those objectives, and programmes to meet individual need.
7. Success in their learning for those with special needs by ensuring that they are identified and receive appropriate support.
8. Access for students to a nationally and internationally recognised qualifications system to encourage a high level of participation in post-school education in New Zealand.
9. Increased participation and success by Māori through the advancement of Māori education initiatives, including education in Te Reo Māori, consistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

10. Respect for the diverse ethnic and cultural heritage of New Zealand people, with acknowledgement of the unique place of Māori, and New Zealand's role in the Pacific and as a member of the international community of nations.

National Administration Guidelines

In order to ensure that the National Education Goals are met, boards of trustees and principals respectively, are also required to follow sound governance and management practices involving curriculum, employment, financial and property matters applying to schools. Further details of these requirements are found in the relevant legislation, appropriate contracts of employment and, from time to time, guidelines promulgated by the Secretary for Education.

1. Boards of trustees must foster student achievement by providing a balanced curriculum in accordance with the national curriculum statements* (i.e., the New Zealand Curriculum Framework and other documents based upon it).

In order to provide a balanced programme, each board, through the principal and staff, will be required to:

- i. implement learning programmes based upon the underlying principles, stated essential learning areas and skills, and the national achievement objectives; and
 - ii. monitor student progress against the national achievement objectives; and
 - iii. analyse barriers to learning and achievement; and
 - iv. develop and implement strategies which address identified learning needs in order to overcome barriers to students' learning; and
 - v. assess student achievement, maintain individual records and report on student progress.
2. According to the legislation on employment and personnel matters, each board of trustees is required in particular to:



- i. develop and implement personnel and industrial policies, within policy and procedural frameworks set by the Government from time to time, which promote high levels of staff performance, use educational resource

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